The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History

Papers 2008

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Edited by Elizabeth J. Millar

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Message from the President

It is now thirty-three years since the Canadian Society of Presbyterian History was founded in the centenary year of the union of 1875. In the past several years the organization has witnessed the changing of the guard: men whose vision contributed greatly to our organisation but have now, in rapid succession, passed on or are no longer able to be with us because of infirmity. We owe a great deal to Mel Bailey and John Moir. And the sudden and tragic death of John Johnston in January was an irretrievable loss. We who owe so much to each of these men are anxious that their vision not die with them. They saw the importance of bringing alive the historical richness of The Presbyterian Church in Canada. That today we have one of the best archives of any organization, a vibrant museum, and continuing and growing interest in our roots is no small tribute to their efforts. Your leadership in CSPH is determined to keep alive their commitment and their passion.

And what was their vision? As incoming president I see it simply as helping the Presbyterian Church discover (and perhaps rediscover) the heritage that is ours as a way of not only preserving the past but also making it alive in the present so that our future is ensured. Henry Ford may have dismissed history as bunkum, the subject is now in schools subsumed under an amorphous "social studies," and Canada (unlike the United Kingdom and the United States) as a country tends to dismiss our legacy as unimportant—or focus on selected politically correct incidents to show how excusable the inexcusable is as we blame others for current injustices—but history teaches otherwise. We are what our past has made us and we ignore its lessons at our peril.

The organization has a twin appeal: to laity who are fascinated by the past, and academia which too often can be blinded to the contribution the Presbyterian church (as a part of the wider Christian community) once made to Canadian life and its national identity. We need to keep CSPH both academically credible by producing papers of intellectual excellence, and also broadly popular in the best sense by refusing to be narrowly elitist. We need, in other words, to sell the excitement we feel about the history of The Presbyterian Church in Canada to a wider, and, one hopes, an increasingly appreciative audience.

This meeting is the first to focus on a single specific event: the 1908 General Assembly. Next year we will also have a focus on William Bryden and John Calvin, 2009 being a significant anniversary year for both. To make the Society more visible will require publicity but also word-of-mouth member excitement about what we are doing. We look to you all as propagandists not only for our organization but in the wider interest of making the past vital and meaningful.

Thank you for sharing with us as your executive in that commitment. Thanks particularly to Michael Millar for all his diligent work as our secretary treasurer, and to his daughter Elizabeth for her editing of our papers. And appreciation goes to Knox College for providing an appropriate venue for our gathering today.

A. Donald MacLeod
CSPH President

Biographical Notes on Contributors

Olive Regina Anstice has an M.A. from Reading University, and post-graduate training in social work. For her extensive involvement in El Salvador and Nicaragua and fundraising for Malawi, Somalia and the Sahel, her church in Guelph awarded her a life membership in the W.M.S. She is currently a member of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Simcoe Street, Toronto.

Peter Bush is a Teaching Elder in The Presbyterian Church in Canada, having served congregations in Manitoba and Ontario. The author of *Western Challenge* (2000) and *In Dying We are Born* (2008), he has written numerous articles on Canadian church history. He also co-authored *Where 20 or 30 Are Gathered* (2006) with Christine O'Reilly. Peter is married to Debbie and they have a son.

Geoff Johnston retired in 1999 as Director of Studies at Presbyterian College, Montreal, He is a graduate of the University of Toronto and Knox College where he also did doctoral studies. He has taught in Nigeria and Jamaica, and pastored churches in Montreal and Don Mills. He has authored several books, among them *Of God and Maxim Guns* (1988).

A. Donald MacLeod is Research Professor of Church History at Tyndale Theological Seminary, Toronto. A graduate of McGill University, and a Woodrow Wilson Fellow at Harvard University, he has served congregations in Nova Scotia, Toronto, Boston, and Trenton, Ontario. He is the author of numerous articles and biographies, one of which is *W. Stanford Reid, An Evangelical Calvinist in the Academy* (2004).

David Marshall is Associate Professor of History at the University of Calgary. A graduate of the University of Toronto, his revised PhD thesis was published in 1993 as *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief 1850-1940.* He is also the author of *Prophets, Priests and Prodigals: Readings in Canadian Religious History 1608-Present.* His forthcoming biography of Charles Gordon is eagerly anticipated.

Ralph Connor's Moral Crusade and the Perils of Partisanship

David B. Marshall

The Setting: Charles Gordon and Winnipeg

When commissioners anticipated their arrival in Winnipeg for the 1908 General Assembly, they probably knew that they were going to a city that had suddenly emerged as a major centre in Canadian life. For those who had not been to Winnipeg since 1897, the last time the General Assembly met there, its growth was striking. As the reporter for the Toronto *Globe* observed "commissioners were full of wonderment at the strides which Winnipeg, as the representative of the west, had made."[1] Winnipeg was in the midst of a dizzying period of urban growth.[2] Within a decade the small railway centre had boomed into a cosmopolitan city with bustling commercial development and industrial activity. The spirit of Winnipeg was optimistic, and an unequivocal booster mentality prevailed. Beyond the obvious material growth, Winnipeg had emerged as a cultural and intellectual centre in Canadian life. The city boasted two colleges and a vibrant daily press. The *Manitoba Free Press* enjoyed wide influence in western Canada and its editor, John W. Dafoe, was a leading force in Liberal Party circles.[3] One visiting delegate captured the progressive or forward-looking orientation of Winnipeg society and its religious life when he observed that the churches of Winnipeg were not the "dim religious type but bright and handsome structures." Although this visitor lamented the lack of memorial windows or plaques celebrating the accomplishments of the past, he noted that Winnipeg was a city of the "big now and not of then."[4]

Winnipeg was also home to a genuine Canadian celebrity, the Reverend Charles W. Gordon who was probably better known as the author of the best-selling "Ralph Connor" novels. Gordon's literary career as Ralph Connor took off with the publication of a series of adventure tales set in the Canadian North West featuring the soul-winning exploits of heroic missionaries. These tales were originally serialized in the Canadian denominational newspaper, *The Westminster: A Paper for the Home.* They were collected into novel form and published as *Black Rock: A Tale of the Selkirks* in 1898 by Gordon's

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[1] "General Assembly Opens at Winnipeg," *The Globe* [Toronto] 4 June 1908: 1.

[2] On Winnipeg's growth, see Alan Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth 1874-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1975). Between 1901 and 1911, Winnipeg's population grew from 42,430 to 136,035.

[3] See Ramsay Cook, *The Politics of John W. Dafoe and the Free Press* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1963).

[4] *Manitoba Free Press*, 8 June 1908.

Presbyterian colleague James Macdonald.[5] *The Sky Pilot: A Tale of the Foothills* was published the following year to even more enthusiastic acclaim. With these novels, Ralph Connor became a celebrity—not just in Canadian Presbyterian circles, but among a wider North American reading public seeking uplifting adventure tales that confirmed their belief in the power of the Gospel for moral and ethical improvement. Soon requests for Gordon to read or dramatize sections of his stories came flowing into his office. Journalists came to Winnipeg to interview the famous author and many attended his church just to have the experience of witnessing "Ralph Connor" in the pulpit. Those who knew Gordon understood that whether they were considering him as the Reverend Charles Gordon the Presbyterian minister, or as "Ralph Connor" the popular novelist, he was one and the same man absolutely committed to preaching the gospel. As one insightful commentator noted:

> I was struck with his apparent masterfulness and assurance, and manner, and was pleased with his fearless expression. He was concise and well-defined in his statements; he certainly is a great preacher as well as a great writer. He impressed me as a man with a message, a man sent of God. It was evident that he believed that he was God's messenger, and undertook to discharge, discuss, and to deliver the message committed to his care, come what would. He therefore spoke his message straight, clean and clearly. It was exceedingly refreshing to hear Dr. Gordon speak out so strongly and manfully in the convictions of his heart, the message and truths that he had agreed in God's presence as his messenger to proclaim. He is a calm, deliberate, forceful speaker. [. . .] The whole sermon was a wholesome one, delivered in an eloquent, fervent, masterful way that proved that Ralph Connor is a preacher and a teacher away beyond the ordinary.[6]

In Gordon's estimation his novel writing as Ralph Connor was part of his ministry and work for the church. Between 1900 and 1906 Gordon published a series of best selling novels: *The Man From Glengarry: A Tale of the Ottawa*; *Glengarry School Days*; *The Prospector: A Tale of the Crow's Nest Pass*; and *The Doctor: A Tale of the Rockies*. Currently, though, Gordon was taking a break from this furious pace of novel writing for a project that was much more research intensive: a biography of his mentor in The Presbyterian Church in Canada, the Rev. James Robertson, the Superintendent of Missions in the North West.

The Reverend Charles W. Gordon, however, was only one of Winnipeg's prominent clergymen with a national reputation. Winnipeg's rapid growth created many serious social problems. Moral problems, especially drinking and prostitution, arising from the presence of a large number of single, transient young men typical of booster

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[5] On Macdonald, see Brian Fraser, "James A. Macdonald and the Theology of the Regenerators, 1890-1914," *Nation, Ideas, Identities: Essays in Honour of Ramsay Cook*, ed. Michael D. Behiels and Marcel Martel (Toronto: Oxford UP, 2000) 3-15.

[6] "Is Ralph Connor A Heretic Or What Is He?" *Montreal Witness*, 8 Oct. 1910, attached to James Cranston, letter to C. W. Gordon, 19 Oct. 1910, Fd. 5, Box 3, MSS 56, PC 76, Charles William Gordon fonds, University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, Winnipeg [hereafter CWG].

towns were particularly apparent. But the concentration of new immigrants in Winnipeg's north end created slum conditions that called for more substantial reform initiatives than those offered by the moral reformers with their emphasis on soul-saving and personal regeneration. Consequently, Winnipeg became a centre of reform activity and progressive thinking in Canada. The city's leading clergy were at the forefront of this reform movement. Winnipeg was the home of leading Social Gospel clergymen with national reputations, such as Methodists J. S. Woodsworth and Salem Bland.[7] Methodist laity such as Nellie McClung, a vociferous advocate of women's rights and temperance, spent many of their formative years in Winnipeg. The constellation of Presbyterian divines, including Clarence MacKinnon, F. B. DuVal, Principal Patrick and George Bryce, only strengthened this impressive cast of reformers.

Whatever excitement the delegates experienced in contemplating their visit to this booming centre of culture and reform was probably tempered with the knowledge that the General Assembly would be considering a number of serious issues that would likely cause keen, and perhaps acrimonious, debate. The Joint Committee on Church Union had been meeting for almost four years and was to make a major report on a basis of union. Delegates were also to consider the future of Queen's University and its relation to the church. This question of adequate funding for Queen's University had long been a problem facing the Presbyterian Church. The university seemed to be at a crossroad with respect to its ability to compete with other major universities. Another highly anticipated report was that of the newly constituted Committee on Moral and Social Reform, chaired by the Reverend J. G. Shearer, a close colleague of Gordon's. It turned out that one of the most dramatic and most newsworthy sessions of the Assembly surrounded the activities of this committee. But it was not one of their recommendations concerning gambling, vice, or the liquor question that caused the stir. Rather it was the response by the daily press to a report on the moral conditions in the Yukon. In particular, charges were made against the Reverend Charles W. Gordon accusing him of inappropriately mixing his position as minister of the gospel with political partisanship. Gordon became a lightning rod for the Presbyterian Church's growing involvement in social and moral questions. Events at the assembly, surrounding Gordon in particular, alerted members of the Church to some of the perils of their growing involvement in public issues.

Despite this controversy, Gordon's role at the Assembly was mostly in the background. His participation in the debates on church union and Queen's University, for example, was minor. Even with respect to moral reform, Gordon's role was secondary to that of the Reverends J. G. Shearer and George Campbell Pidgeon. Instead, he played an instrumental role in the relatively unheralded arrangements for the church's program of evangelization. Gordon received notoriety during the General Assembly for his apparent flirtation with partisan politics, but his most significant contribution to the proceedings was out of the spotlight and virtually overlooked.

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[7] A good sense of the progressive atmosphere of early twentieth-century Winnipeg can be gleaned from reading a number of biographies; see Kenneth McNaught, *J. S. Woodsworth: A Prophet in Politics* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1959); May Hallett and Marilyn Davis, *Firing the Heather: The Life and Times of Nellie McClung* (Saskatoon: Fifth House Books, 1993); Ramsay Cook, "Francis Marion Beynon and the Crisis of Christian Reformism," *The West and the Nation: Essays in Honour of W. L. Morton*, ed. Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976) 187-208.

Prelude to the General Assembly

In the months leading up to the General Assembly, Gordon arranged for a visit by the American evangelist Wilbur J. Chapman to the proceedings. At the urging of Gordon and the Winnipeg Ministerial Association, Chapman and his team of revivalists had led a revival campaign in Winnipeg in the fall of 1907.[8] Gordon had first met Chapman in November 1906 at the Brotherhood Convention in Indianapolis. Despite very different theological outlooks between the conservative Chapman and more progressive Gordon, important points of convergence existed between these two men.[9] They were both concerned about the necessity of establishing special programs and institutions to attract men to the church. The "young man problem," as it was termed, was an issue that was close to Gordon's heart. In Connor novels, young hardened men of the frontier underwent conversion experiences suggesting that such displays of piety and emotion were not necessarily effeminate. The missionary heroes in Connor novels were tough, athletic and vigorous men. The muscular Christian themes that abounded in Connor novels were, in part, designed to attract young men to the church and its mission fields. Gordon knew that special clubs and numerous organizations, which fostered spiritual development and provided outlets for Christian service, existed for children, youth and women. By contrast, "the men who constitute the backbone of the Church and to whom finally we must come not only for financial but moral support are left entirely unorganized. There is no special provision made for their spiritual nurture except by the public services of the Lord's Day. There is hardly a place left for men in the Church to work." Men were treated shabbily in the Church, according to Gordon. "They hear a sermon, pay their money and go about their business and this, as far as the church is concerned, is the beginning and end of their Christian life." The Brotherhood movement, Gordon thought, offered mature men "a rallying centre where by means of Bible Study and mutual prayer" or by "conference on all sorts of subjects and by social gatherings" they could develop their spiritual character and their commitment to missionary activity and social service.[10]

Both Gordon and Chapman also believed in the importance of delivering the gospel in a manner that was direct, simple and unadorned by complex theology. The primary purpose of preaching the gospel was to stir people to lead Christian lives. One of the pre-eminent revival teams in the Chapman entourage was Virginia and William Asher. They told stories of conversions of "hardened, crime-stained, drink-sodden" men of lumber camps, mines and factories and evil saloon-keepers that were remarkably similar to the tales of conversion in Connor novels.[11] Chapman was also a "master of forceful, heart-searching statements of truth," which he accomplished through his "marvellous power of anecdotal illustration." "His stories," Gordon explained

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[8] Wilbur Chapman, letter to Charles W. Gordon, 13 Dec. 1906, Box 17, Fd. 1, CWG.

[9] For Chapman's beliefs, see Eric Crouse, *Revival in the City: The Impact of American Evangelists in Canada, 1884-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 2005) 106-119.

[10] "The Brotherhood," n.d., Box 10, Fd. 3, and "Report on Moral and Social Reform," n.d., Box 16, Fd. 14, CWG. St. Stephen's followed the model being developed in the United States and outlined at the Indianapolis convention. For Gordon's comments on the Presbyterian Brotherhood, see Charles W. Gordon, letter to Rev. S. J. McLean, 1 Oct. 1907, and *Moose Jaw Times*, 25 Oct. 1907.

[11] For the Asher team see Crouse 119.

approvingly, "strike deep into the heart and carry the truth with them" while being delivered with a "deep, manly tenderness."[12] Gordon was particularly attracted to Chapman's work at men only gatherings. They both understood that fostering a robust Christian manliness was necessary for developing Christian philanthropy and social service. Both Gordon and Chapman, therefore, were major forces "remasculinizing" Protestantism in the early twentieth century. They presented "men with a vigorous masculine ideal" of the Gospel, which challenged them to higher standards of morality, much like what was presented in Connor novels.[13]

Chapman's evangelical campaigns were based on the idea of holding several revival meetings throughout a city simultaneously. Each meeting was to be an exact replica of the others so that people throughout a city could have the same religious experience. For the purposes of these campaigns, each city was divided into different districts so that the revival meetings could be coordinated. According to the *Manitoba Free Press*, this amount of detailed organization and co-ordination for the city indicated that Chapman's simultaneous campaigns represented the modern approach to revivalism.[14] During the Winnipeg campaign, Gordon accompanied members of Chapman's team to the revival services.[15] In the final meeting held at Gordon's St. Stephen's Presbyterian Church, Chapman stressed that if everyone who had been called to Christ and was involved in the church stood up against vice and social evil then nothing could stand in the way of the moral reform of Winnipeg.[16] Weeks after the campaign, Gordon remained enthusiastic because St Stephen's had received an influx of one hundred and seventy-seven people seeking membership. In addition, Gordon boasted a list of another one hundred people who "had to be worked for [. . .] but probably would be won." The Chapman revival was a great blessing for St. Stephen's, Gordon reported to the elders of St. Stephen's, since the "whole church life had been greatly quickened, of which there is no greater proof than the remarkable increase in attendance."[17]

Gordon was particularly excited by the stronger ethic of service and sacrifice that developed in Winnipeg as a result of the campaign. The time seemed ripe for significant

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[12] Rev. C. W. Gordon, "Fruits of the Chapman Campaign in Winnipeg," *The Congregationalist and Christian World*, 18 Jan. 1908, Box 5, Fd. 4, CWG.

[13] Margaret Lamberts Bendroth, "Men, Masculinity, and Urban Revivalism: J. Wilbur Chapman's Boston Crusade, 1909," *Journal of Presbyterian History* 75 (1998): 235-46; Crouse 121; and Gail Bederman, "'The Women Have Had Charge of the Church Work Long Enough': The Men and Religion Forward Movement of 1911-1912 and the Masculinization of Middle-Class Protestantism," *American Quarterly* 41 (1989): 432-65.

[14] The *Manitoba Free Press* provided a detailed analysis of Chapman's "new" methods and the organization that they required, *Manitoba Free Press*, 16 Mar. 1907. The concept of the simultaneous revival meeting held in different spots throughout the city was Chapman's particular innovation. A feature length biographical article with many photographs appeared during the height of the Chapman campaign, *Manitoba Free Press*, 9 Nov. 1907.

[15] *Manitoba Free Press*, 4-8 Nov. 1907.

[16] *Manitoba Free Press*, 9 Nov. 1907.

[17] "Report on the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of St. Stephen's Church, 1907," 8-10, Box 10, Fd. 1, CWG; Charles W. Gordon, "Fruits of the Chapman Campaign in Winnipeg," *The Congregationalist and Christian World*, 18 Jan. 1908. On Chapman's simultaneous revivals throughout Canada, see Crouse 107-119.

moral and social reform. Evangelism was a powerful tool in the fight for moral and social reform, because it added significantly to the ranks of dedicated soldiers who were willing to make necessary sacrifices to bring about reform. For Gordon, the success of the revival was a timely indication of the vital ties between evangelism, moral reform and social service. But it also alerted him to an exciting new dynamic in the relationship between evangelism and social service. He realized that while evangelism increased the numbers of devout and dedicated Christians, social reform was a way to draw people, particularly men, into religion and the church. While men were uncomfortable with the public display or emotional outbursts of piety that often accompanied traditional evangelism with its emphasis on public confession of personal sinfulness, they could readily embrace a more practical piety that stressed Christian service.[18]

Months later, Gordon joined the Chapman campaign in Philadelphia as a member of the team.[19] At first, he had some difficulty in adjusting to the challenge of speaking as a revivalist, for it required skills and perhaps temperament different from those necessary for delivering the weekly sermon. At St. Stephen's, Gordon delivered his sermons with a kind of quiet and earnest conviction that moved many of his hearers, sometime to tears.[20] His manner was soft-spoken, but he spoke with clarity and force. His piercing grey eyes struck many sitting in the church pews with a sense of his deep faith. One of his chums from Knox College described him during a church service as "tall slender and well set-up, with a pale intellectual face. His voice, as he speaks, is soft and clear. He reads with expression and his prayers are reverent and intimate [. . .]. He thinks clearly, and as might be expected, expresses himself in chaste and elegant language."[21] His initial efforts in Philadelphia were overly prepared and polished. But soon he developed a more informal revival style in which he delivered the gospel in a fashion similar to the missionary heroes in his Connor novels.[22] Of course, many came to hear Gordon because of his celebrity but as he became more comfortable with his new revivalist persona, audiences flocked to the meetings to hear the stirring new revivalist. According to one reporter, Dr. Gordon was proving to be a successful evangelist. "He believes [. . .] in the work of conversion and calls upon those who accept Christ to come out boldly before the audience and publicly profess their faith." So enthusiastic was Gordon about his results and the value of revivals that he told a group of Philadelphia ministers that he "would rather preach the gospel than to write the greatest book ever written. I would rather win souls to Christ than to make $10,000 a month." In the excitement of the moment, Gordon

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[18] Charles W. Gordon, letter to Rev. A. Macmillan, 27 July 1909, Box 7, Fd. 7, CWG; Charles W. Gordon, letter to the Presbytery of Minnedosa, 2 Dec. 1908, Box 18, Fd. 2, CWG.

[19] On the negotiations leading up to this arrangements, see Wilbur Chapman, letter to Charles W. Gordon, 5 Feb. 1908, Box 7, Fd. 1, CWG; Wilbur Chapman, letter to "the members of the Session and also the members of the Church of which my beloved friend, Dr. C. W. Gordon is pastor," 27 Apr. 1908, Box 7, Fd. 1, CWG.

[20] Dave, letter to my dear wife, 23 Apr. 1905, MG 14, C58, Charles W. Gordon papers, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

[21] This description of Gordon the preacher by Robert Haddow is found in a scrapbook of press clippings Box 50, Fd. 1, CWG.

[22] This account is based on Helen Alexander and J. Kennedy Maclean, *Charles M. Alexander: A Romance of Song and Soul-Winning* (London: Marshall Brothers, 1920) 140. Charles Alexander was the leader of the song services in the Chapman revival meetings.

proclaimed: "I believe in sudden and instant conversion." Perhaps enthusiastic about his new found power as an evangelist, he seemed to abandon his beliefs in reform momentarily when he announced that he was going to quit the "reform method and henceforth strive to convert men."[23] In vacillating between a traditional emphasis on personal salvation and individual responsibility and a more modern or progressive emphasis on social reform and collective action, Gordon was typical of his generation of clergy who were torn between the evangelical certainties of their Victorian forefathers and the exciting new prospects of social salvation and building a Christian social order.

This enthusiasm for converting souls soon cooled when he left the exciting atmosphere of the Philadelphia campaign. One thing, however, made a particularly lasting impression. While leading revival services in Philadelphia, he noted that "formerly the churches were only for women, and now we find men lining all the walls and filling our churches."[24] When Gordon returned to Winnipeg in late April 1908, he immediately began to work on the idea of a Chapman style revival for those regions of the Canadian west that were in need of special evangelistic work. As it was, in his work with the Committee on Evangelism and Social Reform, Shearer was directing the Presbyterian Church in a similar direction. Like Gordon, he was convinced that the time was ripe for evangelism in the church.[25] Chapman's highly organized simultaneous evangelical campaigns would be particularly suitable to those areas of the Canadian frontier in which the Presbyterian church and other Protestant denominations had difficulty in providing sufficient men for pastoral and mission work or to lead regular worship services. Furthermore, a revival in frontier areas that were largely populated by single transient men, who were easily tempted by the bottle and brothel, might bring about numerous conversions, uplift the moral conditions and bring about social reform. In essence, Gordon was hoping to adapt Chapman's simultaneous revival techniques to the Canadian frontier, where there were many small centres—mining towns, railway centres, lumbering camps, mill towns—in which struggling churches found it difficult to establish a dominant position in the community. He was hoping that the Presbyterian Church would help to sponsor a Chapman campaign on Canadian soil and to this end he invited Chapman to the General Assembly being held in Winnipeg.

First Days of the Assembly, 3-5 June

The Reverend Robert Campbell opened the General Assembly in Knox Presbyterian Church on the evening of June 3rd. As was customary he called for nominations to elect his successor as Moderator. To loud cheers from the assembly, George Bryce of Winnipeg nominated the Reverend Robert DuVal, a well regarded Winnipeg clergyman who had been minister at Knox Church for twenty years.[26] DuVal was well-known as a crusading reformer battling against the trinity of moral vices: liquor

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[23] George T. B. Davis, "Revival Arouses Rich and Poor—All classes Accept Christ in Chapman-Alexander Meeting in Philadelphia—'Ralph Connor' as an Evangelist," *The Golden Age*, 16 Apr. 1908, Box 53, Fd. 4, CWG.

[24] Davis "Revival."

[25] Presbyterian Church Committee on Evangelism, n.d., Box 16, Fd. 3, CWG.

[26] On the first evening of Assembly activities, see *Manitoba Free Press*, 4 June 1908

consumption, gambling and prostitution.[27] For Bryce, and other Manitobans, nominating DuVal was a way to flex some of Winnipeg's new power and influence in the church. Winnipeg had emerged quickly as one of the major centres of Presbyterianism, not just in western Canada but also the nation. When the General Assembly had last met in Winnipeg in 1897, Toronto, Halifax and Montreal all had more churches and a significantly higher membership. By 1908, Winnipeg had catapulted into the second most influential centre in the church. The Presbytery of Winnipeg was second only to that of Toronto in terms of church membership and it boasted as many churches as Montreal, with fifteen.[28] With respect to monies contributed to the various committees and programs of the church, Winnipeg now rivalled Montreal. No longer could the Presbyterian Church in Winnipeg be considered merely "an outpost of Free Church expansionism of Toronto."[29] Arguably it was the second most important and vibrant center of Presbyterian activity in the country. *The Globe* considered the growth and extension of the Presbyterian Church in Winnipeg to be more remarkable than the spectacular growth of the city itself. In strident tones it suggested that the strong foundations laid by James Robertson and his "enthusiastic associates" such as Charles Gordon, were broad and deep and were now supporting the mighty structure of Presbyterianism in Winnipeg and throughout the west.[30] Indeed, Winnipeg was a metropolitan centre in its own right, its leading Presbyterians were fierce promoters and defenders of the city and the west, and they had a keen sense of the particular interests and needs of the Presbyterian Church in western Canada. DuVal was one of the many Winnipeg clergy who was instrumental in the church union movement, serving on the Joint Committee on Church Union.

On the first afternoon of business, June 4th, the Assembly received the greetings from the mayor of Winnipeg, J. H. Ashdown, and a delegation from the Methodist Church of Canada. In their remarks both stressed their optimism about church union. Mayor Ashdown emphasized that the city was particularly pleased to host the General Assembly because the Presbyterian church and Winnipeg shared many similar objectives and values. Both the city and the church were integral "to solve the problem of welding the whole mass of the present inhabitants into an Anglo-Saxon civilization." "There must be in this country," Ashdown told the assembly, "no other than Anglo-Saxon civilization. Strangers are welcome as settlers, but when they come they must intend to become Canadians." Echoing many of the clergy from Winnipeg, Ashdown noted church union was an important step in the Protestant church's ability to shape Canadian society into an Anglo-Christian civilization.[31] Not surprisingly, the Methodist delegation stressed its

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[27] On DuVal, see Melanie Methot, "Reverend Frederic DuVal: Winnipeg's Fearless Foe of Social Vices," *Manitoba History* 44 (Autumn/Winter 2002-2003). Also see the portrait in "Opening of General Assembly," *The Globe* [Toronto] 4 June 1908: 2. Previous Winnipeg based clergy who became Moderator included James Robertson and George Bryce.

[28] This analysis of the emergence of Winnipeg as a metropolitan centre of Presbyterianism is based on Brian Fraser, *The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier UP, 1988) 57-9 and Tables 2-4.

[29] Fraser, *Social Uplifters* 65.

[30] "General Assembly Opens" 1.

[31] *Manitoba Free Press*, 5 June 1908.

desire that the negotiations for church union would come to a successful outcome. After these remarks, Charles Gordon immediately responded with a motion that reflected the determination of the Winnipeg clergy in their desire for church union. He called the church to support the "tendency to emphasize those points in doctrine and in polity, in which there is substantial agreement, and to join in those activities in which there is a complete harmony of purpose and aim [. . .]."[32] The motion passed unanimously. Gordon and his Winnipeg colleagues had successfully set a progressive reformist tone for the Assembly. Like their city, they hoped that the church would look to the future and not dwell on the traditions of the past.

During the early stages of the Assembly, Gordon concentrated on organizing a banquet for Chapman, as the keynote speaker at the event. On the second day of the proceedings, Friday afternoon, Chapman spoke about the success of the simultaneous evangelical campaign in Winnipeg and the necessity for churches to utilize professional evangelicals if they were to remain vibrant. He suggested that the Gospel could solve all the modern problems of city life. "It was only necessary to intensify the preaching," he argued. To persuade the sceptics in the audience who were reluctant to embrace a style of preaching that was associated with being overly emotional and a form of worship service that employed questionable tactics to win souls for Christ, Chapman recommended that the Church train its own evangelists and use them on the frontier, in rural districts and in the city. He suggested that the type of evangelism he was advocating was best termed as pastoral evangelism, for it relied on the character, prayer life and pulpit style of local preachers.[33] After these remarks, members of the Assembly agreed that the modern tools of research, scholarship and criticism that churches now relied upon were not satisfactory for the spiritual health of the church. Emphasis on biblical criticism and social activism had to be combined with "the most fervent Christian evangelism." It was agreed that planned revivals, such as those led by Chapman, as opposed to spasmodic evangelism were necessary. As a result of this positive reception of Chapman's presentation, a Special Committee on Evangelism was struck with Charles W. Gordon as chair. This committee was charged with conferring with Chapman immediately to learn how The Presbyterian Church in Canada could organize a simultaneous revival campaign. In particular, the modern business methods employed by the Chapman revivals, such as scheduling and advertising, needed to be understood. So far, Charles Gordon was having a very successful General Assembly. His reform minded colleague Reverend DuVal was named Moderator, his commitment to church union seemed to be widely approved of, and his determination to introduce Chapman's simultaneous revival campaigns into the Presbyterian Church on a more formal basis was endorsed.

Interlude: The Weekend

Over the weekend the General Assembly departed from its rigorous schedule of committee reports and debates. On Saturday a trip to the historic church of Kildonan, the pioneering Presbyterian church in the North West regarded as the "cathedral church of

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[32] *Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1908): 22.

[33] *Manitoba Free Press*, 6 June 1908; and "Dr. Chapman's Address," *The Globe* [Toronto] 6 June 1908: 8.

the communion in western Canada,"[34] was arranged. Despite this lofty designation, the Kildonan church was a modest wooden structure and it could not accommodate the over five hundred people that arrived in the historic village. Many people stood outside trying to peer in through the windows in order to participate in the service. The highlight of the service was Rev. Dr. Bryce's account of the early settlement of Manitoba and history of Presbyterianism in the west, with special reference to the exploits of the early missionaries. Many lingered in the churchyard after the service to pay their respects to the pioneers of the Presbyterian Church in Manitoba, whose resting places were located there. Among the graves were those for John Black, the first minister, John Nesbitt, one of the pioneering missionaries,[35] James Robertson, the "great superintendent," and John Mark King, one of the founders and Principal of Manitoba College. On Sunday, many of the Presbyterian ministers attending the General Assembly occupied pulpits throughout the city. The people of Winnipeg were treated to the elite of Canadian Presbyterian preachers, including George Pidgeon and J. G. Shearer, as well as Clarence Mackinnon, T. B. Kilpatrick, and Alfred Gandier, all of whom had previously served in Winnipeg. Many theology professors from the colleges across Canada also preached in Winnipeg's churches. This impressive array of Presbyterian divines was not confined to preaching in Presbyterian churches. The congregations of local Methodist, Congregational and Baptist churches also heard the best Presbyterian ministers from across the country expound the scriptures. According to the *Manitoba Free Press* the visiting ministers led worship services "notable for the profundity of thought and for the inspiring exhortation."[36]

Charles Gordon and the Committee on Moral and Social Reform

When the sessions resumed on Monday morning, every seat in Knox Church including those in the gallery was filled and the choir loft was opened to accommodate the overflowing crowd. There was great anticipation concerning the reports on church union and the status of Queen's University. But by Tuesday morning, these momentous issues were overshadowed by controversy swirling around the Report of the Committee on Moral and Social Reform. Early in the report, the Reverend George Pidgeon lauded the work of the missionaries who were stationed in the home mission field of the Yukon Territory. In particular, he mentioned the Reverend John Pringle, who had received notoriety for his crusade against Government officials who were ignoring the restrictions imposed on gambling dens, the sale of liquor in dancehalls and prostitution. He had been elected to the Territorial Council and consequently became a thorn in the side of the Laurier Administration which was responsible for administering the Yukon.[37] After

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[34] *Manitoba Free Press*, 8 June 1908.

[35] See James Marnoch, *Western Witness: the Presbyterians in the Area of the Synod of Manitoba, 1700-1885* (Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer, 1994).

[36] *Manitoba Free Press*, 8 June 1908.

[37] Morris Zaslow, *The Opening of the Canadian North, 1870-1914* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1971) 137. The traditional interpretation of moral legislation in the Klondike holds that it was imposed on this Gold Rush frontier by external Canadian forces, such as the churches and the RCMP. But more recently, Charlene Porsild has shown that Yukon society had a complex social structure with a powerful middle class that was also interested in creating a respectable society throughout the Yukon. See

Pidgeon's remarks, Pringle addressed the Assembly and immediately raised a matter that was causing a real stir at the General Assembly. That morning the *Winnipeg Telegram,* an independent minded newspaper that consistently took positions opposite to the *Manitoba Free Press*' clear Liberal sympathies, had charged Charles Gordon and J. G. Shearer with attempting to muzzle Pringle from speaking to the Assembly. According to the *Telegram*, Pringle intended to reveal explosive information about the administration of the Yukon Territory, but Gordon had put considerable pressure on Pringle to prevent him from doing so. The *Telegram* admitted that Pringle's accusations would be very damaging to Liberal fortunes in the Yukon and reform circles throughout the country. It was well known, the newspaper pointed out, that Gordon was sympathetic to the Liberal party and was seriously considering running for office in Manitoba under the Liberal banner. Gordon wanted to protect Liberal interest at all costs.

By this time, Gordon's growing commitment to moral and social reform had got him embroiled in partisan acrimony and the subject of highly charged newspaper rhetoric. When Manitoba's Conservative Roblin Administration had failed to act on recommendations made to it by a delegation of Presbyterian ministers and laypersons led by Gordon regarding the regulation of the liquor trade, Gordon became particularly outspoken from his St. Stephen's pulpit.[38] He charged the Roblin Administration with dishonouring its commitment and suggested that the Roblin could not be trusted when it came to matters of the liquor trade. This outburst from the pulpit provoked a furious rebuke from Conservative sympathisers who were becoming Gordon's committed political opponents. His zeal about temperance had caught him in the firestorm of partisan politics. He was charged with being a "Grit healer [. . .] who is willing to prostitute his position to make cowardly and dishonest statements in the pulpit [. . .]." He was, the *Winnipeg Telegram* charged, "a disgrace to the ministry."[39] While the Roblin Government frustrated attempts at reform, the Liberal Party of T. C. Norris was increasingly sympathetic to the cause of reform and Gordon became identified with the opposition Liberal Party of Manitoba.

In his remarks to Assembly, Pringle dismissed the *Telegram's* accusations. He said that Gordon and Shearer had encouraged him to make his report and did not attempt to dissuade him from reporting on conditions in the Yukon. "Ever since I came to this Assembly," he announced, Dr. Gordon and Dr. Shearer "have trod at my heels, insisting that I should speak on the subject. They have opened the door for me and done everything possible not to stifle discussion [. . .] and have given me every opportunity to say just whatever I can." To a loud round of applause, Pringle denounced the statements in the *Telegram* editorial as being "despicable and unworthy of a public journal."[40] He then explained to the Assembly that he was most gratified by the support he had received

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Charlene Porsild, *Gamblers and Dreamers: Women, Men and Community in the Klondike* (Vancouver: U of British Columbia P, 1998).

[38] For details about this misunderstanding and the resulting controversy, see *Manitoba Free Press*, 11 May 1906 and 6 Mar. 1907.

[39] *Winnipeg Telegram*, 5 Mar. 1907; *Manitoba Free Press*, 28 Mar. 1907; and Charles W. Gordon, letter, *Winnipeg Telegram*, 5 Mar. 1907, Box 4, Fd. 2, CWG.

[40] Unfortunately the Winnipeg *Telegram* is not extant. This account is largely based on *Manitoba Free Press*, 10 June 1908.

from Gordon and Shearer for usually he encountered all manner of resistance and opposition in his efforts to publicize conditions in the Yukon. Years later Gordon explained that indeed there was some opposition to Pringle speaking at Assembly on the grounds that it was "highly improper and unwise to discuss political issues on the floor of the Assembly." But despite this opposition, Gordon recalled, "I insisted that public morality demanded that the matter should be discussed upon the floor of the Assembly."[41] Like Pringle, Gordon expected public officials to play an active role in eradicating the social bases of immorality in society, and when they failed to do so he thought it appropriate to expose them by protesting against social evil.

It was obvious to those at Assembly that Pringle's report was dynamite. He claimed that the Yukon was over run with prostitution and gambling because dishonest government officials were overlooking clear breaches of the law. During this exposé, Pringle read excerpts of the correspondence between himself and members of the Laurier Administration giving his report an air of authenticity. It was a clear repudiation of the Laurier Administration in the North.[42] Immediately following Pringle's report, Shearer read a letter from Prime Minister Laurier to the General Assembly, protesting against Pringle's charges and calling attention to the recent appointment of a new commissioner, a Presbyterian, who was determined that "every infraction of the law regarding immorality and the suppression of vice, including infractions of the liquor ordinance, be prosecuted with the utmost vigor."[43] In an attempt to mediate this situation, Shearer admitted that it must be difficult to administer the law on the frontier. He deflected attention away from the Yukon by suggesting that moral conditions were equally reprehensible in many Canadian cities. Right here in Winnipeg, he pointed out, virtually "under the eaves of the provincial legislature and a stone's throw of the YMCA and many local churches," there were ninety bar rooms operating contrary to the liquor laws and a notorious "red-light" district was allowed to thrive.[44] Pringle's stirring report was a perfect way to call attention to the challenges before the Committee on Moral and Social Reform. For Shearer, however, it was most important that the church's reform efforts not become embroiled in partisanship. When he closed the debate he cautioned that social and moral issues had to remain separate from political issues. Should the reform cause become embroiled in partisanship, then its credibility would automatically be undermined.[45]

In the meantime, Pidgeon and Shearer had written to the editor of the *Winnipeg Telegram* that Tuesday morning explaining that the paper had misunderstood the situation and was wrong about Gordon and his intentions. The following morning, Wednesday June 10th, the Assembly took further action to defend Gordon's integrity and honour. The *Telegram* had failed to acknowledge the correction submitted by Shearer and

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[41] C. W. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure: The Autobiography of Ralph Connor* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1938) 169.

[42] Zaslow 137.

[43] "The Premier to Dr. Shearer," *The Globe* [Toronto] 10 June 1908: 4.

[44] See Rhonda Hinther, "The Oldest Profession in Winnipeg: The Culture of Prostitution in the Point Douglas District, 1909-1912," *Manitoba History* 41 (Summer 2001): 2-13. See also Alan Artibise's *Winnipeg*, and James Gray, *Red Lights on the Prairies* (Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1995).

[45] "Dr. Pringle on the Yukon," *The Globe* [Toronto] 10 June 1908: 4.

Pidgeon, and worse, it had repeated its accusation against Gordon. Judge Forbes, an elder from Saint John, New Brunswick, moved that the Assembly resolve to place "on record its emphatic disapproval of such treatment of one of its most honoured members, in whose integrity and single-minded devotion to the cause of righteousness it has implicit confidence."[46] What members of the Assembly found particularly galling about the *Telegram*'s "unprincipled attack" was that it was repeated in spite of the letter of correction. The resolution was adopted unanimously.

This support for Gordon did not end the matter. The more general issue of how news of the Assembly was being leaked to the daily press had to be considered. The Reverend Knox Wright of Vancouver suggested that the dignity of the Assembly was being compromised, since newspapers had received, and at times published, material from committee reports before they had been presented and debated by the General Assembly. Some protocol with respect to when material was published ought to be established and respected, he argued. Moderator DuVal, on the other hand, thought that once documents were distributed it would be impossible to prevent them from falling into the hands of the eager press. In his view the church should be grateful that its activities were the subject of so much interest. George Bryce explained that representatives from Winnipeg's three newspapers had asked for copies of the Committee on Moral and Social Reform's report so that they could keep pace with the Assembly's proceedings. This was done, Bryce assured the Assembly, but with the clear understanding that nothing would be published until the report had been discussed before the Assembly. Clearly this agreement had been broken. With this explanation and assurances from the editor of the *Telegram* that an investigation was underway, the matter was allowed to drop.[47] With respect to the conditions in the Yukon that sparked the controversy, the General Assembly adopted a resolution endorsing Pringle's "fearless denunciation of vice and fight for righteous government."[48]

Throughout this uproar, Charles Gordon remained unusually silent. Only after the assembly had dealt with the Committee on Moral and Social Reform's motions regarding the prohibition of the sale of alcohol and banning the bar, did Gordon explain himself. After some preliminary remarks extolling Pringle's character and his work in the Yukon, he addressed the central matter regarding his behaviour and future in the ministry. Was his commitment to moral reform and frustration at politicians' failure to legislate against vice driving him into the political arena? As the *Manitoba Free Press* reported, "some were afraid that Dr. Gordon was going into politics. His political faith was righteousness, truth and honor. He believed the time was coming when all Christian churches must turn their attention far more to discovering why it is men go wrong than going after them to bring them back." In the end, Gordon did not directly address the speculation about his entering politics as a Liberal. Instead he outlined his conviction that the future of the church "was in the educational line, studying the problems in connection with sociology, something about causes of poverty, causes of crime, the differences between the rich and

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[46] *Acts and Proceedings (1908)*: 56; *Manitoba Free Press*, 11 June 1908.

[47] *Manitoba Free Press*, 11 June 1908.

[48] *Acts and Proceedings (1908)*: 65; "Assembly Endorsed Dr. Pringle of Yukon: Expressed Admiration For His Fight For Purity in the Yukon," *Toronto Daily Star*, 12 June 1908: 7.

the poor."[49] Such emphasis on the Social Gospel and activity in the public sphere could not help but embroil the church and its clergy in the political arena. Gordon was increasingly aware that he had to walk a fine line. His fierce commitment to social reform and clear sense of morality thrust him into politics. He felt a moral obligation to support those parties and politicians that tried to advance the cause of reform and oppose those that stood in the way. Gordon did not announce that politics rested in his future. If anything his brush with the often turbulent passions of partisanship made him more cautious. But Gordon could not entirely abandon the political arena, for he firmly believed that only the Church, through its newly acquired scientific and sociological knowledge, could bring the spirit of Christ to bear upon contemporary social problems and inspire social reform.

Fortunately, this controversy over Gordon's character did not impede or undermine his quest to gain the Presbyterian Church's endorsement of a Chapman-led revival campaign. Near the end of the proceedings, the Assembly consented to invite Chapman to lead three simultaneous campaigns in Canada, one in the east, one in central Canada and one in the west.[50] Gordon therefore achieved his major objective. Other events at the Assembly also pleased him, especially the arrangements to move forward with church union. But the public controversy about his character and motives was a trying experience for him. Shortly after the Assembly, Gordon departed from Winnipeg to spend the summer at his newly acquired vacation property on the Lake of the Woods. He had purchased an island not far from Kenora in 1907. A summer cottage or cabin had not yet been constructed but he was looking forward to a summer of camping with his family. No doubt it was a much-needed rest from the gruelling pace of church work, pastoral duties, evangelical activity and writing that characterized Gordon's professional life. His brush with political controversy had made rest even more imperative.

The Aftermath

In the fall of 1908, when Gordon returned to his pastoral and preaching duties at St. Stephen's, the *Manitoba Free Press* reported that he was in "much improved general health."[51] Very quickly the responsibilities of the Church began to consume his time. One of the first duties that awaited him was that of Convenor of the Committee on Evangelism. Arrangements had to be made for the simultaneous revival services endorsed at the General Assembly. He was particularly keen to organize a campaign in the Kootenay district.[52] Correspondence from ministers and missionaries of the Kootenay region alerted him to the fact that religious conditions had not changed much from the early 1890s when he was a minister in the nearby Banff-Canmore region. Religious indifference prevailed. The Lord's Day was disregarded as an opportunity for worship and instead it was used for recreation, sport and illicit gambling. The liquor trade was by far the greatest hindrance to religion, family life and civilized society. According to one

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[49] *Manitoba Free Press*, 12 June 1908.

[50] "Report on Evangelism," *Acts and Proceedings (1908)*: 62.

[51] *Manitoba Free Press*, 14 Sept. 1908.

[52] *Minutes*, General Assembly Committee on Evangelism, Western Section, 3 Nov. 1908, Box 16, Fd. 3, CWG.

report received by the committee "the drinking is simply appalling." Another indicated: "beer drinking is excessive. A club has a bar-room, which is constantly occupied, and on Sunday, especially immediately after pay-day, the drunkenness is terrible." Similarly, brothels were "segregated and officially tolerated and so institutionalized in the community life, with all its deadening and demoralizing influence on moral, social, and religious conditions." A major challenge in the Kootenay region, as elsewhere, was that Government did not enforce the existing laws energetically, allowing abuses of the system and other evils to run rampant. Another threat to the cause of Christianity had only recently emerged. In the mining camps, in particular, "socialism of the anti-religious and fanatical type," had taken hold of many men and created a rebellious attitude and a distinct barrier between the men and the Church.[53]

Although Gordon was deeply committed to this campaign and was most instrumental in its planning, he became disenchanted when misunderstandings developed with the Chapman organization. Gordon was particularly anxious that Chapman and the Asher team participate for he knew that they would be particularly effective with the lumbermen, miners and railway men of the region. In the end, neither the Ashers nor Chapman could make the necessary arrangements to participate. Gordon's response indicated his profound disillusionment and some real anger. He accused the Chapman organization of not being dedicated to the Kootenay region and as a result dumping second-rate evangelists there.[54]

But there were other reasons for Gordon's disengagement from the campaign. His own obligations prevented him from further involvement. He became embroiled in activities that tied him more closely to progressive reform circles and identified him even more clearly with Liberal politics. His reputation as a reformer was sufficiently strong that he had caught the eye of fellow Presbyterian and leading reformer in the Laurier Administration, the Deputy Minister of Labour William Lyon Mackenzie King, who had spoken before the Board of Moral and Social Reform in 1908. King called upon the Presbyterian Church to provide recommendations to Government, specifically with respect to labour questions. While in Winnipeg in May 1908, King had "an interesting half hour talk with Ralph Connor on political, social and industrial conditions in the country."[55] Progressive reform minded politicians like Mackenzie King, and social gospel clergyman like Charles Gordon, relied upon each other for support and legitimacy. Gordon encouraged the church to develop policies on labour questions such as sweatshops, child labour, union recognition, and conditions in the camps where

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[53] See T. B. Kilpatrick and J. G. Shearer, "The Kootenay Campaign of Evangelism and Moral Reform, April and May 1909" (Presbyterian Church in Canada, General Assembly Committee on Evangelism, 1910) 14. Many of the reports on conditions in the Kootenay district flowed into C. W. Gordon's office.

[54] For the falling out between the Chapman-Alexander organization and C. W. Gordon and J. G. Shearer, see the correspondence in Box 17, Fd. 1, CWG, especially the numerous letters and telegrams sent between 20 Feb. 1909 and 6 Mar. 1909.

[55] William Lyon Mackenzie King, diary entry, 19 May 1908, "The Diaries of William Lyon Mackenzie King," 4 Dec. 2007, Library and Archives Canada, 20 June 2009 <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/king/001059-119.02-e.php?&page_id_nbr=4504&interval=20&&PHPSESSID=j7fgac0hfnfa858on405bnig86>.

lumbermen, miners and railway navvies worked and lived.[56] King thought the Christian ministry had an important role in reform and should be active in assisting the state in its efforts to ameliorate social conditions and develop effective legislation. He asked Gordon to act as a conciliator, under the terms of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act (1907), for a labour dispute between the Manitoba Cartage Company and the local Teamsters Union in Winnipeg.[57] The Industrial Disputes Investigation Act was a product of King's reform idealism and it reflected many of the same basic principles of the Christian social gospel that Gordon held. Both King and Gordon thought there was a concert of interests between capital and labour, and that in any labour dispute investigation of the underlying facts of the dispute would clear the air so that both sides could see the justice and legitimacy of each other's position and reach mutual understanding. A Christian sense of brotherhood and justice would ensure industrial peace.[58]

In the case of the Manitoba Cartage Company and the Teamsters' Union, the strike was caused by the dismissal of men who were union organizing at the workplace. After four days of hearings, Gordon and the Board of Conciliation concluded that there was not a fundamental or underlying cause of the dispute. The trouble had arisen because of misunderstandings and mistaken tactics.[59] More generally, Gordon insisted on recognition of unions, but he thought limits or boundaries must exist so that the Company's rights were respected. In an effort to bring about a full reconciliation between the Company and the men, Gordon attempted to negotiate further with a view to an arrangement that allowed the laid-off men or union organizers to return to work. The Manitoba Cartage Company refused, asserting its right to manage its business "free from outside dictation or interference."[60] Clearly, despite Gordon's confident view, the underlying issue in the dispute, union recognition, was not resolved. Nevertheless, Gordon remained optimistic. His report to Deputy Minister F. A. Acland was glowing with enthusiasm about the virtues of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act. "I am convinced," he wrote, sounding much like a cheerleader for the federal Liberal Administration and its reform legislation, "we have achieved a real success in the interests of conciliation, and have added another laurel to the Act."[61] In aligning himself

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[56] "Minutes of the Board of Moral and Social Reform," 9 Apr. 1908, Box 16, Fd. 1, and "The Attitude of the Church to Labour and Industry", n.d., Box 17, Fd. 7, CWG.

[57] For background on the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, see Paul Craven, *An Impartial Umpire: Industrial Relations and the Canadian State, 1900-1911* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1980) and Judy Fudge and Eric Tucker, *Labour Before the Law: The Regulation of Workers' Collective Action in Canada, 1900-1948* (Toronto: Oxford UP, 2001).

[58] On the religious inspiration for King's views on labour-capital relations, see Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian Canada* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1985) 207-211. On the close proximity between King's thought and that of progressive Presbyterians such as Gordon and Shearer see Fraser, *Social Uplifters* 134-136.

[59] "Statement re Differences between the Manitoba Cartage Company and Employees, March 15, 1909," Box 12, Fd. 3, CWG. This report appeared on Gordon's official St. Stephen's stationery suggesting that as the Chairman he was the principal author. It was sent to the Department of Labour on 27 March, Charles W. Gordon, letter to F. A. Acland, Deputy Minister of Labour, 27 Mar. 1909, Box 12, Fd. 7, CWG.

[60] Joseph Lemon, letter to Charles W. Gordon, 8 Mar. 1909, Box 12, Fd. 7, CWG.

[61] Charles W. Gordon, letter to F. A. Acland, Deputy Minister of Labour, 27 Mar. 1909, Box 12, Fd. 3, CWG.

so strongly with King's labour legislation, Gordon was identified with the Act and the principles that informed it. Others understood that the lack of compulsion in King's legislation seriously undermined its ability to bring about reform and just settlements.[62]

Nevertheless, Gordon's work for the federal Liberal Government in these labour negotiations kept him away from direct involvement in the Kootenay campaign.[63] That people were wondering about Gordon's future is hardly surprising, for he allowed his commitment to reform and, perhaps, his growing admiration for the Laurier Administration and especially the work of his fellow Presbyterian, Mackenzie King, to take him away from the revival campaign that had engaged so much of his time and energy.[64] Weeks after the Kootenay Campaign, speculation mounted about whether Gordon would remain in Winnipeg. Rumours persisted that he was going to accept a call from a wealthy and influential congregation in the United States or enter politics. In the end, the *Manitoba Free Press* reminded readers of Gordon's passionate commitment to the Presbyterian Church and the North West and wondered if it were possible for Gordon to leave since so much of his work was wrapped up in that ministry.[65]

Conclusion

As events during and surrounding the 1908 General Assembly indicated, this was a difficult and trying period for Gordon while at the same time being an extremely fulfilling one. Perhaps more than most, Gordon's celebrity made him particularly vulnerable. In retrospect, Gordon could look upon his brush with political controversy and the abuse hurled at him by the *Winnipeg Telegram* with a mix of humour and bitterness. In his memoir, *Postscript to Adventure*, he wrote that the *Telegram* was "a particularly venomous and unscrupulous news sheet, the mouthpiece of the [Roblin Conservative] government, whose editor had made it his special *métier* to empty the inkspots of his office over my person."[66] In a dramatic and painful fashion, he faced one of the chief dilemmas of the modern ministry. It was no longer sufficient to be a "different kind of gentleman," primarily responsible for people's spiritual welfare and somehow separated from society by this special calling. The gospel for the times, the Social Gospel, compelled the clergy to address contemporary moral and social conditions, become involved in social reform and often engage in the political arena. But in doing so, as Gordon experienced during the Assembly, they were in peril of sacrificing some of their moral and cultural authority. Their role as pastor to all the flock was in danger of being undermined, if they became strongly associated with any one political faction or cause. Based on their position on social issues they could develop controversial friends and powerful enemies. Gordon's relentless quest to end the liquor trade and clean

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[62] F. A. Acland, letter to Charles W. Gordon, 27 Apr. 1909, Box 12, Fd. 3, CWG.

[63] For a scholarly assessment of the campaign, see Norman Knowles, "Christ in the Crowsnest: Religion and the Anglo-Protestant Working Class in the Crowsnest Pass, 1898-1918," *Nation, Ideas, Identities: Essays in Honour of Ramsay Cook*, ed. Michael D. Behiels and Marcel Martel, (Toronto: Oxford UP, 2000) 63-67.

[64] Kilpatrick and Shearer 30-31.

[65] See *Manitoba Free Press*, 14-17 June 1909.

[66] Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure* 164.

up corruption in government endeared him to many as a righteous and crusading clergyman, but for others these very qualities made him a dangerous foe and an intolerant force in society. In using their moral and cultural authority as clergy, progressives such as Gordon risked undermining that authority.

While Mackenzie King was convinced that politics and the Christian ministry were essentially interchangeable callings, Gordon's experience at the 1908 General Assembly suggested something far more complex and fraught with difficulty. Political activity could compromise Christian social service. For the passionate Gordon, controversies such as what he had faced at the Assembly may have had a sobering influence over the longer term. Years later when his son King Gordon was seriously contemplating joining the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, Gordon's advice was stern and blunt in an effort to dissuade his son from entering politics. The only institution capable of building a Christian social order, in his view, was the church and not political parties.[67]

[67] See David Marshall, "I Thank God … That I Am Proud of My Boy: Fatherhood and Religion in the Gordon Family," *Figuring the Social: Essays in Honour of Michael Bliss*, ed. E. A. Heaman, Alison Li and Shelly McKellar (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2008) 199-200.

The 1908 Winnipeg General Assembly: The Call to Make Canada Christian

A. Donald MacLeod

Somewhere, in the first decade of the twentieth century, The Presbyterian Church in Canada changed course. Six key leaders that had shaped the first quarter century after the union of 1875 were gone in short order; four leading academics still leading their institutions: George Bryce of Manitoba College in 1899, Donald MacVicar of Presbyterian College in 1902, George Grant of Queen's the same year, and William Caven of Knox College in 1904. R. H. Warden, general agent of The Presbyterian Church in Canada, who briefly succeeded Caven as chair of the Church Union committee, died shortly after. And, arguably the greatest of them all, Superintendent of Western Missions James Robertson, had died suddenly while at his desk in January 1902.

Without an obvious succession, the future of the denomination was up for grabs. New voices were being heard, from imported leaders, or those who had taken their training outside the country. And, in spite of numerical strength, new imposing edifices, and theological colleges full of eager young recruits, each made possible by an inheritance from the past, there were seismic changes taking place in The Presbyterian Church in Canada in theology, mission and ministry. By focussing on the General Assembly of 1908, in my case highlighting the moderator Frederic DuVal, and in David Marshall's Charles Gordon, both Winnipeg clergy, a new understanding of church union and indeed the broader development of Protestantism in twentieth-century Canada may emerge. And, one hundred years later, with a greatly reduced standing in a post-Christendom age, how the church responds to societal and theological change.

On the evening of Wednesday, 3 June 1908, the thirty-fourth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada was convened in Knox Church, Winnipeg. It was the third General Assembly to meet in what was described as "the gateway of the Golden West." On the first occasion, in 1887, Jonathan Goforth and Fraser Smith, from Knox and Queen's respectively, were appointed to be the first missionaries of the Canadian church to China. Ten years later, in 1897, the Assembly returned to Winnipeg, with home missions sharing the honours, with guests Rev. David George McQueen of Edmonton and Rev. Charles McKillop of Lethbridge, alongside John Buchanan and Norman Russell of India and Rev. Murdoch MacKenzie of Honan.

The third assembly to meet in Winnipeg had a strong missionary theme as well, but this time home and overseas came together in a vision of a Christian Canada that would be a powerhouse in bringing Christian civilization to the world. It was a heady time: Canada was booming. Alberta and Saskatchewan had become provinces two years earlier, and the census two years later would confirm that the Presbyterian Church had surpassed the Methodists and Anglicans as the largest Protestant denomination in Canada. During the previous five years Winnipeg had grown from 70,000 to 118,000 in

population. There were now seven Presbyterian congregations, "well manned [. . .] centres of influence making for the better life of the city and indeed of the whole country. Let Winnipeg flourish by the preaching of the word!" was the breathless prose describing the Assembly in *The Presbyterian*.[1]

Robert Campbell, for twenty-nine years clerk of the General Assembly, was euphoric in his report as retiring moderator, telling commissioners that there had been "advance nearly all along the line"[2] referring specifically to the impact of the Student Volunteer Movement and the Laymen's Missionary Movement. Reports from the Korea Mission had been circulating about a remarkable revival there. As well, Winnipeg itself had recently been at the centre of innovative and effective outreach.[3] For five weeks the previous October and November, J. Wilbur Chapman (1859-1918), the American Presbyterian evangelist, had brought his road show to the city. Winnipeg had been divided into six sections and meetings were held in a representative church in each area. Three of the six were Presbyterian, and over 80,000 had attended. As a result, Chapman was invited to share his evangelistic vision to the 1908 General Assembly as a special guest of The Presbyterian Church in Canada.

There was a new voice being heard, however. Nineteen eight was the year Walter Rauschenbusch's *Christianity and the Social Crisis* was published by Macmillan. Rauschenbusch (1861-1918), whose passion was the social gospel, asked:

> Will some Gibbon of Mongol race sit by the shore of the Pacific in the year A.D. 3000 and write on the "Decline and Fall of the Christian Empire"? If so, he will probably describe the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as the golden age when outwardly life flourished as never before, but when that decay, which resulted in the gradual collapse of the twenty-first and twenty-second centuries, was already far advanced. Or will the twentieth century mark for the future historian the real adolescence of humanity, the great emancipation from barbarism and from the paralysis of injustice, and the beginning of a progress in the intellectual, social, and moral life of mankind to which all past history has no parallel? It will depend almost wholly on the moral forces which the Christian nations can bring to the fighting line against wrong, and the fighting energy of those moral forces will again depend on the degree to which they are inspired by religious faith and enthusiasm. It is either a revival of social religion or the deluge.[4]

Referring specifically to Canada, David B. Marshall writes: "It was thought that if the churches preached a social gospel, based on the example of the Sermon on the Mount, which offered hope, then once again the 'common people' would flock to hear the

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[1] "Editorial Etchings," *The Presbyterian* ns (18 June 1908): 1.

[2] "Editorial Etchings" 1.

[3] See Eric Crouse, *Revival in the City: The Impact of American Evangelists in Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's UP, 2005) 107-109.

[4] Walter Rauschenbusch, *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (New York: MacMillan, 1908) 286.

Christian message."[5]

As central Ontario commissioners left Toronto's Union Station in late May 1908, to be joined by others from Quebec and the Maritimes at North Bay station, the railway coaches were full of war stories and good humour. The Assembly was to take up the challenge of the hour, confident in the assurance that Canada would not only be a Christian nation, but would also be instrumental in ensuring the Christianization of the entire planet. "It was good," one journalist present reported, "to grasp the hands of these men who are laying the foundation of empire and shaping the future destiny of this great land of promise."[6] Or, in the words of the Moderator, Frederic DuVal, in forgettable poetry that greeted arriving commissioners:

> You gather to the middle west,
> The heart of Canada the blest;
> The land by God's good bounty fed
> Upon the sweetest of His bread
> [. . . . . .]
> That through your wisdom, faith, and love,
> And gracious favor from above,
> The Church may strive with heart and hand
> To plant the church in every land.[7]

No one represented the spirit of 1908 Canadian Presbyterianism better than Frederic Beal DuVal (1847-1928). Born in Bladensburg, Maryland of Huguenot stock, orphaned at an early age,[8] and compelled to support himself by clerking in Washington D.C., he left a promising business career to prepare for ordained ministry. He had professed faith at the age of twelve in the local Methodist church but he chose to be mentored by a Presbyterian minister in Hightstown, NJ, who prepared him for entry to Princeton University.[9] DuVal graduated with gold medals for oratory and debate in 1872, taking a master's in 1875. His arrival at the college coincided with that of James McCosh (1811-1894) from Scotland. He attended McCosh's Bible class for his four years at Princeton College and received first prize in Biblical scholarship on graduation. The remarkable Arnold Guyot (1807-1884), Professor of Geology and Physical Geography,

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[5] David B. Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1992) 69.

[6] *The Presbyterian* ns, 12.24 (11 June 1908): 243.

[7] H. F. M. Ross, *A Brief Sketch of the Life of the Rev. Frederic B. DuVal, D.D.: Pastor Knox Church, Winnipeg: and Moderator of the General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (Winnipeg: Free Press, 1910) 8.

[8] In an 1878 Princeton Theological Seminary (PTS) alumni questionnaire DuVal states that "My mother's prayers and Bible given me on her deathbed I believe were chief instruments of the Spirit in leading me to preach the gospel." Princeton Theological Seminary Archives (PTSA), Princeton University, Princeton, NJ.

[9] John E. Alexander (1815-1902), was an 1842 graduate of PTS, an educator, principal at Hightstown (1863-1872), and president of Washington College, Limestone, Tennessee (1877-1883). Washington College, founded in 1795 by Rev. Samuel Doak, was a Presbyterian institution at the time, the first post-secondary school west of the Appalachians. It had a strong PTS connection.

had great influence on DuVal: "[Guyot] wove truth into the warp and woof of practical life," he was later to say.[10] Guyot, a devout Swiss scientist, also lectured at the seminary on the "connection between revealed religion and metaphysical science."[11] The impact of Guyot was lifelong. As Professor F. W. Kerr, minister of Knox Winnipeg from 1924-1932, said in DuVal's funeral eulogy: "From his early manhood, he interpreted the relation between science and religion, so that none of his people were ever perturbed by the bugbear of evolution or biblical criticism."[12] In later years there is a single reference in DuVal's papers to Princeton Seminary's Charles Hodge but by then Hodge was already in his mid-seventies and infirm.[13] Eight of the thirty-one graduates of the Princeton Seminary class of 1875 were from Canada.[14] It was noted at the time of his election as moderator of General Assembly that "[DuVal] is a Princeton man, sound in the faith as a Princeton man should be, and tolerant, as some of them are not."[15] Until its reorganization in 1929, and in spite of the fact that the iconic James Robertson (first minister at Knox Winnipeg) had spent two formative years there, Princeton Seminary received mixed reviews in the Canadian church.

Upon graduation, DuVal accepted a call to First Presbyterian Church in Wilmington, Delaware. Later that same year he was married to Corinne Kearfoot, from a well-connected Philadelphia Episcopal family. In Wilmington a pattern for ministry developed, with:

> [. . .] messages adapted to carry conviction to the hearer, because of the intensity of the conviction of the speaker. [DuVal] is of a strongly sympathetic nature, and this combined with a love of what is pure and good, and a hatred of cruelty, deception and fraud, has borne fruit in his efforts to inculcate greater regard for the moral in education, and to foster the work of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and Animals, and the arrest of fraud and vice by instruction of the masses in their relative duties.[16]

In February 1884 DuVal was called to Westminster Church, Toledo, Ohio. In

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[10] Ross 4. Compare the entry for DuVal in Alfred Nevin's 1884 *Encyclopaedia of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America: Including the Northern and Southern Assemblies* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Encyclopaedia Publishing): "Mr DuVal is an earnest preacher, and seeks to weave Bible truth into the warp and woof of practical life" (904).

[11] David B. Calhoun, *Princeton Seminary: The Majestic Testimony, 1869-1929* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1996) 3-4.

[12] "Many attend funeral of Rev. F. B. Duval," *Winnipeg Free Press*, 15 May 1928.

[13] In his *The Problem of Social Vice in Winnipeg: Being a Reply to a Pamphlet Entitled "The Attitude Of The Church To The Social Evil": Together With a Brief Examination of the Question in the Light of Physiology, Law and Morality* (Winnipeg: Moral and Social Reform Committee, 1910) DuVal defends his position against another cleric: "It would be well for this gentleman to turn up that master theologian, Charles Hodge, vol. 3, part 3, chap. 19, p. 386, and read [. . .]. Hodge best reflects the sacred instincts of Canada" (31).

[14] Two were from Ulster and one (John Murray, fifty years in Shandong) was born in England.

[15] *The Presbyterian* 12.24 (11 June 1908): 1.

[16] Nevin 204.

spite of the *Toledo Daily Blade*'s account of his time there as a "long pastorate"[17] (a disillusioned parishioner, perhaps?) it was a short ministry. "Few ministers," the local paper opined when he left four years later, "have been able during this same period, to win as strong a hold on the esteem and confidence of their people as has Dr. DuVal in Toledo [. . .]. At the same time his Toledo friends are glad to know of the exceptionally promising field of labor to which he has been called, not doubting his success."[18] In his opening sermon at Knox Winnipeg on 5 August 1888 DuVal described a conversation he had had with an editor and historian at his final midweek prayer meeting in Toledo, looking on the call to Canada as "one of the most blessed signs that the spirit of the gospel of Jesus Christ was working in the world" and that there was "free trade in the gospel."[19]

It was a difficult time in Manitoba, where the Riel Rebellion was still a powerful memory.[20] The economy had tanked, leaving Knox Church with a substantial debt on its new building.[21] But DuVal had a vision that:

> [. . .] they occupied here a very important field. Winnipeg is a centre of commercial, intellectual and moral influence. Churches and colleges have been planted that in the time to come would mould the growing mind of the Northwest. Therefore let this church undertake its work with the idea that God has given it a high commission and it is to act through perfect organization, mutual confidence and above all faith in God.[22]

From the commencement of his ministry in Winnipeg DuVal demonstrated that he was prepared to do battle on every social issue of the time. Described by the ever flamboyant journalist James Henry Gray as a "pint-sized zealot with hard gleaming eye and luxuriant chin whiskers"[23] DuVal made many enemies in his social crusades. He started with an attack on separate schools for Roman Catholics as guaranteed by the Manitoba Act of 1870, weighing in on the Manitoba Schools Question, and siding with Thomas Greenway (1838-1909), then premier of Manitoba. Aligning himself with those who thought that Manitoba should be Protestant and British, he insisted that he was not

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[17] "Rev. Fred'k Duval," *Toledo Daily Blade*, [July 1888?], clipping in PTSA.

[18] "Rev. Fred'k Duval" N. pag. DuVal received a DD from the College of Wooster in 1886. He would later be awarded the same degree by Knox College in his moderatorial year.

[19] "Knox Church Inaugural sermon of Rev. Dr. DuVal, our new pastor, to a large congregation," *Winnipeg Free Press*, 6 Aug. 1888.

[20] The minister of Knox Church at the time, Daniel Miner Gordon (1845-1925), was chaplain to the 90th Regiment, accompanying the troops to Saskatchewan. Principal of Queen's University (1902-1916) he was at the centre of the debate at the 1908 Assembly as to whether Queen's would be allowed to separate from the Presbyterian Church, as it did in 1912.

[21] A sale of the second Knox church for $126,000 in 1881 (as James Robertson was leaving to be superintendent) collapsed when that boom year ended. The church had already bought lots on Hargrave St. north of Portage, while a new church was being built at Donald and Ellice. The congregation found themselves with three properties. The new (third) Knox church was finally dedicated 17 August 1884 with a large indebtedness, finally paid off in 1909.

[22] "Knox Church Inaugural Sermon" N. pag.

[23] James H. Gray, *Red Lights on the Prairies* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1971) 38.

anti-Catholic. As an American he had little understanding of the language issue, it would appear.

No social issue missed DuVal's eagle eye: Sunday observance was one of his concerns, arguing in its defence that "the body politic must pick out what is right and good and proper to be done, and make the law regulative of all."[24] Booze and brothels both he considered to be his mandate. He was outspokenly in favour of Prohibition (which brought him close to the Methodists). On 12 January 1908 he preached a barnstormer against a proposal "to extend the hours for sale in the barrooms of Winnipeg." In reporting on the matter, *The Presbyterian* noted that the sermon had been widely quoted in the Winnipeg papers, said it would be glad to print extracts, and began its campaign to have him elected as Moderator.[25]

It was for his opposition to legalized prostitution, however, that DuVal is now best known. He was opposed to a red light district: "Segregation does not desegregate, regulation does not regulate," he thundered.[26] In 1903 his agitation led to the mayor of Winnipeg, John Arbuthnot, withdrawing from a forthcoming election. Thomas Sharpe, DuVal's alternative, came in by acclamation and started a cleanup. DuVal's single publication *The Problem of Social Vice in Winnipeg* appeared in 1910, rebutting an Anglican minister's defence of brothel segregation, calling it an "unwarranted assumption." He became emotional: "to surrender the highest hopes of our latest edition of Christian civilization to the blight of a vice that has shamefully destroyed so many older nations, in the name of holy life, and of the God of life: NEVER! I know that every step of this world's improvement has been taken through field of trial, and often blood."[27] And so finally: "Respect for self, the sanctity of the marriage tie, the honor of home, the zeal for your children's future good, the love of country and the hope of founding the noblest edition of national life to be an ensample to the world, must engage your determination that such a prospective bloom shall not be foully blighted in the bud."[28]

This image of feisty Frederic DuVal fighting vice at city hall is in sharp contrast to the populist figure he projected as the Moderator of the thirty-fourth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada. "Twenty-seven presbyteries nominated me and the Assembly chose me by acclamation and with enthusiasm, the kind things reflect honor on Princeton," he wrote Joseph Heatly Dulles, long-time librarian at the Seminary,[29] as he enclosed a variety of press clippings. "The meeting was well generalled," it was reported in *The Presbyterian* at the conclusion of Assembly, "and Moderator DuVal, by his unfailing courtesy, his firmness and alertness, his familiarity with the rules of ecclesiastical procedure, and his even-handed justice, fully realized the

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[24] "Rev. Dr. Fred B. DuVal On Sunday Observance," *Winnipeg Tribune*, 4 Feb. 1903.

[25] "Editorial Etchings" 1.

[26] Robert A. Wardhaugh, "Duval, Frederic Beal," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, ed. George W. Brown, vol. 15 (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2001) 920-921.

[27] DuVal 26-27.

[28] DuVal 32.

[29] Frederic DuVal, letter to Joseph Heatly Dulles, 29 Jan. 1908, PTSA. Dulles (1853-1937) was librarian at PTS from 1886-1931. An 1877 PTS graduate, DuVal maintained close links with him over the years. DuVal's letters to Dulles are among the few sources of original DuVal documents available.

expectations of those who believed he would prove a worthy successor of the honored men who had preceded him."[30] Or, in the words of Professor Cappon of Queen's, "Throughout the proceedings, the personality of the Moderator, the Rev. Dr. DuVal of Winnipeg, was felt, controlling procedure and discussion in a decisive and pleasantly firm way."[31]

As Moderator, DuVal had to remain silent as various issues close to his heart were discussed. Education was always a matter of deep concern to DuVal, typified by the debate over a proposal to separate Queen's from the denomination. The Principal of Queen's, Daniel Miner Gordon, who was arguing strenuously for such a move, was his predecessor at Knox Church. DuVal had been appointed a member of the Council of the University of Manitoba in 1901 but his great interest was Manitoba College, which he served for twenty-seven years as a member of its Board of Management (1899-1926) as well as being on its Senate.

Manitoba College enjoyed a close relationship to Knox Church Winnipeg. George Bryce[32] had been sent west by the Canada Presbyterian Church, founding a post-secondary school in Kildonan in October 1871. The following January he presented a petition to presbytery for the erection of a new congregation, named Knox. Bryce became its first minister and moderator of Session until James Robertson was called from Delhi, Ontario, two years later. From that time, until his death, Bryce took an active part in the life of Knox Church and was instrumental in the call from Toledo of Frederic DuVal.

Manitoba College always occupied a unique role in Canadian Presbyterian theological education, serving as a continual reminder of the frontier and the need to Christianize the Prairies. At the Assembly of 1908 it was reported that of a total enrollment of 275 students, eighteen were in regular theology, but twenty-five more were in the minister evangelist course. It was said in 1900 that the College occupied a more important place in the "better life of the vast empire west of the Great Lakes than the Premier of the Province or the Governor of the Territories."[33] James Robertson taught there while at Knox Church, and as superintendent was a major advocate. "The Superintendent preaches on Manitoba College and takes up a collection for Home Missions," it was reported.[34] John Mark King arrived as Principal in 1883, the year he was moderator of General Assembly. He established a familiar pattern, being involved in a variety of civic causes. His daughter Helen married Charles Gordon. His sudden death on 5 March 1899 created a challenge for someone to fill his substantial shoes and maintain the unique ethos of the College.

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[30] *The Presbyterian* 12.25 (18 June 1908): 1.

[31] Ross 9.

[32] George Bryce (1844-1931), born in Mount Pleasant ON, a graduate of the University of Toronto (1867), and Knox College (1871), was called to organize a college among Selkirk settlers at Kildonan, which moved to Winnipeg in 1884. In 1877 he helped found the University of Manitoba, retiring from teaching in 1904. Moderator of the General Assembly of The PCC in 1902, he died at his brother's Ottawa home "largely forgotten" (Jim Blanchard, "George Bryce," *Manitoba Biographies*, 4 Jan. 2009, Manitoba Historical Society, 14 Apr. 2009 <http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/people/bryce_g.shtml>.

[33] *Westminster*, 17 Feb. 1900, quoted by Norman Clifford in *The Resistance to Church Union in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1985) 20.

[34] C. W. Gordon, *The Life of James Robertson DD* (Toronto: Westminster, 1909) 224.

To what extent Frederic DuVal bears responsibility for the appointment of William Patrick as the new Principal of Manitoba College in 1900 is not clear. Patrick, as Keith Clifford substantiates in his *The Resistance to Church Union in Canada*,[35] played a pivotal role in the church union debate. The appointment of Patrick was regarded as a major coup for the colonial college: he had strong intellectual credentials and close friendships with the progressive wing of the Free Church of Scotland which had just united with the United Presbyterian Church. This rather austere bachelor, with few close friends and little knowledge of Canada, has been described by Clifford as "the first liberal to be placed in a position of authority"[36] in The Presbyterian Church in Canada. Patrick's inaugural lecture on 17 April 1900 on "The Person of Christ" spoke of "Christ as the crown of the moral ideal [. . .] the start of a new evolution."[37]

In September 1902 the General Conference of the Methodist Church met in Winnipeg.[38] George Bryce (then Moderator of General Assembly), Charles Gordon, and William Patrick were appointed to bring fraternal greetings. Bryce addressed common social issues, Gordon spoke of a common calling to fight materialism, but Patrick called for a great national church. The Methodists, whose numbers (in 1900 census figures, just released) and self-confidence were in evident decline, responded with enthusiasm. Thus was set in motion twenty-three years of fractious debate and eventual schism.

In the various significant milestones leading to 1925, the 1908 General Assembly does not play a prominent role. But it was clear where the Moderator stood on the issue. Having himself professed faith in the Bladensburg Methodist church at the age of twelve, and married to an Episcopalian, DuVal's interests were ecumenical. But his temperance and anti-vice crusades had also aligned him with other like-minded Protestants. In his retiring sermon as Moderator, read to the 1909 Assembly meeting in Central Church Hamilton because he was unable to be present owing to his wife's funeral, he stated: "Men are struggling to free themselves from ills they cannot clearly define. These demands will not be met by the reiteration of dry dogmas. The system of public education has taught our children to reason." He concluded:

> Instead of childish rivalries, the world is demanding a Church full of zeal for the amelioration of human conditions. Instead of bolstering these petty rivalries by gathering up scores of incompetent men to hold contested field, the world is asking to send men deeply cultured in all truth, and competent to lead into amelioration. We are only trifling with the mighty problems that burdened the heart of the Son of God.[39]

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[35] Clifford 16-24.

[36] Clifford 17.

[37] *Manitoba Free Press* (18 Apr. 1900): 6.

[38] John S. Moir speaks of The PCC General Assembly and the Methodist General Conference as meeting concurrently in Winnipeg that year (*Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada*, 3rd ed. (Burlington, ON: Eagle Press, 1987) 197). The 1902 General Assembly had already met in Toronto in early June.

[39] *The Presbyterian* (3 June 1909): 682 and 683.

As already noted, J. Wilbur Chapman (1859-1918),[40] protegé of Dwight L. Moody, was invited to speak, providing a contrasting theological approach to the "amelioration" of society. He shared with the Assembly how, after a slump, the American church had grown in the past seven years as a result of the formation of a denominational Evangelistic Committee. As its secretary, Chapman urged a similar committee be formed in Canada:

> The central message of all true preaching is the crucified and the risen Christ. There is no story that will touch and move the hearts of men like the story of the Christ [. . .] without Christ a man is lost. If there were a thousand ways that men could be saved there would not be much need of preaching. There are not a thousand ways—there is but one way, and we are responsible for making that way known. Let every minister have the burden of souls laid upon his heart and the whole Presbyterian Church will be aflame.[41]

At the request of Assembly, Charles Gordon met with Chapman and the chair of the American committee for consultation and possible implementation of Chapman's proposals, and would himself briefly join the Chapman team in Philadelphia.

DuVal was asked by General Assembly, in addition to representing the Canadian church at Geneva at the four hundredth anniversary of Calvin's birth, to speak at the Quebec Tercentenary. His sermon, given at St Andrew's Quebec in the presence of Governor General Earl Grey, provided an opportunity for DuVal to highlight his Huguenot, American and now immigrant Canadian heritage. Grey had turned the event into a celebration of the Anglophone hegemony involving the Prince of Wales and the British Atlantic fleet, along with American and French vessels. Francophone and nationalist Quebeckers were not amused. In perhaps his most insightful recorded sermon DuVal gave out as his text Isaiah 43:19: "Behold, I will do a new thing; now it shall spring forth; shall ye not know it? I will even make a way in the wilderness, and rivers in the desert." This he applied, with a curious hermeneutic, to the colonization of the New World:

> God had in mind a forward step in the higher well-being of the race. [. . .] A new way in the arena of human development was necessary, even though it had to be opened in the wilderness. It is of great significance that twelve years before the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock, here at the base of this old natural citadel, the French forefathers, representing a more peaceful spirit than that which drenched the homeland with such noble blood, anchored their little ships at the gateway of the new world, and inspired with new sentiments and new hopes, broke their bread together in the peace of God. It is something worth gathering to celebrate. And something worthier still if we can make it a stronger bond of Christian

[40] J. Wilbur Chapman was secretary of the Committee on Evangelism of the PC(USA) from 1902 until his death in 1918. He was moderator of its General Assembly in 1917. He is today best known for gospel hymns such as "One Day" and "Jesus What A Friend For Sinners."

[41] *The Presbyterian* (11 June 1908): 24 and 748.

> fraternity, to bless the land in which we live with increasing light and redeeming love. [. . .] May this significant gathering in Quebec, prove to be the seal and security of the fact that the settlement effected here, was a forward movement of Divine Providence toward the highest well-being of the race.[42]

Frederic DuVal retired in 1916 after twenty-eight years in the pastorate of Knox Church. At a meeting of the joint boards in December 1915, a resolution was passed, signed by George Bryce as chair, speaking of him as "A faithful and self-denying pastor, Dr. DuVal has been a famous 'preacher of righteousness and has never failed to denounce evil, in personal, social, civic, political, or national life.[']"[43] His highest achievement, it was stated, was the moderatorship of the 1908 General Assembly. He lived to see the foundation of a new Knox Church Winnipeg being laid, then the building stopped, as the toll of World War I increased. He lost one of his own sons in the conflict. The Presbyterian Church in Canada went on to go through the turmoils of separation and division. He died suddenly on the steps of his Winnipeg home on 15 May 1928, just a fortnight before his eighty-first birthday. "The funeral of Dr. DuVal was one of the largest witnessed in this city," the *Winnipeg Free Press* reported.[44]

By that point, the dream of a Christianized Canada was rapidly receding, lost in the trenches of France, facing increasing secularization, and the devastating turmoil of the church union crisis with its impact on a bewildered population bemused by how much so-called unity could be bought at the price of terrible disunity and bitterness. The impact of the theological liberalism that, in spite of his Princeton theological education, DuVal espoused, would only become apparent in later years. A foundation, set up in his name in the 1930s has kept a dwindling Knox church at the heart of Winnipeg with significant ministries to the homeless and the disadvantaged, something that would (one suspects) please him.

A Christian Canada is no longer a realistic expectation. Indeed the question at times seems to be whether Christianity will survive in Canada at all. The vision of 1908 appears hollow and shallow in hindsight, the product of an illusory phantasm of wishful thinking, a totally unrealistic view of human nature, and a complete misapprehension of what the church should be all about. In its stead, one hopes, there is today a greater realism about historic processes, a denial of the racial and cultural pride that gave their vision birth, and a commitment to good news not encumbered by triumphalism.

At the same time, there is something grand and energizing about their desire to reach their generation for Christ. Stripped of its ethnocentric pride, perhaps we could learn something from their self-confident and visionary commitment. The 1908 General Assembly represented a high water mark of establishment (Constantinian) Canadian Presbyterian identity. We have come a long and torturous way since then but perhaps, looking back, we can understand ourselves today and have a clearer focus as to where we should be going.

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[42] *The Quebec Chronicle,* Sept. 1908, clipping in PTSA.

[43] "Sermon by Moderator of General Assembly" [September 1908], clipping in PTSA.

[44] *Winnipeg Free Press*, 15 May 1928.

"Spoken with Native Languages": Presbyterian Evangelistic Efforts Among the Native People of the Prairies, 1908-1909

Peter Bush

The proclamation of the gospel requires language. Canadian Presbyterian missionaries who worked among the Native peoples of the Prairies in the early twentieth century, as do all cross-cultural missionaries, had a decision to make: what language would they use to proclaim the gospel? English was an option; it was the tongue they were most comfortable with, but a language not well understood by all their listeners. Using English could leave the impression the missionaries were unwilling to identify fully with their listeners. Or the missionaries could use the native language of their audience. To do so required learning an additional language. To master an indigenous tongue would take years, but in so doing the missionary would build connections with the Native people he or she served. The choice of language was both a practical and a pastoral issue; it was in fact a statement about the goals of the mission.

Christian missionaries seeking to proclaim the gospel among the Native people of North America were confronted with a decision about the priority of the mission. Was the primary goal of conversion to assist the Native peoples to become productive members of the dominant culture? If so, Native languages should not be used to teach the Christian faith. However, if the goal of the mission were to invite Native people to discover Christianity and become followers of Jesus, then the gospel should be proclaimed in the mother tongue of the Native peoples. Determining what language to proclaim the gospel in was challenging for missionaries working among the Native peoples of North America. They lived and worked within a dominant society that wanted the Native peoples assimilated into the "mainstream" culture. As Ian Getty has noted regarding the Church Missionary Society's work among Native peoples in the Canadian Northwest, this mission effort was taking place in a context "where the local offshoot of European culture steadily pressed upon both the Indian people and the missions among them."[1] Those who funded the mission gave not only out of spiritual concern for the Native peoples, they also contributed to the mission in hopes of their cultural goals being achieved. This dynamic was not as obvious for missionaries working in India or China, where those funding the mission were not part of the dominant culture. While cross-cultural missionaries working outside North America and Western Europe brought the thinking and biases of their home culture to the missionary effort, they had greater freedom in allowing the local Christian community with which they were working to develop into an indigenous church which fit the cultural context because their superiors

[1] Ian A. L. Getty, "The Failure of the Native Church Policy of the CMS in the North-West," *Religion and Society in the Prairie West, Canadian Plains Studies 3*, ed. Richard Allen (Regina, SK: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1974) 20.

and donors were geographically distant. For missionaries working cross-culturally in North America there was no distance between donors and missionary. This lack of space meant that the debate about the language to use in the missionary endeavour was no moot conversation.

No unitary mission policy existed among the variety of Christian missions seeking the conversion of the Native people of North America. Hazel Hertzberg, in writing about the use of English and Native languages in the American experience, states:

> Missionary schools were usually conducted in the tribal language, it having been discovered that the Word of God was more acceptable to Indians if it reached their ears and eyes in the tribal tongues. The government, on the other hand, insisted upon instruction in English, maintaining that if the Indians were to become part of the larger society, they would have to be proficient in its language.[2]

Whether this neatly drawn distinction accurately represents the situation in the United States is a matter of debate beyond the scope of this paper—what will be argued is that in the Canadian case it is not possible to draw such clear lines between the methods of the missionary and policy of the government. John Webster Grant in *Moon of Wintertime* argues the threefold aim of "temporal, intellectual and spiritual improvement," the mission goals lying behind the Methodist effort in educating the Native people, linked the character development of the student with their acquisition of English.[3] In this context there was no advantage to the missionary in learning a Native language, for the proper development of the student required a proficiency in English. In contrast to the philosophy Grant identifies among Methodist educators stands the work of two Anglican missionaries: William Duncan, a lay missionary who worked among the Tsimshian, and the Rev. F. Frost, who served in the Algoma diocese north of Lake Superior. Duncan had a twenty-step plan for the "Christianization" and "Civilization" of the Native peoples and fifteen rules to be followed by Christian Tsimshian; the plan and the rules grew out of his work. The first step in the plan was "Preach the Gospel in the Native language." While a number of the steps in the plan required the transformation of various parts of the Native culture, transformations that could be described as dramatic and even draconian, none of them involved teaching English to the Native peoples.[4] Frost, who served among the Native peoples of northern Ontario for thirty years, wrote:

> It is unfortunate that the religion of Christ comes to them as the white [person]'s religion, and it is even expected by some teachers that the Indian shall become a white [person] before [. . .] becom[ing] a Christian, the same as the Jews in the Early Church insisted that the Indian (gentile) of that day should become a Jew before [they] could become a Christian. I

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[2] Hazel W. Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse UP, 1971) 15.

[3] John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984) 178-179.

[4] Susan Neylan, *The Heavens are Changing: Nineteenth-Century Protestant Missions and Tsimshian Christianity* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 2003) 281-282.

> always tell the Indians that it is no more English Christianity than it is Indian aboriginal, and that some of the earliest converts to Christianity, the result of early missionary effort, were Indians (Ahnishenahbag), the aboriginal inhabitants of countries still retaining their aboriginal tongue.[5]

The message of the gospel was to be proclaimed in the indigenous language and was to be believed in that language as well. Frost rejected any implication that English language and culture were the primary medium through which the gospel was to be transmitted.

A variety of methodologies were being employed by missionaries working among the Native peoples of Canada; these approaches differed significantly in the role given to English in the proclamation of the gospel. Methodists and Anglicans were not the only Canadian Christian denominations debating the language of proclamation, so too were the Presbyterians.

On Tuesday, 28 July 1908 the Association of Indian Workers of the Presbyterian Church gathered for its inaugural convention held at the Round Lake Residential School in Saskatchewan.[6] Over the next two days the Association, made up of ordained missionaries, school principals, school teachers, school matrons, and aboriginals who were working as missionaries on reserves and as support staff in schools, discussed the hopes and challenges of their work among the Native peoples on the Canadian prairie. The Presbyterian Church in Canada operated six Native residential schools in 1908, one industrial school, two day schools, and had a missionary presence on nine reserves in Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and at Kenora, Ontario. Thirty-six people were paid by the Foreign Missions Committee of the denomination to carry out work among the Native peoples of the Prairies.[7] Unfortunately the minutes of the gathering do not include a list of attendees. Only through noting the names recorded in the minutes as people engaged in the conversation or those named to committees is it possible to determine who was present at the gathering. There is no way of knowing the individuals who neither said anything in the formal sessions nor were named to committees, but who were present at the convention. The Association meeting did not include anyone from British Columbia where the Presbyterian Church also had work among the Native peoples. This paper uses the first meeting of the association as a snapshot to explore the motivations and objectives of these Presbyterians. As will be demonstrated a diverse collection of voices was heard at the gathering, yet a remarkable unanimity of vision was also present.

Having allowed the daylight hours for travel, the Association's Convention was opened in prayer at 8:00 p.m. by the President, the Rev. W. W. McLaren, the Principal of the Birtle School and missionary on the Birdtail Reserve (Manitoba). Preparatory work had been done for the meeting, an Association President had been chosen, as had a

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[5] F. Frost, *Sketches of Indian Life* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1904) 116.

[6] The body of this paper relies on twelve pages of handwritten minutes which document the meeting. All references in this paper to comments made by people at the Association's meeting are from the minutes as are the content of recommendations adopted. Such statements which are not footnoted can be found in the minutes. (*Minutes*, Convention of Presbyterian Workers among the Indians in the Synods of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, Mission to Aboriginal Peoples in Manitoba and the Northwest, Box 6, Fd. 113, United Church Archives, Toronto (hereafter MAPMNW).

[7] *Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (1908)*: 193-194.

Secretary, Mrs. W. A. Hendry, Matron of the Portage-la-Prairie Residential School. She was the wife of the Rev. Hendry, the school's principal. Due to Mrs. Hendry's unforeseen absence, the Rev. F. A. Clare, missionary at the Muscowpetung Reserve near Fort Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan since 1905, was appointed secretary pro tem. In addition to selecting a slate of officers, the Association organizers had arranged for two presentations to be made which they hoped would stimulate discussion. On the Tuesday evening, the Rev. W. McWhinney of the Crowstand Residential School spoke on "How to Evangelize our Indians" and on Wednesday morning, W. W. McLaren laid out ideas for "the promotion of morality and sobriety among the Indians."

W. W. McLaren, who given his role in the Association was almost certainly a primary organizer of the gathering, had been Principal at Birtle since 1905, having graduated from Knox College at the top of his class that year. During his last year at Knox, McLaren had decided he could not become a minister due to his uncertain health being unable to withstand the rigours of parish ministry. Shortly after his coming to that conclusion, the Rev. R. P. MacKay, Convenor of the Foreign Missions Committee of The Presbyterian Church in Canada, suggested that McLaren become a missionary among the Native peoples. McLaren heard this as a providential call, allowing him to respond to the internal call he felt to be a minister. Intellectually and administratively gifted, McLaren's numerous letters to the Foreign Missions Committee of The Presbyterian Church in Canada and his detailed reports to the Indian Affairs Department of the Government of Canada over his eight years at Birtle (1905-1913) illustrate the multi-faceted responsibilities confronting the principal of a residential school.[8]

The Rev. Dr. Hugh MacKay, the long-time missionary at Round Lake, in the Qu'appelle Valley in Saskatchewan, and senior statesmen among Presbyterians serving in Native missions, opened the meeting with "a devotional conference [. . .] minimizing the discouragements and exalting the hopefulness" of the work entrusted to members of the Association. MacKay, who had lived among the Native peoples during the 1885 Riel Rebellion and had seen many changes occur among the Native people as the buffalo herds shrank, brought a perspective and wisdom growing out of years of experience that younger and newer missionaries did not have. MacKay was respected by church and government officials, Native leaders and newly arrived settlers. His words of hope set a tone for those who had gathered.[9]

The evening was then given over to a discussion of the evangelization of the Native people of the Prairies. Rev. W. MacWhinney opened the discussion with his paper "How to Evangelize our Indians." Prior to his appointment to Crowstand, MacWhinney had served briefly as Principal of the Birtle School. He had not attended a theological college but the Presbytery of Minnedosa in Manitoba had been given special permission by the 1903 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church to ordain him for his work among the Native peoples. Shortly after his ordination he had become the founding

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[8] For further discussion of W. W. McLaren see Peter Bush, *Western Challenge: The Presbyterian Church in Canada's Mission on the Prairies and North, 1885-1925* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 2000) 110-115.

[9] See Peter Bush, "The Rev. Hugh MacKay and the Riel Rebellion: A letter to the Foreign Missions Committee," *Presbyterian History* 44.2 (Nov. 2000): 1-4, for a moving letter by MacKay about his experiences during the 1885 Rebellion.

Principal of the Crowstand School in Saskatchewan.[10] The presentation began by arguing that evangelization must be "the primary motive" in the work done by those gathered at the conference. To place any other motive ahead of the proclamation of the gospel would be a violation of the trust placed in them as missionaries. Having declared the goal of the work, MacWhinney turned to exploring why the goal was so hard to achieve. Three hindrances were cited, all linked to the values people exhibited in their personal behaviour. The collapse of Native culture had led to "the loss of ancient virtues, faiths and codes." Thus evangelism was not a matter of contending that Christian values were preferable to the values of Native religions, rather effective evangelism required proving that living by a set of values was preferable to not having any values by which to live. The evangelistic task was not to have Native people exchange one set of beliefs (Native religion) for a different set of beliefs (Christianity); instead the task was convincing hearers and watchers that living by Christian values led to living a more fulfilling and therefore "better" life. This analysis led directly to two other hindrances MacWhinney noted: the "unconsidered lives of Christian Indians" and "the seeming fruit of Christianity as seen in the vices of white men." In the eyes of the Native community, Christianity appeared to make little difference in the lives of people who claimed to be Christians. As a missionary on a reserve MacWhinney more than likely had heard the question, "If Christianity leads people to live moral lives why do white people, who are Christians, steal and cheat?" The answer to all three hindrances was to be found "in the life of the missionary." By living a "perfectly pure and unselfish" life and by having a ministry that was "earnest and believing—full of patience and love" the missionary could show through their words and actions that the Christian life made a difference, that the Christian life was an attractive life. Evangelism, for MacWhinney, was less about words and more about lifestyle. Once the Native community had seen what living the Christian life was like, they would turn to the Christian faith. MacWhinney was not naïve about how demanding the approach he proposed was, recognizing the only way missionaries could live the kind of life he was suggesting was through "constant communion with the Father in prayer." As the missionaries were spiritually rooted, their lives would exhibit what it meant to actually live the Christian life.

MacWhinney's presentation led to a wide ranging discussion. Joseph Boyer, missionary at the Okanase Reserve near Elphinstone, Manitoba and chief of the band, was the first to respond.[11] Boyer, speaking "as an Indian" (he was an Ojibway), took exception to MacWhinney's comments about Native Christians not living the Christian life, stating that "in spite of all difficulties he would cling to the Christian life." It was the highest life a human being could live. Having declared his commitment to Christ, Boyer went on to identify two factors he believed hampered the advance of Christianity among the Native peoples. First, steps should be taken to reduce the interaction between young Natives and whites. The geographical limits placed on the growth of reserves meant as the Native population grew, young Natives seeking to set up their own households became homeless. In their homeless state they would "consort with whites" often to the

[10] On MacWhinney's special ordination see Peter Bush, "Opening New Paths to Ordination: Responding to the Missional Challenges," *Presbyterian History* 52.2 (Nov. 2008): 3. 1907 had not been a good year for MacWhinney at the Crowstand School where accusations of abusive behaviour were levelled against him. For more on this situation see Bush, *Western Challenge* 110.

[11] Okanase is now known as Keeseekoowenin. It is an Ojibway Reserve.

"injury" of the young Natives. The establishment of new reserves would address this problem, for it would separate Natives from whites to the benefit of the Native community. A second factor limiting the spread of the gospel was the frequent changes in missionary personnel. Such changes got in the way of the missionary building relationships and trust with the Native people. Boyer astutely noted MacWhinney's model of evangelism was predicated upon the Native people of a given reserve having the opportunity to see the Christian life lived out in the life of a given missionary over an extended period of time. Missionaries needed to become rooted in a community if their lives were to do their preaching.

John Thunder, a Dakota from the Birdtail Reserve in Manitoba and missionary at Pipestone, Saskatchewan, was next to respond to MacWhinney's presentation. He contended the gospel was best heard by the Native population when the message was proclaimed in the Native languages. If missionaries wanted to "become the messengers of the power of God through His Gospel" they needed to learn to speak the Native language of the people they were working with. In laying out this argument Thunder was affirming the views expressed over a number years by the Native community. Chaske Hanska, a ruling elder in the church on the Birdtail Reserve, had written to the Foreign Missions Committee in 1902 asking that a Dakota-speaking missionary be appointed to the Reserve. Hanska had argued, "When the Holy Spirit was given as Jesus our Saviour promised, the disciples have been spoken [to] with lots of different languages. Therefore we knew it from the beginning that [having the gospel] spoken with native languages was the work of the Holy Spirit."[12]

That Joseph Boyer and John Thunder were the first to respond to MacWhinney's presentation is noteworthy. First, it shows The Presbyterian Church in Canada entrusted Native people to do work among Native people. Second, their speaking up, and in the case of Boyer challenging MacWhinney, an ordained Anglo-Saxon, indicates the Native missionaries believed their voices would be welcomed in the conversation. Third, that their comments were recorded in detail in the minutes shows the value the Anglo-Saxon missionaries placed on their input.

The Okanase reserve, where Boyer was missionary, had a long history of having Native people ministering in the church's name in their midst. Here the Rev. George Flett, the country-born son of a Scottish Hudson Bay Company employee and an Ojibway mother, had served as a missionary from 1873 to 1895.[13] When the Anglo-Saxon missionary, the Rev. J. Macalister, who had been serving the reserve left in 1907 the Foreign Missions Committee had turned to Chief Boyer asking him "to take the spiritual oversight of his band."[14] The missions committee saw itself as taking a new approach, seeking out a Native person who was already living on the reserve to take over the ministry. By the time Boyer relinquished his role as missionary in 1911, the work on the Okanase Reserve had grown to the point that it required a full-time missionary of its own, as opposed to sharing a missionary with Lizard Point as had been the case previously.

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[12] Chaske Hanska, letter to R. P. MacKay, 16 Apr. 1902, Box 3, Fd. 36, Board of Home Mission and Social Service, United Church Archives, Toronto.

[13] For more on Flett see Alvina Block, "George Flett, Presbyterian Missionary to the Ojibwa at Okanase," *Manitoba History* 37 (Spring / Summer 1999): 28-38.

[14] *Acts and Proceedings(1908)*: 185.

John Thunder, a Dakota, had become a missionary through the ministry of the Rev. Solomon Tunkasuiciye, a Sioux from the United States who The Presbyterian Church in Canada brought in to minister on the Birdtail Reserve. Thunder first worked for the church at the Portage-la-Prairie day school, among other things teaching the older boys to read and write the Dakota language. Following training in the United States at the Santee School in Nebraska he served the Oak Lake Reserve as a missionary. After a brief stint as Assistant Missionary at Birdtail, Thunder was appointed to the Pipestone Reserve in 1907 where he served for the next two decades.[15]

Hanska, Boyer and Thunder are all examples of Native people discovering Christianity and appropriating it into their lives and the lives of the Native people to whom and for whom they spoke. The Yale church historian, Lamin Sanneh, a native of Gambia, describes the indigenous (Native) discovery of Christianity this way:

> The Christian discovery of indigenous societies describes the process of missionaries from the West coming to Africa or Asia and converting people, often with political incentives and material inducements. The indigenous discovery of Christianity, by contrast, describes local people encountering the religion through mother tongue discernment and in the light of the people's own needs and experiences. The indigenous discovery places the emphasis on unintended local consequences, leaving the way open for indigenous agency and leadership, while the Christian discovery looks to the originating impulses and the Western cultural binding of religion. The one stresses external transmission, and the other internal appropriation.[16]

Hanska's skillful use of the Pentecost story to argue the gospel needed to be preached in Dakota to the people of Birdtail shows that he had discerned in the gospel something which spoke to his context. Boyer's statement that the Christian life was the only way to live was not an acceptance of cultural assimilation, for he wanted to protect Native culture and patterns of life from the encroachments of the dominant White society. These Native people had discovered Christianity and were creatively adapting it to meet their and their people's needs.

Following Joseph Boyer's and John Thunder's responses to MacWhinney's presentation, the Rev. E. Mackenzie, who served the Hurricane Hills Reserve as a missionary, spoke. He was unconvinced that Native religion and values had collapsed and he advised making use of Native "faith to espouse the fuller truth of Christ." In this way the Native community could be led "to a richer faith in the Great Spirit." This faith would include a belief in the "hereafter" and "a judgment for good and evil." Teaching a belief in the hereafter and the incumbent judgment of the good and evil done in one's life, aimed at changing the way people lived.

The Rev. F. T. Dodds, Principal at the Cecilia Jeffrey School located on Shoal

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[15] Darcee McLaren in her dissertation provides very helpful insights into John Thunder's work and the challenges he faced. See "Living the Middle Ground: Four Native Presbyterian Missionaries, 1866-1912," diss., McMaster U, 1997.

[16] Lamin Sanneh, *Whose Religion is Christianity?: The Gospel beyond the West* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2003) 55.

Lake, near Kenora, Ontario, and the Rev. R. B. Heron of the Regina Industrial School both noted that love for this kind of missionary work and for the Native people served through this work was essential to the evangelistic effort. They disagreed, however, about how that love could best be shown. Dodds had served as an unordained missionary at Moose Mountain (near Carlyle), Saskatchewan, where the Presbyterian Church operated a day school and had a mission on the reserve. The Presbytery of Arcola in Saskatchewan had requested special permission of the General Assembly to ordain Dodds who had no formal theological training, and upon receiving permission had done so in 1906.[17] The following year Dodds became Principal of Cecilia Jeffrey School. On the basis of his ministry experience among the Native people he argued this love "can best be spoken directly through the native languages." The missionary, by learning the language of the people they sought to reach for Christ, was showing the depth of their love for the people they served. In making the sacrifices necessary to learn the language the missionary was, at least with their speech, incarnating the gospel into the culture of the people.

Heron had not attended theological college either, but the Presbytery of Regina was given permission by the 1907 General Assembly for his special ordination for having served as the unordained Principal of the Regina Industrial School for a number of years.[18] He was still the Principal of the school in 1912 when it was closed by the Department of Indian Affairs of the Government of Canada. While Heron was not convinced that learning a Native language was necessary to show the missionary's love for the people, the missionary did need to love those to whom they were seeking to proclaim the gospel. Only through love for the Native people, Heron contended, could "race prejudice die," and only when that "race prejudice" was no longer present in the missionary would the Native community experience the love of the missionary and "come to know or desire to know Christ."

Catherine (Kate) Gillespie, Principal of File Hills Residential School, took exception to the contention that learning Native languages was essential to effective evangelism. Not everyone, she argued, had both the aptitude and the time to learn another language. Anglo-Saxon missionaries could make effective use of interpreters to preach the good news. Prayer she contended was the most important factor in evangelism. Gillespie had experience using interpreters. Each Sunday morning she drove her horse and buggy out the gates of the File Hills School to go to the church at the File Hills Colony. There with the aid of one of the senior male students of the school she led worship and preached. The senior student translated for her. Every Sunday supper a group of the older boys from the school, both those who were students and those who had graduated sat at Gillespie's dinner table. Over supper and into the evening she led them in a Bible study, and together they prayed. While Gillespie did not know any of the Native languages represented in her school well enough to teach or preach in a Native tongue, she was working at forming followers of Jesus who did know the Native languages and who would be her translators and, she hoped, eventually preachers in their own right.[19]

McLaren in summing up the evening's conversation highlighted the importance of

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[17] Bush, "Opening New Paths" 3.

[18] Bush, "Opening New Paths" 3.

[19] For more on Kate Gillespie see Peter Bush, "Catherine Gillespie," *Gifts and Graces*, ed. John Moir, vol. 2 (Toronto: The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 2002) 25-29.

prayer, calling for a set hour each week when all Presbyterian missionaries involved in work among the Native people on the Prairies would pray for that ministry. He also proposed a series of evangelistic meetings be held on every reserve and in every residential school where the Presbyterian church had a presence. A motion was carried establishing a committee of Heron, Gillespie and Dodds to bring a report highlighting "ways to give effect to the suggestions brought out in the discussion." The committee thus consisted of three school principals, none of whom had formal theological training. While this might be seen as a limitation of the effectiveness of the committee, the committee's make-up was a reminder that the Presbyterian Church's mission to Native people was largely being done by people with little or no university theological education. Indeed, only five of the thirty-six Presbyterian missionaries serving the Native people in the Synods of Manitoba and Saskatchewan in 1908 did. The mission among the Native people was carried out primarily by lay people who through experience had developed the specialized skills needed. Following a motion to adjourn and a closing prayer the benediction closed the evening's meeting.

The first night of the association's gathering had revealed the diversity of those Presbyterians engaged in mission among the Native people. Boyer and Thunder were experienced missionaries serving on reserves independent of direct daily oversight by Anglo-Saxon missionaries; they would not be easily silenced by the others present at the table. Just as the Native voices at the table were not going to be silenced, neither were the women, as Kate Gillespie's contribution indicates. This gathering was not a collection of Anglo-Saxon male clergy thinking about and debating how to evangelize the Native people of the prairies; this was a multi-cultural group of women and men in dialogue about the mission of the church. The participants in the Presbyterian Church's mission to the Natives on the Prairies were a diverse group of people who interacted in complex and nuanced ways to carry out that mission.

On Wednesday, 29 July the conversation turned to "the promotion of morality and sobriety among the Indians." McLaren outlined a series of steps the government should take "to protect the Indians" from the evils of "white" culture and from themselves. McLaren brought together two strands of thought prevalent in the church. First, that "white" society had an obligation to protect aboriginals. "The white man's burden" was carried as much in Canada when working with the Native people as it was on a foreign mission field. The second strand was the rise of a sociological understanding of the church's role. He brought together an older way of viewing the missionary-Native relationship with a new vision for the church's role in Canadian society. McLaren viewed this social and moral role as part of the evangelistic work of the church.

The response to McLaren's paper was mixed. While some agreed it was possible for the church and the government to legislate morality, there were two notable challenges to that view. Jacob Bear,[20] a Cree who had served since 1885 as the assistant missionary to Hugh MacKay at the Round Lake Reserve, argued that "the Indian was the best man to help his people in these matters." He proposed a "convention" of Native people be called so they could determine how best to address the presence of alcohol and other social ills present in the Native community. In choosing the word "convention" Bear was signalling his belief that the Native Christian community was to be recognized

[20] The United Church of Canada building on the Kahkewistahaw Reserve is named Jacob Bear United Church.

as equal with the missionary community. Those gathered at the Round Lake School had titled their gathering a "convention;" Bear was proposing the Native people have a "convention." Mr. Gaddie, whose name does not appear in the records of Foreign Missions Committee as being a paid staff person, but from his comments appears to have been a Native, probably a Cree speaker, returned to the theme of missionaries learning "the Indian tongue," and called for school staff to seek "the spiritual welfare" of the students as their primary goal. Implicit in this call was a critique of the social mandate McLaren and others impacted by the social gospel were seeking to place on the agenda of the church. The church, Gaddie contended, should focus on the question of conversion and leave the transformation of Native society in the hands of the Native people.

Both Bear and Gaddie argued for Native agency in solving the social problems that existed on and off reserves. The role of the missionary was to present the spiritual truth of the gospel and then allow the Native leadership to appropriate those parts of the gospel that addressed the indigenous needs. The indigenous discovery of the gospel would provide a more effective response to the social needs than would a missionary-imposed set of solutions.

In the wake of McLaren's paper and the group's response to it, the Association moved that McLaren, MacWhinney and MacKay along with Boyer, Thunder and Bear, become a committee to send draft resolutions to the General Assembly's Committee on Social and Moral Reform. In contrast to the committee established the previous evening, this committee had a large aboriginal component.

The Association then turned to the recommendations from the committee suggesting ways to do evangelistic work more effectively among the Native people of the Prairies. Believing there was a "need of more direct evangelistic work among our Indians" the committee asked that plans be made on every reserve, where there was a Presbyterian presence, and at each of the Industrial and "Boarding" schools, "controlled by our church," for a series of evangelistic meetings to take place. The model for the campaign, a series of worship gatherings over the course of a week during which a clear call to conversion was issued, and opportunity given for people to make a public commitment to the Christian faith, was similar to the one used by the Board of Social Service and Evangelism of the Presbyterian Church in the evangelistic campaigns they sponsored in 1909 and 1910 on Presbyterian home mission fields in Western Canada.[21] Strikingly, the committee, which included Gillespie and Heron who the night before had contended that knowing how to speak the Native languages was not essential for effective evangelism, brought forward the recommendation that the preacher at the evangelistic meetings should be "a man experienced in Indian work and familiar with the Indian language." The hope was Hugh MacKay would agree to be the preacher. Whoever the preacher was, they should not go alone; the preacher was to be accompanied by "a number of Christian Indians who are accustomed to speak to their own people." Here was recognition that the Native people could be most effectively reached with the gospel

[21] Through 1908 the Board of Social Service and Evangelism of The Presbyterian Church in Canada was engaging in talking and preparing for a series of evangelistic campaigns that took place during 1909 and 1910. There were campaigns in Glenboro Presbytery in southern Manitoba in 1909, Yorkton Presbytery in Saskatchewan in 1910, and then in the fall of 1910 the famous Kootenay Campaign took place. The Board's discussion of evangelism may have played a role in the Association of Indian Workers planning a series of campaigns in 1908 and 1909, although their efforts came to fruition before the Board of Social Service and Evangelism mounted their campaigns.

message when that message was proclaimed in the Native language of the hearer and was brought, at least in part, by a person of their own race.

A second recommendation focused on building "mutual acquaintance and confidence" between missionaries and Native people. Missionaries should not be frequently moved, for it took "some time" for relationships to become sufficiently strong that "effective mission work" could be done. Future missionaries, especially those sent to work on reserves, would spend their first year in intense language study and would not be distracted by other responsibilities. Even the principals of residential schools were actively encouraged to take language study seriously. This recommendation was brought by three residential school principals. Residential schools, which had among their goals the assimilation of their pupils into English-speaking society, were to be led by principals who had at least a working knowledge of the Native languages represented in their school. A three-year language-study course was to be established with examinations at the end of each year. These exams were to be set by a committee which included Hugh MacKay, whose knowledge of Native languages was legendary, and John Thunder who believed passionately that missionaries should speak the mother tongue of the people they were seeking to reach.

Wednesday afternoon consisted of approving the constitution of the Association which had been drafted by the Rev. F. A. Clare, a graduate of Manitoba College who had been filling in as secretary to the meetings, Miss McGregor, a long-time teacher at the Birtle School, and Miss McLaren, teacher at the Crowstand School. The diversity of the group gathered at Round Lake was again evident as a variety of people were given the opportunity to play significant roles in the Association's founding convention.

Wednesday evening was given over to a discussion of the report from the group drafting recommendations regarding the "sobriety and morality of the Indian race." The committee brought recommendations dealing with the control of alcohol on reserves and advocating severe fines for non-Natives who sold alcohol on to reserves. Picking up on Joseph Boyer's vision of greater separation of white and Native populations, the committee recommended a ten-mile prohibition zone be established around every reserve. Other recommendations called for stricter enforcement of marriage laws on reserves so marriages made by "tacit agreement" would be recognized publicly. Further, there was a request that gambling on reserves be stopped. All these recommendations were forwarded to the denomination's Committee on Moral and Social Reform. By turning to these social issues the vision of proclaiming the gospel that had been so clear in the earlier part of the Association's meeting appeared for a while to be lost in discussions of the quality of houses on reserves and ventilation in residential school buildings, especially in the dormitories. These discussions were driven by the group's awareness that too many students died in the schools.

In the midst of this discussion, Kate Gillespie invited the group to think about how to keep contact with graduates of the residential schools. Students who had made faith commitments at school needed to be nurtured and supported; she talked about how her Sunday supper table was open to graduates as well as senior students and that she sought ways to support students who had difficulty adjusting back to life on the reserve after living at the school. Others within the group agreed that this was "one of [the] greatest problems" facing the evangelistic mission of the church: sustaining and growing the commitment of those who chose to become Christians. In raising this issue Gillespie

helped remind those attending the convention that the goal of evangelism was making long term followers of Jesus.

Hugh MacKay as the senior statesman gave the final address. He was as hopeful at the end of the meeting as he had been the previous evening. The "tide had turned" he said, "the time for advance had come." The missionaries needed to master the Native languages, use Native people in carrying out the mission of the church, and be people of "hope and patience." As though to highlight the role of Native people in the mission of the church, Jacob Bear was invited to close the convention in prayer. Having committed themselves to a series of evangelistic meetings on reserves and in schools, the missionaries and school principals returned home to plan and prepare.

R. B. Heron of the Regina Industrial School invited Hugh MacKay to lead a week-long preaching mission. Heron reported there was "no attempt to work on the emotions; no over urging." Those who "wished to make a start in the Christian life" could speak to either Heron or McKay privately after the evening's meeting was concluded. Thirty-one students spoke to the leaders of the evangelistic mission stating "they wished to follow Christ." At the final worship service opportunity was given to any who wished "to give testimony" as to what had happened during these meetings. Six students did so and two girls led those gathered in prayer. Heron was amazed to see the shy young people he knew from the classroom telling the story of their faith and leading in public prayer.[22]

The Rev. F. A. Clare was involved with two evangelistic crusades on reserves. In January 1909 he invited Jacob Bear to come to the File Hills colony. "It was a great joy," Clare noted, "to see the eager faces and the interested looks as Jacob delivered the message."[23] Clare's language skills were not good enough for him to preach in Cree, and thus Bear was the preacher and the one who drew the attention. Clare was involved in a further series of evangelistic meetings, this time at Mistawasis from 28 February to 7 March 1909. The Rev. C. W. Bryden, missionary at Mistawasis, recruited Heron and Clare to assist him, but the star of the week was Jacob Bear. During the day the team went from house to house on the reserve speaking about the faith and leading family altar gatherings where they could. In the evenings evangelistic meetings took place at which Bear spoke. Clare reported, "His messages came with great power showing what a great blessing he is for such services. The interest in his words was always so great and the faces were lighted up with attentive interest as he spoke such direct messages."[24]

F. A. Clare subsequently resigned from his position at Muscowpetung "because of his inability to acquire the language."[25] Clare had seen the difference it made among hearers to have the gospel message proclaimed in their own language, and unable to learn a Native language he saw no option but to move to another kind of ministry.

W. W. McLaren recruited John Thunder to do three weeks of meetings in January and February 1909, first at the Birdtail Reserve, then at Okanase and finishing at Pipestone. A similar model was followed in each place. The mornings were given over to

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[22] R. B. Heron, letter to R. P. MacKay, 19 Jan. 1909, Box 7, Fd. 117, MAPMNW.

[23] F. A. Clare, letter to R. P. MacKay, 29 Jan. 1909, Box 7, Fd. 117, MAPMNW.

[24] F. A. Clare, letter to R. P. MacKay, 23 Mar. 1909, Box 7, Fd. 119, MAPMNW.

[25] *Minutes*, Foreign Missions Committee, Presbyterian Church in Canada (18 May 1910): 180, United Church Archives, Toronto.

prayer meetings in the homes of people living on the reserve. In the afternoon there was a Bible study on the book of Amos which, in the words of McLaren, had a "searching convicting power" among those who attended. Each evening an evangelistic meeting was held. Thunder and McLaren were accompanied by five young Native men who were part of a YMCA group on the Okanase Reserve.[26]

At each of these series of evangelistic meetings the gospel message was proclaimed either by a native speaker of the audience's mother tongue, or by a missionary who was recognized to have mastered the Native language. The church used the language of the Native people so that the message would be heard as being for them. The missionaries certainly sought to impose their cultural values on the Native peoples as was clear in McLaren's proposals to deal with issues of sobriety and morality, but the missionaries recognized that to win the Native people to Christ the missionaries needed to make use of the Native language and even Native stories to build a connection. The missionaries were invited to learn from the apostle Paul who claimed he had became "all things to all people, in order to win some."

The choice of language to be used in the proclamation of the gospel says much about the way missionaries understood the mission of the church. Sanneh is helpful again here when he writes,

> Christians do not possess the Scripture in the language of the founder of their religion, and for new converts this demands receiving the message in their own tongue [. . .]. Bible translation represents a revolutionary conception of religion as something translatable and ambi-cultural [. . .]. As an ancient Christian source put it, any foreign culture is native to Christians and any motherland is foreign.[27]

By adopting Native languages as the primary langue of evangelism, the Presbyterian missionaries opened the door for the Native people to hear the gospel in their own language and to adopt that gospel message into their own language and culture. The missionaries showed, in the summer of 1908, at least, that the assimilation of Native peoples into white society was of secondary importance to the goal of allowing Native people to discover Christianity. It can be argued that at other times cultural assimilation overshadowed the indigenous discovery of Christianity as the primary goal of the mission, but in 1908 the missionaries gathered at the Round Lake School were clear the gospel was to be proclaimed in the language of the Native people. In doing so they gave space for the aboriginal discovery of Christianity. This space was further enlarged when Jacob Bear and John Thunder were among the lead preachers used in the proclamation of the gospel; Native people who had discovered the gospel were telling their own people about their discovery. This approach required hard work, humility and trust on the part of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries. They were called to engage in the hard and humbling work of learning the native languages. The Anglo-Saxon missionaries played a secondary role to the native missionaries in the preaching of the gospel during the 1909 evangelistic campaign. In all of this the Anglo-Saxon missionaries were forced to trust the Native

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[26] W. W. McLaren, letter to R. P. MacKay, 16 Mar. 1909, Box 7, Fd. 119, MAPMNW.

[27] Sanneh, *Whose Religion* 110-111.

leadership in that leadership's discovery and appropriation of the gospel. In the summer of 1908 the missionaries of the Presbyterian Church working on the Prairies believed the work and the risks were worth it, for in this way the missionaries were fulfilling the task that had been entrusted to them: evangelization.

Rosalind Goforth, a Missionary's Wife?

Olive Regina Anstice

I would like to thank Bob Anger, Assistant Archivist at The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives and Records Office; Kathleen Gibson, Librarian at Knox College; and Hugh Rendle, Director of Library Services at Tyndale University College and Seminary, for their support and diligence in locating for me primary and secondary sources. I must also thank the staff at the Pratt Library at Victoria University who let me read a biography, written in 1913, on the Scots Presbyterian minister Robert Murray McCheyne who lived from 1813-1843.[1] *Although he died when he was only twenty-nine, his Memoirs influenced Jonathan Goforth to study for the Presbyterian ministry instead, as he had intended, of pursuing a career in law.*[2] *Unfortunately, I was not able to access the United Church Archives which were closed for relocating; neither did I consult the Billy Graham Archives at Wheaton. Had I access to those two sources this paper might have been different.*

Finally, I want to thank Al Clarkson who effected an introduction to Jeremy Bellsmith a direct descendent of Rosalind's brother, Frederick. It was Jeremy who told me that it was Rosalind's father who had added the prefix "Bell" to the family surname of "Smith." Jeremy is a graduate student at Knox College.

One hour is not sufficient to do justice to the remarkable woman, Rosalind Goforth. But I am very anxious that you should hear *her* voice. Therefore, I have decided during the final twelve minutes to read to you an excerpt from one of her books which I believe illustrates her compassion, appreciation of beauty, patience, persistence and hope as she reaches out very appropriately to another woman in the name of Christ.

Jonathan Goforth died, aged seventy-six years, in October 1936. At his funeral, a long-time family friend Canon Howitt of Hamilton remarked: "He was a man whose whole life was given over to Jesus Christ."[3] This could equally have been said of Jonathan's wife, Rosalind. They both shared a deep, personal commitment to Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord. Jonathan had been converted at eighteen under the faithful preaching of the Rev. Lachlan Cameron, Presbyterian minister at Thamesford from 1874-1894.[4] Rosalind made a public profession of faith at a revival service when she was just eleven.[5] In background and personality, however, they were very different.

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[1] Alexander Smellie, *Robert Murray McCheyne*, 2nd ed. (London: National Council of Evangelical Free Churches, 1913).

[2] Rosalind Goforth, *Goforth of China* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1937) 23 and 27.

[3] *The Presbyterian Record* Nov. 1936: 325.

[4] Goforth, *Goforth of China* 25.

[5] Rosalind Goforth, *How I Know God Answers Prayer: The Personal Testimony of One Life-Time* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1921) 8.

Jonathan was born on 6 February 1859 into a large, poor, Presbyterian farming family in Ontario. He missed much schooling to assist his father, but he was bright and regularly passed his grades. Later he won the respect of his fellow students at Knox College through his hard work and outreach among the poor and prisoners in Toronto. When twenty-two he heard the Rev. Mackay, missionary to Formosa, appealing for help in the Far East and he resolved to go to China as a missionary.[6]

Rosalind was born in London, England on 6 May 1864 to a financially comfortable, cultured, Anglican family which emigrated to Montreal when she was three. Later, they settled in Rosedale, Toronto. Her father, John, and brother, Frederick, were both distinguished artists and she herself graduated in May 1885 from the Toronto School of Art. She then prepared to go for further training in London.[7] When Rosalind was twelve her father retired and the family experienced a "severe financial crisis."[8] She tells us that she hesitated to attend church because she did not have the customary new Easter outfit!

Her parents were devout Christians. On his deathbed, her father asked her to play the hymn "Abide with Me."[9] Even as a child she realized that her mother drew her strength from prayer and biblical promises.[10] In writing about prayer in 1921, Rosalind said that precious recollections of early childhood were "associated with stories told us by our mother, many of which illustrated the power of prayer."[11] She herself, as a young woman, had prayed regarding marriage that God "would lead to me one *wholly given up to Him and to His service.*"[12]

Well, her prayer was answered positively! In 1885 she was introduced briefly to Jonathan while they were both returning by boat from Niagara-on-the-Lake. She had attended an art conference there, he a mission conference. She noted that he was shabby, but that he had a "wonderful challenge in his eyes!"[13] A few days later she saw him again at the Toronto Mission Union. When he temporarily left the room, she impulsively examined his Bible. It was, she noted, "worn to shreds." (There is, incidentally, a well worn English Bible of Jonathan's on display among other artefacts, at Tyndale Seminary.) "It had all happened within a few moments," she later wrote,

> but as I sat there, I said to myself, "*that is the man I would like to marry!*" [. . .] So when in that autumn he said, "will you join your life with mine for China?" my answer was "Yes," without a moment's hesitation. But a

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[6] Goforth, *Goforth of China* 29.

[7] Goforth, *Goforth of China* 46.

[8] Goforth, *How I Know* 9.

[9] Rosalind Goforth, *Climbing: Memories of a Missionary's Wife* (Toronto: Evangelical Publishers, 1940) 18.

[10] Goforth, *Climbing* 13.

[11] Goforth, *How I Know* 6.

[12] Goforth, *Goforth of China* 48.

[13] Goforth, *Goforth of China* 47.

> few days later when he said, "Will you give me your promise that *always* you will allow me to *put my Lord and His work first*, even before you?" I gave an inward gasp before replying, "Yes, I will, *always*."[14]

This is how, in the 1937 biography *Goforth of China*, she described her response to his proposal. But, in an earlier book, *How I Know God Answers Prayer* written in 1921, she said that she had received a definite call. She recalled that when she faced the choice between further art training or going to China, she had opened her Bible at the verse, "I have chosen you, and ordained you, that ye should go and bring forth fruit."[15]

Despite some initial opposition from her mother, on 25 October 1887, shortly after Jonathan's graduation, they were married. Then four months later, supported by his fellow students and when she was already two months pregnant, they set out for China. There they would remain, with the exception of the occasional furlough, until 1935. She informed her readers in her book, *Climbing: Memories of a Missionary's Wife*, first published in 1940, that he "expected only the highest and best from me as a missionary,"[16] and that her ideal of a missionary wife was to be "patient, forbearing, yielding, and easy to get along with!"[17] She does not say what expectations, if any, she had of him!

They were different in background and also in personality. Jonathan never varied. He was from a teenager a mature, resolute Christian who followed whatever he perceived to be God's will in his life with absolute confidence that God would meet every need. For several hours every day he studied the Bible and prayed. He was described by the Rev. Adoniram Jackson as "a God-intoxicated man,"[18] and he adopted as his life's verse Zechariah 4:6, "Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit,"[19] saith the Lord of hosts. A friend said that he had warmth and love and that "sunlight that was deep in his heart and shone on his face was because his life was 'hid with Christ in God.'"[20] Rosalind knew him as "patient, faithful, ever cheerful."[21] But he was forward-looking, a pioneer and he was not easy to get along with when facing issues in Presbytery that affected his own work.[22] She did comment that he had the "saving grace of humour."[23]

Rosalind's writings reveal a more complex personality. She was an artist; she appreciated beauty in its varied manifestations. As a child she had loved looking at

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[14] Goforth, *Goforth of China* 49.

[15] Goforth, *How I Know* 12.

[16] Goforth, *Climbing* 35.

[17] Goforth, *Climbing* 28.

[18] Alvyn J.Austin, *Saving China: Canadian Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom 1888-1959* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1986) 27.

[19] Goforth, *Goforth of China* 18.

[20] Goforth, *Goforth of China* [5].

[21] Goforth, *Climbing* 75.

[22] Goforth, *Goforth of China* 161-64.

[23] Goforth, *Climbing* 33.

stained glass windows.[24] More recently, she described how one day travelling with Jonathan and feeling rather hopeless, her spirits lifted when he picked and gave to her a bunch of wild violets. Instantly, she saw beauty all around and recognized that "God, the great Artist, held the key to the problem of suffering and all its mystery."[25] She was also a musician. I have already mentioned her father's dying request.

From 1920 onwards Rosalind proved herself to be a competent writer. In the preface to her first book, *Chinese Diamonds for the King of Kings*, she says that she wanted to give missionaries' letters a more readable form. "This little book is sent forth with the earnest hope and prayer that those who read these sketches may come to see the truth of what Paul said: 'God hath made of ONE BLOOD all men under heaven.'"[26] As one might expect from a writer, she appears to have been well read. A scrapbook, compiled by her daughter following her mother's death, contains quotations drawn from a wide variety of authors which impressed Rosalind. These are interspersed with her comments. The last entry, probably the last paragraph she ever wrote, is impressive. "Visions of overwhelmingly fearful possibilities" had gripped her before she initially set out for China. But she had experienced in practice that, "Anywhere with Jesus we can safely go!" And, she proclaimed, "Had I my life's decision to make again with what joy and glad hopefulness would I go forward into the path of service for Christ."[27]

Elsewhere she sighs, "How to get the sewing done for my family [she would make forty outfits for the children!] and yet meet the pressing calls made upon me as the wife of a pioneer missionary, for almost thirty years has been perhaps the most difficult and constant problem of my missionary life."[28] She certainly must have detested sewing, for elsewhere, as she looks back, she says that the hardest part of a foreign missionary mother's life was separation from husband or from children. She describes how she wept for two days after the youngest was placed in boarding school until Jonathan became very stern with her.[29]

When offered a gift by a lifelong friend, Lydia Fleming, wife of the mayor of Toronto, Rosalind chose the *Ladies' Home Journal*. In a letter written on 21 March 1892, she says that, in comparison with her friend's busy social life, she herself was "better fitted for the quiet life of a missionary." But, in the same letter, "last week in four days I had no less than one hundred fifty women to see me!" No holiday for three and one-half years. "I must confess the constant strain makes me apt to get nervous."[30] And, writing again to Lydia twenty-one years later on 28 September 1913, "I feel in need of friendly, sympathetic support as never before [. . .] while it is undoubtedly ideal mission

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[24] Goforth, *Climbing* 13.

[25] Goforth, *Climbing* 84.

[26] Rosalind Goforth, *Chinese Diamonds for the King of Kings: Kikungshan, South Honan, China* (Toronto: Evangelical Publishers, 1920) [4].

[27] *A Book of Quotable Quotes: Culled from the Lifelong Collection of Rosalind Goforth*, File 1997-5007-1-1, The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives and Records Office (PCCARO).

[28] Goforth, *How I Know* 112.

[29] Goforth, *Climbing* 93-95.

[30] Rosalind Goforth, letters to Lydia Fleming, 1894-1913, FB.Bio R&J Go 996-241, Tyndale University College & Seminary Archives, Toronto.

work it is, as I grow older, increasingly wearing. [. . .] I know my husband needs me and oh the need for women to reach women is so great."[31]

Before I talk about Rosalind's practical spirituality, I must mention how dowdy she felt when on furlough in Canada. She relates how a church kindly fitted her out with an expensive dress and cape. But everything was black and she felt so old! On another occasion, she trimmed her old fashioned toque with three bows. Her embarrassment was acute when at the end of a meeting at which she was the speaker; she realized that the bows had disintegrated exposing three, prominent, upright hairpins sticking out of the front of her hat. Her advice to returning missionaries: pray for guidance about your clothes![32]

Rosalind was totally dependent on the Scriptures for comfort and guidance and reassurance of God's sovereignty. In her book *How I Know God Answers Prayer* she heads each chapter with a Bible verse and then illustrates the application and truth of that verse. Repeatedly, when she sought guidance, the appropriate verse would catch her eye and show her the way forward. She had had the example of her mother, after all, from childhood.

When Jonathan died Rosalind was 71 years old. She felt past attempting the biography of his life which she had always intended to write. Then, on top of a pile of old Christmas cards she saw one containing the verses from 1 Chronicles 28:29: "The Lord hath chosen thee. Be strong and of good courage, and do it: fear not, do not be dismayed, for the LORD GOD, even my GOD, will be with thee; he will not fail thee, nor forsake thee, until thou hast finished all the work." "What could I do in face of such a timely and wonderful message but just go forward in faith believing for the Divine strength and wisdom and power needed and promised?"[33]

Two years later she finished writing *Goforth of China*, an account which has formed the basis for so much subsequent knowledge about him. She simply did not have time to study for hours as her husband regularly did. The children clamoured for her attention and later, often weak and in poor health, she travelled incessantly. But her confidence in, and love for, the Scriptures remained constant throughout her life.

Rosalind was also totally dependent on prayer. "I am convinced that God has intended prayer to be as simple and natural, and as constant a part of our spiritual life, as the intercourse between a child and his parent in the home."[34] She said that God had not always given her what she asked for, "for him to have done so would have been great unkindness."[35] It had always seemed to her that the Lord tested her to almost the last moment. Then when she yielded, the answer would come.[36] She prayed about everything, even for help in locating a mislaid key.[37] She also attributed their safety during the ferocious Boxer Rising (when many other missionaries were murdered and

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[31] Goforth to Fleming, 28 September 1913.

[32] Goforth, *Climbing* 157-61.

[33] Goforth, *Goforth of China* [12].

[34] Goforth, *How I Know* 1-2.

[35] Goforth, *How I Know* 4.

[36] Goforth, *How I Know* 26.

[37] Goforth, *How I Know* 123.

Jonathan himself was nearly decapitated) to the fact that in Canada the General Assembly, which was meeting at the time, devoted one whole session to prayer on behalf of the missionaries in China.[38]

Although she was not critical of others, Rosalind was dissatisfied with herself. She described herself as "a struggling overcomer [. . .] a climber."[39] She confessed to having had from childhood an imperious and passionate nature which she attributed to having been alternatively petted and mercilessly teased by her older siblings. She would sob to her mother, "I do, I do want to be good."[40] As an adult, she recognized her inability to control her temper to be a spiritual failing in her Christian walk.

In this and in other shortcomings Rosalind looked upon her husband as her mentor. I find it sad that it was when on furlough in 1916 and under the ministry of another faithful Christian, Dr. Charles Trumball, editor of the *Sunday School Times* that she finally achieved inner peace and consistent outer control: "I quietly but definitely accepted Christ as my Saviour from the *power* of sin as I had so long before accepted him as my Saviour from the *penalty* of sin. And on this I rested. [. . .] Like a tired, worn-out wanderer finding home at last I just *rested* in him. Rested in his love—in himself."[41]

Jonathan preached powerfully under the guidance of the Holy Spirit facilitating repentance and confession on the part of Christians. Their subsequent vibrant witness resulted in thousands coming to know Christ. However, in my opinion, at times he was perhaps too stern with his wife and not sufficiently sensitive to the inner struggle with which she was burdened, or attuned to her need for understanding. For instance, when they were just newly engaged:

> I had been (woman-like) indulging in dreams of the beautiful engagement ring that was soon to be mine. Then Jonathan came to me and said, "You will not mind, will you, if I do not get an engagement ring?" He then went on to tell with great enthusiasm of the distributing of books and pamphlets on China from his room in Knox. Every cent was needed for this important work. As I listened and watched his glowing face, the visions I had indulged in of the beautiful engagement ring vanished. This was my first lesson in *real values*."[42]

At another time, they were opening a new station. Rosalind had just got the baby off to sleep and begun to sew the children's clothes when forty to fifty women arrived wanting to see over the house. "'Oh, dear, dear, how can I ever get the children's clothes made! If only a rainy day would come I might get something made.'" "'Patience, patience,' her husband's voice came through the study door. 'These crowds will not last indefinitely so do your best to reach them while you may.'" She had to show them everything and they stole her material, scissors and spoons. Jonathan was unsympathetic to her tears. "'Tut,

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[38] Goforth, *How I Know* 44.

[39] Goforth, *Climbing* 27.

[40] Goforth, *Climbing* 10.

[41] Goforth, *Goforth of China* 230; Goforth, *How I Know* 136-37.

[42] Goforth, *Goforth of China* 49.

tut,' replied her husband, man-like. 'That's nothing. Why they are only *things* anyway!'"[43] Finally, on another occasion when she had lost her temper and ordered a rough and repulsive woman to leave the house, Jonathan came out of the study.

> He had overheard everything. [Rosalind] tried to explain but he interrupted her. "You certainly had reason to be annoyed; but were you *justified*, with all that is hanging in the balance and God's grace sufficient to keep you patient?" As he turned to re-enter his study he said, "All I can say is *I am disappointed*!" Oh, how that last word cut me. I deserved it, yes, but, oh, I did so want to reach up to the high ideals he had.[44]

Perhaps inevitably, Rosalind was sometimes reticent. One evening, lodged in a filthy room in an inn with only a mudhole in the wall for their bedding, a desperate fear for her small child gripped her when she saw just beyond the hole several rat holes. But, she said that pride kept her from letting her husband know her fears.[45] Just once she records asserting herself. She determined to visit an unmarried woman missionary friend despite her husband's pleading. "I wanted to show him I must have my way sometimes." The following morning, after reading Ephesians, she felt guilty and left precipitately. She was surprised that Jonathan met the train saying, "I knew you would come." But, she added, he gave her her way as never before, "And a new realization of yieldedness came to us both, which brought blessed results in our home life."[46]

Despite tense moments, their marriage was truly happy and satisfying to them both. One can tell this from photographs of them as a couple in old age when Rosalind was deaf and Jonathan was totally blind. Charles Trumball, their friend for twenty years, described their union as "a marriage of rare beauty, fellowship, and unity in faith and work."[47] Even with little privacy, they must have experienced many passionate moments for they birthed eleven children, though sadly five were buried in China. And, she tells in *Goforth of China* of tender moments "too sacred for these pages."[48]

Finally, what about the status of Rosalind Goforth? In their splendid book *Certain Women Amazed Us*, Klempa and Doran pose a question regarding women married to missionaries: are they to be viewed as missionary wives or missionaries' wives?[49] Some women obviously fall into the latter category and that was how Rosalind viewed herself. She did not sign her name to her biography of Jonathan.[50] She was apologetic for including information about herself.[51] In the male-dominated Presbyterian

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[43] Goforth, *Chinese Diamonds* 35-36.

[44] Goforth, *Climbing* 51.

[45] Goforth, *Chinese Diamonds* 46.

[46] Goforth, *Climbing* 89.

[47] Goforth, *Goforth of China* [9].

[48] Goforth, *Goforth of China* 189.

[49] Lois Klempa and Rosemary Doran, *Certain Women Amazed Us: The Women's Missionary Society, Their Story 1864-2002* (Toronto: Women's Missionary Society (WD), 2002) 34.

[50] Klempa and Doran 37.

[51] Goforth, *Goforth of China* 155.

Church, she was a non-person: she received no salary and was not even listed on the mission sheets.[52]

Such an appraisal was not confined to the church. In September 1936, following their retirement, a reporter from *The Globe* visited. He was greeted, he said, by "Mrs. Goforth the kindly old lady who had been [Jonathan's] partner." While he interviewed Jonathan, she "sat quietly by busy with her knitting."[53] Apparently it did not occur to him to question her.

In the years since her death she has generated little fame. Alvyn Austin clearly pitied her: "poor long-suffering Rosalind who had no choice but to follow where Jonathan led."[54] I was pleased that our Society's President, Dr. MacLeod, in a fine monograph on Jonathan, in referring to the Goforths' marriage wrote, "Thus began one of the most remarkable missionary partnerships on record."[55] Her influence does continue. Cassandra Irving, a student at Tyndale Seminary in 2003, attributed to Rosalind's writings a dramatic change in her own life style,[56] but many persons to whom I spoke did not even know her name.

Yet without Rosalind, Jonathan would have had no access to the Chinese women. As late as 1911, Murdoch Mackenzie, a Presbyterian colleague wrote, "it still remains true that Chinese women must be reached and evangelized by Christian women from their own and other lands."[57] Rosalind visited within their homes; she met their individual needs. For instance, a Mrs. Lee asked her to hold her hand throughout an eye operation performed without chloroform.[58] Their home was open to all comers. Jonathan would preach to the men, Rosalind to the women, and then the visitors were free to explore the house. She demonstrated the organ, the sewing machine and the stove; and her unbound feet were regularly examined. This process often continued from dawn until dusk. On one day alone in the spring of 1899 they received eighteen hundred and thirty-five men and several hundred women![59]

The mission team moved into Honan Province in 1892. Rosalind said that initially the Chinese "hated and distrusted us as if we were their worst enemies."[60] Indeed, Hudson Taylor, founder of the Chinese Inland Mission, had warned them in advance of the danger and had advised, "If you would enter Honan, you must go forward on your knees."[61] To all the many dangers: bandits, riots, diseases, famines and civil

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[52] Klempa and Doran 35.

[53] Jonathan Goforth Reference File, PCCARO.

[54] Austin 220.

[55] A. Donald MacLeod, "Goforth of China," *Called to Witness: Profiles of Canadian Presbyterians: A Supplement to Enduring Witness*, ed. Stanford W. Reid, vol. 2 ([Don Mills, ON]: Presbyterian Publications, 1975) 72.

[56] See Tyndale University College & Seminary's *Connection* 14.1 (Winter 2008).

[57] Murdoch Mackenzie, *Twenty-Five Years in Honan* (Toronto: Board of Foreign Missions, The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1912) 154, 1988-1003-92-10, PCCARO.

[58] Goforth, *Chinese Diamonds* 24.

[59] Goforth, *How I Know* 36.

[60] Goforth, *How I Know* 19.

[61] Austin 23.

wars Rosalind was equally exposed. She filled sixteen pages to describe their horrendous escape during the 1900 Boxer Rising.[62]

Rosalind accompanied Jonathan, and went to her own speaking engagements, pushed along in a springless wheelbarrow over deeply rutted roads.[63] To these journeys she later attributed the painful varicose veins of her lower intestines.[64] It was also on such travels that she managed to jot down the chapters that formed her later books.[65]

After 1902 the Goforths had no settled home; they would preach in one location, found a church and then move on. These journeys increased after 1908 when Jonathan, inspired by the 1904 Welsh revival and his reading of Charles Finney's *Lectures on Revival*[66] began, in Austin's words, to "traipse though China with his wife and five children like 'gospel nomads.'"[67] Rosalind, too, preached daily. Imagine her situation! Even years earlier, in the fall of 1895, she had been so tired from preaching that she could hardly talk.[68]

Rosalind was a competent administrator. When Jonathan decided to devote himself solely to revival preaching, the men at the main mission station in Chengde wanted her, in his absence, to take charge of her husband's field. The all male Presbytery refused: "there was no Presbyterian precedent for such a course[!]"[69] In response to the widespread famine in North Honan in 1920 Rosalind wrote a tract which brought in $200,000, all of which she administered. The Chinese government honoured her with a medal.[70]

Six years later, after rising from a death-bed to accompany Jonathan back to China to pioneer a new field in Manchuria, and still carried around on a stretcher, Rosalind lamented, "I have felt rather keenly my inability to take a more active part in the actual preaching [. . .] at present I am just a house-keeper and general manager and gap-filler."[71] As late as 1930 Rosalind was still active, and had been elected Secretary of the evangelistic fund. In that capacity, she later said, she wrote six hundred to eight hundred letters a year.[72] Even when on furlough she could not relax. Consider for example 1910: in addition to caring for her five children, she addressed no less than two hundred and

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[62] Goforth, *Goforth of China* 129-47.

[63] Alex Armstrong, *Shantung (China) A General Outline of the Geography and History of the Province: A Sketch of Its Mission: and Notes of a Journey to the Tomb of Confucius* (Shanghai: *Shanghai Mercury*, 1891).

[64] Rosalind Goforth, 23 Nov. 1910, 996-241, Tyndale University College & Seminary Archives, Toronto.

[65] Goforth, *How I Know* v.

[66] Charles G. Finney, *Lectures on Revival* (Minneapolis, MN: Bethany House, 1988) 163.

[67] Austin 118.

[68] Goforth, *Goforth of China* 106.

[69] Goforth, *Goforth of China* 188.

[70] Jonathan Goforth Reference File, PCCARO.

[71] Rosalind Goforth, "Our Foreign Missions: From Mrs. Goforth," *Presbyterian Record* 52 (Sept. 1927): 282.

[72] Goforth, *Climbing* 112.

fifty meetings![73]

Was she a missionary in her own right, or just a missionary's wife? Consider the following excerpt "How 'Old Autocrat' Was Won by a Sketch" written by Rosalind and taken from the book *Miracle Lives of China*:[74]

> What a cross, crabbed, old creature she was! Her face looked like a piece of crinkled brown paper with two little sharp, black eyes looking you through and through. No wonder she was called the "Old Autocrat," because for over twenty years she had exercised unique authority as senior woman of the entire Chang clan, whose numbers were legion. What the exact relationship was between Chang-san and this old lady I could never quite puzzle out. It was about as complicated as that of our old hostess at a certain place, who said she was related to one of our evangelists. Curious to know what the relationship was, I pressed her for it, and not being able to remember it correctly five minutes after, I wrote it down. This is what she said: "Paifang ti Nai Nai shih wo Chang fu ti Tieh ti Ku Ku." This being exactly translated is, "Pai fang's grandmother was my husband's father's brother's daughter!"
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> Within old Mrs. Chang's own court were three small buildings, each facing into the court; it was in the south building where this curious old character had lived a widow and alone for twenty years. It was here she kept carefully guarded all her earthly treasures. And such treasures! Crocks of every size and degree of imperfectness, some emitting far from pleasant odours; baskets from which old shoe soles protruded, with bits of all kinds of scraps, etc.; broken boards and pieces of useless furniture filled every crevice between the crocks. The only place which ever seemed cleared was the "kang" (brick platform bed) in the little inner room. Neatly folded quilts of brilliant colours were always in evidence, while the kang itself was covered with a neat straw mat. Immediately in front of the kang was a tiny brick stove with a flue which carried the heat under the hollow kang. How many times have I felt the comfort and warmth of these warm bricks after a cold ten-mile cart ride in winter!
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> Just outside her bedroom window the old woman kept her own coffin. It had rested there for twenty years, so as to be safely guarded against thieves. Yes, she was indeed a real character. Every time we visited the village she would take refuge in this treasure house of hers, closely barring the door lest she meet the foreign woman and become contaminated.
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> One day, when Dr. Goforth and I were spending the week-end preaching at Hsiwen, Chang-san's mother said to me, "I do wish we could win the 'Old Autocrat.' She is making it so hard for us Christians. Every

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[73] Goforth, *Climbing* 126.

[74] Jonathan and Rosalind Goforth, "How 'Old Autocrat' was Won By a Sketch," *Miracle Lives of China* (Toronto: Evangelical Publishers, 1931) 100-09. Excerpt used with permission of Tyndale University College & Seminary.

one fears her tongue, and so keeps in with her. She just hates us Christians." As she spoke, a sudden thought struck me.

"Mrs. Wang," I said to my dear Bible-woman, in whom I had complete confidence, "you go over to old Mrs. Chang's door and see if you can get in touch with her while we remain here and pray for you." Off Mrs. Wang went as quickly as her poor crippled feet could carry her. Arriving at the "Old Autocrat's" door she knocked once, twice, three times, but no response came. Mrs. Wang knew the old lady was within, for the bar was fastened inside. Just as she was about to turn away a faint sound of the bar being drawn could be heard. Then, very slowly, the two-leafed door opened just a little.

"What do you want?" came gruffly from inside.

"I just want to come and pay my respects to you Venerable Grandmother," replied Mrs. Wang, sweetly.

"I know what you have come for—just to talk against my gods!" was the sharp retort.

"No indeed," said Mrs. Wang, quickly, "I'll not say a word about your gods, *I'll only talk about mine if you let me in*." This seemed to please the old woman, and opening the door a little further she said:

"Well, if you promise not to speak against my gods I'll let you in."

So Mrs. Wang promised, the door opened, and in she went. I have often laughed to myself at the highly-coloured picture Mrs. Wang must have drawn of me to the poor old body, for it was not long before she became curious to see the foreign woman for herself. At last she asked:

"Do you think she would come over if I were to invite her?"

Scarcely able to hide her elation, Mrs. Wang replied, "I think she would if I went for her."

A few moments later we were all startled by Mrs. Wang bursting breathlessly into our midst. "Do come at once, the old woman has invited you over!"

We all started off in haste, and on arriving at the old woman's door I was surprised at the warmth of my reception. Inborn fear was very evidently struggling with equally inborn courtesy, and the latter won out as she placed me on the least rickety bench. Almost immediately the old lady opened fire.

"Do you mean to tell me those eyes do not see me," pointing to a hideous contorted picture representing the god of wealth which occupied the place of honour on the wall immediately opposite the door. Feeling the need for going very carefully with this strange old character, I replied:

"Do you really think they *can* see you?"

"Of course they can. And those and those," said the "Old Autocrat," pointing to several other minor gods hanging on the wall. Before replying I raised my heart in a cry for wisdom, and then said:

"Venerable Grandmother, do you think I can make eyes that can see?"

"You certainly cannot," she replied, emphatically.

"Do you think I could make a god?" I again asked.

"You most certainly cannot," still more emphatically.

"Then," I said, "if I make eyes that *seem* to look at you far more really than those of any of these gods, and I make them on paper like the gods are printed on, will you, my Venerable Grandmother, believe that these eyes which you *think* can see you are only picture eyes that *seem* to see?"

For several moments we faced each other, looking straight into one another's eyes, while the crowd waited with bated breath. Then the old woman tossed her head, and with a laugh as of victory said, "Ah, but you can't do it!"

"You just see," I cried quickly. "Wait here and I will be back in a few moments." Away I flew through the courts, gates and alleys over to Chang-san's home where we were staying. Dr. Goforth was reading his Bible on the kang by the window.

"Oh, be quick Jonathan," I cried, "and get me a red and blue pencil, a fountain pen, a lead and an indelible pencil." While he was gathering these together I told him what I was about to do, and catching up a large unruled writing pad and the pencils, I hastened back.

The crowd had greatly increased, and the room was so packed I could scarcely get elbow room.

"Now," I said, "you must not touch my arm, and you must give me light." I made room for the "Old Autocrat" beside me, and there she stood through it all watching every line I drew. Many years before, as a girl, my dear father had taught me to draw the outlines of a human face by rule, and I determined to follow these rules. As my pencils flew, the interest increased, till the crowd just swayed back and forth in their effort to see what I was drawing. With the red pencil, I coloured the cheeks and lips; with the blue, the eyes and dress were tinted, and black curly hair was made with the fountain pen. But the final touches to the eyes I reserved to the last, and as I was doing this I prayed that the Lord might enable me to make them very lifelike. When the last touch was finished, I almost startled myself, for the eyes seemed to look so at one.

"Oh, give it to me, give it to me," cried the "Old Autocrat," trying to snatch the picture from me.

"No, no," I replied, "I cannot give it to you unless you promise not to worship it." Then, making my way through the crowd to where the god of wealth hung, I held my picture up beside the contorted face of the god, and said to the "Old Autocrat," who had followed me:

"Now, Venerable Grandmother, tell me truthfully, which pair of eyes *seem* to look at you the best?" The old woman was silent for a several moments while a great stillness reigned in the room. Then with a big sigh and a catch in her voice, and a look in her eyes that was half frightened and half awakened, she stretched out her hand begging:

"Say no more, lady; give me the picture and I'll promise not to worship it." I saw the poor old body had been under great strain, and

thought it wisest to say no more. The old woman's face was a study as she looked at the picture I had just drawn. One of the women in the crowd called out:

"I guess you don't know, lady, what a 'hao chao hua ti' old Grandmother is!" The Chinese being freely translated means "A connoisseur in art!"

"Oh, you are?" I said, turning to the old woman, "then we will be great friends, for I am quite a connoisseur in art too! I have lots of pictures, and every time I come up from Changte I'll try and remember to bring you one."

In the months that followed, many a brilliant picture torn from *The Ladies' Home Journal* or other papers found their way on to the "Old Autocrat's" walls, and gradually replaced the execrable pictures which had won her reputation as a collector of art!

The great change of heart came slowly with this strange, yet lovable old woman. Long before we could be sure that she had a personal love for the Lord Jesus as her Saviour, she had become devoted to Dr. Goforth and myself. Indeed, long before we were satisfied that the old woman's heart was changed (for sad to say, the villagers still had reason to fear her tongue), she had become a great blessing to the church and especially to the Christian women. One of her houses, just across the court from where she lived, was rented to the Christians as a chapel and school house. Her court became the rendezvous for the Christian women before and between Sunday service. At such times the old lady gave herself up to keeping the women supplied with hot water to drink, and in other ways seeking to make them feel at home.

As time passed the old woman seemed to lose her fear of her coffin being stolen, and had it removed from under her bedroom window to a place beside the preacher's desk in the chapel, where for years it made a convenient stand for the congregation's Bibles and hymn books. The first time I saw it there, I said to the evangelist in charge, "Surely you are not going to allow *that thing* to stay there!" He replied, "Why not, lady? It's empty!" Not being able to say just why, there the coffin remained!

Not long before leaving China for furlough, old Mrs. Chang (for I do not like to call her "Old Autocrat" any longer) said to me, "I'm coming down to Changte to see you." I expressed my delight at the prospect of a visit. A few weeks later, the old woman, now over eighty, appeared at our door. What a delight she took in examining everything, from the kitchen stove to the globe in Dr. Goforth's study! But it was the pictures which seemed to fascinate her; again and again she turned to them. As we stood together looking at a beautiful picture of snow-clad Rocky Mountain peaks, which my brother had painted and given me years before, I saw a strange and to me, beautiful wistfulness on the old woman's face, and the thought of the chrysalis came to me, how it was shut up in its unlovely hard crust, till the moment of its deliverance. So, I thought, this old woman with her instinctive love for the beautiful has been for eighty years

> enclosed, imprisoned, in the hard unbroken crust of a heathen environment; but the grace of God had begun the change within, and the moment of her soul's deliverance is near at hand when she can come forth unfettered and beautified to ascend to the God who made her. Who knows but that one day you may meet the once "Old Autocrat"—but then, a beautified soul changed into His image in the gloryland?

Was Rosalind Goforth a missionary in her own right, or just a missionary's wife? I leave it to you to decide.

South China Missionaries and the Chinese Revolution, 1902-1949

Geoff Johnston

The South China Mission was the last mission established by The Presbyterian Church in Canada prior to the schism of 1925. Its origins lay in the enthusiasm of Chinese Canadians who had become Christian under Presbyterian auspices and wanted to share their new faith with their relatives in China. In 1902 the church appointed a young Nova Scotian, William R. McKay, to China. He thought he was going to Henan, the long-standing mission in north China, but a subsequent letter from J. C. Thomson, who was working among the Chinese in Montreal, informed him that he was to start a new mission in Macao.

Macao was chosen because the Chinese in Canada had come from that part of the country, the Pearl River Delta. The American Presbyterians were already established in that district, and some Chinese congregations in Canada had been sending money to that mission to support work among their relatives. McKay discovered on arrival that the Americans did not have a separate account for work among the "Canadian" villages, but put the donations in their general mission fund. McKay promptly suggested that any more such donations be sent to him. The "Canadian" villages were in San Ming, a district already well served by preachers. There were opportunities in other places, but if he were to start work there he feared the mission might lose the support of the Chinese Canadians.

The problem eventually solved itself. The Americans were involved in discussions leading to the formation of the Presbyterian Church in China. McKay joined the conversations and in due course it was agreed that the Canadians should settle in Kong Moon and Shek Kei some distance inland from Macao, and take over responsibility for the work in San Ming. McKay moved to Kong Moon (Jiangmen), an adjacent city, at the end of 1907. By this time the mission staff numbered three couples and three single women.

Once settled in their new quarters the missionaries developed a fairly conventional China mission. By 1924, the year before the schism, they had a small network of thirteen day schools for boys, and a boarding school for boys. Students wanting to study past primary school had to go to Canton. They also had two hospitals, one in Kong Moon for both men and women and one in Shek Kei, largely financed by Hong Kong merchants from the district. The evangelistic work was part of the Presbytery of Canton, a body which met once a year.

In 1924 the missionaries had the opportunity to vote for or against joining the proposed United Church of Canada. Most missionaries voted for union, and the mission duly entered the care of the United Church. Most of those who voted against found work elsewhere in China, although the one dissenting minister returned to Canada in ill health. In 1927 the Presbyterians entered the Church of Christ in China which gradually assumed responsibility, first for the evangelistic and then the institutional parts of the mission. With one exception the missionaries were evacuated to Macao during the Anti-Japanese

War, returned briefly between the end of the war and the coming of the Communists, and then left for good.

The one exception was Victoria Cheung, who was born in Victoria, British Columbia. Her parents had become Christian in Canada and were anxious that their daughter be a missionary to the people in China. The Canadian Women's Missionary Society financed a medical degree in Toronto, and she arrived in Kong Moon in 1922. Eventually most of her family joined her. Cheung was still on the staff when the Japanese evacuated her colleagues, but she didn't tell the invaders she held a British passport. During the war she ran a practice in Kong Moon, and continued to practice medicine after the Communists arrived. The United Church still considered her a missionary and for a while kept a bank account for her in Canada, but any communication became very risky. She died of lung cancer in May 1966.[1]

Cheung is one of the more outstanding examples of the continuing connection between people in the Canadian mission area and expatriate Chinese, in Canada and elsewhere. Exploration of these connections requires a knowledge both of Cantonese and the Chinese clan structure, neither of which I possess.

This paper will focus instead on the attitude of the missionaries to events in China. The mission lived through all of China's turbulent transition from monarchy to Communist republic. McKay arrived in 1902, the Imperial examinations were abolished in 1905, the Qing dynasty collapsed in 1912, Yuan Shi Kai's attempt to maintain a strong central government ended with his death in 1916, and the country descended into chronic civil war which ended with the partial triumph of the Kuomintang in 1928. At this point the Nationalists fell out with the Communists and the civil wars continued. In 1931, the Japanese invaded Manchuria and in 1937 China itself. No sooner were the Japanese defeated than the war between Communists and Nationalists resumed, ending only with the victory of the Communists in 1949. In the first half of the twentieth century China seemed like a failed state.

Politically it was; from the fall of the Qing in 1912 until the triumph of the Communists in 1949, China lacked an effective central government. But, as John King Fairbank has pointed out, the same years saw a series of very constructive changes. These were the years of what he calls Sino-Liberalism.[2]

The Boxer rebellion in 1900 was the last gasp of traditional China. When it failed almost every one agreed that China had to change by adopting some measure of western learning. The abolition of the imperial examinations cleared the way for something new, and naturally there was a great deal of debate about what the "new culture" should look like, but all agreed it would involve large doses of modernization. Since the United States and Europe provided the principal models of modernization, modernization meant westernization. The process was greatly facilitated by the decision of the United States to devote at first part and finally all of its share of the Boxer indemnities to financing the studies of bright young Chinese in the United States. Success at the third level of Confucian examinations was replaced by a PhD from Columbia. The Canadians participated easily but modestly in modernization, but were somewhat baffled by the

[1] Mrs. Rae Isaac, letter to the Women's Missionary Society, 7 June 1966, South China Files, United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto (SCF).

[2] See John King Fairbank, *The Great Chinese Revolution, 1800-1985* (New York: Harper and Row, 1987) 182-203.

chaotic state of Chinese politics.

Participation in modernization came naturally; the other missions were doing the same, everyone agreed it was the thing to do. The Canadians ran a small system of schools on the western model and contributed staff to ecumenical teaching hospitals in Canton. Jessie MacBean, one of the early medical missionaries was the senior dissenter on the South China staff; she left the women's hospital in Kong Moon and went to the Hackett Medical Centre in Canton. In the 1930s the South China staff list included a doctor at another ecumenical hospital in Canton. All this came so naturally that they never drew attention to it. Politics was another matter.

The 1911 revolution began in September with the siege of Chengdu in Szechuan. But that was way off in West China, and the South China missionaries may be forgiven for not mentioning it. The uprising in October, in Wuchang (now part of Wuhan) was somewhat closer to home, and within a month revolutionary fervour had captured most of the country, including Kwan Tong. The Revolutionary government was proclaimed in Nanking on 1 January 1912. But the first missionary reference to these events does not appear until March.

R. P. MacKay, the Secretary for Foreign Missions in Toronto wrote to Jessie MacBean on 2 January, in his usual avuncular style:

> The people here who do not know are naturally anxious about the situation in China. Indeed that so far as you are concerned there is perfect safety inasmuch as you have a gunboat in the harbour. The British flag is a charm against such dangers is it not? I was so much impressed with the world wide influence of the Empire of which we may well be proud.[3]

On the missionary side the first reference that can be dated is a letter from Robert Duncanson, dated 6 March, saying that things were quiet for the moment, but one should expect surprises.[4] A more considered comment came in the annual report to the General Assembly for 1912:

> *The event of greatest note* during the year was the revolution. Those who best know China and her problems would have been slow to predict, four months ago, that the present state of affairs would have been such as we find it today. We who are living in the midst of it can hardly realize the meaning of what has occurred during the past four months. What the future has in store would be hard to conjecture; but one thing is certain. *China has taken a long and rapid stride forwards and she will not go back. Her face is toward the future* and not toward the past. A new China is being born. The old is passing rapidly. The new is everywhere apparent. A new motive and a new spirit are seen. New forms and new customs are

[3] R. P. MacKay, letter to Jessie MacBean, 6 Jan. 1912, SCF.

[4] Robert Duncanson, letter to A. E. Armstrong, 6 Mar. 1912, SCF. Duncanson is cautiously optimistic about the republic, but his comments come as the last paragraph in a housekeeping letter.

being adopted, and China is entering on a new era and a new life.[5]

This kind of optimism was hard to sustain. The main references to life in republican China have to do with pirates. Pirate stories recur constantly in the correspondence until the success of the Nationalists in 1928. The missionaries themselves were rarely in danger, but the Christians were not. Two school boys were kidnapped in the course of 1914. In one case the boy's mother seems to have negotiated a small ransom, if any at all. In the other case it cost the family $400 to get the boy back. In neither case was there any evidence of law enforcement.[6] When the government did act to suppress piracy it was rather heavy handed. When a steamer was attacked near the town of Tae P'ing, the Cantonese government dispatched a punitive expedition and reduced the town to ruins. The place had a reputation as a pirates' lair. On another occasion the government offered a pardon to all thieves who surrendered by a certain day. About 160 people showed up in response to the offer and were summarily shot.[7]

As long as Yuan Shi Kai was around the missionaries were not sure what to make of him. In 1913 Ethel Reid remarked that in southern China he was regarded as too despotic. On the other hand, China was so unsettled and uncertain that she needed a strong man, and for all his faults Yuan qualified on that score. But Reid was an honest woman; she went on to say that such subjects were "too high for me" and that her main source of information on Chinese opinion was her language teacher.[8] Three years later Duncan McRae was singularly detached. The underlying cause of China's troubles, he argued, was the "awakening" of China, brought about in large part by the gospel, "the light that lighteneth every man." But as to the immediate cause he was noncommittal:

> Some will tell you [it] is the selfish ambitions of a crafty autocrat, while others will tell you it is healthy and honourable on the part of Yuan Shi Kai to establish a monarchy in order to preserve the welfare of China. He himself would have you believe that he has been urged by the peoples' representatives to establish a monarchy.[9]

Yuan settled the issue by dying in June 1916, and China descended into chronic civil war.

The civil war was no major problem for the mission. Most of the fighting took place elsewhere, but from time to time country work had to be suspended because of the conflict. There was fighting in and around Kongmoon in 1916, and again in 1922. Agnes

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[5] "South China: Changing Conditions," *Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-Eighth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (1912)*: 131. As the references to "four months" suggest the report was probably prepared early in the year to meet publishing schedules in an age of sea mail.

[6] Agnes Dickson, letter to R. P. MacKay, 8 June 1914 and 27 Sept. 1914, SCF.

[7] Dickson to MacKay, 27 Sept. 1914. Dickson did not have much time for Chinese law enforcement.

[8] Ethel Reid, letter to A. E. Armstrong, 25 July 1913, SCF.

[9] Duncan McRae, letter to A. E. Armstrong, 1 Apr. 1916, SCF. Armstrong himself seems to have favoured the view, widely held in the West, and in some circles in China that the country needed a period of dictatorship before being ready for a republic. See A. E. Armstrong, letter to J. A. McDonald, 24 Mar. 1916, SCF, and Fairbank 175.

Dickson was caught in Shek Kei by the fighting, again in 1916. But these events were short lived. The chronic problem was still piracy. Since the soldiers were often paid in loot it was sometimes difficult to distinguish between the army and the bandits. By and large mission lives and property were not threatened; ordinary Chinese, including the Christians were the ones who suffered, while the missionaries got off with inconveniences like the disruption of river traffic to Hong Kong and Canton.[10]

Equally serious was the fall out from 4 May 1919.[11] Students demanded and tried to enforce a boycott of Japanese goods widely sold in Chinese stores. The boycott, which was largely successful, cut into the profits of Chinese firms like the Sun and Sincere companies of Hong Kong, which had department stores in Canton. W. S. Chan of the Sincere Company was one of the Chinese entrepreneurs helping to build the new mission hospital in Shek Kei.[12] The Sun Company was almost forced into liquidation. The boycott was directed at Japanese, not western interests. The missionaries escaped unscathed from that movement, for which it seems they had some sympathy.[13] They had less sympathy for Sun Yat Sen.

One of the themes in this period, carried forward from earlier days, was that China needed a strong hand. Yuan Shi Kai was one possibility, at least in Armstrong's mind.[14] Another was Feng Yu-Hsiang, the "Christian General."[15] But the rising star in Canton, Sun Yat Sen, did not qualify:

> Sun Yat Sen seems in control in Canton [. . .] if then Sun would be content to govern our province and let the rest of China alone—we could hope for peace—But Sun is very human and may not be content with a little but want more and so lose all.[16]

In general the missionaries can be said to have been rather pessimistic about China's political future:

> Terrible things are happening these days in China. One begins to realize

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[10] T. A. Broadfoot, letter to R. P. MacKay, 30 May 1917, SCF; J. A. McDonald, "Unrest in South China: Letter From Dr. J. A. McDonald, Kong Mun, South China, 26 April 1916," *The Presbyterian Record* (Aug. 1916): 350; and Jessie MacBean, letter to "Bert" (A. E. Armstrong), 12 Oct. 1922, SCF.

[11] 4 May 1919 is a pivotal date in modern Chinese history. On that day students in Beijing and elsewhere took to the streets to protest the assigning of German concessions in Shantung to the Japanese. The movement soon spread throughout the country, even to an out of the way place like Kongmoon. See J. A. McDonald, letter to A. E. Armstrong, 6 June 1919, SCF.

[12] See W. S. Chan, letter to A. E. Armstrong, 5 Nov. 1919, SCF.

[13] McDonald to Armstrong, 6 June 1919. Armstrong was of the same opinion, see Armstrong to W. R. McKay, 23 Dec. 1919, SCF.

[14] Armstrong to McDonald, 24 Mar. 1916.

[15] T. A. Broadfoot, letter to A. E. Armstrong, 24 Nov. 1924; R. P. MacKay, letter to T. A. Broadfoot, 19 Nov. 1924; and A. E. Armstrong, letter to Wallace McLure, 26 Dec. 1924, SCF.

[16] Jessie MacBean, letter to A. E. Armstrong, 15 May 1923, SCF. The Toronto people, relying largely on press reports, were more critical. See R. P. MacKay, letter to J. A. McDonald, 27 Feb. 1923 and A. E. Armstrong, letter to George Wannop, 7 May 1923, SCF. Toronto seemed to regard Sun as no better than the warlords.

that the Chinese as a people were not prepared for the establishment of a republican form of government. The ills besetting China today is [sic] the resultant harvest of the rottenness in the foundation of the whole political life of the nation. They have not yet learned to be honest. They do not and cannot trust one another, and true patriotism is something which the rank and file have not attained to. Things look hopeless enough at times from a political point of view.[17]

More was yet to come. In May 1925 a major labour dispute in Shanghai led to a big demonstration in front of a police station on Nanking Road. The British police fired into the crowd, killing ten people and wounding fifteen more. This was the May 30th or Nanking Road massacre which set off a wave of strikes particularly in the south, and incidentally gave the Chinese Communist Party a much needed shot in the arm. The movement soon spread to Canton where a group of "thousands" of people—students, working people and ordinary citizens—set out across a bridge toward the foreign settlement on Shameen, an island in the river. In the crowd was a group of cadets from the Whampoa Military Academy. Accounts differ as to who fired first, the Chinese or the British, but when it was all over, at least forty people were dead.[18]

By this time Sun Yat Sen's party, the KMT, or Nationalist Party, now known as the Guomindang had forged close links with the Russian Communists. In 1923 a Russian called Borodin appeared in Canton as Soviet advisor to Sun Yat Sen. In the same year a rising young officer named Chiang Kai Shek led a military mission to Russia and came back to take charge of the Whampoa Military Academy. In 1925, therefore, it was easy to see the KMT as a Bolshevik puppet.[19]

The Chinese view of the Shameen incident, expressed in the telegram of the Kwong Tung Christian National Salvation Association, was that the British had fired on a peaceful demonstration. George Wannop replied: "Mr. Kwok Chuen, manager of Wing On Co told me confidentially that none of the Chinese believed it but it was not politic for them to say so."[20]

In Wannop's view the Bolsheviks had managed to capitalize on the Nationalist fervour provoked by the May 30th incident. That fervour was so intense, he suggested, that dissent was simply not possible. But, he implied, dissent was the more accurate reflection of Chinese opinion. The Chinese were not really antiforeign, but for the time being they were being manipulated by the Bolsheviks. "So long as the Bolsheviks are in power in Canton mission work is going to be hampered."[21]

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[17] Letter to R. P. MacKay, 29 July 1924, SCF. The letter is on Kongmoon stationery, but lacks the last page and therefore a signature. McDonald was on furlough at the time, and the other frequent letter writers were Broadfoot and W. R. McKay. It doesn't sound like Jessie MacBean.

[18] George Wannop, letter to A. E. Armstrong, 28 July 1925, SCF; and Telegraphic Announcement from the Kwong Tung Christian National Salvation Association, signed by Leung Shiu Choh, no date, SCF. The latter document has a penciled note at the top "Read to the Board as an example of Chinese method of propaganda."

[19] Such a judgement turned out to be quite wrong. In 1927 Chiang expelled the Communists from the KMT, killing a few thousand in the process, and Borodin went home.

[20] Wannop to Armstrong, 28 July 1925.

[21] Wannop to Armstrong, 28 July 1925.

The hampering had already started. Wannop, from Shek Kei, was already back in Canada and the men's hospital in Kongmoon had been closed. Wallace McLure and Victoria Cheung, both of whom were due for local leave, left for Hong Kong early before the boats stopped running. Jessie MacBean was under the protection of the "officers of the gun boats"[22] as she was the only doctor left in the Port of Kongmoon. MacBean, W. R. McKay and T. A. Broadfoot were the only missionaries left in Kongmoon, and there was not much they could do because the Christians were very largely behind the patriotic movement.[23]

Eventually Broadfoot and McKay went to Hong Kong as well and the mission as distinct from the church was shut down and remained so until nearly the end of 1925, when the missionaries began to trickle back from Hong Kong. The strike and boycott were still on, but there were no longer any serious threats to foreign life and property. Gradually mission work returned to normal, with one major exception. By the end of 1925 the missionaries were seriously talking about devolution, that is, transferring control of the work to the Chinese.[24]

Perhaps the most striking feature of the missionaries' attitude to this episode was its colonial mentality. It doesn't seem to have occurred to them that the KMT might be using the Russians rather than the other way around. Rather the KMT was consistently regarded as a coterie of Russian puppets. A colonial mentality would seem less odd in 1925 than it does now, and to be fair to the missionaries they had a measure of sympathy for the Nationalists, even if it took the fallout from May 30th for the sympathy to bear fruit. Perhaps the strangest letter of all comes at the end of the episode:

> Conditions have improved in the province since the moderate wing of the Nationalist Party has decided to purge the Party of the Communists, but it remains to be seen how genuine and thorough going the movement may be. It looks as if the better thinking Chinese have awakened at last to the real danger to their country from Bolshevism rather than from foreign powers or even the so-called Unequal Treaties.[25]

Perhaps the "better thinking" Chinese included the Shanghai underworld which Chiang used to destroy the Communist labour movement in Shanghai. Nor does McKay mention the thousands who died in the purge.[26]

It took a while for Chiang's purge to take effect in Kwan Tong. Not until 1928 was peace established in the province, and for a few years the letters were quite optimistic. Not only was the countryside at peace, but good things were happening. "Motor roads" were being built connecting the major cities, and making communications and transport much easier. Perhaps more to the point, the roads would make it easier "to suppress banditry, and lessen the dangers threatened by warring military factions.

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[22] W. R. McKay, letter to A. E. Armstrong, 8 July 1925, SCF.

[23] McKay to Armstrong, 8 July 1925.

[24] W. R. McKay, letter to A. E. Armstrong, 24 Nov. 1925, SCF.

[25] W. R. McKay, letter to A. E. Armstrong, 27 May 1927, SCF.

[26] Fairbank 215.

> Cities like Shek Kei, Kong Moon and Sun Wooi are being absolutely made over. Thousands of houses and shops on the narrow streets are being torn down to make way for widened, well paved, well drained and well lighted city streets. Parks are being opened, where flowers, shrubs and trees are carefully tended along the well layed [sic] out streets [. . .].[27]

At the same time public opinion had apparently swung around 180 degrees. The middle years of the 1920s had been times of virulent antiforeign propaganda, but by 1928 the British were being lionized. One missionary at least realized that his colleagues had got the Russian presence wrong: "The Cantonese used the Russians and their money until they had enough of them and then told them to get out. Now apparently it is Britain's turn to help them out."[28]

This idyllic period was not to last. The stock market collapse of 1929 ushered in the Great Depression, which hit the income of the United Church very hard. Expenditure on overseas missions fell from over $800,000 in 1930 to just over $400,000 in 1939.[29] The South China mission was by far the smallest of the fields and at one point the United Church seriously considered shutting it down altogether. Then, in 1931 the Japanese took over Manchuria, renamed it Manchukuo and installed a puppet regime. The Europeans protested, but took no action. In this dispute missionaries and Chinese were on the same side. J. O. Thomson, writing from Canton reported strong anti-Japanese sentiment in the city: "It seems a great pity that the League and America did not act strongly early in the game. They might have restrained Japan, and at the same time insisted that China clean out its own house and get it together."[30]

The Japanese did not become a problem for the folks in south China until 1937, when they invaded China proper. In the meantime what little the missionaries had to say about Chinese politics was in support of the Nationalist regime. Duncan McRae's report for 1935 contrasted the situation with that a decade earlier:

> Ten years ago when the revolution broke out the students from our Christian schools politely asked the missionaries to stand aside and excuse them as for the present politics must take precedence to religious work. But within five years of that time the leaders of the revolution Cheung [sic] Kai Shek was baptized into the Christian faith and today his Christian influence is felt in every part of the land. He realizes that nothing takes precedence to religion in the future welfare of China.[31]

A year later J. O. Thomson spoke highly of the New Life Movement, with its stress on

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[27] T. A. Broadfoot, Personal Report for 1929, dated 7 Jan. 1930, SCF.

[28] Wallace McClure, letter to A. E. Armstrong, 1 Mar. 1928, SCF.

[29] The Foreign Missions Committee had originally asked for $1,005,000. The Finance Committee came back with $790,000. The compromise was $830,000, but the last $40,000 had to be raised by "special assignment." The revised appropriation for 1929 was $910,000. *United Church Year Book (1930)*: 30-31.

[30] J. O. Thomson to A. E. Armstrong, 5 Apr. 1932, SCF.

[31] Duncan McRae, Annual Report for 1935, SCF.

such things as politeness, virtue, temperance and cleanliness.[32]

With the Japanese invasion of China proper in 1937, the focus changed. The missionaries were resolutely anti-Japanese and at first ranged from a kind of resigned pacifism to outright interventionism:

> The Japanese have taken possession of Sangchuan[33] island south and west of us here. There does not seem to be much trouble there as they were in no way being opposed. Their presence there does not add to the peace of mind of the people. No one knows what to expect but are generally fearful of the worst. What a nightmare that the race must endure. We have succeeded in abolishing the supposedly God made Hell of religion, but we are awakening to the fact that the real Hell of man's creation is quite equal to Dante's Inferno. So long as Great Britain keeps out of it and Hong Kong is near we are not obliged, as it were, to face the worst. It is not so with our Chinese people. What will they do when the worst comes is the question they discuss among themselves. "Flee", "Suicide", "kill children", "fight to the last" are the answers according to sex, age and position. The exaggerated stories of cruelties committed by the enemy do not help their fears. We know war to be Hell but that men in the 20th C should resort to war rather than peaceful arbitration as Chamberlain said is hard to excuse.[34]

J. O. Thomson, writing from Canton which was being bombed by the Japanese, was more assertive. In January 1938 he complained bitterly about the way the British and Americans continued to do business with Japan, the aggressor nation. In June he sent the *McGill News* a six page anti-Japanese letter on the bombing of Canton. In November, when Canton had fallen he found it difficult to understand the stupidity of the isolationists, pacifists and the business interests of America.[35]

T.A. Broadfoot was frankly interventionist: "Personally I feel that unless some other power or powers at an early date give some hope of assistance to China the Japanese will be in complete control throughout the empire. With their powerful fleet they are blockading effectively all the ports of China. How long can China hold out under

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[32] J. O. Thomson, Annual Report for 1936, SCF. Fairbank suggests that the movement was pushed from behind by the Blue Shirts, a somewhat fascist body organized by Chiang and loyal only to him (221-22).

[33] The island's name in the manuscript is illegible. Sangchuan (in the new spelling) is in the right place and seems to follow what can be deciphered from McRae's handwriting.

[34] Duncan McRae, letter to Jesse Arnup, 14 Dec. 1937, SCF. Arnup had joined Armstrong in the United Church office. The same kind of detachment appears in his letter to Arnup of 29 Mar. 1938. To develop a Christian interpretation of contemporary history he suggests, "will require some severe detachment from this glorious world, not unlike what the young man of Nazareth accomplished in the wilderness."

[35] J. O. Thomson, letter to Jesse Arnup, 24 Jan. 1938 and 18 June 1938, SCF; J. O. Thomson, letter to the *McGill News*, 8 Nov. 1938; J. O. Thomson, letter to "Relatives and Friends," n.d., SCF.

those conditions?"[36]

Canton fell in November 1938. Some held it had been sold out, not taken by force of arms, and in any case there was not much left of it. Duncan McRae writing from the relative peace of Kong Moon could still be philosophical:

> An interpretation of [the war] [. . .] in keeping with the sciences of biology and theology remains to be done by a greater mind than mine. Meanwhile, with our Christian faith and theology we see it not as the end but as the new beginning of things in the Far East. As it is there are many encouraging signs to be seen had one space to enumerate them. Suffice it to say that China is paying the price that a nation has to in order to save its soul. Such sacrifice cannot be in vain.[37]

Such detachment could not last; Kong Moon fell at the end of March 1939, and for the next two years the letters are full of reports of refugees and plundering, lots of it, followed by repeated complaints of inflation. From time to time people predicted the collapse of Japan, but it didn't happen. However, in less than a year life in Kong Moon was more or less normal.[38] Then came Pearl Harbour, and the missionaries were placed under house arrest. By this time there weren't many left; most people had gone home on regular furlough. The remaining staff, except for Victoria Cheung, were trucked to Macao with what they could carry. Eventually the women returned home, but the Broadfoots, by somewhat devious means, made their way to Kunming, in what was called Free China. After forty years the South China mission was over.[39]

It is misleading to speak of a "missionary" attitude to Chinese politics during that chaotic forty years. For the most part they never talked about their context, except for the bandits. If anything the Toronto staff had more to say about Chinese politics than the people in China. The people who had the most to say about the events of the mid-twenties were not those who commented on the Japanese incursion. Nevertheless it is possible to trace a coherent development of thought.

They began with the belief that China needed a strong hand to manage the transition to a republican form of government. Yuan Shi Kai seemed a possibility, but he died. Another was Feng Yu Hsiang, but he came out on the wrong side of the civil war. Sun Yat Sen, who turned out to represent the future was not a popular candidate. Chiang Kai Shek was initially too closely associated with the Russians to be suitable, but when he purged the Communists and accepted baptism he became something of a hero; the Feng Yu Hsiang that never was. With the Japanese invasion the focus shifted away from the need for strong leadership to Japanese misbehaviour and Chinese suffering. Duncan McRae was the most thoughtful of the missionary party, and he was one of those who

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[36] T. A. Broadfoot, letter to Myrtle Buck, 21 Sept. 1937, Women's Missionary Society files, United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto (WMS).

[37] Duncan McRae, Annual Report for 1938, SCF.

[38] T. A. Broadfoot, letter to Jesse Arnup, 6 Feb. 1941, SCF.

[39] Several missionaries did return to Kong Moon after the war, but were unable to get their previous work restarted before the Communist takeover. They seem to have suffered no persecution under the new regime, but it soon became clear they were not wanted.

was back in Kong Moon for the Communist takeover. He was cautiously optimistic: "[. . .] if this phase of the almost 100 years revolution relieves China from impractical and unsavoury traditions and establishes her as a modern independent nation among nations, it may be to the good."[40]

At first McRae's optimism seemed misplaced. The Chinese church reacted to the Communist takeover in much the same way it had reacted to the Nationalist fervour of 1924-1925, with enthusiastic support:

> The Church supports the "Common Program" adopted in Peking last year which guarantees religious liberty. It supports the policy of opposition to imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. Unfortunately the Christian Church has at times been connected with these forms of political and economic control and may even have been utilized by them [. . .].[41]

The message went on to say that the Assembly believed the foreign churches would support the Chinese church's desire to be free from "imperialistic and capitalistic" interests and become an autonomous church, without however, breaking its ecumenical ties.

By this time one of the few Canadian missionaries left in China was E. Bruce Copland, and he was in Hong Kong. Copland had gone to China as a Presbyterian missionary in North Henan. He went with that mission into the United Church and spent the war in Szechuan, in "Free China." After the war he became the contact between the Church of Christ in China and overseas partners. As the situation deteriorated after the outbreak of the Korean War, he became the main source of commentary on the situation in China.

It would seem that Copland found the situation distressing: "Whether because of the Peking interviews (with Zhou En Lai) and the subsequent publication of the Manifesto or the intensification of anti-foreign propaganda due to the Korean war, or to both, there has been insistent pressure on Christian individuals to identify themselves publicly with the party line."[42] Thus, as he said in an article prepared for *Theology Today,* we can't really know under what circumstances the documents "compromising" the church were drafted. Nevertheless, he insisted on his own confidence in the Chinese church.[43]

Perhaps the most thoughtful comment on the new situation came not from Copland, but from a colleague of his in the Hong Kong office:

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[40] Duncan McRae, letter to Edith McKenzie, 7 July 1949, WMS. McRae's cautious optimism was not unique. See R. M. Ransom in *The Presbyterian Record*, (Oct. 1949): 260, 282. Ransom was a relatively new missionary with The Presbyterian Church in Canada in Yunnan.

[41] A Message from the General Assembly to the Missionary Societies associated with the Church of Christ in China, signed by H. H. Tsui, Secretary. The document is undated, but it was enclosed in E. B. Copland, letter to W. A. Cameron, 29 Nov. 1950, Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives and Records Office (PCCARO).

[42] Background to the News from China, enclosed in Copland to Cameron, 29 Nov. 1950.

[43] E. Bruce Copland, ms., "Christianity in China Today," 3, SCF.

> It is at the point of connection between the church as an institution and the west that pressure is being applied, and it is often powerful pressure. So you get statements, sometimes over well known names, which are hard for us to take. We are so apt to think of our Western ideology and Christianity as being tied up in one bundle of thought, and to feel that criticism of the one implies betrayal of the other. It requires rigorous and objective thinking on our part to realize that the two are not necessarily one, and to make a distinction between them.[44]

Such an idea is almost a commonplace today, but at the time it was a hard sell, especially when it came to Communism.

[44] Barbara Hayes, letter to W. A. Cameron, 12 July 1950, PCCARO.

John Alexander Johnson, B.A., M.A., B.D., Th.M., Ph.D., D.D.: An Appreciation

The death of the Rev. Dr. John Alexander Johnston on 10 January 2008 has dealt a very severe blow to the cause of Presbyterian and Reformed Church history. Dr. Johnston's work to serve and honour the Lord and Master that he loved, has been well covered in other publications: an obituary in the April 2008 *Presbyterian Record*;[1] a memorial in the report of the Committee on History to the one hundred and thirty-fourth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada;[2] and an obituary in the *Acts & Proceedings* of the same General Assembly.[3] As an aside I found it rather interesting that an obituary for his long-time assistant at MacNab Street Church, Hamilton, Rev. Wilfred McLeod, B.A., M.Div., who died on 22 December 2007, was also contained in the same *Acts & Proceedings*.[4] This appreciation, therefore, will concentrate on what John Johnston has meant to the Canadian Society of Presbyterian History.

John was one of the original members of the Society, and delivered a paper to that first meeting in 1975 entitled "The Canadian Presbyterian Union of 1875."[5] Four more papers would be delivered by him over the years: "Ticket to Heaven: The Rise and Fall of the Communion Token," in 1986;[6] "The Rollin's Way or No Way: The Evolvement of Church Accounting and Financing," in 2001;[7] "Out of the Presbyterian Closet: Alliance of Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System, Fifth Council, Toronto, Ontario, September 21-30, 1892," in 2004;[8] and "St. Andrew's: A Cut Above," in 2006.[9] While this output was not as large as some of the other authors over the years, John and his administrative skills provided the Society with sound guidance and leadership over thirty-two years. He served as President for several terms, working with his long-time friend and colleague, Rev. Dr. Mel Bailey, and with Dr. John Moir, to ensure that quality papers on a wide range of topics were delivered and discussed at the annual meetings of the Society.

John was, in many ways, the consummate politician—did you ever seen him "work" a room? But he got things done. As a very effective administrator he made the arrangements for the annual meetings of the Society. For two years, 2005 and 2006, we had our meetings at the National Presbyterian Museum, with John conducting tours of what was undoubtedly his pride and joy, and the facility that perpetuates his memory to

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[1] *The Presbyterian Record*, Apr. 2008: 48-49.

[2] *Acts and Proceedings of the One-Hundred and Thirty-Fourth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (2008): 269.

[3] *Acts and Proceedings* (2008): 565-66.

[4] *Acts and Proceedings* (2008): 564-65.

[5] *Canadian Society of Presbyterian History (CSPH) Papers* 1 (1975): 61-106.

[6] *CSPH Papers* 11 (1986): 15-21.

[7] *CSPH Papers* 26 (2001): 47-49.

[8] *CSPH Papers* 29 (2004): 45-53.

[9] *CSPH Papers* 31 (2006): 29-38.

the wider church and to the world. He also had the contacts, with a network of friends, acquaintances and colleagues literally all over the world upon whom he could call at short notice, if need be, to come up with a paper, or perhaps some goods or services that were required.

With the age of the Internet now upon us, John took a keen interest in getting the Society web site up and running. It had been agreed by the Society executive that a number of worthy papers given over the years would be put up on the site, assuming that permission could be obtained from the authors. Along with the then President, Rev. Dr. Geoff Johnston and the current President, Rev. Dr. Don MacLeod, John reviewed all of the papers given to the Society up to 2004, and fifteen were selected. For me personally I miss answering the telephone and hearing "John Johnston here, Michael, how are you today?" when he would call to discuss some matter pertaining to either the Committee on History, the Museum or The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History. He wasn't one for much idle chat on the phone, and that took some getting used to. He called, or was called, simply to discuss something, and then quite often rang off rather abruptly with "good-bye." John's tremendous capacity for work never ceased to amaze me. No matter what committee or project he was working on he would come to meetings with large binders filled to bursting with correspondence copies, memoranda, or notes that he had made pertaining to the subject, or project, at hand.

In late February 2006 this Society and the General Assembly's Committee on History gave John a dinner of appreciation at the University of Toronto Faculty Club. Friends, relations and colleagues came from far and wide. It was a really fine occasion; speakers, led off on behalf of this Society by Dr. John Moir, from the Assembly Office, Synod, Presbytery, Museum, Committee on History, his former congregation and others spoke in warm and glowing terms of what John had meant to them personally but also to his tremendous contribution over many years to the cause of Presbyterian and Reformed Church history. When the speeches were finished, John addressed us and told us how much he appreciated the gestures and kind words. I am glad that we honoured the man while he was still with us. And now he has gone. No longer will we hear that hearty laugh, or feel the firm grip of his hand as he greeted us or sense the warm feeling that he was genuinely glad to see you. But I think he has left us a legacy; the inspiration of a man whose work ethic in many ways puts us all to shame; a man who would expect us all to continue the work that he, and the other founders of our Society, started so many years ago. The torch has been passed, we must take it and hold it high. John Alexander Johnston's own high standards require and deserve nothing less.

Michael Millar, FRPSC
Secretary-Treasurer, The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History
Knox College, University of Toronto
Saturday, 27 September 2008

THE CANADIAN SOCIETY OF PRESBYTERIAN HISTORY:

Minutes of the Annual Meeting 27 September 2008, held at Knox College, University of Toronto, 59 St. George Street, Toronto:

The meeting was Called to Order by the President, Rev. Dr. A. Donald MacLeod at 1:17 p.m. The Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. Michael Millar, acted as Secretary for the meeting. Twenty-four members were in attendance.

The President opened the meeting by welcoming all who were present.

The late Rev. Dr. John Alexander Johnston:

The President recognised the passing in January 2008 of one of the founders of the Society, Rev. Dr. John Alexander Johnston. He called on the Secretary-Treasurer to read the Minute of Appreciation that he had prepared, while those present were asked to stand. Several members shared thoughts and memories of what Dr. Johnston had meant to them. Mr. Al Clarkson told the meeting that Dr. Johnston's voice is still on the National Presbyterian Museum answering machine tape. Efforts are now underway to preserve this. The President recognised the presence of the late Dr. Johnston's sister, Mary Johnston, at the meeting and commented how nice it was to see her with us.

Regrets:

The President called for regrets. Rev. Dr. James Armour, Ms. Kim Arnold, Rev. Ken Barker, Mr. Mark Boundy, Rev. Dr. Zander Dunn, Rev. Dr. Eldon Hay, Dr. Heather Johnston, Rev. Dr. Sheldon MacKenzie, Ms. Nancy Mallett, Dr. John Moir, Rev. Ritchie Robinson, Rev. Dr. Donald Smith, and Rev. Dr. Jack Whytock, were noted as being received by the Secretary-Treasurer.

Approval of the agenda:

The agenda was presented. No additions were called for. On motion of the Rev. Peter Bush, seconded by Professor Mary Rogers, the agenda as presented, was the agenda for the meeting.

Minutes of the 2007 Annual General Meeting:

On motion of the Secretary-Treasurer, seconded by Mr. Bob Anger, the Minutes of the 2007 Annual Meeting, as circulated prior to the meeting, were approved, no errors or omissions having been noted.

Business Arising from the Minutes:

(1) The Secretary-Treasurer reported that he had, as instructed, sent a letter to Dr. John

Moir.

(2) Calvin – Bryden for 2009, the President reported. Papers are already lined up from Principal Vissers and Rev. Dr. Jack Whytock.

(3) The Secretary-Treasurer reported on the United States and Foreign subscription rates. He recommended that no change in the present structure is required at the present time.

President's Report.

The President then gave his report and moved that it be adopted, seconded by the Secretary-Treasurer. Carried.

Editor's Report. The report of Society Editor, Elizabeth Millar, was read by the President. She has acknowledged her tardiness in getting the Papers edited – the 2006 Papers were ready for this meeting and work on the 2007 Papers is continuing. Moved by Rev. Dr. Barry Mack, seconded by Rev. Calvin Brown, that the report of the Editor be accepted and a vote of thanks be given to her for her work. Carried.

Webmaster's Report. Mr. Anger read his report and outlined some of the plans that he has for improving the Society website. He wants to make the home page more attractive for a start. It was moved by the Secretary-Treasurer, seconded by Mr. Clarkson, that the report of the Webmaster be accepted. Carried.

Secretary-Treasurer's Report.

(1) The financial statement was circulated and discussed. The Secretary-Treasurer commented on the small amount of interest earned on our bank account. We have a Community Account – Non-Profit Organisation account with the Bank of Montreal. Providing we keep our transactions to less that twenty per month, we do not have any service charges deducted from the account. No other Bank offers this type of service. So it is a trade-off and works quite well for us. Following amplification of some other items in the statement, the financial statement was approved on motion of the Secretary-Treasurer, and Professor Rogers. The matter of re-investment of the G.I.C.'s when they mature was discussed – one in October and the other at the end of May 2009. The Secretary-Treasurer Moved, seconded by Rev. Peter Bush "That the Secretary-Treasurer be granted permission to re-invest these two G.I.C.'s when they mature." Carried.

(2) The President reported on discussions that he had had with Mr. Steven Roche, Chief Financial Officer for The Presbyterian Church in Canada regarding charitable deductions. We do not have charitable status. Apparently we would be eligible, but the attendant paper-work would be horrendous. An arrangement has been worked out whereby donations may be made to the General Assembly's Committee on History for which an income tax receipt can be issued.

New Business:

The matter of a venue for the 2009 meeting was discussed. The President informed the meeting that we found out on Monday that we could not bring outside food into the College. The College caterer has exclusive rights to supply food for meetings. Because our plans were so far advanced, through the kind intervention of Professor Macdonald we were able to bring in our own food this year, but next year – if we hold the meeting at Knox College – we will have to use the services of the College caterer. A discussion took place as to whether we hold the meeting at the College and pay ten to fifteen dollars for our meal, or whether we should hold the meeting at Knox Presbyterian Church, Spadina Avenue. The consensus was that we should meet at the College, and make use of the College caterer and this was agreed to on motion of Rev. Dr. Clyde Ervine, seconded by Rev. Dr. Geoffrey Johnston.

Election of Officers:

Moved by Rev. Dr. Geoffrey Johnston, seconded by Ms. Olive Anstice "That the Officers remain the same for 2008 – 2009." Carried.

Any other business

Rev. Peter Bush proposed that a possible theme for our 2010 meeting could be the centenary of the 1910 Edinburgh World Missionary Conference. The President will take this proposal under advisement.

Adjournment:

The 2008 Annual General Meeting was adjourned at 2:00 p.m. and the regular business of the Society resumed.

A. Donald MacLeod, BA, MA, BD, DD.
President.

Michael Millar, FRPSC.
Secretary-Treasurer.

Canadian Society of Presbyterian History
Editor's Report for 2008 Annual General Meeting

I am pleased to report that the 2006 Papers will be available at the 2008 meeting of the Society. Those members unable to attend the meeting will receive their copies by mail shortly thereafter. I regret that only three of the four papers that were presented in 2006 are included in the publication. Despite my attempts to obtain the fourth paper I was unable to do so.

I have started work on the 2007 papers, and would like to take this opportunity to encourage current and future presenters to follow the guidelines that are distributed each year. It does make a difference in the amount of time required to prepare the papers for as professional a publication as possible. If anyone has questions as to what is required please contact me.

Regards,

Elizabeth Millar
Editor, CSPH Papers
September 2008

Canadian Society of Presbyterian History
Annual Meeting, 27 September 2008

Report on the Website

The website has been in existence now for several years. It was initially created by Mr. Ian MacCready, who had been serving as the webmaster for The Presbyterian Church in Canada. In 2007, the website was expanded to include PDF copies of 18 previously presented papers and a complete listing of all the papers presented between 1975 and 2005. Some brief information on the Rev. Dr. T. Melville Bailey bequest was also added. This past Spring information on the annual meeting was posted front and centre along with a printable flyer to be used for promotion.

Goals for 2008-2009:

The website is ready for expansion and development. Some of the goals for the coming year include:

1. Developing a more welcoming home page,
2. Adding more information about the Society, its history and its importance in presenting a scholarly discussion of Canadian Presbyterian history,
3. Adding more information on the benefits of membership,
4. Adding more photographs to enhance the visual appeal of the site,
5. Adding links to the National Presbyterian Museum and the Presbyterian Church Archives.

It is hoped that a draft version of a new website will be available for the CSPH executive to review by late 2008 or early 2009.

Helpful hints, ideas, comments and suggestions concerning the website are always welcome.

Respectfully submitted,

Bob Anger,
CSPH Web Administrator
27 September 2008
BAnger@presbyterian.ca

THE CANADIAN SOCIETY OF PRESBYTERIAN HISTORY:

FINANCIAL REPORT - 27 September 2008:

Item:	Income:	Expenses:	Balance:
Balance forward 29 September 2007:			**1672.29**
Memberships 2006	40.00		
Memberships 2007	440.00		
Memberships 2008	320.00		
Corporate memberships 2005	20.00		
Sale of papers	45.00		
Swets-Blackwell re: U.W.O. 2006, 2007, 2008	60.00		
Bank Interest	0.92		
G.I.C. 9078920 (18 October 2007)	2,000.00		
G.I.C. Interest	54.84		
G.I.C. 9605280 (30 May 2008)	2,000.00		
G.I.C. Interest	59.77		
Luncheon charges 2008 meeting - paid	40.00		
Total Income	**5,080.53**		**5,080.53**
Sub-total			**6,752.82**
Editor honorarium, 2005, 2006, 2007		450.00	
Editor - Purolator Courier 2006 papers		19.43	
Postage		0.00	
Photocopying - Secretary-Treasurer		6.20	
Office Supplies - Secretary-Treasurer		0.00	
Dot-Easy - website Domain Name renewal		53.00	
Conestoga Press for 2006 Papers		0.00	
National Pres. Museum, re: Rev. Dr. John Johnston		50.00	
Advertising - PC-PAK		95.72	
Advertising - Presbyterian Record		393.75	
G.I.C. 0317-9078920 maturing 18 October 2008		2,000.00	
G.I.C. 0317-9605803 - maturing 1 June 2009		2,000.00	
Total Expenses.		**5,068.10**	**5,068.10**
Balance Forward 27 September 2008:			**1,684.72**
Assets - two G.I.C's. @ 2000.00 each			4,000.00
Total - Balance Forward plus the two G.I.C's.			$5,684.72

Michael Millar, FRPSC
Secretary-Treasurer