The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History

Papers 2010

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Edited by Elizabeth J. Millar

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The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History (CSPH) was founded in 1975 during the centennial of The Presbyterian Church in Canada. The CSPH is a religion-centred Learned Society, meeting annually on the last Saturday of September. Membership is open to all individuals and institutions who share an interest and fascination in the study of Presbyterian and Reformed history. More information about the Society is on our web site at: www.csph.ca.

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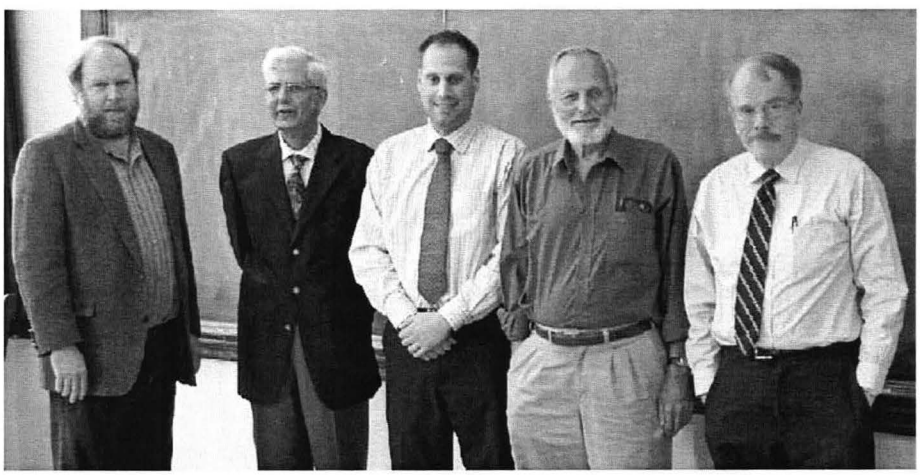

2010 Presenters

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Photo: M. Millar

Church Union and the Presbyterians of Galt, Ontario

William Haughton

Introduction

As one of the more noteworthy religious events in Canadian history, the so-called church union of 1925 has been the subject of much scholarly research and writing. Within the historiography of church union, moreover, the controversy and schism within The Presbyterian Church in Canada has been a dominant focus. Yet for all the attention paid to the issues of church union in general and the Presbyterian disruption in particular, one complex and persistent question has always resisted an easy answer for serious students: why did so many Presbyterians, standing against their General Assembly, choose not to join The United Church of Canada? John Webster Grant, for example, has written that "the motives that led individuals to support or oppose union were so complex as to baffle anyone who attempts to analyze them".[1] While admitting the genuine difficulty of the task, this paper will offer an answer to the above question that, though incomplete in and of itself, is able to shed some much-needed light on both how and why Presbyterians were divided by church union as well as the difficulties faced by those who have tried previously to understand this key aspect, or consequence, of the movement. Based on a close study of the four Presbyterian congregations of Galt (now Cambridge), Ontario—Knox's, Central, St. Andrew's and First—it will be shown that a great many Presbyterians were highly influenced in their decision about whether to join the United Church by interpersonal considerations. This thesis makes good sense of the evidence available and it also has the benefit of helping us understand the difficulties of making generalizations about church union, and the Presbyterian "disruption", which are typically encountered.

Historians have often taken a keen interest in the large group of Presbyterians who stayed out of the United Church—anywhere from one third to one half of its members. Yet in trying to understand the reasons for this development, the motivations of most individual Presbyterians have been inferred from the study of a few influential leaders. C. E. Silcox, for example, in his foundational *Church Union in Canada*, gleaned from the literature of the Presbyterian Church Association an extensive list of ideological reasons—including civil jurisprudence and theology—for the existence of a large dissenting minority. While he does acknowledge "local difficulties," these are presented as an afterthought and as having more to do with post-schism "community adjustments."[2] Although other historians have sometimes disagreed with some of Silcox's specific conclusions, their overall approach has been very similar.[3]

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[1] John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era* (Burlington, ON: Welch, 1988) 109.

[2] C. E. Silcox, *Church Union in Canada: Its Causes and Consequences* (New York: Institute for Social and Religious Research, 1933) 197-213.

[3] John Webster Grant, *The Canadian Experience of Church Union* (London: Lutterworth, 1967) and N. Keith Clifford, *The Resistance to Church Union in Canada, 1904-1939* (Vancouver: U of British Columbia P, 1985).

While the historiography of church union is often insightful, stimulating, and helpful, two methodological difficulties have hindered ongoing progress. First, the surprising inconsistency and incoherence of participants' arguments tend to defy generalization. Second, even acknowledging that prominent leaders did not always mean what they said, it is not clear that conclusions based on their experiences can be applied to the motivations of others. In fact, it is probably better to start from the assumption that, for various reasons, they should not be. This kind of inference, however, has been made consistently. This paper will show, conversely, that the experiences of Canadian Presbyterians can often be examined fruitfully at the congregational level and that, therefore, popular motivations do not have to be inferred so completely from the statements of prominent public figures or denominational leaders.

To this claim, it might be countered that a focus on local evidence has predetermined a parochial conclusion or that Galt's diverse group of Presbyterians were collectively unique. This paper, however, does not seek to put their experiences in opposition to those of well-known individuals or to Presbyterians in other communities. Nor is it implied that intellectual arguments about church union were unimportant. Rather, the point is simply that we can and should study the experiences of Canadian Presbyterians in their congregational contexts, rather than simply inferring the choices of the many from the rhetoric of a few. This study will tell the stories of Galt's Presbyterian congregations and, one hopes, demonstrate a method that can lead us to a richer and more nuanced understanding of how and why Canadian Presbyterians were divided by church union.

Church Union in Galt's Presbyterian Churches

I Knox's Church

Knox's, founded in 1844 as a Free Church, had called its first Canadian minister, R. E. Knowles, in 1898[4] and it was during his tenure that the subject of church union was first broached. At an early stage, many in Knox's believed that church union was a good idea for Kirk and country. When the Basis of Union was made available to congregations in 1908, the Session offered a positive evaluation. We read in their Annual Report,

> It is gratifying to observe the progress made toward organic union and to learn that all difficulties met with by the various committees are being overcome and that there is reason to hope that the great question will shortly be submitted to the congregation for their consideration.[5]

In March 1912, when Presbyterians across Canada were asked to vote on two questions concerning church union—question one concerning church union in principle, question two the Basis of Union in particular—the result in Knox's showed a clear majority in favour of both:[6]

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[4] Jean O'Grady, ed., *Famous People Who Have Met Me: The Life and Interviews of R. E. Knowles* (Toronto: Colombo, 1999) 1-11.

[5] *Annual Report 1908*, Knox's (Galt) Presbyterian Church Archives, Cambridge, ON (KPCA).

[6] "Vote of Knox on Church Union," *Galt Daily Reporter* 27 Mar. 1912: 1.

	Question One		Question Two	
	For	Against	For	Against
Elders	21	4	17	3
Members	291	61	231	55
Adherents	21	3	16	3
Totals	333	68	264	61

In the years to come, however, congregational sentiment began to change. In February 1907, Knowles had been involved in a train derailment near Guelph in which several people were killed. While he escaped with relatively minor injuries, the experience led to his having a nervous breakdown. Away from work for several months immediately following the accident as well as for long stretches in subsequent years, he never fully regained his health and eventually resigned in January 1915.[7] In September of that year, the congregation called J. K. Fraser as its minister and this decision led to a shift in both the sentiment and position of the congregation. A native of Prince Edward Island, Fraser had come back to Canada just that summer after thirteen years in Charleston, South Carolina—largely to take part in the resistance to church union.[8] Having returned to Canada without yet having a call, he began his campaign against church union almost immediately after accepting one from Knox's. As early as August 1916, for example, John Penman noticed an anti-union article of Fraser's in *The Outlook* and wrote a letter to thank him, in which he also invited suggestions about an upcoming conference. Showing himself to be surprisingly familiar with the Canadian situation, Fraser replied, "The less Dr. Campbell and Dr. Scott have to say on the question, the better for us. I find men all over the church resent their attitude."[9] Soon after, Fraser wrote a telling letter to J. W. MacNamara, secretary of the Presbyterian Church Association, in which he stated that "I came to Galt only last November and do not have our men yet."[10]

In late 1915, Canadian Presbyterians were asked to vote again on the thorny question of church union. In Knox's, the congregation returned another pro-union vote, but this time by a narrow margin:[11]

	For	Against
Elders	18	4
Members	146	147
Adherents	6	9
Totals	170	160

[7] O'Grady 17-21.

[8] "Unanimous Call from Knox Church," *Galt Daily Reporter* 9 Sept. 1915: 1.

[9] J. K. Fraser, letter to John Penman, 4 Aug. 1916, Presbyterian Church Association Papers (PCAP), 1973-1003-2-11, The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives and Records Office, Toronto.

[10] J. K. Fraser, letter to J. W. MacNamara, 17 Aug. 1916, PCAP.

[11] "Two Churches for Union, One Against," *Galt Daily Reporter* 29 Nov. 1915: 1.

The nation-wide results of this second referendum left the General Assembly in a difficult position—although a majority continued to favour church union, the opposition had grown. In response, the whole matter was set aside for several years. By 1923 at the latest, however, it was clear that church union would go forward and that it would split the Presbyterian Church.

When the Presbyterian Church Association began its final effort to keep the congregations in Galt and as many of their members as possible out of the United Church, Fraser became its leading spokesperson and organizer in the city. He was able to secure, for example, despite two previous rejections by the unionist Session of his own congregation, Knox's building for an anti-union rally on 28 March 1923. Though the speakers that evening were well-known preachers, the meeting was something of a disaster for the Presbyterian Church Association. Atrocious weather had drastically limited attendance, while some overly-long addresses left no time for organizational work.[12] Only much later was a local executive committee formed.

An ongoing dispute between Fraser and unionist elders, meanwhile, was leading to a bitter conflict in Knox's. At one point, we learn, Session meetings were deteriorating into four-hour arguments about church union.[13] A key bone of contention was the door-to-door canvass conducted by the Women's League in November in which they found an overwhelming majority, 716-196, opposed to church union on the basis of the proposed legislation.[14] Also controversial was a later anti-union rally held at Knox's. Although that event might have gone relatively unnoticed, those present passed an anti-union resolution and forwarded it to federal and provincial politicians.[15] These two actions—the canvass and the resolution—triggered a strong response from local unionists. A pro-union rally was then held in Knox's, at the instigation of the Session, at which George Pidgeon was one of the speakers.[16] Fraser complained to MacNamara that this was "an insult to me and the church."[17]

Anti-unionists in Knox's responded by asking the Session for a congregational meeting on 16 December 1923, to discuss the proposed church union bill. Although against the idea, the elders thought they had no choice but to consent. Just a week later, however, they discovered that the meeting would not be used for mere conversation but to vote on a resolution against church union. In a pre-emptive strike, Session declared that no vote would be allowed at the upcoming meeting and even that they were in favour "of church union as embodied in the bill."[18] What followed this was an unsightly public dispute carried out in the local newspaper. In one instance, Fraser used a feature article to criticize publicly the Session for its whole approach to the issue.[19]

At the aforementioned congregational meeting of 16 December, a resolution was indeed passed—one that called the church union bill "coercive and destructive of the rights of religious

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[12] J. W. MacNamara, letter to J. K. Fraser, 5 Apr. 1923, PCAP, 1973-1003-9-4.

[13] "In Special Articles, Both Sides of Church Union in Galt Discussed," *Galt Evening Reporter* 17 Nov. 1924.

[14] "Congregation of Knox Church is Opposed to Union," *Galt Evening Reporter* 14 Dec. 1923: 1.

[15] "Strong Resolution Against Union Bill Presented," *Galt Evening Reporter* 10 Nov. 1923: 1.

[16] "Church Union Advocates Present Case at Meeting in Knox Church," *Galt Evening Reporter* 28 Nov. 1923.

[17] J. K. Fraser, letter to J. W. MacNamara, 19 Nov. 1923, PCAP, 1973-1003-9-4.

[18] Session Minutes, 12 Dec. 1923, KPCA.

[19] "Dr. Fraser Speaks on the Situation in Knox Church in Church Union Matter," *Galt Evening Reporter* 15 Dec. 1923: 1.

liberty." Afterward, anti-unionists began handing out ballots for a final congregational vote and most of the unionists present walked out. At a Session meeting two days later, the elders declared their "unqualified disapproval" with the congregational meeting and that the resolution passed was "of no validity whatever."[20]

Throughout 1924, Fraser continued to campaign against church union, even using his summer holiday to speak on the issue in Prince Edward Island. Yet he and others soon recognized a need to scale back their efforts if there were to be a Knox's preserved for Presbyterianism. Since the controversial events of December 1923, the congregation had been bitterly divided and, in the words of one, "had known no peace." Fraser's approach, in particular, had grown too zealous for even many anti-unionists.[21] In October, it was decided to cancel a planned anti-union rally as it was not, as Fraser said, "the psychological moment" for a meeting.[22]

Unionists, on the other hand, increased their efforts at this stage. Former minister Knowles, ironically, was especially active. In a fascinating turn of events, he had regained his health and, in 1922, moved back to Galt and joined Knox's as a member of the congregation. After re-marrying and traveling for a year with his new wife, he became a fixture in the congregation's church union controversy. In particular, he infuriated Fraser by sitting in the front pew on Sunday mornings in order to take copious notes of the sermons.[23] At a pro-church union rally in December 1924, Knowles even rose to present a point-by-point refutation of Fraser's anti-union pamphlet: "Address to the Presbyterian Church, Alberton, PEI."

When the final ballots were counted, in January 1925, Knox's had decided, 540-363, to stay out of the United Church.[24] Subsequently, about 300 withdrew, 260 of whom went to First. While some had positive reasons for leaving Knox's, most left because they had been pushed by their minister. In a pastoral letter to every member of the congregation, Fraser had written that if Knox's voted for union,

> Hundreds of its members will have been taken from the church of their birth and choice. Does this seem fair or right? Might it not be better for those whose consciences compel them to enter the United Church to find a church of this fellowship elsewhere?[25]

Later, Knowles would write, "The cream of old Knox has come over to First [. . .] I might say that we are the whipped cream, and if we had not been whipped, we would not be here."[26]

The experience of church union was undoubtedly devastating for Knox's. Fraser was forced to resign and upon the arrival of his successor, in 1927, the congregational history

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[20] Session Minutes, 18 Dec. 1923, KPCA.

[21] "In Special Articles, Both Sides of Church Union in Galt Discussed," *Galt Evening Reporter* 17 Nov. 1924.

[22] J. K. Fraser, letter to J. W. MacNamara, 3 Nov. 1924, PCAP, 1973-1003-9-4.

[23] O'Grady 23-29.

[24] Session Minutes, 8 Feb. 1925, KPCA.

[25] "Pastoral Letter to the Members of Knox Church, Galt," 1924, Church Union Collection (CUC), 1983.063C, 19-441, The United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto.

[26] "Knowles and the Cream," *Star Weekly* 18 Apr. 1925: 20.

observed that there was, "no visible repair to the damage that had been wrought" and that "morale was at an all-time low."[27] Although the remnant had secured their future as a Presbyterian congregation, ideological victory turned out not to be very satisfying in comparison to the high interpersonal costs involved.

II Central Church

Central Church was formed largely by the vestige of Galt's Old Kirk following the Free Church controversy. From 1880 to 1914 its minister was Congregationalist James Dickson, a man of ecumenical spirit.[28] Having called a Congregationalist minister, Central seemed ripe for church union. Indeed, when the idea was first put to the people, in 1912, a large majority favoured it:[29]

	Question One		Question Two	
	For	Against	For	Against
Elders	13	6	9	7
Members	272	75	209	56
Adherents	25	6	18	1
Totals	300	87	236	64

Following Dickson's retirement in 1914, the congregation called M. B. Davidson. Unlike his predecessor, Davidson opposed church union. On the eve of the second referendum the Session asked him to preach on the subject and, on that occasion, Davidson left no doubt about his position. While Jesus' words from John 17:21 and the elimination of overlapping in the West were presented as dubious arguments for church union, he suggested that the real issues to be weighed were the benefits of a merger with the Methodists versus a split within Presbyterianism. Not surprisingly, given this logic, the results of the 1915 vote showed a significant turnaround in the congregation:[30]

	Question One	
	For	Against
Elders	13	13
Members	115	302
Adherents	9	19
Totals	147	334

Despite their shared opposition to church union, neither minister nor congregation became very involved in resistance movements—the Presbyterian Church Association or the Women's

[27] Constance Sanders, *Knox's: 1869-1969* (N.p.: n.p., 1969) 32.

[28] James Dickson, *History of the Central Presbyterian Church, Galt, Ont., 1856-1904* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1904).

[29] Session Minutes, 16 Mar. 1912, Central Presbyterian Church (Cambridge, Ont.) fonds (CPC), 2000-8006, Microfilm Reel 1, The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives and Records Office, Toronto.

[30] "Two Churches for Union" 1.

League. Continually rejecting calls for help from Fraser and MacNamara, Davidson was unwilling to do anything that might threaten congregational unity. Even following the resumption of the church union controversy in the early 1920s, Davidson withstood outside pressure to become involved. He wrote to MacNamara, "it would be unfair of me now to enter on active, organized opposition," adding that the unity of the congregation was "The thing of supreme importance so far as my work as a minister goes."[31]

By and large, the congregation was pleased to focus on the preservation of their "one big family." Although the elders of Session were evenly divided on the church union issue, they insisted that no printed literature be distributed in Central.[32] When MacNamara asked for the use of the building for a Presbyterian Church Association rally, in 1924, the Session responded,

> We are of the opinion it will be better for the future of Central Church [. . .] if we as a church work within ourselves. Up to the present, we have had absolutely no feeling of bitterness, though we have quite a number in our church who favour church union. Our great desire is, if possible, to remain Presbyterian without a break in our ranks. We think we shall be more successful in this by not taking part in any outside meetings.[33]

Ultimately, the people of Central voted against joining the United Church, 470-166. Although 60 left the congregation, the split was amicable. Departing Clerk of Session David Nairn, for example, was given a gift in honour of his service to the Sunday school.[34] Despite the withdrawal of some to the United Church, Central remained intact as a community. Its leaders achieved their goals because they understood the relational aspect of church union.

III St. Andrew's Church

In response to Galt's rapid population growth, which followed the arrival of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Young People's Society for Christian Endeavour at Central Church founded three satellite Sunday Schools in 1891. One of these was very successful and grew into St. Andrew's Church. On 4 February 1916, the Presbytery of Guelph granted St. Andrew's the status of a mission charge and the congregation hired Knox College student J. D. Parks as a part-time minister. By October of that year, a large hall had been constructed and a Session formed.[35]

In 1917, Parks graduated and accepted a call to Tilston, Manitoba. His successor was J. J. Lowe, a member of the congregation in nearby Hespeler. An interesting character, Lowe was a revivalist who had travelled extensively, with D. L. Moody and Billy Sunday among others, and who had only settled in the area after marrying a local woman. In August 1919, Lowe was ordained in the Presbyterian Church and called as a full-time minister to St. Andrew's.[36]

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[31] M. B. Davidson, letter to J. W. MacNamara, 4 Dec. 1922, PCAP, 1973-1003-7-4.

[32] Session Minutes, 19 Oct. 1923, CPC.

[33] William Linton, letter to J. W. MacNamara, 31 Oct.1924, PCAP, 1973-1003-11-6.

[34] "Presentation to David Nairn," *Galt Evening Reporter* 25 Feb. 1925: 1.

[35] *Golden Anniversary: 1916-1966*, St. Andrew's Galt Presbyterian Church (Cambridge, Ont.) fonds, 1982-4002-2-10, 1, The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives and Records Office, Toronto.

[36] Presbytery Meeting Minutes, 18 Jan. 1919, Presbyterian Church in Canada Presbytery of Guelph fonds, 1979.143C, The United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto.

Surprisingly, church union was not a pressing issue for this young congregation. As a visiting journalist noted, "The union question has been notable by its absence from the deliberations of officials and members in St. Andrew's."[37] Widely considered a "community church," most outsiders assumed that its Presbyterian identity was weak and that it would join the United Church. As an aid-receiving charge, further, the strong statistical trend would have been for St. Andrew's to enter union.[38] Contrary to expectations, however, the people of St. Andrew's were rather uninterested in the issue. Having literally to be nagged by Lowe to take a congregational vote in January 1925—entry into the United Church being automatic absent a vote—the congregation decided, by a margin of 114 to 40, to stay out of the United Church. Indeed, of those who voted for church union, only two withdrew.[39]

The reasons for this response were the congregation's desire to remain together as well as the skilful leadership of an anti-unionist minister. Lowe was beloved by his parishioners, who called him "a veritable saint of God."[40] Had Lowe decided to join the United Church, the people would likely have followed him. Yet, his position was clear and firm. Lowe was known as one of the committed anti-unionists in the Presbytery and he insisted on a congregational vote at St. Andrew's, knowing that the absence of one made entry into the United Church automatic. The path of least resistance for St. Andrew's was to follow Lowe and continue to work within a familiar context.

IV First Church

First was formed in 1822 during the visit of an itinerant American preacher of the Associate Reformed Church, Thomas Beveridge. Although Galt's first settlers belonged to the Church of Scotland, they were so grateful for Beveridge's visit that they joined his denomination.[41] In 1907, First severed its American ties and joined The Presbyterian Church in Canada.[42] Also in that year, the congregation called its first Canadian minister, H. J. Pritchard. At that time, he and many others were already hoping for church union. After a first look at the Basis of Union, the Session declared "the 'Interim Report' of the committee on union of the churches presents a very satisfactory basis for union."[43] In 1912, the referendum showed a large majority in favour of church union:[44]

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[37] "In Special Articles" 1.

[38] Silcox 282.

[39] "Vote on Union, Presbytery of Guelph," CUC, 1983.063C, 10-225/226.

[40] *Golden Anniversary* 3.

[41] Andrew W. Taylor, *Banners Unfurled: The History of First United Church, 1824-1949* (Galt, ON: The Galt Printers, 1949).

[42] Session Minutes, 21 May 1907, First United Church (Cambridge, Ont.) fonds (FUC), 95.122L, 4-7, The United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto.

[43] Session Minutes, 2 Jan.1909, FUC.

[44] Session Minutes, 28 Feb. 1912, FUC.

	Question One		Question Two	
	For	Against	For	Against
Elders	10	0	8	0
Members	137	15	124	13
Adherents	1	0	0	0
Totals	148	15	131	13

In May 1912, Pritchard accepted a call to Sault Sainte Marie and was replaced in the summer by K. J. MacDonald. When it came time for a second referendum, MacDonald advocated church union from the pulpit, arguing that the churches in Western Canada needed union and that its proposed constitution—the Basis of Union—was theologically and practically sound. It was the unionists, for him, who were the loyal Presbyterians, not their opponents.[45] Again, First showed its overall support for church union:[46]

	Question One	
	For	Against
Elders	14	2
Members	114	45
Adherents	5	0
Totals	133	47

When the church union issue reappeared, in the 1920s, controversy was essentially absent from First and its few opponents within the congregation did not get actively involved in outside resistance movements. On 1 November 1924, the Session met to discuss church union and to arrange for a final congregational vote. Clerk of Session A. B. Scott was asked to make available a selection of literature from both sides while MacDonald, for his part, continued to advocate church union, both publicly and privately.

While debate over the church union issue had caused little controversy in First, its actual consummation led to much anguish. After the congregation voted to join the United Church, 216 to 128, 55 withdrew while 268 arrived, mostly from Knox's.[47] In April, Knox College Principal Alfred Gandier was invited to fill the pulpit and offer his encouragement. The Session made note of his "very helpful sermon," which "reassured" the people of their decision.[48] On 31 May, the Session called a special meeting at which MacDonald was urged to make a statement, "strongly expressing to those who voted against church union that it is the earnest wish of the Session, Managers and Minister that they remain in First Church." Also telling was the Session's decision to suspend the usual practice of sharing summer services with the neighbouring Methodist congregation. Although the people of First were on the verge of joining them in the United

[45] "Minister Discusses Church Union Question," *Galt Daily Reporter* 8 Nov. 1915: 1.

[46] "Two Churches for Union, One Against," *Galt Daily Reporter* 29 Nov. 1915: 1.

[47] "Vote on Union, Presbytery of Guelph," CUC, 1983.063C, 10-225/226.

[48] Session Minutes, 26 Apr. 1925, FUC.

Church, the elders felt "It would not be in the best interests of the church to hold joint services with the Wesleyan Ainslie Street Church during the holiday season."[49]

Amazingly, the Session also decided not to hold a joint service with the former Methodists to mark the birth of the United Church. On 11 June, Wesley United Church held such a service by themselves with only a handful from First in attendance: MacDonald, two recent transfers from Knox's and a couple in the joint choir.[50] It was not until the next Sunday, 14 June, that First held a church union service of its own. On that occasion, Pine Hill Divinity Hall Principal Clarence MacKinnon was the guest preacher and the Session made note of his "very helpful and inspiring sermon," which had "practical and spiritual lessons having a very direct bearing on the present crisis in the church."[51]

In the long run, church union provided an emotional and economic boost at First. In 1929, for example, an impressive and long-contemplated Christian Education wing was completed to house the Sunday School of nearly 400. MacDonald, a unionist partisan further, was able to remain happily until his retirement in 1932. Nonetheless, the relational costs of church union proved very high. For a congregation that had joined The Presbyterian Church in Canada largely because of church union, the intellectual aspects of the issue were revealed, in the end, to be relatively minor concerns.

Conclusion

A lot of serious thought has obviously been given to the possible reasons why The Presbyterian Church in Canada split over church union, especially to the statements of leading participants in the controversy. As Grant noted, though, "public statements do not always tell very much about actual motives."[52] Reading between the lines, he and Keith Clifford have concluded, in similar ways, that anti-unionists opposed the creation of an unnecessarily large religio-political institution and its achievement at the cost of religious liberty.[53] While both have done brilliant work and are leading names in the field, neither has moved far beyond a reinterpretation of the intellectual arguments made by a relatively small number of prominent figures. Although their studies are very helpful and often convincing, the sheer diversity of church union experiences among Canadian Presbyterians still resists, in my view, such broad generalization and begs a more nuanced approach. Notably, on the other hand, the few localized studies of church union have, to date, repeatedly highlighted the presence of significant regional diversity across the country. In Western Canada, for example, where a relative uniformity of support for church union was long assumed, Clifford himself found remarkable dissimilarities that point in just the opposite direction.[54] In the Maritimes, also, it has been shown that Presbyterians in Prince

[49] Session Minutes, 31 May 1925, FUC.

[50] "Inaugural Service in Celebration of Church Union in Galt," *Galt Evening Reporter* 12 June 1925: 1.

[51] Session Minutes, 14 June 1925, FUC.

[52] Grant, *The Canadian Experience* 52.

[53] Grant, *The Canadian Experience* 53-54 and Clifford 1-12.

[54] N. Keith Clifford, "Church Union and Western Canada," *Prairie Spirit: Perspectives on The Heritage of The United Church of Canada in the West*, ed. Dennis L. Butcher, et al. (Winnipeg: U of Manitoba P, 1985) 283-95.

Edward Island and Pictou County, Nova Scotia, responded in unique ways to differing local circumstances.[55]

What explains the presence of such bewildering diversity as we find consistently in any study of the Presbyterian schism? Admitting the extreme difficulty we face in trying to understand the internal reasons why individual Presbyterians supported or opposed church union or of making helpful inference from an extremely complicated body of statistical evidence, as attempted by John A. Ross,[56] it seems more methodologically helpful to examine, among a small sample such as this one has provided, why some individuals did, or did not, join the United Church. In other words, it is votes cast with feet, rather than with secret ballots or public rhetoric, which are most telling and significant. In light of this methodological distinction, it becomes clear, from a close study of the Galt congregations, that personalities and relationships made the difference for many Presbyterians.

In his grand study, Silcox himself noted the role of "local difficulties" around church union, especially the minister's "method and manner" as well as other unique congregational dynamics.[57] Clifford, who saw in common a shared defence of religious liberty among anti-union activists, also pointed to local influences, such as wealth and social identity, which were distinct in each congregation.[58] Both, however, preferred ultimately to emphasize other motivating influences upon Canadian Presbyterians, especially ideological ones. Grant, similarly, concluded that "most people stood by their individual convictions [. . .] breaking up not only congregations but personal friendships and family loyalties."[59] It is true, of course, that broader intellectual issues cannot be dismissed in an examination of church union at any level. Many Presbyterians supported or opposed church union for a variety of theological, historical, or other reasons and chose their paths accordingly. Nor can we dismiss the national context of the event. Church union was a nation-wide movement and the motives of both its supporters and detractors can only be understood in light of that fact. However, once the church union process was put in motion and the public debate framed, personal relationships became a major concern for a great many people in Canada's Presbyterian congregations.

In Galt, the realignment of the city's Presbyterian community, which came about because of church union, was clearly shaped much more by interpersonal considerations than by ideological ones. In this short paper, we have seen the particular importance and influence of congregational leadership—both lay and ordained. It has not been practical in these pages, unfortunately, to discuss the significant influence on many individuals played by kinship ties, which we know to have been important as well. A perusal of the meeting minutes for the Sessions of the various Galt churches, for example, makes clear that movement between congregations was generally made by families, even extended ones, together. In such cases, there may have been a matriarch or patriarch who made an intellectual decision about church union,

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[55] Tim F. Archibald, "Remaining Faithful: Church Union 1925 in the Presbytery of Pictou," *Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers* (1990): 20-38, and James Cameron, "The Garden Distressed: Church Union and Dissent on Prince Edward Island, 1904-1947," diss. Queen's U, 1989.

[56] John A. Ross, "Regionalism, Nationalism and Social Gospel Support in the Ecumenical Movement of Canadian Presbyterianism," diss. McMaster U, 1973.

[57] Silcox 212.

[58] Clifford, *Resistance to Church Union* 4.

[59] Grant, *The Canadian Experience* 51.

but the other family members generally followed because of the personal connection.[60] In light of all this evidence, it seems only reasonable to conclude that such congregational experiences as we have looked at here were shared widely, in some form, in other communities across Canada. By recognizing this, we are in a much better position to understand both how and why Canadian Presbyterians were divided by church union in the extremely complex way that they were.

[60] John Thompson Taylor, for example, a missionary to India from Knox's, led his large extended family from Knox's to First at the time of church union. He was an intellectual proponent of church union, but the majority of his clan joined the United Church because of his position in the family, not the arguments he espoused (Alex Taylor, personal conversation, 7 May 2006). For more on his influence see John Thompson Taylor, letter, *Galt Evening Reporter* 5 Jan. 1925: 3, and a letter from "Mother" to "Bairnies", dated 16 July 1925, Taylor Family fonds, The United Church of Canada Archives, 1987.307C, 1-1.

The Rev. R. P. (Robert Peter) MacKay: Pietist as Denominational Executive

Peter Bush

The Rev. Dr. Robert Peter MacKay[1] served as Secretary of the Foreign Missions Committee of The Presbyterian Church in Canada from 1892 to 1925, and then in a parallel role in the newly created United Church of Canada for two years. This paper seeks to do three things, locate MacKay, the first denominational program staff person in Canadian Presbyterianism, within the developing denominational bureaucracy and the growing use of business practices in the church; explore MacKay's connection with the broader trans-Atlantic Protestant mission enterprise; and finally, to delineate how MacKay's pietistic theology informed his leadership and administration of The Presbyterian Church in Canada's foreign mission. The paper makes extensive use of public addresses MacKay gave at various mission conferences which were subsequently published, and pamphlets and book chapters he wrote. Readers will notice little reference to MacKay's voluminous correspondence with missionaries in the field, or to the minutes of the Foreign Missions Committee. Exploring the longer published pieces provides a more cohesive picture of MacKay's missiological understanding than does piecing together such a picture out of situationally based letters, or administratively driven committee meetings.

The Foreign Missions Committee of The Presbyterian Church in Canada (FMC) faced a challenge as the overseas mission enterprise of the denomination grew through the late 1880s and early 1890s: handling the correspondence and administrative tasks connected to the mission was outstripping the time and energy that Hamilton Cassels, the volunteer secretary of the Committee and also a partner in the prominent Toronto legal firm, Cassels, Brock, Kelley, and Falconbridge, had to give to the task. Both those inside the Committee and those outside recognized the time had come for a full-time salaried secretary. Cassels' resignation in 1891 following three years as secretary opened the door for such an appointment. The FMC recommended to the 1891 Assembly the Rev. Dr. J. B. Fraser be appointed to the role. Fraser, an ordained minister and medical doctor, had served as a medical missionary in Formosa (Taiwan) for three years before returning to Canada in 1877 with his children, following the death of his wife. Before the Assembly could deal with the recommendation, Fraser, who had been listening to informal comments made by commissioners, rose to suggest the Assembly needed to decide whether appointing a "salaried Secretary" was consistent with the denomination's polity and practice before deciding who should be offered the job.[2]

The proposal was made that a question be sent down to presbyteries: should the church appoint "an agent" whose tasks would be "to represent the Foreign Mission work among the

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[1] Robert Peter MacKay was known widely simply as R. P., a "name" he had from his days at Knox College if not earlier. The spelling of his last name is somewhat unclear. He appears to have used MacKay, although at times his signature appears to be Mackay. A few times in the official record of the denomination it appears as Mackay, along with McKay. This paper will use MacKay.

[2] *Acts and Proceedings of the Seventeenth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada (1891)*: 36 and App. 10, liv; *The Presbyterian Record* Aug. 1892: 208.

congregations of the Church" and "to keep the minutes and conduct the correspondence of the Committee"?[3] Following substantial debate the Assembly agreed to ask the opinions of the Presbyteries, along with requesting the submission of names of suitable candidates. Two issues troubled some members of the Assembly: first, the creation of a new paid position at the Assembly level, and, secondly, the lack of input from the wider church as to who might fulfill this position. While two full-time paid staff worked at the Assembly level (the church agent, Mr. Croil, and the editor of the *Record*, the Rev. E. Scott), the secretary of the FMC would be the first program staff appointment. Thirty-one of forty-six presbyteries responded to the question asked. Twenty-two said "yes" to the proposal and four said "no." Among the suggestions from the other five presbyteries were: amalgamating the secretary-ship of the Home Missions Committee and the FMC into a single role, or combining it with "some other office" and turning the position into a purely administrative one, removing the promotion of the work of foreign missions from the tasks assigned to the secretary. The 1892 Assembly agreed to appoint a full-time salaried secretary whose skills would include both the ability to manage the administrative tasks of the FMC and "the power of effective presentation or address." The roles of administrator and promoter of foreign mission were to remain together.[4]

The new secretary was to be responsible for "the preparation of information for the press,"[5] becoming the conduit through which the denomination's foreign mission story would be communicated to church members and the wider community. Having a central clearing house through which the missionaries' stories were told was efficient, preventing overlap. In selecting what material to pass on to the press, the new staff person would mediate the foreign mission narrative to both supporters and critics.

The Committee of Assembly named to look at this matter recommended the Rev. R. P. MacKay "be called to this work." Three other persons were nominated from the floor of the Assembly: the Rev. D. D. MacLeod of Barrie; the Rev. J. B. Fraser, M.D., who had been the FMC's nominee for secretary in 1891; and the Rev. Alfred Gandier of Brampton, who would later become Principal of Knox College. The vote was by ballot, a candidate required 50% plus one of the ballots cast to be declared the winner. The name with the fewest votes was dropped from subsequent ballots. On the first ballot 132 votes were cast; MacKay received 63 of the needed 67 votes, Dr. Fraser received the fewest votes and was dropped. The only candidate with overseas mission experience had been knocked out of the running. On the second ballot 150 votes were cast and 84 were for MacKay. The Rev. R. P. MacKay took up his responsibilities as the new salaried secretary of the FMC in August 1892.[6] MacKay was to become the FMC's "best known-figure and its authoritative voice" playing until 1925 "a key role in determining the course of his church's foreign missions policy."[7]

Who was this first salaried Secretary of the Committee? The Rev. R. P. MacKay was born in East Zorra township, north-west of Woodstock, Ontario on 24 April 1847. Zorra, a hot-bed of Presbyterianism, produced some fifty ministers. R. P. was encouraged by his older

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[3] *Acts and Proceedings (1891)*: 36.

[4] *Acts and Proceedings (1891)*: 36; *Acts and Proceedings of the Eighteenth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada (1892)*: 32, 42.

[5] *Acts and Proceedings (1892)*: 42.

[6] *Acts and Proceedings (1892)*: 42-44.

[7] Ruth Compton Brouwer, *New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1990) 24.

brother, Hugh, a doctor, to become a minister. Hugh promised to help pay for R. P.'s education. At the age of twenty-four MacKay entered the undergraduate program of the University of Toronto, living at Knox College. Graduating in 1875, he entered theology at Knox College and graduated in 1877. In October 1877, MacKay was inducted the minister at Agincourt, and within a month he married Margaret Smith, the eldest daughter of the Rev. John Smith, then minister of Bay Street Church in Toronto. The wedding was conducted by no less than three clergy: Principal William Caven and Professors MacLaren and Gregg, all of Knox College; one of the bridesmaids was Margaret Caven, daughter of Principal Caven. MacKay had connections within the denominational elite.[8]

The marriage was, by all accounts, a happy one, though marked by tragedy. A child was born in 1879, dying after only a few hours of life. A daughter, Margaret Smith, was born in February 1881; named for her mother who died five days after giving birth. MacKay never re-married, raising his daughter with the support of the congregation. MacKay served the Agincourt church another three years, before moving to Parkdale on what was then the edge of Toronto. There he led the congregation through the building of Dunn Avenue Presbyterian Church. Over the eight years he served the congregation (1884-1892), it grew to 550 members, nine of whom became missionaries either in Canada or overseas. One, Dr. William Wanless, a missionary in India, wrote of MacKay, "I owe much to him in my decision to become a Christian and ultimately a medical missionary."[9] MacKay had a track record of promoting missions at the congregational level.

MacKay, a man of deep piety, believed prayer and the surrender of the will were central to the Christian's walk of faith. Little interested in theological debate, MacKay believed inter-denominational action was the way for future mission. Historian Robert Wright describes MacKay as a person of "evangelical conviction."[10] This conviction was clear in MacKay's belief that people needed to hear and respond to the call of the gospel. Understanding a call to conversion as central to mission, historian Ruth Compton Brouwer notes, did not prevent MacKay from holding together "the liberal and conservative tendencies" within the Presbyterian Church.[11] MacKay's piety allowed him to maintain the tension between the two "tendencies"; his focus on prayer and self-sacrifice were welcome among both liberals and conservatives who agreed these were important in the mission of the church. Further, MacKay's "saintly" attitude cut across the tensions between liberals and conservatives calling both to deeper discipleship no matter how they defined that discipleship.

MacKay's thirty-five years as Secretary of the FMC can be divided into three periods. The first, 1892-1907, saw him grow into being a denominational mission administrator, creating a role which had not existed previously. Until 1906, MacKay served alone, including being his own secretary. While R. P. was on his eighteen-month tour of the Asian mission fields (1906-1907), the Rev. Allan Egbert (Bert) Armstrong, served as temporary Secretary. Armstrong, a

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[8] Andrew Thomson, *The Life and Letters of Rev. R. P. MacKay, D.D.: A Record of Faith, Friendship, and Good Cheer* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1932) 18-27.

[9] Thomson 58.

[10] Robert Wright, *A World Mission: Canadian Protestantism and the Quest for a New International Order, 1918-1939* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's UP, 1992) 122. Wright notes MacKay served on the boards of both Toronto Bible Training School and the Canadian section of China Inland Mission, both evangelical institutions.

[11] Brouwer 24. Brouwer goes on to say that combining these "within his own complex personality, the widowed MacKay made foreign missions his passionate, lifelong interest [. . .]" (24).

1904 graduate of Knox College, had been accepted as a missionary but failing the medical requirements had gone into congregational ministry. In 1908, the FMC accepted MacKay's suggestion that Armstrong be appointed Assistant Secretary. The addition to the FMC's administrative team was in response to the growth in the denomination's mission enterprise. The second period, from 1908 to 1913, saw dramatic organizational change in the work of the FMC as efficiency and business approaches were built into the structures of the denomination. During this time MacKay was elected Moderator of The Presbyterian Church in Canada (1911) and was involved in the development and promotion of Canada's Mission Policy. The third period was 1914 to 1927. MacKay turned sixty-seven in 1914 and was moving into the role of respected statesperson within the denomination and among other mission executives, leaving much of the day-to-day concerns and even many policy matters to Armstrong.

1892-1908

The Presbyterian Church in Canada (PCC)'s foreign mission fields when MacKay was called to be Secretary included: the New Hebrides in the South Pacific; Trinidad, primarily among Indian immigrants; Formosa (Taiwan) and Honan, both part of the Chinese mission effort; Central India; Palestine, among the Jewish population; work among Chinese immigrants in British Columbia; and with Native peoples on the Canadian Prairies and in British Columbia. Notably, no mission work was being done in Africa or in Korea. The work in Canada was considered Foreign Missions due to its cross-cultural nature. A total of seventy-nine Canadian staff (not including the spouses of missionaries) worked for the FMC in 1892, twenty-six in Canada and fifty-three overseas.[12]

Sixteen years later the number of missionaries had nearly doubled to 152, with ninety-eight missionaries (not including spouses) overseas and fifty-four in Canada. Eighty-five percent of the missionaries serving in 1908 had been appointed during MacKay's time with the FMC; he had had direct involvement in their appointment including the selection of the field to which they were sent. The mission in Palestine had been dropped and four new fields opened up by 1908: British Guiana, Korea, and in China, Shanghai and Macao. This growth was not solely the result of MacKay's efforts; however, he was a central part of moving people who were interested in missions through the process to become missionaries.[13] Thus he helped shape the denomination's mission staff and the mission itself.

Upon his appointment as secretary MacKay had a great deal to learn and to learn quickly. First, the administrative processes of the mission endeavour needed to be understood. The minutes of the first FMC meetings he attended indicate his grappling to understand and improve the various policies of the FMC, both the written ones and the unwritten ones.[14] MacKay not

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[12] *Resolutions Relating to the Foreign Mission Work of The Presbyterian Church in Canada adopted by the General Assembly, 1893 with notes by Rev. R. P. MacKay* (Toronto: Press of the Canada Presbyterian, 1893) 1-3. This pamphlet was published the first year MacKay was secretary, in subsequent years no such pamphlet was published.

[13] "Foreign Mission Report of The Presbyterian Church in Canada: Staff List," *Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada (1908)*: App. 191-94.

[14] See for example *Minutes of the Foreign Missions Committee of The Presbyterian Church in Canada*, vol. 5, Executive Minutes, 15 Nov. 1892, 41: "The Secretary reported that Dr. MacLaren and he had carefully revised the manual submitted by the Board of the WFMS that they found that in two or three places authority was assumed by the Board instead of being stated as belonging to the Committee, and that the outfit allowance for Lady Missionaries

only had to understand and be able to explain the policies of the FMC to missionaries and missionary candidates, he also had to be able to explain those policies to the wider church. Within a year of MacKay's appointment he was struggling to explain how funds given to the Women's Foreign Mission Society (hereafter WFMS) were not in fact being given to the work of the FMC. Careful to not create friction between Home Missions and Foreign Missions, MacKay argued both needed to be funded in ways that avoided any "unfairness in the distribution of funds as will create antagonism and strife."[15] But an unfairness was creeping in. Some congregations looked upon the funds raised by the WFMS as being part of their support of foreign missions, and were subtracting the amount raised by the WFMS from the amount they aimed at contributing to the FMC. MacKay argued strongly the "original intention of the WFMS was that their gifts should be *over and above* what was given [to foreign mission] by the congregation and should not interfere with it" (emphasis in original).[16] The financial support of the foreign mission cause was both aided by and complicated by the efforts of the WFMS to raise funds, and also wanting a say in how those funds were expended. Working with the WFMS remained a challenge for the first two decades of MacKay's time as Secretary.

A second set of knowledge MacKay needed to master was where the PCC's missionaries were serving and the opportunities and challenges they faced. Only as he demonstrated knowledge of their situation would his correspondence with them be meaningful and helpful in addressing their concerns. Further, he required a detailed knowledge of the missionaries' work if he were to be able to present the missionary story effectively to the denomination. Andrew Thomson, in the biography of his father-in-law, notes that upon being appointed secretary MacKay made a careful and systematic study of the contexts in which the church was doing foreign mission.[17] This careful study was evident in an 1893 pamphlet containing MacKay's comments on the FMC's recommendations adopted by the General Assembly. He introduced readers to the challenges of the Geary Law "An Act to prohibit the coming of Chinese persons into the United States," highlighting the dehumanizing language used, the undermining of legal protections, and the risk of a potential backlash against missionaries in China. The pamphlet also explained those with "no social standing" in the Indian subcontinent who were being attracted to the Christian faith.[18] Over his years as Secretary of the FMC MacKay worked hard at staying up-to-date on the changing international situations impacting the PCC's mission.

The only way to correspond with missionaries when MacKay became secretary was by letter. Even though other means of communication gradually became available during his time in the FMC office, the alternative means, such as telegraph, were expensive and not effective

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was stated to be $250 instead of $150 as fixed by the Committee's regulations. It was agreed to alter the Manual so as to make it conform to the Committee's regulations and authority, and that the Secretary forward it, as altered, to the Board of the WFMS with approval. Also that the Board should be informed that if they will state their reasons for wishing to increase the outfit allowance, the matter will be brought under the notice of the Committee at the next meeting." The challenge of working out the authority of each of the FMC and the WFMS would remain ongoing.

[15] *Resolutions Relating to the Foreign Mission Work* 18.

[16] *Resolutions Relating to the Foreign Mission Work* 18-20.

[17] Thomson 68. "[. . .] he devoted himself to a study of mission lands and missions. The piles of notes in his handwriting show both how extensively and how thoroughly he dug down to the basal principles of the religions of the East."

[18] *Resolutions Relating to the Foreign Mission Work* 10-12.

means of communicating anything but short messages.[19] The letter books of the FMC indicate in the first fourteen years as secretary MacKay wrote nearly 8,000 letters, virtually all of them longhand. Additional letters would have been written from home or while traveling to various engagements. His correspondents wrote as many, if not more, letters to him, letters which he read and responded to in some way. At times that meant writing a return letter; remarkably MacKay often responded to missionaries in field less than forty-eight hours after receiving their letters. Principal Alfred Gandier of Knox College, who also served for fifteen years as Chair of the FMC and therefore knew of MacKay's patterns said, "He was a father and a never-failing friend to every single missionary of the Church, man and woman. And what a ministry he exercised through his writing of letters."[20]

At times the letters from the field contain information that could be passed on to the press for publication. Other matters needed to be taken to the FMC for their consideration. MacKay was well aware of his dual role in the lives of missionaries; as the official voice of the church he was required at times to present information and to explain policy to missionaries in the field, and, secondly, his calling was to be the voice of pastoral care for missionaries in difficult situations far from home. At times these roles merged, as when a missionary or family member was ill and the possibility of an early return to Canada was under consideration. In these situations MacKay needed to both express pastoral concern for those who were sick, and play the role of mission administrator in ensuring the interests of the church and its mission were considered.[21] Brouwer has argued MacKay at times overstated the level of agreement present within the FMC on a given issue.[22] The members of the committee were leading Presbyterians who brought diverse opinions to the table, and differences of opinion were common. MacKay, however, was charged with communicating the views of the majority, which was the decision of the committee.

An interesting letter writer, MacKay inquired after the spouses and children of his correspondents by name. He included details such as the weather at the time of writing and people who had recently dropped into the FMC office. A letter to the Rev. John Wilkie serving in Indore, India, demonstrates MacKay's use of humour to communicate his message: "I would just mildly admonish you to beware lest these Assembly reports should come into my hands so late as to make it impossible to use them for the General Assembly. Should that be so, you will find yourself so:" following which appeared a sketch of a person being hanged.[23] In a letter to a missionary in Honan, China, he wrote, "It must be your Highland ancestry that has given you such a cool and level head; for you will, of course, agree with me that all virtues belong essentially to the Highlander."[24]

Immediately upon becoming Secretary MacKay was forced to address a problem on a distant field. Through the 1880s the FMC sought ways to integrate its work with the WFMS in

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[19] Direct Canada to India and Canada to China telegraph was not available until 1902.

[20] Thomson 168.

[21] Thomson 72-73. In a letter to the Rev. W. A. Wilson in Indore, MacKay gently indicates Wilson's departure from the field would have a negative impact on the Evangelistic Campaign Wilson was instrumental in starting, and therefore he should consider staying. Wilson was the son-in-law of William Caven, Principal of Knox College.

[22] Brouwer 152.

[23] Thomson 69.

[24] Thomson 70.

Central India. A joint council had been tried, with men and women having equal voice. This had failed. As the FMC received correspondence from various sources on the field and had a few opportunities to speak to missionaries on furlough it modified its policy, but little seemed to solve the tension on the field. At times MacKay would write a letter containing a FMC-proposed solution, only to have it rejected by a party in the conflict before the proposal ever reached India. Such were the challenges of making decisions for a mission located half a world away. By the mid-1890s the FMC reached the conclusion that the Rev. John Wilkie, who had been in Indore since 1878, was a significant part of the problem. Such a realization would have been difficult for MacKay. Wilkie and MacKay had been at Knox College together and considered each other friends. In the end MacKay as Secretary of the FMC informed Wilkie of the June 1902 decision to recall Wilkie as a missionary of the PCC. Wilkie, a gifted promoter of his missionary efforts and his plans to expand that mission, had during his twenty-four years as a missionary endeared himself to a number of powerful Presbyterians in Canada, especially women. Wilkie returned to Canada and following an unsuccessful attempt to get re-appointed to the PCC's mission to India, created an independent work: the Gwalior Mission in Jhansi, Central India. Despite Wilkie's skills in mobilizing support, MacKay and the FMC weathered the storm. Their decision appeared justified as calm came to the mission in Central India.[25]

Throughout his time as secretary of the FMC MacKay had an ambivalent relationship with the leadership of the WFMS and its successor, the WMS. Prior to MacKay's appointment the FMC had been exploring how best to address the WFMS's concerns about inadequate training opportunities for women missionaries. Male missionaries trained at one of the denomination's theological colleges, but no such opportunities existed for women preparing to go overseas. Through the 1890s the Committee explored various options which were consistently rejected by the WFMS who had set their vision on a women's missionary training centre operated by the Canadian Presbyterian Church. One of the options seriously considered in 1895 was having the women attend the newly formed Toronto Bible Training School (TBTS). MacKay was connected to TBTS, serving on the Board of the institution and becoming Vice-Chair of the Board for a time. Another FMC member, the Rev. Dr. D. McTavish served on the founding board of TBTS. This openness to inter-denominational ventures was a hallmark of the foreign missions community, one with which the WFMS was out of step as they rejected any proposal along "distinctively inter-denominational lines."[26] In the end the WFMS got its wish and the Ewart Missionary Training Home was opened in 1897. MacKay taught courses on missions at Ewart in the first decade of its existence and served on its Board. With his round-the-

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[25] Wilkie appealed to General Assembly in 1902 (*Acts and Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada (1902)*: 35, 39, 40, 47, 58) and the Assembly upheld the decision of the Foreign Missions Committee, choosing to not send the issue to a commission. Between Assembly 1902 and Assembly 1903, a significant number of "Kirk sessions, individual ministers and members of the church" indicated through their Presbyteries their dissatisfaction "with the disposal made [. . .] regarding the affairs of the Church's Mission in Central India" (*Acts and Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada (1903)*: 31). Therefore the 1903 Assembly named a commission (*Acts and Proceedings (1903)*: 31, 32, 49, 50, 60), which reported back in detail to the 1904 Assembly (*Acts and Proceedings of the Thirtieth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada (1904)*: 26, 38-42, "Commission Reports," v-xiii). The result was that Wilkie was to be found "a suitable field of labour in India" (*Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-First General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada (1905)*: 105). The FMC was unable to find such a field for Wilkie. For further discussion of the Wilkie Case see Brouwer 130-61.

[26] *Monthly Letter Leaflet* [official organ of the Women's Foreign Mission Society of The Presbyterian Church in Canada] May 1894: 8.

world tour in 1906 and the evolution of Ewart into a deaconess and missionary training centre in 1907, MacKay's involvement at Ewart diminished.[27]

MacKay, in 1893, became a founding member of the Conference of Foreign Missionary Boards and Societies in the United States and Canada, an organization which through its annual meetings and networks was to influence his thinking about mission and give him a forum beyond the PCC to discuss issues of mission. The Foreign Missions Conference of North America, as the organization eventually became known as, usually held its annual meeting in early January, first starting in New York, but later in various North American cities. The conference was designed to meet the needs of mission board executives, as MacKay's description makes clear:

> [. . .] the best experience of all the Boards, old and young, was placed on the table and notes compared. It was thus missions gradually became a science, not each taking an independent course, but each taking advantage of the experience of all. Out of this grew comity in Missions, that is, each respecting and not invading the territory of others. Out of this grew also co-operation. [. . .] It was a liberal education to be present at these discussions and feel the atmosphere of these assemblies of men who were not only scholarly but Christian gentlemen, illustrating what Christian courtesy, consideration and brotherly love mean.[28]

At these gatherings MacKay met John R. Mott, Robert Speer, and A. T. Pierson, and other leaders in the American and international mission community. MacKay's preferred approach in conversations about missions was to come from the perspective of spiritual commitment and the spiritual discipline of prayer. Through the annual gatherings of the Conference he learned to speak about missions in scientific and methodological terms. The gatherings demonstrated the divisions between and competition among denominations which were part of the North American religious terrain were largely irrelevant in a mission context. Such crossing of denominational and theological lines was not difficult for MacKay who served on the boards of both the Toronto Bible Training School (subsequently Toronto Bible College, Ontario Bible College, Tyndale College and Seminary) and the Canadian Board of China Inland Mission (subsequently Overseas Missionary Fellowship).

MacKay's formal contributions to these annual gatherings often related to issues he was facing in his role as secretary of the FMC. Immediately prior to the inaugural ecumenical gathering of Foreign Mission executives, Presbyterians from across North America held a meeting. At that gathering MacKay, who had been on the job about six months, presented a paper on the challenge of converts to Christianity moving from one denomination's mission to another. Such movement was a problem for three reasons. First, "It destroys the Spirit of brotherhood that ought to characterize all churches everywhere, especially in the foreign field." One convert's moving created questions about whether others in the church should make the same move, creating unease in the congregation. Second, it harmed the witness of the entire Christian community as outsiders saw division within the community rather than a Spirit-centered harmony. Finally, the person "who proves unfaithful in one place is likely to do so in another." The convert who moved once to "greener pastures" was more likely to do so again, never being satisfied. The answer to this "evil" MacKay argued was for mission agencies to be

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[27] For further discussion of the founding of Ewart College and the FMC and WFMS, see Peter Bush, "The Ewart Missionary Training Home, 1897-1908," unpublished essay, 1989.

[28] Thomson 103-04.

less focused on their number of converts and more concerned about having missionaries and "native preachers and helpers" in their field follow "the laws of Christian courtesy" and "the most honourable principles of action." He believed if a number of missions "conducted themselves generously and refused to be provoked into departing from their principles" public sentiment would force other mission groups to change their pattern of behaviour.[29] In this early presentation themes central to MacKay's missiology can be seen: his openness to seeing God at work in other missions leading to his desire to act cooperatively with others, his focus on the proclamation of the gospel as the primary goal of mission, and his ability to frame pragmatic questions in spiritual terms.

MacKay presented a paper at the 1896 ecumenical gathering: "How to increase the efficiency of missionaries on the field." It is hard not to read his words against the background of the conflicts on the mission field in India. All new missionaries should be of the very best quality, "a select few chosen with Gideon-like discrimination, will accomplish more than the great multitude lacking in spiritual attainment."[30] Great care was required in determining if candidates had "that experimental knowledge of the power of prayer and fullness of the Spirit requisite for powerful effective service in a warfare that is not with flesh and blood." College standing and glowing letters of reference from pastors did not answer questions about a candidate's spiritual fitness. This was the factor MacKay believed would most impact a missionary's effectiveness. If the mission boards expected missionaries to be persons of deep spirituality, then the members of the boards were called to be examples of the spiritual commitment they desired in candidates. Board members were to be "pre-eminently" people of "prayer, every moment being begun and carried on in the spirit of dependence and intercession." This spirituality had a practical component to it. Missionaries on the field needed to exercise self-care, which he called "self-culture." While mission boards could insist and missionary colleagues could challenge one another to exercise self-care "the exercise is a personal one [. . .] and cannot be done by substitutes." Among the things mission boards could do to support missionary self-care were: ensuring helpful and challenging reading material was available to all missionaries, developing retreat centers and organizing retreats for missionaries, and re-invigorating mission prayer meetings in the sending churches. The focus on prayer and personal spirituality were to be a hallmark of MacKay's message for the next thirty years.[31]

The Foreign Mission Boards of North America organized an Ecumenical Missionary Conference held in New York City, 21 April to 1 May 1900. MacKay served on the General Planning Committee and spoke at the conference. His presentation was the kick-off piece to a conversation about the selection, qualifications, training, and personal health and well-being of the missionary. As he had argued four years previously, the selection and preparation of candidates was essential, for the quality of the mission personnel impacted the effectiveness and spiritual impact of the mission. The theological colleges needed to expose students to the "climatic and social conditions, and the intellectual and spiritual requirements" of their

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[29] R. P. MacKay, "How to Meet the Difficulty Arising from Receiving into Communion Converts Who Are Under Discipline in Other Missions," *Conference of the Officers and Members of the Foreign Missionary Boards and Committees of the Various Presbyterian Bodies in the United States and Canada, held Jan. 11, 1893* (New York, 1893) 23-24.

[30] This reading of the Gideon story gives Gideon more control over the size of his "army" then the Biblical narrative would indicate.

[31] R. P. MacKay, "How to Increase the Efficiency of Missionaries On the Field," *Interdenominational Conference of Foreign Missionary Boards and Societies in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1896) 24-29.

denomination's mission fields. But nothing could replace "thought, and conference, and fasting, and prayer, as much as in Antioch in apostolic days" in the selection process. Just as the church in Antioch had prayed and set apart Paul and Barnabas so the church at the turn of the twentieth century needed to do in setting apart missionaries. Among the practical questions facing denominational mission administrators were: what was the proper level of financial support that missionaries should receive; was it wise for missionaries to marry before going to the field, and how often should missionaries get furloughs? MacKay's answer to each of these questions was, with the right people in place the questions would solve themselves. The right people would use funds prudently both to maximize its impact but in ways that did not risk the missionary's health and ministry by false economies. The right women and men would not consider it impossible "to abstain from some domestic comforts for His sake, who became poor that we might be rich." The right people would find ways to use furloughs, which MacKay was critical of, to serve the ultimate goal of mission; "the glory of God in the salvation of souls." The spiritual character of the missionary was the primary thing. Prospective missionaries needed to enter a period of self-examination before applying to be a missionary. The selection of missionaries was more spiritual discernment and less the evaluation of personality types. MacKay in eight years as Secretary had learned how challenging the selection of missionaries was, and how important their personal commitment to serve the greater cause of the salvation of the world was given the difficulty of managing missionaries on the field.[32]

Having argued a candidate's spiritual commitment was the most important factor in determining their effectiveness as a missionary, MacKay did not mean there was to be no missiological method. As part of the educational resources of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (SVM), MacKay was invited to write a biography of George Leslie Mackay, the iconic Canadian Presbyterian missionary to Formosa (Taiwan) and a relative of R. P.'s.[33] The essay was included in a collection with four other missionary biographies: David Livingstone; Isabella Thoburn (American Methodist missionary to India and early Deaconess); Cyrus Hamlin (founder of Robert College in Constantinople); and Joseph Hardy Neesima (Jo Niijima, pioneer of Japanese Christianity). In G. L. Mackay's missionary activity R. P. found a mission strategy worthy of imitation. Learning the language of the people was essential if effective work was to be done. Coupled with learning the language was acquainting oneself with the religious outlook and practices of the people. In this way Mackay sought to find "common ground" so the gospel might gain a hearing. R. P. argued the wise Christian missionary recognized "truth wherever it is found" and showed "that these fragments of truth are united and perfected and personified in Him who is the Truth and the Life."[34] This evangelistic

[32] R. P. MacKay, "Choice and Qualifications of Missionaries," *Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900,* vol. 1 (New York: American Tract Society, 1900) 301-04. MacKay had addressed this same topic at the 1899 Interdenominational gathering of Foreign Mission Boards, see "Qualifications of Missionary Candidates," *Conference of Mission Boards and Societies(1899)*: 27-30. The Rev. John Wilkie was also a participant at the conference speaking on the attitudes towards Christianity among various groups in India, and their implications for missions in India.

[33] R. P. MacKay, "George Leslie Mackay," *Effective Workers in Needy Fields* (New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1902) 35-81.

[34] MacKay, "G. L. Mackay" 53-54. A similar mission methodology was discussed at the Presbyterian Indian Workers Conference held at the Round Lake Residential School, Saskatchewan in the summer of 1908. See Peter Bush, "'Spoken with Native Languages': Presbyterian Evangelistic Efforts Among the Native People of the Prairies, 1908-1909," *Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers (2008)*: 29-42.

methodology combined with prayer, R. P. affirmed, would lead to conversions. Once the first conversions had happened, the mission would grow naturally for "every convert is expected to be a missionary."[35] R. P. was ambivalent about the development of mission institutions such as formal schools and permanent hospitals. He understood the so-called "peripatetic school," which occurred as Mackay traveled through the countryside of Taiwan followed by a group of young men who he discipled along the way, and the roving dental clinic which Mackay operated, pulling thousands of teeth, had a spiritual vitality and broad reach which the formal classrooms of Oxford College (named for Oxford County, Ontario) could not duplicate. Even as he described Mackay's methodology, R. P. argued the mission in Taiwan grew because Mackay took with "no weapons or guides other than the Word of God and his own voice [. . .]. The Word without the voice God has not largely used, nor yet the voice without the Word; but when the living Word is upon lips that have been touched with a living coal from off the altar, we have God's instrument and something is going to be done."[36]

The first two months of 1902 were hectic for leaders in the Canadian mission community. The Conference of Foreign Mission Boards met in Toronto on 25 and 26 February that year, and their gathering was followed immediately by the quadrennial conference of the SVM at Massey Hall (26 February-2 March). MacKay served as secretary to the committee of arrangements for the mission boards' conference held at Knox Presbyterian Church which at the time faced Queen St. West between Yonge and Bay. Henry Frost, of the China Inland Mission, also served on the arrangements committee.[37] Not surprisingly, the SVM conference with its 2,953 delegates captured Toronto's attention.[38] Leading lay people from Protestant churches in Toronto served on the General Convention Committee as did the principals/provosts/chancellors of the five Protestant theological colleges in Toronto and President Loudon of the University of Toronto. Notably neither MacKay not Alex Sutherland, MacKay's Methodist counterpart, served on the committee, instead they headed up Section Conferences which were part of the larger event. MacKay chaired the sub-conference discussing the best methods for evangelizing the Jews.[39] MacKay's role at these conferences was not as one who addressed the delegates from the podium but rather as an organizer and a voice that led in prayer and spiritual practices. Into these roles MacKay was to move ever more significantly in the years ahead.

With transportation improving the FMC decided to send MacKay on a tour of the PCC mission fields in Asia, a trip that would take over a year.[40] The trip was designed to allow MacKay time to experience the missions he would be visiting and to preach and speak. May 1906 witnessed the marriage of his daughter, Margaret, to the Rev. Andrew Thomson. Two

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[35] MacKay, "G. L. Mackay" 55.

[36] MacKay, "G. L. Mackay" 44.

[37] *Proceedings of the Ninth Conference of Foreign Missions Boards* (1902): 3.

[38] *Montreal Gazette*, 3 Mar. 1902: 7. There were 2,296 student delegates, 212 university professors, and 445 missionaries, mission executives, and mission journal editors.

[39] J. R. Mott, ed., *World-Wide Evangelization, Toronto 1902* (New York: SVM, 1902) 637-39.

[40] Not everyone in Canada was thrilled at the FMC's decision. "The missionaries in our Indian work in the [Canadian] West are very indignant with R. P. MacKay, he was out visiting the fields and they say he just sat about and took no pains whatever to learn anything about the work; apparently he was not observant of anything, and they thought it just a waste of money to send him out to India." Mary Baker McQuesten (mother), letter to the Rev. Calvin McQuesten (son), 4 July 1906, document W5524, Whitehern Museum Archives, 25 May 2011, <http://www.whitehern.ca>.

weeks later, having sold his house in Parkdale where he had been living since his appointment as Secretary, MacKay headed east. Two weeks after his departure, the Thomsons headed west on their way to Honan to serve as missionaries.

MacKay's trip to Asia coincided with the Korean Revival. He visited Honan in May 1907 and invited the Rev. Jonathan Goforth to join him for the trip to Korea. Goforth "greatly rejoiced at such an opportunity." They visited Pingyang, one of the centers of the revival. Goforth wrote,

> One evening, Dr. MacKay and myself were invited to attend the missionary prayer meeting. Never have I been so conscious of the Divine Presence as I was that evening. Those missionaries seemed to carry us right up to the very Throne of God. One had the feeling that they were indeed communing with God, face to face. On the way back to our host's residence, Dr. MacKay was silent for some time. I could see that he was greatly agitated. Finally, with deep emotion, he exclaimed: "What amazing power! You missionaries in Honan are nowhere near that high level."[41]

One of MacKay's regular themes in preaching was the call to "intercession," and links drawn between prayer and the revival would have fit his theological understanding. On Goforth's telling, MacKay turned the prayer meeting experience into a challenge to Goforth and the other missionaries in Honan, including his daughter and son-in-law, to reach the same "high level" of prayer that was being exhibited among the missionaries in Korea. Goforth returned to Honan fired to see a similar revival, stoked by the same fuel of prayer.[42] MacKay made his way home to Canada by way of a second visit to Honan. There in November 1907 he had the joy of baptizing his infant granddaughter. He arrived in Canada in January 1908.

1908-1913

MacKay returned to his role as Secretary of the FMC to discover a number of things had changed while he had been away. First, there was now an Assistant Secretary, A. E. Armstrong, who was kept on in a permanent capacity with the FMC. The relationship between MacKay and Armstrong was strong as MacKay, who had sold his Toronto house in 1906, moved in with Armstrong and his family living there until 1912. But far more significant for the Foreign Mission enterprise of the church was the introduction of business practices to the work of the church, especially its mission.

The long-time Agent for the Western Section (everything but the Maritimes) of the PCC and the Junior Clerk of the General Assembly, the Rev. Robert Warden died in 1905. The 1906 Assembly, which MacKay did not attend, appointed the Rev. John Somerville, long-time minister at Division Street Presbyterian Church, Owen Sound, Ontario to take up the role. Somerville brought his extraordinary administrative ability to the task, including getting a handle

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[41] Jonathan Goforth, *By My Spirit* (1942; Minneapolis, MN: Bethany Fellowship, 1964) 22-23.

[42] MacKay did not always see eye to eye with Goforth. Goforth addressed the 1910 Assembly and urged those gathered to publicly confess their sins as a precursor to a revival fire sweeping through Canada as was sweeping through China. MacKay wrote to Donald MacGillivray of Shanghai, "I do not remember another man who came home with such an asset and who made so little of it" (R. P. MacKay, letter to Donald MacGillivray, 24 Mar. 1910, FMC, PCC, United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto).

on how the funds collected by the various "schemes of the church" were being used. The denomination's auditors in 1907 noted, "the impossibility of a satisfactory audit under the existing system"[43] highlighting special concerns about whether the funds approved by the FMC were actually used in the ways approved. Somerville took it upon himself to build new financial accountability into the life of the denomination. MacKay and Somerville worked at the church's offices in the Confederation Life building at the corner of Richmond and Yonge Streets, and Somerville's vision impacted the way in which the denomination functioned. Introducing business practices to the handling of the denomination's money opened the door to business concepts such as efficiency and economies of scale entering the program and mission life of the church.[44]

While MacKay had been away, a group of prominent Canadian lay people from business and politics (such as Chester Massey (of Massey Harris, later Massey Ferguson Tractors) and S. H. Blake (prominent Ontario politician)) followed the lead of their American counterparts in launching a Canadian Laymen's Missionary Movement (LMM). Missionary conferences were held across the country through the fall of 1908 as men were challenged to do their part in the evangelization of the world. Women were mobilized through the various denominational Women's Missionary Societies and connected with the mission of the church; the LMM was an attempt to mobilize men. The question asked at each gathering was "Will Canada evangelize her share of the world?" Canada's fair share was determined to be 40,000,000 people living in "non-Christian lands."[45] Raising funds to support the mission endeavour was a central focus of the LMM, as the business and political figures involved in the campaign brought their business skills and backgrounds to the effort. This further highlighted the need for proper accounting and the adoption of other business practices into the administrative task of leading the church's mission. The 1908 round of LMM meetings concluded with a national conference in Toronto in the spring of 1909 attended by over 4,000 men, who responded to the question being asked with a "clear and unequivocal: 'Canada can and will.'"[46]

At the January 1909 gathering of the Conference of Foreign Mission Boards MacKay invited American mission leaders to attend the Toronto convention declaring, "We have had a rather remarkable movement in Canada [. . .]. There was not a city or individual touched that did not fall into the movement [. . .]. That movement continues to expand [. . .]." The Rev. J. Campbell White, Secretary of the American Laymen's Missionary Movement who had been one of the keynote speakers in the meetings leading up to the Toronto gathering said, "I believe there is every indication that [the Toronto] meeting is to be the most inspiring convention of men ever met in connection with a missionary conference." Even if the language seems excessively positive, there was something afoot in Canada that White thought American laymen needed to see: "the finest type of manhood I have touched in the world is in Canada. I believe we can well exert ourselves to get our [American] men in touch with them. Many [Canadian men] have

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[43] Chris Redmond, "John Somerville in the General Assembly: Case Study of a Presbyterian Unionist," *Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers (1988)*: 33.

[44] For more on Somerville see Redmond 31-47.

[45] The estimate was there were one billion unevangelized people in the world in 1908; North American Christians were responsible for reaching half that group. Given the home mission challenge facing Canada, forty million people was agreed to be Canada's fair share. Further, given the size of the PCC, fourteen million persons were to be reached by the mission efforts of the Canadian Presbyterian church.

[46] *Canada's Missionary Congress* (Toronto: Canadian Council Laymen's Missionary Movement, 1909) v.

decided never to add another dollar to their capital, but to give to the spread of the Gospel. We can go to some trouble to get our [American] laymen into touch with such men."[47] Such a spiritual movement would have deeply impressed MacKay who, as we will see, had growing concerns about the increasing impact of materialism in the life of Canadian Christians. MacKay, committed to the work of the LMM, convinced the FMC of the PCC to second Armstrong half-time to the LMM. This would have further opened the door for the discussion of business methods making their way into conversations about the PCC's mission policy and practice. Canada's Missionary Congress ran from 31 March to 4 April 1909, as prominent speakers from Great Britain, the United States, and Canada urged the audience to work hard for the goal of the evangelization of the world. The senior mission executive from the Anglican Church, Canon H. J. Cody addressed the gathering, as did his parallel from the Methodist church, The Rev. Alex Sutherland. MacKay did not give a speech, instead he closed the entire gathering with prayer.[48] MacKay's piety and commitment to prayer were highly regarded by all within the missionary movement.

The LMM sought to bring good business practices to the mission of the church, which entailed two things: a clear plan for the mission and the efficient use of the funds given towards the mission of the church. The organizers of the Movement were astute enough to recognize that unless clergy were supportive of the plans it would be virtually impossible to reach their goals, therefore this lay-driven effort functioned in close connection with denominational leaders and other clergy. A centerpiece of the shared vision was "Canada's National Missionary Policy" which was endorsed by both the LMM and the Protestant churches in Canada.[49] The policy began with a bold statement: "In view of the universality and finality of the Gospel of Christ, and in view of the spiritual needs of mankind, we believe that the Church of our generation should undertake to obey literally the command of Christ to preach the Gospel to every creature." This spiritually rooted call led to a series of practical commitments: clergy and lay people were equally responsible for praying for and working for the coming of the Kingdom of God; each Christian had a role to play in the world's evangelization; Canadian churches committed themselves to reaching forty million people overseas; raising $4.5 million annually for foreign and home missions; and seeking ways to co-operate, thereby avoiding "unnecessary duplication." Not just a call to hard work, this was an invitation for men to find their highest purpose: "the principles and spirit of Jesus Christ, presents itself to every man his supreme opportunity of development, usefulness and satisfaction, and we appeal to men everywhere to invest their intelligence, their influence, their energy and their possessions in the effort of combined Christianity to redeem the world." The drafters of the policy were

> [. . .] deeply persuaded of the power of combined and co-operative Christianity to solve all the problems of human society, we desire to unite with the Churches of

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[47] *Conference of Foreign Mission Boards* (1909): 67-68. MacKay gave the meditation at the closing service of the 1909 gathering. His theme was "God is love" (99-102).

[48] *Canada's Missionary Congress* (Toronto: Canadian Council Laymen's Missionary Movement, 1909) v, 320. The prayer, unlike the speeches, was not printed.

[49] Among those offering their names to the LMM and thereby to the National Missionary Policy were: Earl Grey, Governor-General of Canada; J. M. Gibson, Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario; D. C. Fraser, Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia; and Sir James Whitney, Premier of Ontario. The state was whole-heartedly in favour of the church's mission overseas.

> our sister countries throughout Christendom as loyal servants of the King of kings, in a comprehensive and adequate crusade for the winning of mankind to Jesus Christ, Who is the Way, the Truth and the Life, the Desire of the nations and the Light of the world.[50]

The National Mission Policy used business practice to advance the kingdom of God, for the gospel could be spread by business means. Further, business people had no qualms about their names and reputations being used to advance the gospel.

The LMM had a life beyond the 1909 conference. Mackay, who praised the Movement as "a valuable educational agency and a distinct stimulus to the missionary enterprise," highlighted that it did not send missionaries itself or raise money to send missionaries, rather it brought "new life to existing missionary organizations" by distributing missionary literature and "secur[ing] the adoption by every congregation of the system of weekly contributions for missions, and to induce every individual to contribute." The LMM also encouraged "laymen to visit foreign fields at their own expense." As travel networks became simpler to negotiate, lay leaders were encouraged to visit foreign mission fields so they would return home educated about the mission effort and prepared to contribute generously.[51]

The Laymen's Missionary Movement and Canada's Missionary Policy had painted in broad strokes the overall vision; it was up to denominational leaders to work out what the policy meant in practical terms. The Presbyterian Church in Canada was responsible for reaching 14,000,000 unevangelized people. MacKay was insistent that Presbyterians could meet this commitment without adding any new mission fields. The existing fields simply needed to be worked more intensively. The goal was to staff "the present fields sufficiently to enable them within one generation to overtake the work so far as making the offer of salvation to every [person] is concerned."[52] The goal was in one generation to raise up self-propagating indigenous churches capable of carrying on the work of evangelism to their own ethnic/people group. A clear end goal had been established against which the success of the mission could be evaluated. In framing the goal in this way, MacKay and other mission thinkers were planting the seed for the growth of indigenous churches throughout the world, including on fields served by The Presbyterian Church in Canada.

MacKay authored a pamphlet outlining the denomination's foreign mission activities and what work still needed to be done. Using the LMM's estimate that one missionary was required for every 25,000 people in a mission field, he argued for a five-fold increase in the number of Canadian Presbyterians missionaries. For example, instead of six staff in Taiwan, the denomination should have forty missionaries to reach the one million people to whom they were called to proclaim the gospel.[53] Over half (eight million) of the fourteen million people the denomination had committed itself to evangelizing were in Honan, China. MacKay outlined immediate needs for twelve staff, with the hopes that the number of missionaries would grow to

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[50] *Canada's Missionary Congress* 248-49.

[51] R. P. MacKay, "Missions: Teacher Training Handbook #7, Presbyterian Church in Canada" (Toronto: R. Douglas Fraser, 1911) 63-64.

[52] R. P. MacKay, *Bird's Eye View of Our Foreign Missions* (Toronto: Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1909?) 2.

[53] MacKay, *Bird's Eye View* 7.

over 300 in this field.[54] Native people in Canada were also part of the mission commitment of the denomination, but MacKay described the motivation for reaching these people with the gospel in different terms then he did other people groups with whom missionaries worked.

> The Indian has a claim which ought not to be ignored. He has the claim of the weak and helpless, and in his weakness lies our peril as an element in our national life. There are about 100,000 Indians in the Dominion. Neglect them and they will poison the atmosphere. Christianize them, and they will contribute to our national vitality and strength.[55]

Because the Native People were in Canada, their conversion was not simply a matter of spiritual import; it was also of political and cultural significance. If they were not "Christianized" the implication was clear, the Native People could limit Canada's ability to reach the rest of the world with the gospel message. On the basis of the LMM's calculations of one person for every 25,000 people, only four missionaries would be required to evangelize all the Native people in Canada, but the Presbyterians alone in 1909 had more than four times that many staff seeking to proclaim the good news to the Native People with whom they had contact.

MacKay ended *Bird's Eye View* with a double call to people sitting in the pews of Canadian Presbyterian churches. First, there was a pledge form through which people could give either to "the foreign mission work of the Church" in general, or "to aid any particular field" if they so wished. Second, a call to prayer and action appeared on the inside back cover. The last four bulleted points were:

4. A need, and the power to meet that need, constitute God's call.
5. Let missions find a place in your prayers. The "Lord's Prayer" was a world-wide scope.
6. Christ wants your sympathy, wants your help, wants you in the effort to save a lost world.
7. Let us advance on our knees, -- **"I will not let Thee go except Thou bless me"** (emphasis in original).[56]

The call to prayer came as no surprise, for prayer was central to MacKay's life of faith. MacKay freely borrowed rhetorical turns of phrase from other mission advocates, for within the international mission community there was regular sharing of ideas and approaches; borrowing ideas, content of speeches, and recruitment techniques was common. MacKay expected the entire church, lay people, elders, ministers, and missionaries to join in the task of evangelizing the fourteen million people The Presbyterian Church in Canada had accepted as its responsibility.

The focus on Foreign Mission was sharpened by the planning for and the activities of the World Mission Conference held in Edinburgh in the summer of 1910. R. P. MacKay did not attend the Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910; instead A. E. Armstrong led The Presbyterian Church in Canada's delegation. No explanation for MacKay's not attending the

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[54] MacKay, *Bird's Eye View* 17-18.

[55] MacKay, *Bird's Eye View* 31.

[56] MacKay, *Bird's Eye View* inside back cover.

conference appears to be extant; making it easy to speculate he was concerned about an attempt by some to have him elected Moderator of the 1910 Assembly. If that had happened his commitments in Canada would have interfered with the events in Scotland. MacKay made clear he did not want to be Moderator, and in 1910 Dr. John Forrest of Halifax was chosen to lead the Assembly. MacKay was elected Moderator in 1911.

MacKay did have a role in the lead up to the Conference, serving as one of the North American representatives, and sole Canadian, on Commission I. This commission was tasked with describing how the gospel was being carried to the non-Christian world. As Brian Stanley has shown in his history of the Edinburgh Conference, there was significant debate within the commission about what constituted the non-Christian world.[57] Almost as an after-thought the Commission's 240-page "Survey of the Non-Christian World" concludes with twenty-one pages on the challenges of carrying the gospel to the non-Christian world present in the Western Hemisphere. Four pages cover mission to "The Indians in Canada" and "Orientals in Canada." These two sections were almost certainly written by MacKay, the only Canadian on the Commission and the writing style is consistent with him.[58] Notably the hallmark themes of prayer and spirituality are missing from MacKay's discussion here.

After briefly outlining the size and location of the Native peoples population in Canada, and their religious affiliation, the report described the kind of work being done among them. The various churches engaged in "regular evangelistic work" and the Anglicans and Methodists each operated hospitals, but "the great correlating agency among the Indians is education." MacKay noted while the "Dominion Government" was responsible for the education of the Native peoples since they were "Government wards under treaty," the churches were "so anxious to maintain a religious influence over their respective Indian communities that they are willing to share in the expense of their education so as to retain the right of nominating the teachers."[59] The Government was responsible, but the churches were prepared to pay for the right to have a religious influence in the lives of Native people. The Native peoples were "Government wards" and lived in communities that had been assigned to a given denomination by church leaders living far from the Native communities and with no consultation with the communities. No room for the agency of Native peoples existed on this understanding. Not surprisingly, such a perspective provided little room for Native leaders to arise and be recognized. Further, the failure to recognize Canada's Native peoples' agency stands in stark contrast to the Edinburgh Conference's recognition of the significant role indigenous church leaders were playing in the advance of the Gospel throughout the world.[60]

Finally, in the discussion of mission to Native peoples in Canada, MacKay turned to a theme dominating many discussions about mission in the opening decades of the twentieth century: efficiency. Efficiency dictated the government bringing compulsory education for all Native children; MacKay estimated half of Native children ages six to eighteen were enrolled in either a residential school or a day school. Efficiency dictated that Native and non-Native

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[57] Brian Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009) esp. 49-72.

[58] "The Indians in Canada" and "Orientals in Canada," *Carrying the Gospel To All the Non-Christian World, Report of Commission I: World Missionary Conference, 1910* (Toronto: Fleming H. Revell, 1910) 260-62, 262-64.

[59] "Indians in Canada" 261.

[60] "Indians in Canada" 260-62.

congregations in close geographical proximity share a minister. In such an arrangement, it is hard to imagine many non-Native congregations being happy being served by a Native person who had learned English as an alternative language to their mother tongue. Such sharing of a minister was yet one more way to subsume Native peoples into the dominant Euro-Canadian culture. These calls to efficiency were also calls for the further assimilation of Native culture.[61]

The report on mission to "Orientals in Canada" described the ways in which Methodist, Presbyterian, and Anglican denominations were using night school English classes and Sunday School programs to reach Asian immigrants to Canada. While the principal focus of the work was in British Columbia, Canadian Christians were doing mission work among Chinese in Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg. The Presbyterian Church had started a mission in Macao, south-eastern China, creating a connection between the Canadian church and the part of China from which many Chinese immigrants to Canada came. The Methodists had done significant work among the Chinese and Japanese including operating "mission dormitories" for young single men. Little or no work was being done among immigrant groups from India.[62]

MacKay argued for a more efficient deployment of mission efforts "in a thoroughly organized plan, without denominational claims or distinctions." The mission would be best advanced if carried on by "Canadian missionaries possessing qualities of leadership, and especially having knowledge of the Chinese language and familiar with Oriental characteristics."[63] Seeking missionaries who spoke Chinese and understood Chinese culture stood in contrast to the lack of any such requirements for missionaries working among the Native people of Canada. Knowing Chinese culture and language was a priority for missionaries seeking to carry the good news of the gospel to Chinese; it was not a priority for missionaries carrying the gospel to the Native people of Canada. The seeming respect shown to Chinese culture did not mean Chinese immigrants should be allowed to keep their culture unchanged; it was of "the utmost importance that the Oriental communities now established in Canada should be permeated with Christian standards and ideals of life."[64]

While the techniques employed in the two missions differed, a similar set of goals underlay both missions: the preaching of the gospel would transform both Native peoples and Asian immigrants into Christians living by the gospel values mediated through Canadian middle class constructs.

With interest in missions growing among Presbyterian lay people, MacKay was invited by the editors of the Teacher Training Handbook series to write the material for a correspondence school course on Missions. The course consisted of twenty sessions, each including about three pages of written content and some questions to help readers review the material studied. The course was to be taken over the course of three months, and at the end of that time students who had covered the material could sit a written exam. Exam sites were located throughout the country. Students getting a mark of fifty percent or better on the exam received a certificate from the denomination that they had completed the one course; those who completed all eight courses in the Advanced Standard series received a diploma.[65]

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[61] "Indians in Canada" 261-62.

[62] "Orientals in Canada" 262-63.

[63] "Orientals in Canada" 264.

[64] "Orientals in Canada" 264.

[65] R. P. MacKay, *Missions*, Teacher Training Handbook, Advanced Standard Course #7 (Toronto: R. Douglas Fraser, 1911, back pages). The other courses in the series were: *The Books of the Old Testament* by John

MacKay began the course by laying out a Biblical foundation for a world-wide mission rooted in the desire of God to redeem the whole world. No people group and no part of the world was to be left out of the redeeming "universal remedy" which was "effectual in every land."[66] The next seven sessions laid out the history of Christian mission from the book of Acts to Count Zinzendorf. Among the figures appearing in the very brief history are Patrick, Columba, and Augustine of Canterbury, all figures important to the rise of Christianity in the British Isles. More surprising is the space given to the challenge of Islam, which MacKay called "Mohammedanism." MacKay made the claim, "In all history there is no more remarkable movement than the rise of Mohammedanism [. . .] of all mission fields the Mohammedan world has proved the most difficult and unfruitful."[67] Christian mission had not been effective, although one figure stood out in Christianity's attempts to proclaim the gospel to Muslims, Raymond Lull (1235-1315).[68] The section on Islam demonstrates MacKay's connections with the larger world of mission, for Canadian Presbyterians had no mission fields in the Middle East or Africa in 1911. His willingness to give space to Lull is an example of MacKay's ecumenical breadth.

MacKay lays out in four chapters an overview of the church in Africa and Asia, in which special attention is given to China and India, along with Korea, which is described as "perhaps the most attractive and responsive field."[69] Treading carefully, MacKay described Protestant mission to Roman Catholics in southern Europe and South America, a controversial addition to the course material given the virtual silence at the 1910 Missionary Conference about this mission. South America, MacKay wrote, "has been dominated by a debased form of Roman Catholicism. The problem for Protestant Missions is to replace this with pure Christianity."[70] MacKay saw strengths in Roman Catholicism at its best, but a "debased" form of the Catholicism was not Christianity and therefore South America was a mission field even though many people living in South America would identify themselves as Christians.

The last third of the course was a standard retelling of The Presbyterian Church in Canada's mission both in Canada, including both Home Missions, with figures like James MacGregor, James Nisbet, and James Robertson, and Foreign Missions, with figures like John Geddie, John Morton, and G. L. Mackay. Throughout the material MacKay acknowledged the role women played through the Women's Missionary Societies, both Home and Foreign. "Ever since the beginning of the nineteenth century," he wrote, "a considerable portion of the money for Foreign Missions has been collected by societies of women."[71] And MacKay recognized the WFMS (Western Division) "had done much to promote the intelligent study of missions

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Scrimger; *The Life and Times of Our Lord Jesus Christ* by Rev. R. A. Falconer and Rev. James Ballantyne; *Presbyterian Church in Canada: A Summary of Christian Doctrine* by Rev. Thomas B. Kilpatrick; *From One to Twenty-One: Studies in Mind Growth*, Walter C. Murray (U of Sask.); *The Teacher and the School: Studies in Teaching and Organization* by Prof. Frederick Tracy (U of Tor.); *The Books of the New Testament* by Prof. H. A. A. Kennedy (New College, Edin.); and *Church History* by James W. Falconer.

[66] MacKay, *Missions* 3-5.

[67] MacKay, *Missions* 17.

[68] MacKay, *Missions* 18.

[69] MacKay, *Missions* 34.

[70] MacKay, *Missions* 36.

[71] MacKay, *Missions* 23.

throughout the church and call into greater activity the power of prayer."[72] Students completing this course would have had a solid grounding in the mission experience of Canadian Presbyterians and some basic knowledge to help them understand information they gleaned from letters and reports from missionaries appearing in both the religious and secular press.

The 1911 General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada, meeting at Knox Church in Ottawa, elected MacKay its Moderator. That year's Assembly had a number of important, and potentially contentious, issues to discuss, and "the prophecy was freely made that it would break the record in length of time required for the dispatch of business." As it turned out the Assembly was shorter than some, and a "reasonable and kindly spirit [. . .] pervaded the discussions." The reporter for *The Presbyterian* also noted:

> It was noticeable also that, more largely than in most Assemblies, the devotional element was present. There is a tendency in Church courts to dispatch business simply as business and to forget that our business is, in the strictest sense, religion. Dr. MacKay did not allow us to forget that. More than once or twice, in the middle of a session, the proceedings were interrupted that prayer might be offered in connection with the matter in hand.[73]

MacKay's prayerful presence in the chair influenced the whole of the Assembly as it discussed issues such as Church Union and the restructuring how the denomination funded its mission and ministry.

During his year as moderator MacKay traveled the country, often accompanied by the Rev. Andrew Shaw Grant,[74] who three years earlier had been appointed General Secretary for Home Missions, introducing the new financial system to the denomination. Until 1911, the denomination had had as many as nine funds to which congregations and individuals could contribute. Among the funds were: foreign missions fund, home mission fund, Francophone mission fund, augmentation of minister's stipends fund, aged and infirm ministers' fund, widows' and orphans' fund, and Assembly expense fund. Having numerous funds to which congregations and individuals could contribute directly raised a number of concerns among denominational executives. Somerville and the auditors believed that in order to provide adequate financial oversight there should be fewer funds requiring monitoring. Other national program staff members were aware there appeared to be competition among the various funds as overlapping and conflicting appeals requested financial support of each of the funds. As well, denominational leaders who made budgeting decisions were dissatisfied with allowing congregations to choose which national programs to support. By amalgamating the funds into one budget, clear lines of financial accountability could be established, the competition among the funds would be reduced and there would be more predictability about the funds available for the various boards and committees of the Church. Moving to a single national budget meant congregations could start using the duplex offering envelope—in one side of the envelope donors placed what they wished to give for local congregational support, in the other half of the

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[72] MacKay, *Missions* 61.

[73] "Notes on The Assembly," *The Presbyterian* 22 June 1911, qtd. in Thomson 112.

[74] Andrew Shaw Grant spent ten years in the Yukon as missionary and minister (1898-1908) and then became General Superintendent for Home Missions in 1908. In 1925, he was the most senior church bureaucrat to not enter Church Union, and served as Secretary for the General Board of Mission until his death in 1935.

envelope what they were giving to the work of the national boards and committees. Individual congregation members were being given the ability to control how much they wished to contribute to the national budget; in the process congregational leaders lost the ability to pinpoint which ministries they wished to support. While individuals were now able to choose how much to give to the work of the denomination, they did not have the ability through the duplex envelope to control the ministries their funds supported. The funds received in support of the national budget were divided among the various projects funded by the budget. Both congregations and individual members were being asked to give over their ability to make funding decisions to the Board of Finance which brought annual budgets to the General Assembly for approval. Further, the committees and boards of the church lost the ability to appeal directly to congregations and individuals—all funding would come through the work of the Board of Finance.[75]

The 1911 General Assembly approved a combined national budget of $1,000,000 for 1912; the first time the combined budgets of the boards and committees of the church had reached this level. MacKay and Grant's tour explaining the new approach to funding the national work of the church became known as the Million Dollar Tour. Giving by congregations and through offering envelopes to the work of the national church rose from almost $525,000 in 1911 to just over $685,000 in 1912, thus missing the Million Dollar target, but giving did rise 30%. At the same time total giving to local congregations from all sources rose by 12%. The Board of Finance chose to argue the move to a unified National Budget and the widespread introduction of the duplex envelope were responsible for the significant growth in giving to the national programs of the church. Further, having two prominent denominational leaders touring the country in support of the Million Dollar Budget helped increase interest in and financial support of the national budget.[76]

As the budgets of the committees and boards of the national church were brought together under the Board of Finance, it became apparent the boards of the Church had differing methods of determining what their staff should be paid. By 1912 ten Secretaries or Associate Secretaries, or equivalents (there was not yet agreement on nomenclature), were employed at the national level to oversee denominational programs and ministries. These staff were in addition to the two co-Clerks of Assembly, the two legal agents of the church, and the editor of the *Record.* The Assembly instructed the Board of Finance to develop a pay structure for these "church officials." In the creation of a single national budget and the development of a salary grid for the national staff, the Assembly had put in place a Church bureaucracy whose task it was to manage the mission and ministry of the Church. The work of the denomination was to be mediated

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[75] *Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-Seventh General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada (1911)*: App. 227-32; *Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-Eighth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada (1912)*: App. 264-73; *Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-Ninth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada (1913)*: App. 258-63. A complete discussion of the funding changes taking place is beyond the scope of this paper. This fundamental change is worth some careful analysis, for the approach set up in the pre-WWI years remained in place into the twenty-first century.

[76] *Acts and Proceedings (1913)*: App. 260, 525. One of the questions that needs to be explored is: What long-term impact did disconnecting donors and recipients have on financial support from congregations and individuals and in their sense of participation in the church's mission?

through these agents of the Church, reducing direct connection between the local donor and the recipient of the funds.[77]

General Assembly met in Edmonton in June 1912; as out-going Moderator, R. P. MacKay preached the opening sermon. MacKay's text was Isaiah 21:11,12, from which he preached a sermon entitled "Messages of the Night and Morning." He called on clergy, to whom his sermon was directed, to be prophets of the time. "All Christians are priests," but to ministers fell the task of the prophet. Such a call sounded like the opening to a sermon pushing the claims of the social gospel, and certainly the first two-thirds of the sermon fit such expectations as MacKay raised a series of challenges facing the church in Canada and around the world: excessive funds spent on military expansion, tensions between labour and capital as they "locked horns," challenges of immigration, prostitution, alcohol abuse, and "the peril of wealth." After this litany of concern, he asked, "Is there any power that can care for the spiritual interests of the world, that can resist their foes, enter open doors and win the world for Christ?" The "commercial, educational, and administrative problems" would find solutions, the "moral and spiritual interests" were a more difficult task. It is easy to read these comments against MacKay's year as moderator and wonder if he is here reminding his fellow denominational executives that there were more important issues than the development of the perfect denominational structure and that the reign of God would not be brought about by improving the systems of the Church. The Church did indeed have the resources to address the "moral and spiritual" challenges: the "resources of the Godhead" which were "without limit." But the Church was making use of the resources at its disposal; it was up to clergy to tap into the resources found by people like, and here MacKay named four evangelists: John Wesley, George Whitefield, Charles Finney, and D. L. Moody. Two things prevented the ministers of The Presbyterian Church in Canada from tapping into the power of God: a failure to see the "unseen things," the realities of the business world and concerns about the things of this world meant the Church and its ministers were losing "the vision of the eternal." The Church was called to speak "believingly, with the ring of reality, about the eternal weight of glory" which made the present afflictions "not worthy to be named." Connected to this loss of vision was a "loss of conviction of truth," there was "less certainty than there used to be regarding fundamental truth." MacKay was not interested in pinpointing the cause, his focus was the "disastrous" effects of "weakened character" and "an inefficient ministry." The question was not one of orthodoxy versus heterodoxy, but rather about the conviction of the preacher. Preachers need not be "profoundly learned," instead they needed to be able to say "We speak that we know and testify that we have seen." In noting those things preventing the Church from tapping into the power of God, MacKay challenged those committed to the social gospel and those open to higher critical methods to find in God the spiritual centre for their lives and ministry. He also made clear that the purpose of Christian ministry was winning the world for Christ, and by naming the four evangelists he framed such a winning in terms of conversion. In the opening to his sermon, MacKay noted prophets were intercessors, and he ended by returning to the theme of prayer, noting it was the best way to ensure one's ministry and the church one served were focused on Christ. MacKay in this sermon had laid out the heart of his theology, his vibrant spirituality was rooted in the life of prayer which motivated a warm proclamation of the gospel message and

[77] *Acts and Proceedings (1913)*: App. 262. The Assembly and the Board of Finance called the remuneration to be paid to the "church officials" "salaries", while referring to the funds received by parish clergy as "stipends."

invitation to conversion. Life in the present world was to be lived in joyful expectation of God's coming reign and the glory of eternity.[78]

MacKay's moderatorial year completed he returned to his work as Secretary of the FMC. There too changes were occurring as the denomination's structures were streamlined. All work among native people in Canada was shifted to being a Home Missions Committee responsibility. The logic at work was Native ministries were in Canada, and only work outside of Canada should be considered foreign missions. That argument broke down when it came to work among Chinese immigrants in Canada. That mission endeavour remained part of the FMC's work, the rationale being the majority of the immigration to Canada was coming from Macao and the FMC supported a mission in Macao. Maintaining the links between the Macao mission and the Chinese work in Canada was simpler if the two remained under one committee. Shifting the Native mission to be a Home Mission was following a pattern adopted in the United States in 1908, when a number of denominations shifted Native mission to their Home Missions Committees. With his connections to the Conference of Foreign Mission Boards in Canada and in the United States MacKay would have been aware of the shifts being made and the reasons being argued for these changes. As Pierce Beaver has argued, this change cut the missionaries working among the Native people and the church leadership responsible for overseeing these missions off from the most recent thinking and research on cross-cultural ministry. Instead, the shift in oversight connected work among Native peoples to the assimilative mission goals of the Home Mission work.[79]

A further organizational shift orchestrated by MacKay and others was the amalgamation of the WFMS and the WHMS into the WMS; in part a result of the transfer of Residential Schools from being Foreign Missions to becoming Home Missions. The organizational supports that handled many of the Residential School concerns were being shifted to the Home Missions side, and those women who provided that support were moving with the schools; therefore, bringing the two women's groups together was logical. This shifting and the ending of two groups did not endear MacKay to many within the WMS. Mary Baker McQuesten, a key leader in the WFMS, called him "Dr. Grinch."[80] The feeling was mutual. When it was suggested in 1912 that the Conference of the Mission Boards of the United States and Canada enlarge to include the leaders of Women's Missionary Societies, MacKay, who was chairperson of the Conference, spoke against the idea:

> I do not like to say what I am going to say, yet I think it ought to be said. The character of this Conference will be very much changed if we have lady delegates as members. I say this with as much appreciation as anyone here of the great work being done by lady members of our churches. Yet as far as my experience has gone, it is that a Conference like this, when it is a mixed conference, does not have that freedom of discussion that we have when we meet as we now meet. [. .

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[78] Thomson reprints MacKay's sermon notes, 114-22.

[79] *Acts and Proceedings (1912)*: App. 6, 272. Pierce Beaver, *Church, State, and the American Indian: Two and a Half Centuries of Partnership in Missions Between Protestant Churches and Government* (St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1966) 208; Peter Bush, "The Presbyterian Church in Canada's Mission to Canada's Native Peoples, 1900-2000" (Unpublished essay, 2010).

[80] Mary Baker McQuesten, letter to the Rev. Calvin McQuesten, 7 Apr. 1916, letter W9180, Whitehern Museum Archives, 24 May 2010 <http://www.whitehern.ca>.

.] It is not that women are less wise than men, nor inferior in ability, but if we are to retain that freedom of discussion and fellowship which we have had in the past, we would better continue as we are.[81]

MacKay's experience in dealing the Wilkie Case during the first ten years of his secretary-ship, the unwillingness of the WFMS to support the development of an interdenominational training centre for women missionaries, and the challenges of negotiating funding issues with both local and national level women's missionary societies had all taught him to be guarded in his conversation. He saw the annual Conference as a place where he was free to speak his heart, raises concerns, and try out new ideas. MacKay believed the presence of women would prevent that from happening.[82]

Early 1912 proved a busy time for MacKay. In January he was in Garden City, New Jersey to chair the annual meeting of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America. At that gathering he spoke of the need for the Conference to develop a Board of Missionary Studies. Here he returned to issues he had written about fifteen years earlier—how to get the best candidates into the right positions on the field. He placed candidates in three categories: potential leaders who should be nurtured and given training to understand the administrative tasks needed to lead a mission; "one talent" people who would be great workers on the mission field if given the space to use their one talent; and those who resisted learning while in theological college and would do the same overseas, likely causing problems. More important than all of this, MacKay was looking for candidates "whose consecration" was such that they were willing to "fully prepare" to be a missionary.[83] Education and skill could only get missionaries so far, spiritual consecration was essential.

As MacKay would note later in the same conference, this consecration was needed not just by missionaries but by everyone involved in the missionary endeavour. Over the course of the conference there had been discussion about the importance of prayer both in formal sessions and informally as people had gone for walks together. MacKay, whose commitment to prayer was well-known, was asked if he would "not say something about prayer" when he led morning devotions on the last day of the conference. Here he was treading familiar ground as he discussed the many Biblical promises about prayer, the examples of prayer heroes both in Biblical times and through the history of the church, and the fact that human beings need to be taught how to pray. As he concluded MacKay issued a clear challenge:

> May I venture this: If there is a body on the face of the earth today, I am not exaggerating when I say that it has influence, it is this conference that touches such a tremendous population and the religious activities of this great continent. Is it possible for us to set the example and pray? Would it be possible to suspend the program and give this afternoon to prayer, would it be possible? [. . .] We

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[81] R. P. MacKay, "Discussion," *Report of the Annual Meeting of the Conference of Foreign Mission Boards in Canada and in the United States* (New York: Foreign Missions Conference of North America, 1912) 46-47.

[82] The forced amalgamation of the WFMS and the WHMS had implications for the role of women in the denomination and their work within the church, questions beyond the scope of this paper. Also beyond the scope of the present work is an examination of what the amalgamation meant to donations and the financial strength of the newly formed WMS.

[83] *Foreign Missions Conference* (1912) 66.

> ourselves will be the intercessors of the world, and we will gather about us as many as will join us, and we will enter into the larger problem of promoting the world's spiritual welfare. Is it possible for this conference to go to the very root of the matter and deal with this question of prayer and not deal with it in an academic way, but deal with it in a practical way and get it under way? Perhaps, two or three will lead in prayer.[84]

The printed proceedings of the Conference indicate that they did not choose to suspend the afternoon session, nor did two or three people pray immediately following MacKay's challenge. However MacKay's words did produce an engaged conversation about the state of prayer in the mission community. And he was named to chair a new sub-committee of the Conference charged with responsibility for "Spiritual Emphasis."

MacKay was back in New York on 29 February 1912 as part of the conference on the "Situation in China." The Qing (Manchu) Dynasty was collapsing and in the midst of the turmoil the missionary community saw both risk and opportunity. To aid mission leaders and others in their reflections about the transitions taking place in China, a conference involving seventy-five mission board officials, members, and furloughing missionaries from twenty-eight mission agencies was held, with speakers addressing various aspects of the question. MacKay spoke, not as an expert on China, not as an expert on dealing with missionaries in the midst of international crises (although his daughter and her family were impacted by the turmoil), rather MacKay spoke as an expert on prayer. His paper made little direct reference to China, focusing instead on prayer as the most effective weapon the church has in the face of chaos, evil, and destruction. MacKay called those at the conference to join a partnership of intercession, for "The problem of China is not too great for such a partnership, but it is too great for anything else." Prayer could bring the changes needed, but only prayer could make the difference. A seventy-two-page pamphlet of the papers and "The Message of the Conference" was published. Included was a page of specific prayer items which the churches and church members were asked to include in their prayers.[85]

Having, in 1912, been named chair of a subcommittee charged with enhancing the spiritual emphasis of the Conference, MacKay brought to the Conference's Committee on Reference and Counsel (the executive committee) a detailed plan about how mission agencies could do exactly that. The sub-committee's report, presented to the entire conference at its 1913 meeting, identified a tension in the church. At the very time there were "very many [people] [. . .] seeking the best, who are reaching forth to the things that are before, striving for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus," there was a growing sense of "insufficiency and need" within the church that "her present spiritual equipment is not equal to the requirements of the day." While fully aware of the risks inherent in developing "machinery" to enhance prayer, the report proposed no less than twenty ways in which prayer could be cultivated in the lives of congregations and individuals. MacKay's hand can be seen at a number of points in the report.[86]

The arrival of Dr. A. S. Grant brought new energy to the growing team of denominational executives at the Confederation Life building. Grant envisioned a congress to which every

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[84] *Foreign Missions Conference* (1912) 238.

[85] R. P. MacKay, "Intercessory Prayer," *Papers presented at Conference on The Situation in China (The Foreign Missions Conference of North America)* (Northfield, MA: Northfield Press, 1912) 41-46.

[86] *Foreign Missions Conference* (1913) 138-43.

Presbyterian minister in the country would be invited, having their way paid to attend. The congress would be an opportunity to communicate the vision for the church and to challenge church leaders to find their place in the vision. The vision was large, including foreign missions, home missions including ministry to non-Anglo Saxons, social service including temperance, evangelism, and stewardship. The Pre-Assembly Congress, held from Saturday, 31 May to Wednesday, 4 June at Massey Hall in Toronto, heard from numerous speakers from the ranks of Canadian Presbyterianism, both clergy and ruling elders, and three speakers from the United States. MacKay served as the chairperson of the conference. In his introduction to the published proceedings of the gathering, MacKay painted a glowing picture of the future, "We have not yet reached the perfect day, but the earliest rays of the dawn are as truly of God as the full blaze of the risen sun." "Vast problems" confronted the church in Canada and overseas which were "truly unparalleled." But this should not cause despair "Our helplessness in the presence of unprecedented problems is our hope. His strength is perfected in our weakness." MacKay identified the Congress' mood as "The Great Head of the Church has in store for the Canadian Presbyterian Church greater things than she has hitherto known, if she will but follow where He leads." MacKay's brief introduction barely hints at the fact that much of the Congress was focused on "methods and policies" including the promotion of business practices in all areas of church finance including determining the most effective use of the funds raised.[87] The Pre-Assembly Congress was a high point in the life of the denomination. Few could have predicted that in two years the optimism would turn to despair. MacKay was again framing pragmatic concerns in spiritual terms, a pattern which appeared frequently in his writing and speaking.

Despite prayer and spiritual grounding being MacKay's preferred approach to addressing questions in mission, his reputation and longevity as a mission executive forced him into being a spokesperson for mission agencies on more political questions. The 1913 Foreign Missions Conference of North America had been challenged to respond to the exploitation, oppression, and murder taking place in the rubber producing Putumayo District of Peru. Articles in the press in the fall of 1909 had brought the treatment of the Native people in the region, who were treated essentially as slaves, to the attention of the British and American publics. A series of investigations had taken place, and action taken against the Peruvian Amazon Company, but the oppression and violence against the Native people continued. The conference charged MacKay, a past chairperson, with developing a position for the Conference on this matter. Working on such an issue was not typically MacKay's role in the Conference, but there were two advantages in asking him to do this work. First, the issue involved both British and American interests and it was hoped MacKay, as a Canadian, would be able to stickhandle between the two. Second, the PCC had no mission work in South America, reducing the chances of MacKay being charged with being in a conflict of interest.[88]

MacKay presented his report to the leadership team of the Conference in late 1913 and it was taken to the whole Conference in January 1914. Entitled "The Protection of Native Races" the report outlined in brief the situation in Peru and the state of the various investigations. It noted both the British Aborigines Protection Society and the Lake Mohonk Conference of

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[87] R. P. MacKay, "Introduction," *Pre-Assembly Congress* (Toronto: Board of Foreign Missions, PCC, 1913) v-vi.

[88] R. P. MacKay, "The Protection of Native Races: A Statement submitted by Rev. Dr. R. P. MacKay, Secretary for Foreign Missions of The Presbyterian Church in Canada, to a joint meeting of the Committee of Reference and Counsel and Advisory Council of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America at New York on 23rd December, 1913" (New York: Foreign Missions Conference of North America, 1914).

Friends of the Indians and Other Dependent Peoples had been working on this. MacKay saw a role for the Foreign Missions Conference in cooperating with and being supportive of any group seeking to bring about transformation in the region, but not seeking a leadership role. He had sympathy with the view that too much time was being spent ensuring that none of the activists were having their toes stepped on, "We are playing football with the question, and in the meantime the Indians are being killed."[89] He also believed that the British needed to take the lead, since

> [. . .] there is a special difficulty in taking the needed action on the part of the United States, inasmuch as it is said that there exist amongst South American republics jealousy and suspicion of United States intrusion—that in spite of all assertions to the contrary, they feel that Pan-Americanism really means, not "America for the Americans," but "America for the North Americans." If such a feeling exists, it is no doubt a reason for carefulness, but not for inaction. "We have not received the spirit of fear, but of power and of love, and of a sound mind."[90]

MacKay showed courage in confronting American mission leadership with an opportunity to see themselves as others saw them. But consistent with his practical pietism, he wrapped his concern in a spiritual blanket. "If we are really animated by His Spirit, who came not to be ministered unto, but to minister," MacKay wrote, "there seems to be no option but to do something, and do it quickly, to put an end forever to the intolerable situation" not only in South American districts but in other rubber growing parts of the world like West Africa and the New Hebrides. Nor were these challenges related only to the rubber industry, "in almost any place where native races are found, are also found wicked men ready to exploit them to their destruction." Efforts needed to be taken to protect Native peoples even though trying to do that was "hard and discouraging because of political complications."[91] MacKay was unable to see that the mission efforts of the PCC and other Canadian denominations working among the Native peoples of Canada might be regarded as exploitative and destructive. Or that the church was aiding political leaders in the assimilation of Canada's Native peoples. MacKay, from his vantage point at the end of 1913, had a naïve optimism about the ability of human governments to assist in bringing about the reign of God,

> The American and British nations by joint action can hasten the advent of that day when the slave trade will be a thing of the past, and thus another step be taken towards the glad day when "They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain—when the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as waters cover the sea."[92]

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[89] MacKay, "Protection of Native Races" 4.

[90] MacKay, "Protection of Native Races" 6. The Scripture reference is to 2 Timothy 1:7.

[91] MacKay, "Protection of Native Races" 6.

[92] MacKay, "Protection of Native Races" 6. The Scripture reference is to Isaiah 11:9.

The members of the Conference were called to use their influence to promote government action that would "end as speedily as possible the painful conditions that exist in the rubber producing areas of South America."[93] Human governments could be trusted to seek the good of people and the church should actively lobby governments to be agents of God's coming reign. This optimistic view of human government and willingness to trust government to seek the best for people was soon to be destroyed in the "War to end all wars" as Christians fought Christians.

1914-1927

The First World War impacted everything, including the mission efforts of the church. With money flowing to the war effort there were fewer resources available to support missionaries overseas. The limited dollars that were available were stretched even further by war-time inflation; MacKay wrote to the Rev. J. Fraser Campbell, long-time missionary in Central India, about "the panicky state of the funds."[94] Of deeper concern was the lack of students in the theological colleges and therefore the lack of potential missionaries. A hint of despair can be heard in MacKay's words:

> College classes are almost extinct. Where is the supply of men to come from? It will take years to replenish unless very many now in the trenches will return, and return with a new baptism. If some of the self-sacrifice of the trenches could be poured into our pulpits and churches what might not happen! We ever in thought return to the same thing—the imperative need of a deeper and fuller experience a vision of things unseen. The value of the work done is not depreciated but the possibilities and the urgent need of the larger and fuller are enhanced by the events of the day.[95]

MacKay had a sense the war was changing things, that the mission of the church was regarded as being of lesser value. In the face of that challenge, he believed what was needed was a new and deeper commitment to the unseen vision of God. MacKay recognized such a commitment would require God's action in bringing a new baptism, what he failed to understand was just how dramatically the trenches were going to change the theological understanding of those who fought in them.[96] The PCC's mission enterprise which MacKay had worked so hard at building since his arrival as Secretary in 1893 was going to be fundamentally changed over the next twenty years. Some of those changes MacKay played a role in bringing about, some of the changes he could never have anticipated.

One of the changes MacKay played a role in was the creation of the United Church of Canada As was the case with most mission executives, MacKay was predisposed towards ever increasing circles of cooperation. His experiences with the Foreign Missions Conference of North America had taught him of the benefits of cooperation and the dangers of competition, his connections with business leaders through the Laymen's Missionary Movement taught him there

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[93] MacKay, "Protection of Native Races" 7.

[94] Thomson 75.

[95] Thomson 75-76.

[96] For more on this issue see Duff Crerar, *Padres in No Man's Land: Canadian Chaplains and the Great War* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's UP, 1995).

were economies of scale to be realized by being bigger, and his regular contact with missionaries on the field taught him that the theological divisions that might have made sense in Canada made little or no sense on the mission field. MacKay served as a member of the Presbyterian committee negotiating the union through most of twenty-three years of negotiations. His involvement included being on the committee drafting the Basis of Union for the United Church of Canada. Prof. Francis Huston Wallace, who taught New Testament at Victoria College, and who as a young man had rejected his Presbyterian roots on the basis of his disagreement with the Westminster Confession of Faith, reported on MacKay's role. At a point in the discussion when an impasse had been reached between Victoria College Chancellor Nathaniel Burwash and Knox College Professor William MacLaren on the role of the Westminster Confession of Faith in the new denomination, MacKay pulled from his pocket a copy of Henry Van Dyke's "Revision of the Confession." Both MacLaren and Burwash said they could accept its statements about the faith.[97] This incident took place sometime between 1902 when Principal William Patrick first suggested union and 1909 when MacLaren died. MacKay found a way to keep the movement towards union alive, by framing doctrine in poetic and spiritual terms.

By the war's end, MacKay was seventy-one years old and had clearly moved into the role of senior statesperson within the mission enterprise of the PCC. The day-to-day operational concerns were handled by A. E. Armstrong as were many of the policy development tasks. The Foreign Missions Conference marked its twenty-fifth anniversary in 1918, and MacKay, who was also marking twenty-five years as Secretary of the FMC, spoke on "The Conference as a Means of Spiritual Power." MacKay remembered some of the figures who had attended annual meetings in the past, noting that meeting mission leaders in person made the missionary call real and "concrete." He celebrated the unity present in the gatherings which had grown into "a recognition and a degree of mutual confidence between different churches." The growing unity was a result of Jesus "steadily if imperceptibly realizing the answer to His own prayer 'That they all may be one.'" The conference reminded attendees that "Every new revelation of the immensity and difficulty of the problems the Church has to face also compels the conviction of the Omnipotence of that Saviour who can satisfy the need of every living thing." There was a Saviour for the whole world, this was not a limited salvation but a salvation offered to all. The conference stimulated prayer, MacKay argued, but maybe more accurately it was MacKay who promoted prayer in the life of the conference.[98]

MacKay was invited in 1920 to write the Foreword to a Mission Education Movement book entitled *Canada's Share in World Tasks*. MacKay challenged the book's readers to respond to the call issued to the people of Israel to become a "a king of priests and a holy nation." Canada would do this by "the consecration of wealth and life to Jesus Christ." Fulfilling this call to spiritual commitment was "the highest ideal of Canadian patriotism" for it would assist in making the prayer "Thy Kingdom Come" a reality.[99] MacKay was again seeking to place pragmatic action within the context of a pietistic call to advance the reign of God.

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[97] Thomson 123. Andrew Thomson heard this story second hand from Prof. W. R. Taylor, Professor of Semitics at the University of Toronto, and later confirmed it with R. P. MacKay, Thomson's father-in-law.

[98] R. P. MacKay, "The Conference as a Means of Spiritual Power," *Foreign Missions Conference of North America* (1918) 233-40.

[99] H. C. Priest, *Canada's Share in World Tasks* (Toronto: Canadian Council of the Missionary Education Movement, 1920) xiii-xv. Robert Wright, in *A World Mission* (122), argues that MacKay's presence among the authors of this book demonstrates MacKay's ability to bridge liberal and conservative aspects of the mission

The PCC was deeply concerned about the take-over of Manchuria and Korea by the Japanese. A. E. Armstrong was sent on a fact-finding mission and MacKay had a personal involvement as his daughter and her family continued to serve in China.[100] MacKay's role as senior statesperson included chairing the meeting of the Committee on Foreign Missions of the North American Section of the Commission of Reformed Churches, which gathered in Pennsylvania in 1921. At the gathering MacKay read a report from the Committee condemning the Japanese treatment of Koreans in Manchuria, calling it "unique in modern times [. . .] comparable only to Turkish massacres in Armenia" and describing what was witnessed by missionaries in Manchuria as "fiendish inhumanity."[101]

When Church Union was consummated on June 10, 1925, MacKay was given the honour of being the first Presbyterian to sign the Basis of Union. MacKay stayed on as Secretary of the newly merged mission board of the UCC for two years, retiring at the age of eighty, after thirty-five years of service as a denominational executive. R. P. MacKay died on 27 May 1929. Principal A. Gandier of Knox College, a friend and long-time member of the FMC gave the funeral address. MacKay was buried beside his wife in the Agincourt Church cemetery.

J. R. Mott, the iconic mission promoter, wrote to MacKay on the occasion of MacKay's twenty-fifth anniversary as Secretary of Foreign Missions:

> You have been a wise guide in the missionary policy of your own denomination and you have also rendered invaluable service in promoting, on sound lines, the movement of cooperation among the missionary forces of all Protestant communions. With great faithfulness and power you have placed the emphasis on the life-giving processes. What do I not owe to you personally for your burning messages on Prayer and on the Lordship of Jesus Christ![102]

MacKay brought his personal piety to his role as denominational executive. His pietism sought a connection with anyone who shared the same passionate commitment to Jesus, regardless of their doctrinal understandings. This allowed for the evolution of the Presbyterian mission enterprise rooted in spiritual commitment and the practice of personal spiritual disciplines rather than in a shared theological understanding. Further, MacKay was a master at framing the practical issues of the mission, like the introduction of business practices and administrative tasks, in spiritual terms. In this way MacKay was able to lead The Presbyterian Church in Canada's foreign mission enterprise for thirty-five years.

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movement. I am unconvinced by Wright's contention. I think MacKay was seeking to do what he had always done, frame the whole mission endeavour in spiritual terms coming from his pietism.

[100] For more on Armstrong's involvement on this issue see "Uncensored Account of Korea's Revolt," *The New York Times* 23 Apr. 1919, and Barbara Legault and John F. Prescott, "'The arch agitator:' Dr. Frank W. Schofield and the Korean Independence Movement," *Canadian Veterinary Journal* 50 (2009): 865-72.

[101] "Denounces Japan's Killing of Koreans" *The New York Times* 17 Feb. 1921.

[102] Qtd. in Thomson 62.

Edinburgh 1910 and Church Union 1925: The Ecumenical Missionary Impulse in Canadian Presbyterianism

A. Donald MacLeod

I begin with a quote from Andrew Walls: "Both 'ecumenical' and 'evangelical' today have their roots in Edinburgh 1910. If each will go back to the pit whence both were dug, each may understand both themselves and the other better."[1] Evangelicals see what happened that summer of 1910 as significant to their lineage: over 4,000 delegates from 168 countries will converge on Cape Town in a fortnight to mark its centenary. Lausanne III is a reminder of how far they have come over this past century. But it is also a seminal event that led directly to the creation in 1921 of the World Missionary Council which amalgamated with the World Council of Churches in 1961. According to its current website, the 1910 World Missionary Conference "is considered the symbolic starting point of the contemporary ecumenical movement."[2]

The specific use of the word "ecumenical" in regards to Edinburgh 1910, however, is a misnomer. The conference was originally to be called "The Third Ecumenical Conference" (the first and second being in 1888 and 1900). But in what Brian Stanley calls "appropriate Christian modesty"[3] the planning committee realized early that the word "ecumenical" was inappropriate. As one of its members wrote, "It cannot be used truthfully while great sections of the Church are in no way connected with the Conference."[4] Indeed Edinburgh 1910 has often been known more for who was excluded than whom were included: women, non-whites, and Latin Americans. "Ecumenical" could hardly be used as an adjective to describe the Conference, but it certainly helped develop a momentum towards breaking down denominational barriers.

Fifteen years after Edinburgh 1910, ecumenicity received a boost when three historic Protestant churches merged into The United Church of Canada. This paper seeks to explore the interconnectedness between the two events. It also sheds light on the increasingly divergent interests of evangelicals in the world-wide missionary movement: Edinburgh 1910 for all its trumpeted unity was an exercise in forbearance, when cracks were papered over in the interest of—to cite the watchword of the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM)—"the evangelization of the world in this generation." Twenty years later the lines had been drawn, and as has been noted,[5] there could never have been an Edinburgh 1930.

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[1] Andrew F. Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission and Appropriation of Faith* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2002) 62.

[2] "History of World Mission and Evangelism," World Council of Churches, 9 Sept. 2011 http://www.oikoumene.org/who-are-we/organization-structure/consultative-bodies/world-mission-and-evangelism/history.html.

[3] Brian Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009) 36.

[4] Ritson, letter to Smith, 24 July 1908, Cambridge University Library, BSA/F4/3/1, fol. 69, qtd. in Stanley 36.

[5] Walls 62.

Missionary enthusiasm brought Christians together across denominational lines. The rise of the so-called "faith missions" starting with the China Inland Mission in 1865, had blurred historic and creedal distinctive: "winning the world for Christ" was what mattered most, particularly as the *eschaton* was about to break on the world with the Second Coming of Christ. Dwight L. Moody's evangelistic campaigns on both sides of the Atlantic crossed denominational lines. His great missionary conferences at Northfield, Massachusetts, in the 1880s drew together a wide cross-section of evangelical Protestantism.

The Student Volunteer Movement, birthed during those meetings, enlisted a generation of university youth to go overseas as missionaries. And by 1894 their arrival on the field in such great numbers cried out for a wise and strategic use of resources. Thus was born the International Conference of Foreign Missionary Board and Societies in the United States and Canada (IC). Comity arrangements divided up non-Christian countries so that each denomination could have a specific area of its own, thus avoiding overlapping and duplication. One such arrangement was the 1898 allocation of the northeastern "arm" of Korea to Canadian Presbyterians as their specific responsibility.

The word "Ecumenical" surfaced in 1900 with the Ecumenical Missionary Conference, an extravaganza in New York City with former US president Benjamin Harrison as chair. Comity was the buzz word, particularly in higher education, medical missions, and publishing. It was Alexander Sutherland, Missionary Secretary for the Methodist Church in Canada, who on 26 April 1900 in Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church spoke words that seem in retrospect eerily familiar in the subsequent church union debate: "[. . .] when the church has practically solved this question of mission comity, it will have taken a very long stride forward in the work of evangelizing the world." He argued for economy in the use of resources: "He, in whose hands is the gold and silver of the earth, will not intrust [sic] us with more until He sees that we are using faithfully what He has already given us. And," he concluded, "We can scarcely be said to be using it faithfully if we are using it in separate interests that could accomplish vastly more by co-operative effort."[6]

Denominational cooperation was in the air. Sutherland had witnessed first-hand two Canadian Methodist mergers: in 1874, the year he was appointed a Methodist missionary executive under pioneer Enoch Wood, and then a decade later when all Canadian Methodists were joined in a single denomination. In 1875 four strands of Canadian Presbyterianism merged, and in 1900 two of its parents, the Free Church of Scotland and the United Presbyterians, came together to form the United Free Church of Scotland. Euphoria from that union energized William Patrick, recently arrived from Scotland as Principal of Manitoba College, to challenge the Winnipeg 1902 Methodist General Conference, where he was a Presbyterian fraternal delegate, to join to form a great national church. Patrick's words were spontaneous, unscripted, and unauthorized, but helped set union negotiations in motion.

In 1907 five-hundred delegates (with an even larger number of guests and overseas visitors) met in Shanghai to celebrate the centenary of the arrival in China of Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary. Among the official visitors were two Canadian foreign missions board secretaries: Alexander Sutherland and his Presbyterian counterpart, R. P. MacKay. Resolutions passed urged greater cooperation among missionary organizations and "the union of

[6] *Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900* vol. 1 (New York: American Tract Society, 1900) 267.

the churches established by different missions of the same ecclesiastical order"[7] anticipating a Chinese church (though there were only six or seven Chinese delegates present).

On 13 February 1908 the peripatetic Alexander Sutherland was in Edinburgh for a planning meeting for what became Edinburgh 1910. He had been one of the members of the IC who had proposed to their British counterparts an ecumenical missionary conference three years earlier and the plans were now well in progress. His contribution that day, along with five others who had been with him in Shanghai the year before, proved crucial. On the agenda was a discussion as to whether the conference should be "demonstrational" (i.e., inspirational) or "consultative" (business and issue oriented). Sutherland and the others who had been present in Shanghai spoke favorably of its consultative nature. The concept was adopted as well as agreeing to appointed delegates, the setting up of commissions, reporting on relevant themes, and resolutions to be adopted. Edinburgh 1910 was taking shape.

Five months later, in Wycliffe Hall, Oxford[8], another Canadian, L. Norman Tucker, General Secretary of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, was present at a further planning session This time Alexander Sutherland was not there as his health had deteriorated (he died in July 1910). The meeting established the eight commissions and started to nominate leadership and members. Among those approached was Sutherland's colleague, friend, and Presbyterian alter ego R. P. MacKay. MacKay was one of two Canadian Presbyterians who played a significant role on the commissions, the other being Rev. (later knighted as Sir) Robert Falconer, President of the University of Toronto. Falconer was appointed to Commission III, "Education in Relation to the Christianisation of National Life."

R. P. MacKay's assignment was on Commission I: "Carrying the Gospel to all the non-Christian World." John R. Mott, Student Volunteer Movement spell-binder and now General Secretary, was nominated to chair the Commission. Mott, headquartered in New York City and an American Methodist, assumed a prominent role in the subsequent proceedings. As Mott's biographer notes "The ink was hardly dry on the minutes of the international planning committee's Oxford, 1908, sessions when Mott started to work on his assignment."[9] His first task was to raise money for the large budget that was set.

Mott's two vice-chairmen were the Scot George Robson, editor of the United Free Church's *Missionary Record*, and the German missiologist Julius Richter. Four members of the commission were from his "household" including two SVM secretaries Ruth Rouse and Samuel Zwemer. The Moravian Bishop LaTrobe from Herrnhut, Saxony, was a reminder of historic missionary links, joining two others from the Continent. From the United Kingdom there was a cross-section of Free Churchmen and Establishment Anglicans: Bishop Montgomery, Secretary of the High-Church Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, who would be the cause of much friction; layman Eugene Stock who had made the Low Church's Church Missionary Society much more Anglican and much less indigenous; Arthur Taylor, secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society; Marshall Broomhall, nephew of Hudson Taylor and writer and editor for the China Inland Mission; and Frank Lenwood[10] of the London Missionary Society (married to my wife's grandfather's first cousin), a liberal Protestant. The Americans on the Commission

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[7] K. S. Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (New York: Macmillan, 1929) 666.

[8] Invited by W. H. Griffith Thomas, the Principal, soon to go to Wycliffe College, University of Toronto.

[9] C. Howard Hopkins, *John R. Mott, 1865-1955* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979) 349.

[10] *Frank Lenwood* [1874-1934], biography by his brother-in-law, Roger Wilson (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1936).

(among them two women) were less diverse, representing Northern Methodist, American Baptist, and United Presbyterian mission boards.

Relationships were not always easy, given Mott's intensity of vision. He rushed ahead with a questionnaire sent out in the name of the Commission, only consulting Vice-Chairman George Robson later. Matters became tangled when the Anglicans threatened to scuttle the conference, feeling that the statistics in the *Atlas* drafted by the planning committee proved objectionable to many Anglicans. That question as to what constituted "the non-Christian world" proved thorny: were missions to continental Europe (and specifically Roman Catholic or Orthodox countries) legitimate? Latin America and the West Indies fell under similar scrutiny. A compromise was eventually worked out in which the North Americans gave way in a spirit of cooperation. There was residual resentment at this exclusion of Protestant missionary work, particularly for Americans' extensive interest in South and Central America. But it was more than geography: theology was also off limits, shelving the hard questions that later came to haunt. The limits of cooperation were tested.

Sometime early in the summer of 1909 (judging from its position in the files) MacKay received a large dossier from Mott outlining the purpose of the forthcoming conference and of Commission I. "The unifying spirit of the conference will promote [a] spirit of universal co-operation," it stated.

> The ministry of intercession will do much in this direction. The close mingling of missionary leaders, mutual acquaintances, the establishment of ties of friendship, will promote that desired end. Out of it will come a conviction that we are essentially one and belong to each other. It will make an atmosphere, a temper, a disposition, an attitude of Christian responsibility for all mankind out of Christ and in Christ, so that all men shall have an opportunity to have a place in the Promised Land. It will be a realizing sense of the sinfulness of our divisions and will open our eyes to the necessity of action.

It continued, sounding an almost apologetic note for yet another conference: "It is true that there are too many conferences, and that this fact has created prejudice, but the character of the Edinburgh Conference ought to justify itself. It will be a great council of war, carefully and diligently prepared for, and sure to be attended with consequences which will be of very real help to every society represented."[11]

The North American members of the Commission met at least six times at Mott's urgent insistence. R. P. MacKay, in addition to frequent trips to New York, had voluminous correspondence to answer. And early in 1910 the questions that had been lurking in the background surfaced. In a 29 January 1910 letter sent to Commission members Mott raised in veiled language a question that had been hitherto evaded: was the real hindrance to world evangelization the increasing liberalism of some of the home churches? He wrote: "The members of our Commission have had it impressed upon them that a most crucial factor in the problem of accomplishing the world's evangelization is the state of the Home Church."[12] Citing James Stewart of Lovedale, pioneer Scottish missionary and educationalist in Nyasaland (now

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[11] J. R. Mott, undated document, 1979.185C, Box 18, File 14, The United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto (UCA).

[12] J. R. Mott, letter to R. P. MacKay, 29 Jan.1910, 1979.185C, Box 18, File 16, UCA.

Malawi), he raised questions under two headings, home and overseas. Referring first to the Home Church he asked:

> (a) Do you consider that we now have on the home field a type of Christianity which should be propagated all over the world?
> (b) Does this type possess world propagating and world conquering power?
> (c) What is there in the present state of the Home Church which most seriously retards or hinders the worlds' evangelization?

Under a second heading, noting the increasing influence that "the Christian and non-Christian races" have on each other, he asked how the state of the Home Church affects the expansion of Christianity in the non-Christian world:

> (a) As to the beliefs, ethical standards, and spirit of the missionaries
> (b) As to the beliefs, ethical standards and evangelistic activity of the native Christian leaders and church members.

On receiving the letter, MacKay immediately deferred to several of his friends. One of them was T. B. Kilpatrick, Professor of Systematic Theology at Knox College, whom he asked for a judgment "as to whether or not we have a type of Christianity in Canada which had conquering and propagating power, and if not what is the hindrance, either as to belief, ethical standards, or the spirit of the missionaries?"[13]

A month later MacKay was ready for a considered response to Mott, calling the question he had raised "fundamental." Describing himself an optimist, he nonetheless said that "there are times when the foundations must be examined in order to assure ourselves." He had, he said, been reading P. T. Forsyth's recent *Missions in State and Church* where there was an observation "Nobody seems to be afraid of God in these days." He reflected on "the lack of urgency in the church, due to a weakened sense of sin and its consequences, and of the holiness of God." "When hearing," he continued, "appeals from yourself and others as to the importance of acting in this generation, because for the nations that know not God there is no other opportunity, I often had a sort of indistinct consciousness of the thought pervading the audience: What does it matter?" MacKay then attributed this to

> modern Biblical interpretation. The documents have been discredited, and with that uncertainty is inevitable. I know how students of the Bible say they are helped, yet one of these men, who was thus speaking of its value, told me recently that the same principles are to be applied to the New Testament and that nobody can predict what changes may come as to our views of Christ. I said 'What about the sinlessness of Christ?' 'That' he said 'is only relative.' Thus nothing is sacred. There cannot be the quenchless zeal that speaks in the presence of the judgment seat without conviction as to eternal realities.

Having thus stated his orthodoxy and his concern about higher criticism MacKay then asked "whether we load our system of truth with non-essentials. We may have to [sic] comprehensive a

[13] R. P. MacKay, letter to T. B. Kilpatrick, 8 Feb. 1910, 1979.185C, Box 18, File 16, UCA.

Confession of Faith. The essential elements of Christianity are few."[14] The comments reflect what he had stated at a Committee on Doctrine five years earlier. Debating what role the Westminster Confession should have in a united church, MacKay had produced Henry Van Dyke's "Brief Statement of the Reformed Faith" as an adequate basis for a new denomination. Van Dyke, a poet mystic, had reduced theology to five skimpy affirmations, with Father and Brother Love as its core values.[15] MacKay, though numbered among evangelicals as Vice-President of Toronto Bible College, and later chairman of its Board, was no theologian. Growing up in Zorra, Oxford County, Ontario, had endowed him with a warm piety and a personal conservatism.

By the end of March MacKay had received a draft of the document included in the Commission I and titled "The State of the Home Church in its Bearing upon the Work of Carrying the Gospel to All the Non-Christian World." Now his problem was style more than content. He wrote back to Mott a highly critical letter, saying that the whole document, in spite of "a good deal of valuable thought," should be rewritten as it lacked logical cohesion and was unduly pessimistic: "is there not occasion for some grateful recognition of the vision that has come to our men as seen in the Layman's Movement, the awakening amongst students and young people, and also of the evangelistic activity of recent times." And, he asked:

> Do you not think the last impression on the mind of the man who reads the paper should be that the church is doing well, but could be doing better by giving heed to her ways? Do you think it would be wise, especially in the Old Land where Higher Criticism is so rank, to make that factor prominent in the discussion? It would likely provoke controversy and settle nothing, for such problems are not settled in public assemblies.

In conclusion he pleaded for "A strong deliverance, defining a living Church and relating her to the non-Christian world, would not necessary be too specific as to existing conditions, in order to accomplish the end in view. People could themselves make the application to home conditions and not feel resentful."[16]

MacKay was carefully raising his own unease about the impact of Biblical criticism and theological liberalism then sweeping the historic denominations in Europe and North America. Universalism, to which he alluded with his comment on a contemporary lack of emphasis on judgment, had already started to enervate the missionary impulse and would in a decade emasculate the Student Volunteer Movement.[17] The Modernist controversies of the 1920s were still ahead but the challenge was there: would a creedless ecumenicity strengthen the missionary vision or would the torch be passed to the faith missions, represented in Commission I by Marshall Broomhall of the China Inland Mission, whose members took a surprisingly active role in Edinburgh 1910? Among the respondents to Commission I was D. E. Hoste, one of the

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[14] R. P. MacKay, letter to J. R. Mott, 9 Mar. 1910, 1979.185C, Box 18, File 16, UCA.

[15] See N. K. Clifford, *The Resistance to Church Union in Canada, 1904-1939* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1985) 38. "Father and Brother Love" is from Van Dyke's hymn "Joyful, Joyful," final verse. When J. Gresham Machen was Interim Minister at First Presbyterian, Princeton, he walked out in protest (1924).

[16] R. P. MacKay, letter to J. R. Mott, 1 Apr. 1910, 1979.185C, Box 18, File 16, UCA.

[17] Thus the SVM Quadrennial at Des Moines, 1919. See Nathan Showalter, *The End of a Crusade: The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions and the Great War* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1998).

Cambridge Seven, brother-in-law to Broomhall, and since 1902 general director of the Mission. He participated in the discussion of the report on 15 June, urging flexibility in the training of "native workers."[18]

MacKay ensured that a good number of missionaries of The Presbyterian Church in Canada were consulted for the finding of Commission I. Among them were Milton Jack from Tamsui, Formosa (as Taiwan was then called), and Alex Robb from Korea. The China contingent included Jonathan Goforth and Murdoch MacKenzie, Changtefu, Honan, J. A. M'Donald of Canton, and Donald MacGillivray, Christian Literature Society, Shanghai. From Madhya Pradesh, India, Fraser Campbell (Ratlam), Miss Chone Oliver (Neemuch), and J. T. Taylor (Mhow); from the New Hebrides (Vanuatu) Joseph Annand; and John Morton of Trinidad (dismissed as "other fields"). It was an impressive array showing the extent and the quality of Canadian Presbyterians committed to overseas mission.

Respondents were divided in their enthusiasm for ecumenical engagement. In the New Hebrides there was a united Mission with Canadian and Scottish Presbyterians cooperating.[19] Fraser Campbell's *Unoccupied Fields in Central India* is cited to support the comment that "the present missionary staff is insufficient for the accomplishment of the work begun."[20] Jonathan Goforth wrote of revivals sweeping across denominational boundaries, thirty having been conducted by him in six Chinese provinces since February 1908.[21] In its section on Formosa (Taiwan) the report urges that the Canadian and English Presbyterian seminaries, in the north and the south, merge into a single institution in the centre of the island. "In few lands," it concludes, "are obstacles so few and conditions so favourable for speedy and thorough evangelization."[22] In Korea the eight Protestant communions represented there, four of them Presbyterian (Northern and Southern American, Canadian and Australian), had worked out an "amicable adjustment of boundaries."[23]

R. P. MacKay was himself personally responsible for writing two reports: "Indians in Canada" and "Orientals in Canada." In "Indians in Canada," cooperation expressed in the churches' membership in the government's Advisory Board of Indian Education had "become a very important step in the direction of overcoming waste of effort and of developing a united policy of missionary education."[24] By today's standards the report on Canada's native peoples does not do MacKay much credit, as it would be seen as culturally superior and racist. It refers to the "dependent and uncivilized life of the reserves." But it does not exonerate the government, and decries the "pauperising influence of the treaties." In the section "Orientals in Canada" MacKay is on firmer ground, outreach to Chinese migrants being a special interest. He railed against the 1885 head tax demanded of all arrivals from the Middle Kingdom. "It would be a great advantage if the Churches interested in this work would combine in a thoroughly organized plan, without denominational claims or distinctions."[25]

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[18] *Report of Commission I* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1910) 427-28.

[19] *Report of Commission I*, 128-29.

[20] *Report of Commission I*, 139, and footnote 1.

[21] *Report of Commission I*, 355.

[22] *Report of Commission I*, 69-70.

[23] *Report of Commission I*, 74.

[24] *Report of Commission I*, 260-62.

[25] *Report of Commission I*, 264.

The only other contribution in the commission reports attributed directly to a Canadian Presbyterian was that of Sir Robert Falconer, President of the University of Toronto, and a member of Commission III "Education in Relation to the Christianisation of National Life." Falconer did not involve fellow Canadian Presbyterians as correspondents as MacKay had: only Miss J. M. Kinney of Formosa is listed. No report having been received "from workers among the Indians in North America,"[26] Falconer was asked to prepare a paper on "Indians in Canada," and Anna Dawes, daughter of Massachusetts Senator Harry Dawes (he of the 1887 Dawes Act giving Indians property allotments), a well-known activist for native rights in the United States, was asked for one on American Indians. Whether they worked cooperatively or not, in late September 1909 Falconer wrote mission executives in the United States soliciting "the latest information and statistics regarding the work of your Church among the Indians of the United States and Alaska."[27] The result of his inquiries appears to be written hurriedly by a busy man. Under three rubrics, industrial schools, boarding schools, and day schools, the report's defense of residential schools by a leading Canadian educator makes strange reading today.

Bishop Gore convened British members of Commission III in Birmingham 1 to 6 November 1909. The North American members met 8 to 11 February at the Manhattan home of Commission member and socialite Grace Dodge and made heavy weather of the British draft, particularly the use of the word "heathen." Exception was taken to the sections on India, China, and Korea, but it was the report on "The Relationship of Christian Truth to Indigenous Thought and Feeling," as originally drafted by Bishop Gore, to which strong exception was taken. The whole Commission never met together. A single North American member, George Burton of the University of Chicago, was present in London 22 April 1910 when the final draft was approved.[28] With courteous restraint so typical culturally, the British members had yielded to the American complaints and the final draft showed much of their handiwork. But Falconer's specific contribution remains unknown. The twelfth question, on whether "further co-operation or federation [is] desirable in the educational work of different Missionary Societies," certainly reflects his commitment to ecumenical action. As chair of the Presbyterian Union Committee, Falconer was an articulate and outspoken proponent of organic denominational union.[29]

On 23 April 1910 Allan and Mary Armstrong set sail from Portland, Maine, accompanied by Canadian Presbyterian missionaries in India J. M. Duncan and his wife. Allan Egbert Armstrong, Assistant Foreign Missions secretary, was being sent instead of Dr. MacKay and was making a side trip to Europe before Edinburgh 1910 began. MacKay had lived with the Armstrongs since returning from lengthy globetrotting after his only child was married in 1906 to China missionary appointee Andrew Thompson.[30] He and Armstrong had a very close

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[26] *Report of Commission III* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1910) 397.

[27] Falconer papers, A1967-0007/009/100 and A1967-0007/010/039, Fisher Library, University of Toronto Archives. Letters to A. B. Leonard, Methodist Board of Foreign Missions (who referred him to their Home Mission secretary, Robert Forbes, and R. B. Morehouse, General Secretary, American Baptist Home Mission Society.

[28] Burton, a Baptist minister, had made a tour of Asian educational institutions in 1909. His trip to London was paid for by Grace Dodge.

[29] See James Greenlee *Sir Robert Falconer* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1988) 93–99; 233-35. Also: Michael Gauvreau "Presbyterianism, Liberal Education and the Research Ideal: Sir Robert Falconer and the University of Toronto, 1907-1932," *Burning Bush and A Few Acres of Snow*, ed. William Klempa (Ottawa: Carleton UP, 1994) 39-60.

[30] MacKay's wife had died at 27 after three years of marriage. He never remarried.

relationship and it may be that MacKay wanted him to have the trip (only one of them could go) or perhaps made the 1910 General Assembly a priority. He had been nominated that year as Moderator but turned it down, accepting the office the following year. Falconer likewise did not attend Edinburgh 1910.

There were eleven Canadian Presbyterians in all among the 1,200 delegates. In addition to Armstrong and Duncan were two others from the India field, R. A. King and Fraser Campbell; medical doctor William McClure from China; Robert Welsh Professor of Apologetics and Church History at Presbyterian College, Montreal;[31] McPherson Scott, sponsor of Toronto's Jewish Mission;[32] Donald MacOdrum then in Moncton;[33] Mrs. J. D. Robertson, representing the Women's Missionary Society; Rev W. A. J. Martin of Zion, Brantford, convener of the Foreign Missions Committee;[34] and Rev J. A. MacGlashan, minister of Bridgeport, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia,[35] representing the Maritimes missionary commitment.

While in Edinburgh delegates received hospitality from local residents. My wife's great-great-uncle, John James Cowan, was assigned two names: R. F. Coyle, 1903 Moderator of the Presbyterian USA General Assembly, and Vincent Massey, a twenty-three-year-old Canadian Methodist layman. Massey (which Cowan misspelled in his memoirs as Massie), then at Balliol in Oxford, sent a telegram announcing his arrival the next morning. Cowan recalled that "At breakfast time I went to the door to welcome our guest and found he was a beardless youth. It turned out he was representing his father, who was a man of wealth, acquired by making agricultural machinery."[36] The other guest never turned up, having stayed with his son who was a student in Edinburgh, so Cowan joked with Massey about having shuffled off this mortal Coyle. Twenty years later Massey, then Canada's first minister in Washington, reminded a granddaughter of the pun.

Held in the Assembly Hall of the United Free Church of Scotland on the Mound in Edinburgh, the meetings went on for nine days, from Tuesday, 14 June, to the following Thursday. That opening afternoon, with Lord Balfour of Burleigh in the chair, standing orders and rules of debate were approved, as was the appointment of a secretary (William Oldham, a strong supporter of union while in the Philippines as a Methodist missionary) and the ubiquitous John R. Mott as Chair. One of the two recording secretaries was Newton Rowell, a Toronto lawyer. The delegates were sent out as Mott declaimed on Jesus' words in John 17:21: "That they all may be one." It was a familiar theme throughout the week and would resonate fifteen years later in Canada.

Cheng Jingyi, one of the few non-Westerners present and a product of the London Missionary Society in China, a fluent English-speaker who had spent two years recently at the Bible Training Institute in Glasgow, spoke twice, first on Thursday and then the following

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[31] Professor Welsh, who came from the Presbyterian Church in England in 1905 to be British & Foreign Bible Society Secretary, was appointed professor in 1907. In 1925 he joined the United Theological College, Montreal.

[32] John McPherson Scott (1859-1920), minister of St. John's, Toronto (1889-1920).

[33] Donald MacOdrum (1863-1938) died two weeks after serving as PCC GA Moderator.

[34] William Albert Johnson Martin (1862-1911) had just received a DD from Knox College.

[35] MacGlashan, a native of French River, Pictou Co., served Chalmers, Bridgeport, 1893-1917.

[36] John James Cowan, *From 1846 to 1932* (Edinburgh: Printed privately, 1932) 83-84.

Tuesday. The latter was regarded as the most outstanding speech of the entire conference.[37] Responding to Commission VIII "Cooperation and the Promotion of Unity," he threw down the gauntlet to the assembled delegates: "Speaking plainly we hope to see, in the near future, a united Christian Church without any denominational distinctions." It took seventeen years for his vision for China to take place. On New Year's Day 1927 the first General Assembly of the Church of Christ in China joining most Protestant mission churches, met in Shanghai. Canadian Methodists, by now part of The United Church of Canada, enthusiastically joined[38] as did erstwhile Canadian Presbyterians from Honan. Evangelical bodies such as the China Inland Mission and the Christian and Missionary Alliance had earlier withdrawn from negotiations. The south Shandong presbyteries of the Presbyterian Church in China refused to be a part of the new denomination. The lines were being drawn.

Canadian participation in Edinburgh continued on Thursday, 17 June: Presbyterian R. A. King, Principal of Indore College, spoke that morning and the Hon W. A. Charlton, a wealthy Toronto businessman and politician, occupied the chair that evening. On Monday of the next week, J. M. Duncan, again of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission in India, responded to the report of Commission VII "Missions and Governments," while on the final afternoon A. E. Armstrong addressed the issue of "how to increase the missionary gifts of individual Christians who are able to do much more financially than they are now doing."[39]

At the conclusion of the Congress John R. Mott led the delegates in a service of consecration with a cry that echoes over the past century: "The end of the congress is the beginning of the conquest." That triumphalism was not sustained: in four years the Christian world would be convulsed in the bloodiest conflagration ever seen. Many children of delegates, from both sides, would die in the slaughter that ensued. The impact of the Congress towards comity, unity, and union continued unabated, nowhere more than in Canada. It was the great talisman that was to bring in the Kingdom of God.

And what had been accomplished? Reports from journals and magazines around the world varied in their answers. The secular press, particularly *The Scotsman*, provided extensive coverage. The *Daily Mail* summarized the event: "Above and beyond everything else one thing has been demonstrated—namely, that if the Christian faith is to go forward in the conquest of the world, the Christian Churches must learn to combine their forces and to sink their accidental difference in the attack upon the common foe."[40] In the August 1910 Canadian Methodist *Missionary Outlook*, in spite of much space given to Alexander Sutherland's death, the Conference filled a full page. Its report saw four impacts: a sense of the vastness of the missionary task, the need for the Christian Church to bestir themselves, the challenge to enter unoccupied fields, and the impression that "if the world situation was to be met there must be united planning and concerted action. They fell back frankly in front of this task if it must be faced with a divided Christendom, but they approached with calmness and confidence if the true disciples of Jesus Christ stood together as members of a common family."[41]

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[37] See the *Boston Missionary Herald*: "without question the best speech" made at Edinburgh. Qtd. in Stanley 108.

[38] Latourette 801.

[39] *The History and Records of the Conference* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1910) 106.

[40] "World Missionary Conference" *Scotsman* 25 June 1910: 7.

[41] *Missionary Outlook* Aug. 1910: 176.

The *Presbyterian Record* of The Presbyterian Church in Canada edited by anti-Unionist Ephraim Scott limited itself to a three-line news item. The editor was far more concerned about the Union debate in the General Assembly that had met in Halifax that June. Assembly, after bitter debate, had approved a Union proposal for transmission to presbyteries under the Barrier Act. Scott reported that more commissioners registered dissent than any previous act in the history of the church. He warned: "If the people do nothing, it will come. If the Church goes into Union, it should do so actively and intelligently, and not drift, or be drifted, into it."[42]

Of the eleven delegates to Edinburgh 1910 from The Presbyterian Church in Canada nine were Unionists. Only MacOdrum and Scott (who died in 1920) were opposed. R. P. MacKay's was the first signature on the Basis of Union on 10 June 1925. But there was pain that, as he wrote his niece at the time, "The most beautiful and the most painful thing we see today is the number of ministers who for principle's sake have stepped out and accepted the consequences."[43] The consequences were indeed significant, affecting the entire mission work of The Presbyterian Church in Canada: Honan, Macao, Korea, India, and Trinidad all went into the new United Church. Formosa stayed with the continuing church, and non-concurrents joined existing work in Manchuria, among tribal people in central India, Koreans in Japan, and in British Guiana.[44] The fifteen years between Edinburgh 1910 and the formation of The United Church of Canada had been, for Presbyterians at least, one of the most fractious in their history and its aftermath, which showed no letup for years, was arguably a key factor in the subsequent secularization of Canada.

None of that was immediately apparent. Sailing on the steamship *Tunisia* to Quebec City, and looking forward to spending the rest of the summer of 1910 at his cottage at Lac des Iles, Mott wrote MacKay explaining that, in his absence, Commission I had met during the conference and had changed the wording in a few places in the report, a copy of which he sent on to him. He concluded with a ringing word of affirmation about the events of the previous month: "It went beyond our highest expectation. Notwithstanding limitations, shortening, and mistakes, we have much for which to be thankful to God."[45]

The Promised Land, the conquest, never came. Edinburgh 1910, for all its excitement and emotion, the excellence of its arrangements, the wide representation and knowledge of its participants and correspondents, the eloquence of its speakers, never did achieve its ultimate goal, the evangelization of the world in its generation. The profound theological issues that had been raised, and then sidelined in the interests of accommodation and breadth, were never addressed. And The Presbyterian Church in Canada paid a high price for that evasion.

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[42] *Presbyterian Record* July 1910: 295.

[43] Andrew Thomson, *Life and Letters of Rev. R. P. MacKay, D.D.: A Record of Faith, Friendship and Good Cheer* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1932) 126.

[44] See Zander Dunn, "The Great Divorce and What Happened to the Children," *Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers 1977*: 58-96. Dunn's excellent research is somewhat marred by the way in which he dismisses the anti-Unionist missionaries as "old men, conservative in their theology and in their life-styles" (80).

[45] John R. Mott, letter to R. P. MacKay et al., 7 July 1910, 1979.185C, Box 19, File 2, UCA.

Re-Thinking *Re-Thinking Missions*: Jonathan and Rosalind Goforth, the China Inland Mission and the Disappearing Fundamentalists 1910-1932

Alvyn Austin

The Fork in the Road

Re-Thinking Missions: The Laymen's Report (1932) begins the preface with an assertive, though qualified, statement: "It is doubtful whether any enterprise dependent entirely on continuous giving has so long sustained the interest of so many people as has the foreign mission." (Note in passing the unconscious association of money as a signifier of piety, which continued to be an undercurrent of the report.) This paragraph closes with another qualified, passive assertion: "There is a growing conviction that the mission enterprise is at a fork in the road, and that momentous decisions are called for."[1]

A few pages later, *Re-Thinking Missions* came to the fork in the road:

> As to the first and most searching question put to us, whether these missions should in our judgment any longer go on, we may say that this question has been with us, honestly and objectively entertained, throughout our inquiry. [. . .] It is somewhat like asking whether good-will should continue or cease to express itself. [. . .] But at the center of the religious mission, though it takes the special form of promoting one's own type of thought and practice, there is an always valid impulse of love to men: one offers one's own faith because that is the best one has to offer. [. . .] [W]hether [good-will] should cease to operate would seem to suppose that the very substance of friendship among men and races might somehow be mistaken.[2]

By any theological standard, that's pretty meager fare—an impulse of love, the best one has to offer—to sustain a movement that once proclaimed its earth-shaking mission to evangelize the world in "this generation." Had that generation passed? Perhaps, by the 1930s—that "low, dishonest decade"—good-will and friendship among the races really were in danger of ceasing to exist.

Re-Thinking Missions: A Laymen's Inquiry after One Hundred Years, also known as the *Hocking Report*, was the one-volume summary of the Commission of Inquiry that toured missions in India and Burma (both British colonies), and China and Japan in 1931. Published in 1932, halfway between the World's Missionary Conference (Edinburgh 1910) and the World Council of Churches (1948), the *Hocking Report* is considered a milestone in the development of

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[1] William Ernest Hocking and the Commission of Appraisal, *Re-Thinking Missions: A Laymen's Inquiry after One Hundred Years* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1932) ix.

[2] Hocking 4.

twentieth-century ecumenicism. Yet, reading it before and after Brian Stanley's history of the Edinburgh conference in order to write this paper is dislocating. It is not just that Edinburgh was a conference, a conversation dominated by British clerics, American YMCA executives, boards of foreign mission boards, and experienced missionaries; the *Hocking Report* is red-white-and-blue American, written by a small group of liberal, New York based, disinterested laymen and underwritten by Rockefeller money.

The Commission of Inquiry consisted of fifteen individuals, twelve men and three women (two wives), who were, as *Time* magazine said of Mr. and Mrs. Harper Sibley, "very rich, very pious."[3] The chairman and author of the report was Dr. Ernest W. Hocking, a highly respected theologian and philosophy professor at Harvard University who wrote agonizingly earnest apologies for faith in a secular world (which would be called neo-orthodoxy). His wife, also a commissioner, had established a Dewey open-air school in Cambridge which met on her verandah (in the winter the students wore sleeping bags around their legs). The others included university professors of philosophy and agriculture, educators, medical doctors, YMCA and YWCA executives, business men, and lawyers. Only one had any foreign experience, Ruth F. Woodsmall, the executive secretary of the World's YWCA for the Near East, and later its general secretary.[4]

Edinburgh was triumphalist, filled with "expectations of a new age." In his opening address, the Archbishop of Canterbury prophesied that if the western churches gave foreign missions the central place, a big if, "it may well be that there may be some standing here tonight who shall not taste death till they see,"—here on earth, in a way we know not now,—"the Kingdom of God shall come with power."[5]

The *Hocking Report* was embarrassed by this sort of talk. In fact, God is almost entirely absent: the word "God" appears only twice in the first chapter, and "Jesus" only once. The Holy Spirit does not appear at all. There was no talk of Christianizing foreign cultures at a time when the home base was losing interest. Instead it uses circumlocution and euphemism, usually with a negative tail: God is "the everlasting and real"; a missionary preaches "his conception of the way of Christ"; and "the preaching of Christ has at times been the prelude or the pretext for exploitation by other hands [. . .]."[6] This tone of aggressive modernism combined with a querulous defeatism, even anger, permeates the report, as though foreign missions were the light that failed.

Nowhere is this anger more apparent than in the report's judgment of the missionaries the commissioners had encountered (and who had been their hosts) during their eight months in the Orient:

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[3] *Time* published three articles about the Sibleys' tour of Asia as members of the Laymen's Inquiry, including "Religion: Mrs. Sibley's Sacred Food," 12 June 1933, <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,745693,00.html>. Sibley (whose grandfather founded Western Union) was a High Church Episcopalian from Rochester, New York, the owner of mines, banks, and extensive ranches out west, which supposedly gave him expertise as an agricultural expert. Mrs. Sibley was also a member of the commission, "studying the lives of Oriental women."

[4] Miss Woodsmall was a feminist and international women's rights advocate who wrote *Eastern Women Today and Tomorrow* (1933) and *Moslem Women Enter a New World* (1936). Presumably she was responsible for the report's chapter on women. Her papers are at Smith College, Northampton, MA.

[5] Brian Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910* (Grand Rapids and Cambridge UK: Eerdmans, 2009) 1.

[6] Hocking 18, 11.

> Of these thousands of people, there are many of conspicuous power, true saintliness and a sublime spirit of devotion, men and women in whose presence one feels himself at once exalted and unworthy. It is easier to say this, than to say the rest of the truth; the greater number seem to us of limited outlook and capacity; and there are now a few whose vision of the inner meaning of the mission has been obscured by the intricacies, divisions, frictions and details of a task too great for their powers and their hearts.[7]

Women missionaries fare even worse: they are made to disappear. The phrase "women missionaries" is entirely absent from this first chapter and all discussions of women are confined to a chapter at the end, after educational, industrial, and agricultural missions, called, paternalistically, "Women's Interests and Activities." Again in this chapter, "women missionaries" appears a handful of times, replaced by "missions in work for women" or "the missionary enterprise as related to women" as though "Women's Work for Women" was run by men.

> The unmarried woman missionary presents a special problem. Many of them represent the highest values in the missionary field, and in general they appear to be contented in their work and healthfully adjusted to their environment. Even a superficial observation, however, reveals the fact that breakdowns from emotional crises, the development of neurasthenic states and even more serious disturbances are by no means infrequent. [. . .] [T]he administrative problem of unmarried men is not acute, for they are comparatively few in number, and those who go to the field for life service ordinarily marry with within a few years of their arrival.[8]

And with that, the conundrum of single women missionaries, single male missionaries, and missionary wives vanishes.

Among its recommendations, the report stated that the Women's Missionary Societies should be dismantled and consolidated into the general boards, and that the separate girls' schools should be amalgamated with co-ed schools, and women's hospitals with hospitals for men and women, which would, naturally, be run by male principals and doctors. As to direct evangelism—which could penetrate behind the curtains of purdah in India and reach the bound-feet women inside the courtyards of China—which had always been the justification for Women's Work, "women missionaries should be replaced by trained oriental leaders as rapidly as is possible without detriment to the work, since eastern women, because of language equipment and understanding of folkways, can carry on the work much more effectively."[9]

What happened to the fundamentalists, whom the *Hocking Report* dismissed as "individuals who foment theological discord or endeavor to defeat the programs of social reconstruction advocated by their broader-minded associates,"[10] who got written out of the

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[7] Hocking 15.

[8] Hocking 299-300, in chapter "Problems of Administration."

[9] Hocking 264, 275.

[10] Hocking 299.

liberal narrative? Alas, the disappearing women must be the subject of another paper, for in this paper, I will tell the story of Jonathan and Rosalind Goforth, who were responsible, in my estimation, as much as any two people, for transferring American-style Fundamentalism to China.[11] They formed a team, he the evangel and she the hagiographer, so when I refer to "Goforth" I often mean the two of them.[12] They attended the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference in 1910, but the message they took away was not the liberal, ecumenical, church-union trajectory that led to the *Laymen's Report*, but the fork in the road that led to Fundamentalism. After all, *The Fundamentals*, the series of booklets that gave the movement its name, were published starting that same year, 1910.

The Edinburgh conference, held in that golden Edwardian summer, before the revolution in China, before the First World War, coincided with many currents in missions at home and abroad. In fact, Edinburgh itself unleashed some of those currents that were to trouble the waters for many years to come.

The Goforths' Road to Edinburgh

Among the 1,215 official delegates at the World Missionary Conference were thirty-five Canadians, including several missionary families returning to China.[13] Jonathan and Rosalind Goforth also attended but were not listed as official delegates. For Goforth, the conference was a humiliating moment. He was shunned by the official Canadian Presbyterian delegation; "the reserved coolness [. . .] has been too obvious to be mistaken," he said to an old classmate. Rosalind wrote an adoring biography, *Goforth of China. By his Wife*, in which she glossed over the conference in one cryptic sentence: "The World's Missionary Conference was to meet in Edinburgh, June, 1910, and as Mr. Goforth was appointed a delegate, it was decided the Goforths as a family should return to China by way of England." A sentence later, she skipped to: "The Conference had closed. We were going down the steps [. . .]" when the classmate warned him frankly, "Goforth, you have only yourself to blame. It was that address before the [General] Assembly, a year ago, that did it!"[14]

Let us go back to see what brought him to this point.

In 1910, Jonathan Goforth was aged fifty-one (born 1859) and had spent twenty-two years in China. He had been born in the Scottish diaspora, in Oxford County, Ontario, the heart of Free Church Presbyterianism, which always had a revivalist tinge. Rosalind Bell-Smith, five years younger, was born in England and raised in the cream of Toronto society, where her father was a prominent artist and founder of the Royal Academy of Art. By 1910, the Goforths had six

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[11] I recognize that "Fundamentalism" is a contentious term but that is how Goforth described himself. I use the term as short-hand to include conservative evangelicals and self-described Fundamentalists who shared a temperament (militant) and an anti-modernist theology (primarily premillennial dispensationalism).

[12] The primary sources for Jonathan Goforth (1859-1936) and Rosalind Bell-Smith (1864-1942) are listed in the bibliographical note at the end of this paper.

[13] There were thirty-five Canadian delegates, thirty men and five women, at Edinburgh: five Baptists; thirteen Methodists; two Congregationalists; eleven Presbyterians; two Anglicans; and two from the China Inland Mission. If one calculates these Canadians, and the twenty-seven from South Africa and Australasia, as British nationals (according to their hearts and their passports), this alters the figures in Stanley (p. 38), increasing the British Empire majority to 571 (up from 509 British); and 429 Americans (down from 491 North Americans).

[14] Rosalind Goforth, *Goforth of China: By His Wife* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1937) 206.

children, five more had died, aged four to nineteen. Presumably, they left the eldest, Paul, in Toronto for his education and were traveling with the five younger ones.

In 1888, as a student at Knox College, Goforth had been such a charismatic revivalist that he convinced the Presbyterian Foreign Missions Committee to send him and Rosalind, and Donald MacGillivray, a gold medalist in Classics, as their first missionaries to mainland China. (The Presbyterian Church already had a mission in Taiwan, founded in 1872 by the redoubtable Rev. George Leslie Mackay, but Mackay was a loner who did not want any missionary helpers.) The Goforths left Toronto a few weeks before Hudson Taylor came through the city and recruited the first "North American band" of CIM missionaries. When Taylor heard that Goforth was leading a group of untrained missionaries, including several women, with no language, into the dangerous province of Henan (then spelled Honan), he was horrified and claimed the whole province for the CIM, which had made pioneering itinerations of the district. However, when Taylor met Goforth in Shanghai, he sensed a kindred spirit and granted North Henan to the Canadians. But, he warned, "you must go forward on your knees."[15]

The Canadians, who called themselves "the Honan Seven," spent six years with their American colleagues in Shandong province before they could get a foothold in a wretched village just inside the border of Henan. Their first city station was Zhangde (then spelled Changte, now called Anyang), the northernmost walled city, which was so isolated it took two weeks to travel by cart and wheelbarrow from Tianjin. When the railway was built after 1900, Zhangde became a major station on the line from Beijing to Hankou. The mission claimed the triangle of Henan province that extends north of the Yellow River, North Henan, and eventually established six stations, three large and three small.

In the terror year of 1900, although there were no official Boxers in Henan, the missionaries bore the brunt of the Boxer Uprising. A party of twenty, plus some mining engineers, fled from Zhangde in the heat of a pestilential summer; the Goforths had four children and had just buried a baby one week earlier. They were beset by armed mobs and driven from one village to the next. Goforth became the target for the fiercest onslaught and was left for dead at the side of the road. The sword that neared severed his head is now on display in the Goforth room at Tyndale University (formerly Toronto Bible College).

The Boxer Uprising was the most searing event in the mission's early history. It made the survivors suspicious of any mass movements among the Chinese populace, including the "mass movement to Christianity" after 1905, when the mission schools were flooded with young men who wanted to learn English. During the Chinese revolution of 1911, they distrusted Sun Yat-sen, even though he was a Christian, because he was a southerner and a revolutionary. Instead they supported Yuan Shikai, the usurper, whose ancestral mansion was in Zhangde, and who protected the mission from the turmoil of the Revolution. As late as the 1920s, the North Henan missionaries feared that Chinese nationalism was a "recrudescence of Boxerism."[16]

The Goforths returned to Canada after the Boxer flight. During this furlough, he felt that "the Church's interest in foreign missions had sadly waned. He saw, too, the great increase of worldliness in the church, some of the highest church leaders being swept in to this tide, and, with great sorrow and concern, he sensed the danger of the 'Higher Criticism' then coming to the

[15] R. Goforth 80.

[16] Alvyn Austin, *Saving China: Canadian Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom 1888-1959* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1986) 118-19.

fore."[17] As soon as possible, he returned to North Henan leaving Rosalind and the children in Toronto. When she and the children arrived in China, there was only a cryptic telegraph: "Goforth Typhoid Changte." For a month she waited with no news, until he staggered in, having walked two weeks from Henan. He was emaciated but as "buoyantly happy and optimistic as ever."[18]

He explained his plan to her. The personnel at Zhangde had changed and the field had been divided into three districts. He was responsible for the area northwest of the city, which contained countless villages in the North China Plain. Before 1900 he had always left her behind when he went on evangelistic tours, which would sometimes last a week or two. Now, he proposed that she and the children join him. They would rent a place in each center, where "we, as a family, [will] stay a month [. . .]. I will go with my men to villages or on the street in the daytime, while you receive and preach to the women in the courtyard. The evenings will be given to a joint meeting with you at the organ and with plenty of gospel hymns."[19] After a month, they would move on to the next centre, an endless circuit with no fixed abode, wandering as "gospel nomads."[20]

Rosalind, with a babe in arms born in Canada, in one of her few "personal stories," wrote, "my heart went like lead!" But, he pleaded, "Rose, I am so sure this plan is of God, that I fear for the children if you refuse to obey His call. *The safest place for you and the children is the path of duty.*" When one child fell sick of dysentery and baby Constance died, Rosalind realized in a vision that "*my Heavenly Father could be trusted to keep my children!*"[21]

About 1904 a "strange restlessness seemed to take possession of [Goforth]." Reading of the revival in Wales, he came to believe in Charles Finney's "scientific revivals," that through prayer and fasting—and preparation and organization—"the spiritual laws governing a spiritual harvest are as real and tangible as the laws governing the natural harvest."[22] In other words, revivals could be "got up" by human effort, which could happen like clockwork and be repeated by experimentation; the older hope was that "awakenings" were "brought down" by the Holy Spirit, which might happen once in a lifetime.

In 1907 Goforth accompanied the foreign mission secretary, R. P. MacKay, an old friend and supporter, on a tour of the Presbyterian (Canadian, American, Scottish, and Irish) fields in China, Korea, and Manchuria, where Goforth held impromptu meetings in each centre. He was invited back to Manchuria, which he accepted the following year after he sent Rosalind and the children to Canada. There he ignited what came to be called the Manchurian revival, which took as its watchword: "Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit." Rosalind stated: "Jonathan Goforth went up to Manchuria an unknown missionary, except to his own narrow circle. He returned a few weeks later with the limelight of the Christian world upon him."[23] With twentieth-century mass communications, that was only a slight exaggeration.

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[17] R. Goforth 153.

[18] R. Goforth 155.

[19] R. Goforth 156.

[20] R. Goforth 232.

[21] R. Goforth 157, 159. Italics in original.

[22] R. Goforth 177, 179.

[23] R. Goforth 187-88.

Goforth's "Holy Ghost revivals" were one of the small unnoticed currents troubling China missions in the years leading up to the Edinburgh conference. China was in turmoil, the Qing (or Manchu) dynasty was tottering, half a dozen political parties, a new phenomenon, were preaching revolution, and the student class was no longer studying Confucius. Among the Chinese churches, some "native churches" claimed independence from missionary imperialism, especially the parsimonious way the missions held the purse strings. These were mostly independent congregations not yet united into a national denomination.

Among the missionary-led revivals, Goforth's distinctive characteristics were extreme emotionalism, weeping, and confession of sin. Other revivalists went further, with manifestations of faith healing and speaking in tongues. The Pentecostal movement reached China from Azusa Street (1906) almost instantaneously, directly and through intermediaries such as the Pentecostal Missionary Union for Great Britain and Ireland, which planted itself far beyond conventional missions, at the border of Tibet. Invariably, as Daniel Bays noted,

> most of the first Pentecostals who felt called to foreign lands fully believed they had been or would be given instant fluency of speech [. . .]. This claim or expectation of language was a typical and general one among early Pentecostals, as far as I can tell. That the disappointment which inevitably ensued did not totally discourage them all is a tribute to their adaptability and stubbornness, as well as to their strength of conviction in the new creed."[24]

Unfortunately, once they realized that their celestial tongues did not translate into intelligible Chinese and that their healing did not attract an audience, the charismatic missionaries shifted their sights to Chinese Christians, especially the church leaders (who perhaps spoke English), and to foreign missionaries. When the most enthusiastic converts were swept up into the movement and congregations were split, most missionaries reacted with hostility and accused the revivalists of "sheep stealing."

That's what happened when Goforth brought his Manchurian revival back to his own mission in North Henan, with startling results. His fellow missionaries were as suspicious of Goforth's revivals as they were of all mass emotionalism. But when the Chinese Christians gathered at Zhangde, the meetings were like "the suddenness and violence of a thunderstorm." Dr. Leslie, one of the older men, agreed that the Chinese church needed revival, "But how explain the missionaries praying; some in Chinese, some in English, men and women, strictly Presbyterian, ordinarily restrained, with Scotch reserve sticking out at all points, raising their voices with the multitude."[25]

Goforth became an increasingly stormy presence within the mission when he offered to tour the district, holding revivals in every station and outstation. The younger, more liberal missionaries felt he was looking over their shoulders like a schoolmaster checking their work. In particular, they resented being told that they themselves needed to repent and confess their sins publicly, and that their apathy was grieving the Holy Spirit. Among the Chinese, the continuous

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[24] Daniel H. Bays, "The Protestant Missionary Establishment and the Pentecostal Movement," *Pentecostal Currents in American Protestantism*, eds. Edith Blumhofer, Russell Spittler, and Grant Wacker (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999) 53, 60.

[25] Austin 116.

revival did not last. A year later, one missionary noted, the Chinese "continued to confess but it was the other man's sins they confessed."[26]

The Goforths at Edinburgh

That brings us to Jonathan Goforth's furlough in 1909 when he returned to Toronto to join Rosalind and the children. He traveled via London, England, where he held a week's meetings under the auspices of the China Inland Mission (CIM) on the subject of "Prayer," and arrived in Toronto a few days before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church was meeting. He was well known through the stories in the *Presbyterian Record* about the Manchurian revival, and his address was eagerly anticipated. One need not wonder at the "marked stillness [that] reigned throughout his address. His plea was for them as leaders, teachers, and professors, to humble themselves before the Lord and seek the Holy Spirit's outpouring as did the Korean missionaries. This he held out as the Church's only hope if retrogression and disaster were to be avoided."[27]

Unfortunately, this address set the tone for Goforth's furlough, as he continued to accuse several professors at Knox College of teaching higher criticism. Goforth's attacks within the Presbyterian hierarchy happened to coincide with a similar movement that was to split the Canadian Baptist church not once, but several times. This was led by Rev. T. T. Shields, Toronto's leading Fundamentalist, and Rev. Elmore Harris, founder and principal of Toronto Bible Training School (TBTS, later Toronto Bible College, now Tyndale University and College). Harris, who was independently wealthy (of the Massey-Harris farm implement company), had built the largest Baptist edifice in Canada, Walmer Road Church, and established TBTS in the Sunday school rooms until he built a school near the University of Toronto. He died in 1912, while on a tour of India, and the Baptist agitation subsided until after the First World War. In the background, too, coming from the United States, was the publication of *The Fundamentals*, in which Harris was one of the Canadian contributors.

Within the Presbyterian church, Goforth was confronted by deep-seated opposition and "a few, but very few, churches opened their doors" to him. "While many were the bright glints of hope and cheer during the 1909-10 furlough, it must be said it was, on the whole, a period to Goforth of great disappointment."[28] R. P. MacKay, the mission secretary, confided, "I do not remember another man who came home with such an asset, and who made so little of it."[29]

Goforth did not realize why he was shunned until the incident described above, on the steps after the Edinburgh conference. He did find some congenial spirits at Edinburgh, however, for he led a meeting for intercessory prayer and his revivals were mentioned in the report of Commission I ("Carrying the Gospel to All the Non-Christian World") as signs of the spiritual awakening of New China. Describing the Manchurian revival, he testified that "the sense of God's presence was overwhelming and soon became unbearable. Others, Chinese as well as

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[26] Austin 117.

[27] R. Goforth 204-05.

[28] R. Goforth 204-07.

[29] Austin 116-17.

foreigners, who have passed through scenes of judgment have afterwards carried the fire to other centres where the same Divine results have followed."[30]

The Goforths always had friendly relations with the China Inland Mission, and had conducted revivals in CIM stations throughout China, particularly in Shanxi, where the remarkable work of God started by Pastor Hsi was still going strong.[31] The CIM monthly *China's Millions*, published in different editions in England, Canada, and Australia, publicized his revivals: "Nor would we omit to mention that God's instrument [. . .] has been a worker from another mission—the Rev. J. Goforth of the Canadian Presbyterian Church." One CIM worker (Margaret King, a Canadian Presbyterian) wrote, "I simply cannot describe the scene; it makes one think of the Day of Judgment. God had come among us. All knew it, and every heart was open before Him. For myself, I had the most intense realization of the holiness of God, and of my uncleanness in His sight."[32]

Now, after Goforth's disappointment at Edinburgh, William B. Sloan, Secretary of the CIM in London, organized something of a triumphal tour for him. They remained four months after the conference so Goforth could speak at summer conferences for the higher spiritual life in Scotland, Ireland, England, and Wales. The highlights were a week at Spurgeon's Tabernacle in London and a week at Keswick. Goforth felt "on trial" because "the Keswick leaders have always stood solid against emotionalism or undue excitement of any kind."[33] With the CIM's imprimatur, he passed the probation and doors were opened to him in the highest evangelical circles.

The China Inland Mission at Edinburgh

The China Inland Mission, meanwhile, had its own reservations about the Edinburgh conference, but this was more of a family dispute than public criticism. The CIM had been present at the creation of many institutions in Britain and North America, and it was involved with the Edinburgh conference from the beginning. In 1905 W. H. Grant, Secretary of the American Foreign Missions Conference, floated the idea to W. B. Sloan, when he wrote, inquiring "whether it is proposed to hold an Ecumenical Missionary Conference in London on the lines of the one held in New York in 1900." According to Brian Stanley, Grant "appears to have regarded [Sloan] as in some way representative of the English missionary secretaries."[34] Perhaps, because of its North American base, the CIM was the only interdenominational British society that the Americans knew about.

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[30] For mentions of Goforth see World Missionary Conference's *Report of Commission I* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1910) 37, 94, 355-56; and Volume 9, *The History and Records of the Conference*, 123, for prayer meeting.

[31] For Goforth in Shanxi, see Alvyn Austin, *China's Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society, 1832-1905* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007) 430-31; and Jonathan Goforth, *"By My Spirit"* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1929) 64-73.

[32] *China's Millions* [Toronto] June 1909: 63-64; and Margaret King, "The Revival in Changte, a Presbyterian Station in Honan," *China's Millions*, Feb. 1909: 30. Miss King, of a prominent Canadian Presbyterian family, was later on the executive committee of the Bible Union of China.

[33] R. Goforth 207.

[34] Stanley 19.

Hudson Taylor had always believed in "attending Missionary Conferences and sitting on Committees arising out of them."[35] He would arrange his schedule a year in advance in order to be in Shanghai or London at the appointed time, where he presided as a benevolent elder statesman. His last public appearance had been at the New York Ecumenical Conference of 1900, where he had a heart attack and was invalided to England. He used these conferences as a platform to press his views on theological orthodoxy and direct evangelism.

By 1910 Hudson Taylor had passed away but his ecumenical spirit lived on. Marshall Broomhall, the London Editorial Secretary (Benjamin Broomhall's son and Hudson Taylor's nephew), was a member of *Commission I* ("Carrying the Gospel"), which included a broad spectrum from Britain, North America, and Europe, including Timothy Richard as a correspondent from Shanghai.

Dixon E. Hoste, Hudson Taylor's successor as General Director of the CIM, traveled all the way from Shanghai to attend the Edinburgh conference, even though he was an invalid at the time. Hoste had been one of the famous "Cambridge Seven" (1885) and, incidentally, was Taylor's nephew by marriage, when he married Marshall Broomhall's sister. Although he was more militant than Taylor in some ways, he remained ecumenical in the British sense, an alliance of low-church Anglicans and Plymouth Brethren, the YMCA, and Keswick. He recommended that CIM people participate in the Edinburgh conference, and many did. About thirty CIM missionaries (including three women) were listed as correspondents with various commissions gathering scientific statistics prior to the conference; they represented every part of China, from Shanghai to Urumchi to Sichuan and Guizhou.

The CIM was well represented at Edinburgh, with fourteen official delegates from the British branch and three from North America; in addition, there were another dozen representatives of CIM associate missions, such as the Scandinavian Alliance (based in Chicago) and the Liebenzell Mission (Germany). The British contingent included Hoste, Broomhall, Sloan, and the Australian director, Rev. J. Southey. Because of the CIM policy that home staff should be former missionaries, they had a practical, hands-on knowledge of mission work compared with most delegates, who were arm-chair mission executives.

The only CIM director who did not attend was Henry Frost, the North American Home Director in Philadelphia. Instead, Frost sent three North American delegates who were not part of the CIM inner circle. Two were Canadians connected with Toronto Bible Training School, one trustee and a teacher, Rev. John McNicol, who was at the beginning of a long and distinguished career. In 1913, when Elmore Harris died, McNicol, a Presbyterian minister, was appointed principal of the renamed Toronto Bible College, where he remained for forty years. He was an ecumenical in the Canadian mold, irenic and interdenominational. Because of his "pleasing personality" and his almost magical teaching style, which he called *Thinking Through the Bible*, McNicol, as much as any one man, held the evangelical coalition in Canada—or at least in Toronto—together until the 1950s, long after it had dissolved in the United States. He retained friendships across the religious spectrum from fundamentalist Fellowship Baptists and Convention Baptists, who did not speak to each other, as well as with Pentecostals, Salvation Army, and The United Church of Canada. He also ensured that Canada—or at least Toronto—did not go "fundamentalist."

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[35] "Relationship of the Mission to the Continuation Committee of the World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh, 1910," no date [ca. 1916], box 4, file 103, CIM Collection 215, Billy Graham Center Archives [BGCA], Wheaton College.

The third delegate was a young American, William Whiting Borden, who had been appointed to the Philadelphia council at the age of twenty-two. He was heir to the milk company fortune, and every description of him seems excessive. "William had a prepossessing appearance," wrote Henry Frost, quite smitten, "with a strong and attractive face and a well-developed and athletic body. He was besides, rugged of character, consecrated of spirit, generous of disposition and lofty of aim and purpose—a unique man even if compared with unusual personalities."[36] Borden died three years later, in April 1913, in Cairo, where he was learning Arabic preparatory to mission work among Muslims in China. His life was memorialized by Mrs. Howard Taylor in *Borden of Yale, '09*.[37]

Prior to the Edinburgh conference, the North American edition of *China's Millions* contained a brief announcement with an odd codicil: "It is significant that the Boxer and other persecutions broke out after the last Conference [New York 1900], and that new persecutions have broken out in China just before the present Conference. This seems that Satan is alert to the possibilities bound up with such gatherings of the Lord's people, and that he is intent upon doing all that he can to prevent spiritual advancement and enlarged blessing."[38] This is CIM code language, since those who were preventing spiritual advancement were not just the persecutors in China but the apathetic, liberal missionaries that Goforth was attacking.

After the conference, the "Editorial Notes" sounded a different note:

> There was much in connection with the Edinburgh Conference for which God's children may be devoutly thankful [. . .]. But we confess that there were certain developments which took place in connection with the Conference which we cannot but regard with deep concern. It is evident that the dominant note throughout the sessions was that of mission and church union, and that this note was finally sounded so frequently and loudly that it came to mean to some minds nothing short of a union among all bodies bearing the name of "Christian," including the Roman and Greek Churches [. . .]. To propose union with such, therefore, seems to some of us as nothing short of an exceedingly grave departure from God's truth, and we should regard any real action in this direction as apostacy of the most serious sort.[39]

This was strong language, but again, it was directed not just against other, ecumenical missions but against the CIM representatives who sat on the Continuation Committee and cooperated with these ecumenical movements, i.e. the London Council. There are two accounts of this controversy, which dragged on until 1916: Frost's *Memoirs* present his arguments for fundamentalist separation; and a memorandum written by the London Council in 1916 on the "Relationship of the Mission to the Continuation Committee," outlined Hoste's British inclusiveness.

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[36] Henry Weston Frost, *The Days that Are Past*, (typescript memoirs, no date) 737. [Cited as Frost, *Memoirs*.] Copies in Toronto China Inland Mission / Overseas Missionary Fellowship Archives, Mississauga, and in CIM Collection 215, BGCA. This was the basis for Dr. and Mrs. Howard Taylor's biography *"By Faith": Henry W. Frost and the China Inland Mission* (Philadelphia: China Inland Mission, 1938).

[37] Mrs. Howard Taylor, *Borden of Yale, '09* (London: China Inland Mission, 1926, with many reprints).

[38] "Editorial Notes," *China's Millions* [Toronto] June 1910: 71.

[39] "Editorial Notes," *China's Millions* [Toronto] Aug. 1910: 100.

Henry Frost, a patrician Presbyterian from Attica, New York, was Home Director of the North American CIM in Toronto from 1888 to 1901, and then in Philadelphia. When he moved back Stateside, he was appalled that the "standard of doctrine and life in the States is much lower than that which prevails in Canada [. . .]. It is apparent that the great apostacy which the scripture connects with the last days is advancing upon us, and I feel that we are going to find it more and more difficult to determine just what our source of life should be."[40] By 1910 Frost was a leader of the nascent Fundamentalist movement and contributor to *The Fundamentals*, volume XII, "What Missionary Motives Should Prevail?"[41]

Frost's *Memoirs* are fulsome in recording his fifty-year career with the CIM, but in this situation, he was very reticent about "a controversy which I had with Mr. Hoste. It was, of course, in words and not in spirit; but even so, it was a cause of much distress [. . .]. I had had enough controversy with beloved Mr. Taylor to last me a lifetime and no one ever knew what it cost me to renew such with his successor." By the end of 1911, "the matters in [Frost's] mind were too serious and complicated to allow of letter writing," and since Hoste was still an invalid in England, Frost decided to go there to meet him and the London Council. This trip took two months, December 1911 to February 1912. He was warmly welcomed by the council, where it came as a surprise, his "new discovery that the leaders of the Mission in Great Britain were as anxious as those in North America to maintain the traditions of the past and preserve the work in truth and righteousness." After that, Frost went to Bath, where Mr. and Mrs. Hoste were invalids, and remained with them over Christmas. (Frost felt at home in Bath because Benjamin Franklin, a distant cousin, once lived next door.) Hoste was so ill that "we talked about everything, which meant about nothing."[42]

The CIM's relationship with the Edinburgh conference simmered until October 1912 when Hoste stopped in Philadelphia on his way to China. "On that occasion, the attention of Mr. Frost was drawn to the serious consequences to the Mission, of becoming isolated from the rest of the Missionary Body."[43] But that, in retrospect, was exactly what Frost wanted. Hoste summarized Frost's concerns:

> Frost told [Hoste] of the difficulty felt by himself and others connected with, or interested in, the work of the Mission on that Continent about our relationship to the Continuation Committee. He referred to the attitude of the Continuation Committee towards the Roman Catholic Church as shown by the exclusion of Protestant Missionaries in South America from the Edinburgh Conference, and also to the cooperation in some of the work of the Committee of men widely known in North America as teachers of modernist views.[44]

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[40] Henry W. Frost, letter to J. Stevenson, Deputy China Director, 15 Aug. 1902, qtd. in Frost, *Memoirs* 689-90.

[41] Henry W. Frost, "What Missionary Motives Should Prevail?," *The Fundamentals: A Testimony to the Truth*, vol. 12 (Chicago: Testimony Publishing Company, ca. 1914) 85-96. Articles by Charles Trumball, Robert Speer and R. A. Torrey appear in the same volume.

[42] Frost, *Memoirs* 791-92, 766-71 (trip to England).

[43] "Relationship of the Mission" 2-3.

[44] "Relationship of the Mission" 1.

Although Hoste agreed they needed "watchfulness," he consented to the appointment of Walter Sloan, the British Secretary, to the Continuation Committee.[45] "Through a misapprehension," however, "Mr. Hoste then received the impression that Mr. Frost and those he represented, were prepared to acquiesce in the above conclusion, even though not in accord with their own judgment."[46] But Frost was never one to acquiesce on a matter of principle; on several occasions he had threatened to separate and take the North American work with him, and now he threatened again. "In saying, 'we,'" he said, "I refer to our North American officials, Councils, influential friends and, of course, myself."[47]

After this meeting, Frost initiated what Hoste called a "lengthened correspondence." During this period, Frost retired from active work with the mission and moved to a town aptly called Summit, New Jersey, close to his alma mater, Princeton University. This was another black period of Frost's life: "I seemed to enter a long tunnel, under a massive mountain, in which there was no light and to which there might be no end [. . .]. This was darkness."[48] And so, in June 1915 Hoste, Sloan, and Dr. Stuart Holden, the Home Director for Britain, came to Summit "for special conference on the whole subject." Frost made a distinction between individuals of the CIM speaking at interdenominational conferences or sitting on committees, but objected to the "holding of a seat on the Central Committee which was ultimately responsible for all the actions of its various branches."[49]

Finally, Hoste acquiesced and asked Sloan to resign from the Continuation Committee "rather than imperil the International unity of the work and expose the Mission to the dangers of internal division—thereby greatly impairing its strength and efficiency." Sloan's resignation, Frost wrote, "gave us in North America a new sense of spiritual freedom."[50] Over the next few years Frost withdrew the CIM from ecumenical alliances it had formerly supported. Its membership in the Associated Boards of Foreign Mission Societies of North America was replaced by a new conservative evangelical network of faith missions, the Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association of North America, of which Frost was a co-founder, along with R. V. Bingham of the Sudan Interior Mission and others, in 1917.

Interestingly, and as significant in the long run, the British CIM was engaged at this time (1910-15) in another internal controversy at the other end of the ecumenical spectrum, against the Pentecostal movement. Cecil Polhill Turner, another of the Cambridge Seven, had tried to gain the language supernaturally when he arrived in China (1885), one of the first instances of such expectations, and twenty years later, still searching, he experienced the blessing at Azusa Street.[51] In 1909 he founded the Pentecostal Missionary Union of Great Britain (PMU), which he intended to "plant" on the Tibetan border. He brought out nine workers, English and Swedes, under some sort of arrangement with the CIM, but not a formal associate relationship.[52] The

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[45] Minutes of China Council, 20 Mar. 1913: 3, copy in BGCA.

[46] "Relationship of the Mission" 2.

[47] Frost, *Memoirs* 792.

[48] Frost, *Memoirs* 790, 791.

[49] "Relationship of the Mission" 3.

[50] Frost, *Memoirs* 793.

[51] Austin, *China's Millions* 450.

[52] Minutes of China Council, 14 Apr. 1909: 3, BGCA.

CIM adopted a cautious, conciliatory policy, that "we do not favour refusing to retain in or admit to the Mission anyone merely because he claims to possess the gift of tongues," but that the candidate must submit to the CIM's *Principles and Practice*.[53]

This arrangement worked until 1914 when a lady missionary in Yunnan threatened to resign because the PMU was holding "waiting meetings" in the CIM premises. In Shanxi, the hotbed, all the members of the Norwegian Mission in China, with one exception, "and a few of the Christians, including the Linhsien Evangelist," received the gift of tongues.[54] As a result of consultation with the home directors, superintendents and missionaries, the CIM ended its relationship with the Norwegian Mission and issued a strong statement that the Mission should not "undertake any responsibility for carrying on of [the PMU's] work."

> Whilst we recognize the value of meetings for special prayer and meditation on God's Word, both in regard to the personal Christian life and to the extension of the Lord's work, and without denying that there is blessing in some cases in what are termed "waiting" meetings in connection with the P.M.U., we feel that these are accompanied by proceedings which tend to consequences of a dangerous character. For one thing, the strain upon the brain occasionally is such that in some cases insanity has ensued, etc.[55]

Goforth's Special Work, 1910-17

We left Jonathan Goforth, and Rosalind and the children, standing on the steps after the disappointment of Edinburgh and watched the CIM open doors to him in Britain, even to Spurgeon's tabernacle. We will leave the CIM for the moment, but for the rest of this paper it was always in the background, opening doors for Goforth in China and, later, in the United States. There was a crucial distinction between Henry Frost and Jonathan Goforth, though perhaps national traits. Frost was an American, impatient, unbending, with a dark theology. As director of an international, interdenominational voluntary society, he had less loyalty to the mainline denominations and thus became a come-out separatist. Goforth, the Canadian, "had heartfelt sympathies toward all denominations,"[56] and never separated from the Presbyterian Church. On the contrary, the Presbyterian Church separated itself from him, when in 1925 two-thirds of its members joined The United Church of Canada, leaving a much smaller Continuing Presbyterian church.

Arriving back in North Henan, the Presbyterian mission was still dominated by the survivors of the Boxer Uprising, whose suspicion of mass emotionalism among the Chinese has been mentioned. But this conservatism was being challenged. One old-timer wrote: "There seems to be a distinct cleavage between the type of missionary previous sent to China previous to 1900 [interestingly, "1910" is crossed out] and those who have come since."

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[53] See Austin, *China's Millions* 450-53 for further discussion of this point.

[54] Minutes of China Council, 3 Dec. 1914: 17, BGCA.

[55] Minutes of China Council, 2 Sept. 1914: 7-8, BGCA.

[56] R. Goforth 262.

> The preaching of the Gospel is at a discount. We are all called upon to be "missionary statesmen" who have something better to do than spend their time in preaching. The more indirect the method of work, the more it seems to find approval by the modern missionary. But I trust you will always know that though the older missionaries who are strongly evangelical or evangelistic in their methods may be outvoted on questions of mission policy, that they are still true to the methods God has blessed in past years. [. . .] The remedy lies with you at home. Send us out evangelistic workers and we will have evangelistic work [. . .]. If they say "we have not got any of that kind," then stay your hand and send no more men out here till you get them.[57]

It was into this volatile situation that the Goforths inserted themselves. After "wanderings and feastings in Europe," wrote R. P. MacKay, the mission secretary, to Rosalind sympathetically, "where you must have met many delightful people [. . .] you have however very soon after arriving been plunged into a Gethsemane."[58] When the Goforths arrived in Zhangde, they discovered that "a young, inexperienced missionary, *who had not learned the value of locks in China*, stored many of the loose things, as dishes, kitchen utensils, beds, small furniture, etc., in a leaking, thatched cowshed." Perhaps there's a metaphor there, that a missionary's treasures had to be locked away from the Chinese. When Rosalind, the "weaker vessel," she called herself, broke down, Jonathan comforted her by saying, "My dear, after all, they're only *things* and the Word says, 'Take joyfully the spoiling of your goods.'"[59] That was to be the theme of this period in China: giving up things—health, fellowship, even a settled abode—because of Jonathan's "special work." As he wrote to MacKay, "you know how I was led out into this special work. I never liked it and never expect to like it as well as the direct soul-saving work in Honan, but since it was to me so manifestly the Lord's will that I do the special work I had no option but to follow His leading."[60]

At the first meeting of Presbytery, Goforth told them he wanted to be released from mission's control "for several years and probably for life to carry on special evangelistic work [. . .] in a much wider, it may be, a world-wide field." Presbytery disagreed and demanded that "Mr. Goforth must give more time to the work in Honan and less to revival work." They threatened to cut him off from membership in order "to compel me to take up a field in the ordinary way." Goforth stormed and pleaded. He threatened to resign. Sadly, realizing that their control over Goforth "can only be nominal and never real," Presbytery voted to "release him [. . .] and would wish him a hearty God-speed."[61] However, the Presbyterian / Continuing Presbyterian church continued to pay the Goforths' salary right up to the end of his life, whatever the arrangements.

Meanwhile, Goforth seemed "to consider it his duty to hunt for heresy" among the members of his own mission.[62] Reportedly, he told the CIM missionaries in Shanxi that "none

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[57] J. A. Slimmon, Hwaiking [now Huaiqing], letter to R. P. MacKay, 26 May 1913, in Presbyterian Church in Canada, North Henan Mission correspondence, box 4 / file 47, The United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto. [Cited as NHM box/file.] Slimmon was a Scotsman and former CIM.

[58] R. P. MacKay, letter to Rosalind Goforth, Weihwei, 26 Jan. 1911, NHM 3/33.

[59] R. Goforth 211. Italics in original.

[60] Jonathan Goforth, Changte, letter to R. P. MacKay, 13 Dec. 1912, NHM 4/44.

[61] Jonathan Goforth, Changte, letter to R. P. MacKay, 1 Feb. 1912, NHM 4/39.

[62] Austin, *Saving China* 116-17.

of the young men the Board was now sending out are sound in the faith," and that their preaching of higher criticism was "detrimental to the cause of Christ among the Chinese."[63] Eventually three missionaries were brought before Presbytery to account for their beliefs; one resigned, but two remained on the field to the continuing suspicion of the older folks. When Goforth offered to spend two years going over every one of the mission's stations and outstations, "as far as I could discern," he wrote, "there was not the slightest enthusiasm over the proposal [. . .]. The only inference I could draw from explanations made was that they blamed the meetings I held in 1908 and the Chinese who made vows then for not keeping them [. . .]. I hinted that we should drop everything and falling on our faces before God should plead for the restoration of His presence, but there was no apparent response."[64]

For the next several years the Goforths were half in, half out of the mission. They visited each of the villages around Zhangde for a week or two of "aggressive evangelism." (The children were by now at the CIM's Chefoo Schools.) Leaving the established churches to their pastors, his work focused on non-Christians: there was an "unmistakable consensus from among the baser classes, robbers, highwaymen, gamblers, opium slaves, men of vicious and vile habits, fortune tellers, witches and such like have been among those won to Christ."[65] His larger revival meetings, however, focused on Chinese Christians and missionaries. He had purchased a cottage at Beidaihe, the most exclusive of the summer resorts, an ocean beach on the salubrious northern coast of Shandong, and held annual campaigns among the missionaries gathered there, sort of an oriental Chautauqua-by-the-Sea.

By 1916 Goforth was burning the candle at both ends and his health was deteriorating. For three years he suffered a "siege of twenty-five carbuncles and abscesses" on his neck and the doctor ordered him to return to Canada. On board ship, he was so weak that the physician feared he would never reach port. Interestingly, he shared a cabin with D. E. Hoste, General Director of the CIM, who was profoundly impressed by Goforth's patience and cheerfulness. "Truly a man to love, admire and learn from, quite apart from his outstanding gifts and far-reaching public ministry. He was a 'winner' in more senses than one."[66]

During this furlough, 1916-17, which was spent mostly in recuperation, Jonathan and Rosalind were introduced to leading American fundamentalists, particularly Dr. Charles G. Trumbull, editor of *The Sunday School Times*. Trumbull was a speaker at the prophetic conference at Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario; this conference had dissolved acrimoniously concerning prophetic dispensationalism but was revived briefly by the CIM. The Goforths were also invited to American Keswick, which was their first prolonged contact with Christians "across the line." Following the CIM example of living on faith, they established a network of "intercessors" who supported them with prayers and gifts of money.[67]

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[63] A. E. Armstrong, Assistant Secretary of FMB, letter to R. V. Gonder, CIM missionary on furlough who made that statement in Goforth's home church, 21 Oct. 1912, NHM 4/43.

[64] Jonathan Goforth, Weihwei, letter to R. P. MacKay, 19 Feb. 1912, NHM 4/39.

[65] Jonathan Goforth, Li Chien T'an (village 90 li northeast of Zhangde), letter to R. P. MacKay, 23 Apr. 1914, NHM 4/52.

[66] R. Goforth 227-29.

[67] R. Goforth 229-31.

Sharpening the Tools 1917-20

By the fall of 1917, when Jonathan and Rosalind Goforth returned to China (without the children), the North Henan mission had changed again. When they left in 1916, China still had some semblance of a central government, and Yuan Shikai, the president and would-be emperor, protected the mission. But, during their absence Yuan Shikai had died and the Republic of China had fragmented into warlord regimes. Over the next ten years Henan was occupied by half a dozen different warlords as it became a strategic area in the civil wars between the various northern and southern cliques. More immediately, the North Henan mission had been depopulated when all the younger male missionaries (sixteen men) joined the Chinese Labour Corps and went to the battlefields of France; their wives returned to Canada with the children. Although China was still neutral in the First World War, it made a secret arrangement with the British government to raise a battalion of Chinese workers, nicknamed "the coolie corps," to go to France as non-combatants to relieve the Allied soldiers by cleaning the camps and digging the trenches. The departure of so many young missionaries, leaving only the older people—the Boxer survivors—was a "tragedy" for the mission, forcing the cancellation of a forward movement and all medical work except among the women. Evangelistic work was "practically suspended."[68]

The mission "drifted into institutionalism to the neglect of more important things." Institutionalism, of course, was one marker of modernist theology. Looking back, one of the younger heretics wrote that when the men went to France "it was almost impossible to attempt any work except the superintendence of the 'institutions' of the mission [. . .]. Such a situation was inevitable, and was not a matter of 'drifting,' we were simply thrust into it whether we would or not."[69]

Theological attitudes hardened after the First World War, and the church wars increased in intensity throughout the 1920s, both at home and in China. Goforth brought things to a crisis, when Presbytery tried to work out a compromise whereby "both sides, fundamentalists and modernists, be allowed to preach and teach as they felt led." He would never tolerate anyone teaching Higher Criticism, so he felt, "There was but one thing for him to do—send in his resignation."[70] The mission accepted his resignation with a sigh of relief.

The only reason the Goforths did not sever their connection with the Presbyterian church was because of the generosity, a generosity of the purse and of the spirit, of R. P. MacKay and the Foreign Mission Board. They continued to pay his salary but he was responsible for all other expenses, such as travel within China and furloughs. As MacKay wrote to Rosalind, whom he liked and supported,

> I am quite unwilling that Dr. Goforth and yourself should be separated from the Board and the Canadian Church. After thirty years of such service as you have rendered [. . .] I cannot say I am fully in accord with your choice of ministry. It seems to me a higher and more appropriate type of service to lay foundations than

[68] R. Goforth 229-31.

[69] J. G. G. Bompas, Changte, letter to R. P. MacKay, 8 Sept. 1919, NHM 6/85.

[70] R. Goforth 232-33.

> to build on the foundations other men have laid [. . .]. Saying that much, however, does not imply that the evangelistic work is not important.[71]

Rosalind replied, "My heart often sank this past year of waiting at the very thought of complete severance from the Mission of which God used us as the Founders so many years ago. But now that fear is gone." And in another letter, their mission of reviving the churches "is just what you have said, 'sharpening the tools for others.' Is that not important?"[72]

As part of its agreement, Presbytery stated tersely that the Goforths' "place of residence when not travelling from place to place be at some health-resort or other convenient center outside our field."[73] This meant giving up the mission house in Zhangde where they had lived for twenty-five years and finding a new home. They sold the cottage at Beidaihe, which covered the cost of building a new bungalow at Jigongshan (then spelled Kikungshan), a mountain resort several hundred miles south of Zhangde, at the border of Henan and Hunan.

The choice of Jigongshan was strategic. There were four major resorts in eastern China where each summer hundreds of missionaries would gather to escape the heat, and each played its role in the unfolding story. The seaside resorts of Beidaihe and Chefoo, where the CIM had its schools for missionaries' children, were cosmopolitan, attracting the diplomatic crowd and liberal missionaries from Beijing and Tianjin. Guling (where Chiang Kai-shek later had his summer palace), in central China, was ethereally beautiful but expensive. It was near the Yangtze and had easy transportation to Shanghai and Hankou. Among the missionaries, it had an interdenominational reputation, and seems to have been a CIM and American Presbyterian enclave. Jigongshan was the least fashionable, an isolated mountain plateau inaccessible by train, but suitable for year-round living. It attracted missionaries from the far northwest, i.e. Shanxi, Gansu, and Mongolia. Since these areas were mainly CIM and the various Alliance missions, mostly Scandinavians prone to emotionalism, Jigongshan was an important centre for the dissemination of Pentecostal teachings.

Leaving North Henan was a wrenching experience. During the next two years, "we changed our resting-place [. . .] *on an average of every five days*." This severely affected the health of both of them until, as Rosalind put it, "Dr. Goforth no longer had his wife to take care of him, as she had been forced to return to Canada in broken health."[74]

Several opportunities for sharpening the tools presented themselves almost immediately, which brought the Goforths into a new prominence. Rosalind, living alone at Jigongshan while Jonathan traveled throughout China, started to write her first book, *Chinese Diamonds for the King of Kings*. She had always been a gifted writer, influenced by Mrs. Howard Taylor (Geraldine Guinness) of the CIM, and when she got her first typewriter, she found her true vocation. Also at this time, they were involved in distributing famine relief during the terrible North China famine of 1920-21: $120,000 passed through their hands.

Another opportunity was Goforth's remarkable friendship with Feng Yuxiang [Feng Yü-hsiang], the so-called "Christian warlord." Feng was one of the out-sized, colorful characters of early twentieth-century China, a giant of 6'8" who was warlord of Henan several times during

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[71] R. P. MacKay to Rosalind Goforth, 25 Feb. 1919, NHM 6/81.

[72] Rosalind Goforth to R. P. MacKay, 27 and 23 June 1919, NHM 6/83.

[73] "Report of Committee on Dr. Goforth's Release," no date [June 1919], NHM 6/83.

[74] R. Goforth, *Goforth of China* 234, 237. Italics in original.

the 1920s. In August 1919, he invited Goforth to hold meetings among his soldiers. "His manner is a curious and striking mixture of humility, dignity, and quiet power," wrote Rosalind; "he had a striking and good face. He at once impresses one as true and sincere, a man to be trusted."[75] The general wanted Bible teachers, Goforth wrote to MacKay enthusiastically. "The singing of hymns around that encampment was as familiar a sound as the bugle."

> All vile women were ordered to be off within three days. All gambling dens and theatres were closed. The theatres were turned into schools, workshops and preaching halls. The opium and morphia halls were all closed, and the owners fined [. . .]. These are some reasons why we believe the Christianity of the General and his men to be genuine. He supplies his men with religious books. He has bought as many as five hundred New Testaments at a time [. . .]. He has made a catechism on military morale, with many Bible thoughts in it.[76]

Just as the nineteenth-century missionary Karl Gützlaff was remembered for distributing Christian tracts from the back of opium ships, Goforth is saddled with the legend, whether true or not, that he baptized General Feng's troops with fire hoses. In any event, that would have satisfied the Presbyterian sacrament of "sprinkling"—if he had had to have been a full-immersion Baptist, he would have had a hard time baptizing five hundred men a day.

> I baptized 275 at Tao Yuan including thirty-nine officers. After singing, Mr. Carswell led in prayer [. . .]. Then the General read out about fifteen names and they came and stood before the platform and I baptized them, praying that their savior would baptize them with the Holy Ghost and Fire. As soon as the last one was baptized, Colonel Chang at the organ with his choir started a verse, "Oh happy day that fixed my choice [. . .]." Next day at Changte I baptized 232, all officers and non-commissioned officers.[77]

The story of Goforth and the Christian General had a sad sequel. In 1926 and again in 1927, Henan was occupied by Marshal Feng's army. He had gone communist; after re-education in Moscow he had remodeled his army on the Russian model and renamed it the Kuominjun [Kuominchün], the People's Army. The North Henan missionaries tried to warn the church at home about Feng's change of allegiance, but years of Goforth's pro-Feng propaganda had left too deep an impression. "The first thought at home was to keep the knowledge from the Church and the general public, lest it affect the budget." After defecting to join Chiang Kai-shek's Northern Expedition (1927), Feng allowed his troops to loot the mission premises.[78]

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[75] R. Goforth, *Goforth of China* 239-41.

[76] Jonathan Goforth, "General Feng Yu Hsiang" (13 page typescript) enclosed in Goforth, Chefoo, letter to R. P. MacKay, 2 Oct. 1919, NHM 6/85.

[77] Goforth, "General Feng Yu Hsiang."

[78] Austin, *Saving China* 209.

The Bible Union and Church Union, 1920-25

1920 was the year that everything exploded. Or, to put it another way, "it was through the establishment of the Bible Union of China in 1920 that the sparse fundamentalist movement became a loosely organized and coordinated campaign against the modernists in the mission field."[79] The Bible Union was an alliance of conservative / fundamentalist missionaries whose goal, according to its prospectus, was "to take definite steps towards strengthening the position, in mission work, of Christian fundamentals."[80] It was founded at Guling and grew rapidly; within two years it had 2,000 members, one-third of the Protestant missionary force in China.

One North Henan missionary, writing in 1920, described how suddenly the controversy erupted:

> I heard very little about the Millennial question before coming to China, but here, especially at Ki Kung Shan where there are every summer very many missionaries of the CIM and the C&MA, it is harped on all the time. Also its advocates are very much to the fore in publishing articles in religious papers. Three years ago this summer [i.e. 1917, while the Goforths were still in Canada] at Ki Kung Shan there was considerable excitement. All the announcements at the church services were made conditionally—"if the Lord tarry." Some expected His return that Autumn. Efforts were made to fit the symbolic figures of Daniel into the various world powers then at war [. . .]. The address to me was a conglomeration of crudities and absurdities.

"Yet," he concluded, "I believe that premellianism [sic] is on the wane."[81] Little did he know that this was just the beginning.

The best history of the Bible Union is Kevin Xiyi Yao's *The Fundamentalist Movement Among Protestant Missionaries in China, 1920-1937*, which is "the first full-length historical study of so-called fundamentalist missionaries in early twentieth-century China."[82] Unfortunately, because of Yao's narrow focus on American Presbyterians—the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. (North) and the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. (South)—he misses the transatlantic, transdenominational nature of the Bible Union and the fundamentalist movement in general.

A case in point is W. H. Griffith Thomas, who illustrates the progress from English Keswick to American fundamentalism via Canadian interdenominationalism. In the summer of 1920 he and Charles Trumbull visited China, where he gave a series of addresses on "Modernism in China" at Guling, which culminated in the formation of the Bible Union the next day. Griffith Thomas was an English Anglican cleric who went to Canada as a Keswick delegate and stayed on as professor at Wycliffe College, the low-church Anglican seminary in Toronto. Wycliffe, which had close ties to the Toronto CIM, had a dispensational tinge, and Griffith Thomas

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[79] Kevin Xiyi Yao, *The Fundamentalist Movement Among Protestant Missionaries in China, 1920-1937* (Lanham, MD: UP of America, 2003) 15.

[80] Yao 56.

[81] Andrew Thomson, Tao Kou, letter to R. P. MacKay, 10 June 1920, NHM 6/90.

[82] Dana Robert, foreword, *The Fundamentalist Movement Among Protestant Missionaries in China, 1920-1937*, by Kevin Xiyi Yao (Lanham, MD: UP of America, 2003) viii.

became a prominent speaker on prophetic subjects throughout North America. By 1920 he helped found Dallas Theological Seminary, the hardest of hard-line dispensationalist schools, although he died before it was opened.[83]

Yao's dismissal of the CIM, however, seems more willful than blind: like the *Laymen's Report*, Yao wrote a large segment of "so-called fundamentalists" out of his narrative because they were not "fundamentalist" (i.e. not American, not militant) enough. "The CIM is always claimed as the champion of the fundamentalist cause," he writes. "In many ways this claim is correct." He goes on to note, which is also correct, that the CIM as a mission did not enter the Bible Union, even though many "CIM missionaries joined the fundamentalist camp and fought as individual members. [. . .] Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the CIM never lost its focus on evangelization [of the Chinese] and thus, as some scholars suggest, was able to 'ignore the ethical and theological issues about which other Protestants earnestly contended.'" (This came naturally to the CIM because of its interdenominational character; during the nineteenth century it included Baptists who believed in immersion and Presbyterians who sprinkled, as well as Anglicans and Brethren who could not share communion.) "Therefore," Yao concludes,

> in my opinion, the CIM's contribution to fundamentalism in China is undeniable but indirect and hidden. Based on this judgment, I only discuss the CIM's withdrawal from the National Christian Council [in 1926] in this study and do not give the CIM more special treatment, even though the individual CIM missionaries' activities on behalf of the fundamentalist cause are mentioned from time to time.[84]

The day after the Bible Union was founded on 1 August 1920 at Guling, and a "Tentative Statement" was signed by 150 missionaries, they sent a delegation to Jigongshan to win support and set up a local committee there. Trumbull and his wife were part of this delegation and they stayed with the Goforths for nine days. The Jigongshan group endorsed the statement, and Goforth was elected co-vice-president of the Bible Union.[85]

D. E. Hoste's reaction was more nuanced. When a local committee was formed in Shanghai, he was elected co-president with J. W. Lowrie (Presbyterian North). According to Yao, Hoste represented the moderate wing of the Bible Union and he revised the statement to remove the most belligerent statements. His testimony, "Why I Have Joined the Bible Union of China," harked back to the compromise with Henry Frost and the American branch: the CIM could not join any organization whose primary focus was militancy, whether militant modernism of the Edinburgh Continuation Committee, militant Pentecostalism, or militant fundamentalism, because that would cause dissention within the CIM itself.

> It must frankly be confessed that the first news of the Bible Union was received by me with a measure of doubt, almost amounting to disapproval. Not that one

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[83] Griffith Thomas stated: "I had nothing to do with the formation of the Bible Union, except in so far as my address seem to have been the immediate occasion for it." Qtd. in Yao 56.

[84] Yao 14-15.

[85] Yao 57. Goforth was not listed on the Executive Committee in an open letter of December 1921. For Trumbull's visit with Goforth, see Jonathan Goforth, letter to R. P. MacKay, 30 Aug. 1920, NHM 6/91. *Goforth of China* does not mention Trumbull or the Bible Union.

> questioned the character and motives of those starting it, or was without sympathy with their aim; for my own views regarding the Holy Scriptures and the doctrines referred to in the Tentative Statement of the Union, were substantially the same as those of its authors. On the other hand I dreaded the possibility of a campaign of denunciation of fellow-missionaries, conducted in a harsh, acrimonious spirit, that would tend to excite similar sentiments in the minds of those attacked, and do far more harm than good. It is obviously most desirable that, so far as possible, we as a missionary body in this country, should present a united front in the face of prevailing materialism, moral evil, and erroneous beliefs [. . .]. Again, ought time and strength to be diverted from the positive work of propagating the Christian faith, to action that might lead to results such as those mentioned?[86]

Goforth seems to have had no such qualms, as he wrote enthusiastically to the church at home.[87] R. P. MacKay responded, questioning

> the wisdom of the Bible Union that you have organized apparently under the leadership of Dr. Thomas and Mr. Trumbull [. . .]. It means controversy, and who ever heard of any person being changed in life by controversy? [. . .] A report came from South China which I discredit, namely that you took into one of your meetings a Bible and slit it in two with your knife, stating that that is what the higher critics do with the Bible. I think that report comes from an unfriendly critic.

MacKay concluded that "the trend of the time is toward union—an all comprehensive union which gives latitude to all varieties within one fold."[88]

Church union was much on MacKay's mind, as the Presbyterian Church was moving inexorably toward corporate union with the Methodists and Congregationalists to form The United Church of Canada, which took place on 10 June 1925. The Methodists and Congregationalists joined the United Church as corporate entities, but because of Presbyterian governance, each congregation and each individual voted whether to join or not. As a result, 150,000 individuals and hundreds of congregations refused to join and formed the Continuing Presbyterian Church in Canada. As Keith Clifford pointed out, the resistance to Church Union was a conservative movement that was trying to maintain an ethnic, Scottish Presbyterian presence in Canada; it was not a fundamentalist / modernist split. It was led by laymen, elders who had vowed to uphold the Westminster Catechism, so they "approached the problem from a legal rather than a theological perspective. [. . .] For the majority of these laymen, however, fundamentalism was not the central issue [. . .]. Thus they did not bind their church to any

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[86] D. E. Hoste, "Why I Have Joined the Bible Union of China," *The Bulletin of the Bible Union of China* Apr. 1921, qtd. in Yao 67.

[87] Newspaper clipping, re. Jonathan Goforth, "Mission Circles Stirred By Manifesto of Theological Conservatives" dated Shanghai, 26 Aug. 1920, NHM 6/91.

[88] R. P. MacKay, letter to Jonathan Goforth, 22 Oct. 1920. See also R. P. MacKay, letter to J. W. Lowrie, 23 Feb. 1924, in reply to letter from Executive Committee, Bible Union of China, to Home Boards, dated Shanghai, Dec. 1921, NHM 6/91.

theory of biblical inerrancy, premillennialism, or dispensationalism, and they did not insist that their church adopt an anti-ecumenical stance."[89]

When Goforth returned to Canada on furlough in 1924, "the whole church was in the throes of the Union crisis."[90] While still in China, he had written to MacKay, "I resolved that I would know neither unionist or antiunionist but try and weld the disunited sections by proclaiming the need for a Holy Ghost revival."[91] The controversy was so dominant that he could not undertake deputation work for foreign missions, so he spent the summer in the United States, where the church wars were at their fiercest, just before the great rupture. When he returned to Canada, he was true to his word, for he does not seem to have taken an active role in the union debate; he is not mentioned in Clifford's study, for example. However, he did make one public statement that made him a one-day wonder in the press. He claimed that "he had smelled whiskey at the Presbyterian General Assembly, a thing he had never smelled in months of association with the soldiers of the Christian army of China." Moreover, they had designated a special "Smoking Room" for the laymen who could not forego their guilty pleasure.[92]

When the vote came in January 1925, Jonathan and Rosalind Goforth voted against union, and remained members of the Continuing Presbyterian Church in Canada.

Between the Wars

By 1925 the Goforths' battles seemed to be over. Surprisingly, at least from his own point of view, Jonathan had won. He had lost the North Henan mission, of course, which went to the United Church, despite a few dissenting votes from the older, Boxer generation. But, he (and 150,000 others) had saved the Presbyterian Church. The new Presbyterian Church was more theologically inclusive than the United Church, which marched inexorably into *The New Era* (the name of the denominational magazine) of the social gospel and left-wing political action. The Continuing Presbyterian Church, while mainly liberal, also included an enclave of "fundamentalists" (centered around Knox Church (Toronto), the CIM, and Toronto Bible College), that had a place for Goforth's Holy Ghost revivals.

In China, the Bible Union shed its militant, confrontational anti-modernism and adopted a positive attitude: "the Bible Union rejected a purely negative attack on the modernists in favor of a positive presentation of the orthodox beliefs." As Kevin Xiyi Yao states: "Over and over again, it was said that the Bible Union's statement was 'fair' and 'inclusive' and its program was 'constructive;' 'The Bible Union is getting more and more to be a Bible movement and a Prayer Movement.'" In line with this amicable spirit, *The Bulletin of the Bible Union of China* was revamped into a comprehensive magazine entitled *The Bible for China* that was "to emphasize the constructive aim of the Bible Union." However, "the second half of the 1920s and 1930s witnessed a steady decline of the Bible Union's influence, and the Union could not longer attract any significant attention from major missionary or church publications except its own magazine."[93]

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[89] N. Keith Clifford, *The Resistance to Church Union in Canada, 1904-1939* (Vancouver: U of British Columbia P, 1985) 2-4.

[90] R. Goforth, *Goforth of China* 261.

[91] Jonathan Goforth, Lin Ching Hsien, Honan, letter to R. P. MacKay, 8 Mar. 1924, NHM 8/124.

[92] *The Sun Times* [Owen Sound], 15 Sept. 1924, and other correspondence, NHM 8/130.

[93] Yao 86, 77-78, 84.

The CIM and Goforth represented the more moderate wing of the Bible Union, while the American Presbyterians (including, within its own ranks, Henry Frost) constituted the more militant, "belligerent" wing. In other words, the CIM model won the battle for the Bible Union. As Dixon Hoste states in his article, "Why I Have Joined the Bible Union of China": "I feel satisfied that those promoting the Union are animated by a spirit of charity and courtesy toward those from whom they differ."[94] In 1927, the militant wing of the Bible Union split, and formed a new organization, The Christian Fundamentals League for China.

Interestingly, at the same time as the CIM was promoting the Bible Union, in 1922, it joined the National Christian Council of China, an ecumenical "church union" comprising several denominations, including Presbyterians, Baptists, and The United Church of Canada. (The other church union was the Church of Christ in China, which was predominantly Anglican.) In 1926, at the height of the civil war (Chiang Kai-shek's Northern Expedition to unite China), the CIM withdrew from the NCC, just as fifteen years earlier they had withdrawn from the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Conference, and for the same reasons: to maintain harmony within its own ranks.[95]

Like an old war-horse hearing the bugle, when the Continuing Presbyterian Church decided to establish a new mission in China to replace those it had lost to the United Church, Goforth answered, "ready, aye, ready." At that moment, Rosalind, in declining health, was resting on a sofa waiting for an ambulance to take her to the hospital. She rose from her bed and said, "I'm going with you."[96] And she did. One week later, they left Toronto for China, accompanied by their daughter and her husband, Mary and Rev. Robert Moynan. They arrived in China in the spring of 1926. Those were dark days. There seemed to be no room for them anywhere in China. The next year "proved to be the most prolonged period of unbroken testing in sickness, separation and repeated disappointments the Goforths ever experienced."[97] The Goforths and Rev. Allan Reoch, a recent Knox College graduate, lived at Jigongshan, while Jonathan made his usual evangelistic tours. Finally, in the spring of 1927, the Irish Presbyterian mission in Manchuria—which had unleashed his Holy Ghost revivals back in '07—urged him to come and open a new mission in the remote northwest corner of Manchuria, near the Russian border, at Szepingkai. This was "some mission," Rosalind described themselves. "The leader, an old man nearing seventy, with a semi-invalid wife; a 'Salvation Army lassie'—Miss Graham, from New Zealand; a Dutch lady—Miss Annie Kok; and one young recruit—Rev. Allan Reoch, as yet struggling with the language."[98]

In April 1927, as the Northern Expedition moved into Central China, the British and other foreign consuls ordered all their nationals to leave inland China, which went down in missionary history as the Great Evacuation. They streamed from the farthest corners of China, some 8,000 missionaries and tens of thousands of other foreigners, often under harrowing conditions, to the safety of the treaty ports like Shanghai and Tianjin. The Goforths' party, precariously lodged in Szepingkai, were bypassed by the evacuation, even though foreigners in

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[94] Yao 78.

[95] Yao 195-205.

[96] R. Goforth, *Goforth of China* 264.

[97] R. Goforth, *Goforth of China* 267.

[98] R. Goforth, *Goforth of China* 270. Annie Kok was the daughter of Arie Kok, Chancellor of the Netherlands Legation, one of the key people in the Christian Fundamentals League; see Yao 88.

other parts of Manchuria were forced to leave their stations. Manchuria was "*a pioneer field*—the only field which now appealed to Jonathan Goforth's spirit." Like the North American West a generation earlier, "the last, best West", Manchuria was opened up for settlement after 1910 and millions of Chinese migrated to the empty grasslands. Szepingkai was itself only ten years old, and the South Manchurian Railway (built by the Russians) was completed but a few months before the Goforths arrived.

This paper is already too long. I do not have world enough or time to describe their work. In any event, Rosalind recounted the story in fulsome detail in *Goforth of China*. They remained at Szepingkai from 1927 to 1930, while Jonathan continued his vast revival tours as far as Vietnam (where their daughter Ruth Goforth and her husband Rev. D. I. Jaffray were missionaries under the Christian and Missionary Alliance) and Hong Kong. During this whole period, both Jonathan and Rosalind were in declining health, and the fierce winters in an unheated "upper room" above the street chapel took their toll. By 1930 Rosalind was losing her sight from double cataracts and during their 1930-31 furlough, Jonathan also went blind from a detached retina, which necessitated lying in a dark room for several months with his eyes bandaged. Ever busy, he redeemed the time by dictating his stories that were published as *Miracle Lives of China.*

There is a strange lacunae in *Goforth of China*, which was Rosalind's decision that "comments on the political struggle going on, in and around our field, should be avoided."[99] There is no mention of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, which caused an international crisis; if one did not know better, her account suggests that Manchuria was still part of China and that the struggle was against "bandits" who were tearing up the railway lines. There is certainly not one hint that Manchukuo was a Japanese colony. She mentions the searchlights and the electrified barbed wire that surrounded the city, but politically, the most she could say was through her son Paul's words in a letter: "'I learned a lively battle was raging along the road between the chapel and the railway station; bandits had broken through the lines. Manchukuo troops engaged them, but Japanese soldiers had to finish the job.'"[100] As a result, her story exists in a vacuum, in a landscape as timeless as *Pilgrim's Progress*.

After their furlough, the Goforths remained in Manchuria from 1931 to November 1934, when Jonathan was aged seventy-five. He was completely blind and had to be led around by a companion / evangelist, whose duty was to read him the Bible in Chinese. Yet, he managed to conduct "a full campaign of revival missions throughout the field."[101] He contracted pneumonia, and not long after his recovery Rosalind had a sudden and serious collapse, which necessitated their return to Canada. There he continued a full schedule of deputation work, including eight or ten meetings a week at strategic centres in Ontario and Quebec; in eighteen months, he gave 481 addresses. In June 1936, he gave his last address to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church to "awaken the Church from its terrible lethargy." Like his address back in 1909, he was listened to "with marked attention, but as far as one could tell, with no special signs of spiritual awakening."[102]

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[99] R. Goforth, *Goforth of China* 307.

[100] R. Goforth, *Goforth of China* 308.

[101] R. Goforth, *Goforth of China* 327.

[102] R. Goforth, *Goforth of China* 341.

Jonathan Goforth died in his sleep on 8 October 1936, at the home of his son Frederick, a Presbyterian minister in Wallaceburg, Ontario. That evening he had given one of his old war-horse sermons, "How the Spirit's Fire Swept Korea." At his funeral in Knox Church, Toronto, Dr. A. E. Armstrong, long-time Secretary of the Presbyterian Foreign Mission Board (now United Church), said, "I think of today as being Jonathan Goforth's *Coronation*!" Tributes were sent from all parts of the world, none more heartfelt than the China Inland Mission, which noted: "No missionary not actually a member of the mission was ever more akin to it in spirit or more closely associated with it in actual service."[103]

Rosalind lived long enough to write *Goforth of China*, which belongs on the same shelf as *Hudson Taylor's Spiritual Secret*, until she, too, slipped away in 1940.

The End

This brings us back to the question raised at the beginning of this paper, whether (in the words of the *Laymen's Report*) foreign missions and good-will among the nations would cease to exist. In the short term, the answer was yes, in a double-negative sort of way, that foreign missions—supported by foreign funds and directed by foreign missionaries—did cease to exist. In the long term, of course, Christianity did not die in China during the long anti-Japanese War and the present communist government (People's Republic of China).

Five years after the *Laymen's Report* and less than a year after Jonathan Goforth's death, the forces of hell broke loose. In July 1937, the Japanese armies invaded China in a scorched earth war of terror. The North Henan Mission, on the strategic railway, was one of the first casualties. The missionaries were forced to evacuate to Beidaihe for the summer, and on their return they held an emotional meeting and voted to disband for the duration. Except for a brief hiatus in 1946-47, before the communist takeover, this was the end of the mission.

Indirectly, the Bible Union, too, was a casualty of the war. According to Yao, the Bible Union limped along through the 1930s, but its efforts were too little, too late. The Sino-Japanese war "finally shattered any hope of revitalizing the Bible Union, and the Bible Union of China eventually faded from the scene."[104] The militant Christian Fundamentals League continued at least until 1939, when its journal, *The China Fundamentalist*, ceased publication.

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[103] *China's Millions* [Toronto] Mar. 1938: 43-44.

[104] Yao 86.

Bibliographical Note Regarding Jonathan and Rosalind Goforth

Surprisingly, no one has written a full length study of the Goforths, but there are many primary and secondary sources.

Rosalind's biography / autobiography, *Goforth of China: By His Wife* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1937, with many reprints), was written after his death and has become, like the life of Hudson Taylor, required reading in many Bible schools. Her autobiography is *Climbing: Memoirs of a Missionary's Wife* (Toronto: Evangelical Publishers, 1940). Their daughter, Mary Goforth Moynan, reprinted six of Rosalind's books in the 1980s, and (at age 91) wrote her own memoirs, *God Brought Us Through!* (Toronto: private, 1994). Ruth Goforth Jaffrey published a pamphlet, *Amazing Grace: A Brief Account of my Life in China and Vietnam* (c1975, copy in United Church of Canada Archives).

The personal papers of Jonathan and Rosalind (Bell-Smith) Goforth are in the Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton College, Collection 188. The finding aid is online at: http://www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/GUIDES/188.htm. Mary Goforth Moynan's papers are also in the BGCA, Collection 189; finding aid: http://www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/GUIDES/189.htm.

There is a Goforth collection at Tyndale University, Toronto.

The most significant archival collection I consulted for this paper, which has not been used by previous historians, is the correspondence of The Presbyterian Church in Canada, North Henan Mission, fonds 1979.191C in The United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto. Jonathan and Rosalind (who both had beautiful copper-plate handwriting) were regular correspondents with R. P. MacKay, five or six times a year through this whole period.

Secondary sources include: Alvyn Austin, *Saving China: Canadian Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), and *China's Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society, 1832-1905*; *China's Millions* Mar.1938: 43-44; Daniel Bays, "Christian Revival in China, 1900-1937," *Modern Christian Revivals*, ed. Edith Blumhofer and Randall Balmer (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1989); and Kevin Xiyi Yao, *The Fundamentalist Movement Among Protestant Missionaries in China, 1920-1937* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2003).

Little and Late: Cooperation Made Easy
Two Canadian Missions in China

Geoffrey Johnston

The Canadian churches were late entries to overseas missions. John Geddie, the first man appointed and supported by a Canadian church left for the South Pacific in 1846. He was followed by missionaries to the West Indies, India, China, and Korea. In every case the newcomers deliberately sought the cooperation and guidance of existing missions. In Geddie's case it was the London Missionary Society. John Morton, the pioneer in Trinidad, presented his certificates to an existing Free Church presbytery in Port of Spain, and remained a member of that presbytery until his death. George Mackay, who went to China in 1872, was shepherded to his field in North Formosa by the English Presbyterians. The field in India, centred on Indore, was chosen after consultation with the American Presbyterians (1876). When Jonathan Goforth arrived in China in 1888, the first thing he did was arrange a meeting with senior missionaries which directed him to North Henan. Until he was finally established in the field he was a kind of guest of the American Presbyterians in Shandong. The American Presbyterians were also crucial in settling the first missionaries to Korea in 1898. Finally, the Canadians opened a second Chinese field in the Pearl River Delta in 1902. After five years of rather complicated negotiations, again with the American Presbyterians, the Canadians finally settled in Kongmoon (Jiamen).

The Methodist experience was different in detail but the same in principle. The Methodists had only two fields, one in Japan and the other in Sechuan, West China. Virgil Hart, the pioneer of the Sechuan mission started life as a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. He first went to China in 1866 and eventually became superintendent of their Central China Mission. In 1887 he went on a tour of Sechuan because the American Methodists were seriously considering opening a mission in that province. Hart was impressed with the place, but malaria sent him home and his missionary career seemed to be over. Because his wife was Canadian the Harts settled on a fruit farm at Burlington. Just at this point the Canadian Methodist board had on hand three offers for missionary service, two of which expressed a definite interest in China. As it turned out, Hart's minister in Burlington was a member of the Methodist board, and he asked Hart for a field within China. Hart suggested Sechuan, and when the idea was taken up Hart was asked to lead the mission. Hart agreed, subject to approval by the American Methodists. When the Americans agreed, Hart became the leader of a Canadian party to the province he had originally prospected for the Americans.[1]

From following the advice of missions already on the field, it was a short step to comity. The Presbyterians in North Henan seem to have worked more or less alone, not by choice but because nobody else was there. The China Inland Mission (CIM) had tried for some ten years to establish a foothold in the area but with very limited success. Hudson Taylor seems to have

[1] E. I Hart, *Virgil C. Hart, Missionary Statesman* (Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, 1917) 181-223.

given the Canadians something of a blessing when he heard of their venture: "We as a mission have sought for ten years to enter the province of Honan from the south and have only just succeeded. [. . .] Brother, if you would enter that Province you must *go forward on your knees.*"[2] With that letter the CIM virtually disappears from the Canadian sources. The Presbyterians seem to have had that part of Henan to themselves[3]

Similarly, George Mackay had a working arrangement with the English Presbyterians, whereby the Canadians were responsible for North Formosa while the English looked after the rest of the island. MacKay's taste for cooperation did not extend to the Catholics. References to competition from priests begin to appear in his journal entries for 1887. On 3 February 1888 he identified the priests as Spanish, and then on 19 July he held an event at Oxford College, complete with flags, speeches, and fireworks to celebrate the defeat of the Spanish Armada three-hundred years earlier.[4]

Relations with the Catholics in South China were somewhat more cordial and cooperative. The Canadians' main inter-mission difficulty was with the Americans. The Canadian mission originated from an initiative of Chinese Canadians who had become Christian and wanted the gospel taken to their villages of origin. When W. R. McKay arrived in Macao in 1902 expecting to work in the "Canadian" villages in San Ming district he found them already well served by the American mission. However, the Americans were busy with negotiations which led to the formation of the Union Presbyterian Church of China. McKay joined the conversations and just before the formation of the new church in 1908 he moved to Kong Moon (Jiamen) to take over work in the city and in San Ming.

The Methodists in Szechuan had to work a bit harder. Sechuan is a big place, and in the 1890s there were seven missionary societies at work in the province. In January 1899 a conference was held in Chunking:

> The chief work of this conference was the division of the province, leaving each mission in possession of the section it then occupied, and adding other sections so as to include most of the province. This, of course, applied only to the country districts. In the large centres like Chengtu, Kiating and Chung-King, where several societies were working, no change was made.[5]

The Methodists were great cooperators. In 1908, shortly after the abolition of the Confucian examinations, they set about, in cooperation with other missions in Sechuan, to build a new, western curriculum. Through the Educational Union the West China missions established a system from kindergarten to university entrance, with a uniform course outline, similar text

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[2] Rosalind Goforth, *Goforth of China* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1937) 80.

[3] At least as far as major Protestant missions were concerned. After 1914 there are scattered references to the Catholics and the Seventh Day Adventists.

[4] G. L. Mackay's Journal, photocopy in The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives and Records Office, Toronto.

[5] E. W. Wallace, *The Heart of Sz-chuan*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: The Methodist Young Peoples' Forward Movement for Missions, 1905) 28.

books, and common examinations. The three high schools in Chengtu, Methodist Episcopal, CMM, and Friends were combined as a pilot project.[6]

They had already, again in cooperation with three other missions,[7] begun planning for a postsecondary institution which eventually became West China University. In 1909 it existed in embryo, because it had no students. They began work in 1910, with limited staff and library, especially in medicine. Not all the students were fully qualified when they started, and it took nine years to graduate the first MBs, a degree significantly lower than the MD offered at Beijing. Unique to West China was the existence of a dental faculty. It began in 1908 as a dental practice, in a leaky, mud floored store room but eventually, with new buildings and better equipment, began to train young men for the profession. The first graduation was in 1922.[8] In Chengdu the Methodists did nothing by halves. The university campus covered over a hundred acres which housed the university, a Union Bible Training School, a Union Normal School, and a Union Missionaries' Training School. In addition to medicine, the university gave courses in arts, science, and religion.[9]

The Presbyterians were much less enthusiastic about cooperation, perhaps because there was less pressure. Although Shantung Christian University was founded in 1864 the Henan missionaries paid little attention to it until 1917 when William McLure, one of the first doctors to arrive in Henan, joined the medical faculty. The annual report for 1918 gives two others, J. D. Macrae and Jeanette Ratcliffe on the staff. Presbyterian support of the university expanded over the years. In 1921 they supplied two doctors, William McLure and E. B. Struthers and a nurse, Jeanette Ratcliffe. J. D. MacRae taught theology and Harold Harkness was in the faculty of Arts and Science. In addition Hugh MacKenzie and Violet Baty were at the Tientsin campus.[10]

The South China mission followed a similar track, although on a much smaller scale. J. D. McKay, the pioneer, spent part of 1913 teaching at the Union Presbyterian College in Canton. The mission staff was keen that the church in Canada support the college by contributing to the cost of the new building and by supplying a permanent member of staff. Since the new member of staff never materialized, the mission sent a man off to Toronto for a programme of arts and theology.[11] The most permanent contribution of this mission to cooperative work was Florence Langrill who taught at the Union Normal School from 1920 on. The South China Mission was assigned to The United Church of Canada, but Jessie MacBean, by this time the senior woman doctor, voted against union and went to Hackett Medical Centre in Canton, where she worked as a Presbyterian missionary until her retirement in 1935.

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[6] *The Eighty-Fifth Annual Report of the Methodist Missionary Society of the Methodist Church for the Year Ending June 1909* (Toronto, Methodist Mission Press, 1909): 33.

[7] American Baptists, Methodist Episcopals, and the English Friends. O. L. Kilborn, "Historical Sketch: Union University," ed., Frederick Clarke Stephenson, *Our West China Mission* (Toronto: Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Young People's Forward Movement, 1920) 37.

[8] A. W. Lindsay, "Dental Department," ed., Frederick Clarke Stephenson, *Our West China Mission* (Toronto: Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Young People's Forward Movement, 1920) 405-11.

[9] Kilborn 37.

[10] *Acts and Proceedings of the Forty-Eighth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada (1922)*: 155.

[11] *Acts and Proceedings of the Forty-Ninth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada (1923)*: 133-34. His return, if it happened, falls beyond the scope of this study.

This kind of cooperation, looking for help to find a field, comity agreements where necessary, and participation in ecumenical institutions is pretty routine stuff, the natural consequence of being a small mission late in the field. The more interesting cooperative work developed as the result of an initiative of a particular individual or individuals. One of the earliest was the Methodist press in Sechuan. Virgil Hart had felt the need of a press from the beginning. As he said in Toronto some years later, "the Chinese are a literary people, and it seems to me that when they read and gather and love books, that there can be no better way of influencing them than through the medium of the printed page."[12] Accordingly, during his enforced absence in Canada following the riots of 1895, he collected enough money to buy two small presses and a supply of Chinese type. This precious equipment was lovingly shepherded up the rapids and taken to Hart's station in Kiating, where in a small building erected for the purpose Hart set up his little press—the first to be used in China west of Hankow.

The press turned out to be a godsend. From such small beginnings in 1897 the press grew, if not prodigiously, at least in a very impressive fashion. James Endicott joined Hart in Kiating early on, and began helping out with the press. In 1905, after Hart had retired to Canada, Endicott and the press moved to much larger quarters in Chengtu, where he was soon joined by James Neave, who was a printer by trade. Endicott turned his considerable talents to other things: "I am still by request of the West China Tract Society, editor of the Sunday School lesson quarterlies published by that society and used by all the Protestant missions in the three western provinces."[13] The press continued to prosper. In 1914 it printed 34,470,200 pages in Chinese, Tibetan, and Miao, a minority language. It served customers all over West China, including among its principal buyers the American Bible Society and the West China Tract Society. Business fell off during the war, but was back again by 1920. In that year they printed 36,652,276 pages in Chinese alone.[14] By this time they had a contract with the Educational Union, an inter-mission agency, to print their text books and syllabi, and were working on a similar agreement with the university.[15]

By this time the press was housed in an enormous building and employed nearly one-hundred people. Hart's initiative, followed up by James Endicott, turned into one of the most significant contributions the Canadian Methodists made to the church in China. The West China press paralleled to some extent another Canadian venture in cooperation, Donald MacGillivray's long tenure at the Christian Literature Society in Shanghai.

Donald MacGillivray was a country boy from southwestern Ontario with an unusual gift for languages. He graduated from the University of Toronto with a gold medal, and went off to Brantford where he taught classics long enough to pay off his debts. In 1885 he returned to Toronto to enroll in Knox College, where he became a close friend of Jonathan Goforth. Partly through a visit by Hunter Corbett, the distinguished American Presbyterian in Shandong, the two

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[12] Hart 312.

[13] James Endicott, *Report of the Methodist Missionary Society, 1904-1905* xiv. This tantalizing reference is the only one in the easily available sources. Endicott left China in 1910 and went on to a very distinguished career first in the Methodist and then The United Church of Canada. His obituaries are much more interested in his Canadian than his Chinese work. Whether Endicott ever paralleled, even on a smaller scale, what MacGillivray was doing in Shanghai at the same time is a question worth pursuing.

[14] *Report of Work* (1920): 48. The text also mentions 25,600 gospels for the Bible Society, but it is unclear whether that work is part of the 36,000,000 or not.

[15] *Report of Work* (1919): 41. The press had already done some work for the university. This appears to be a move to put things on a more permanent basis.

young men became interested in being missionaries in China, specifically North Henan, which Corbett recommended as a more or less vacant area just west of the American Presbyterians in Shandong. Goforth went off to China in January 1888, but MacGillivray stayed behind until he finished his BD, arriving in China at the end of that year.

Henan was a tough nut. The missionaries did not secure a place to live in the province until 1891, and even then they had to be content with small towns like Chu Wang and Hsin Chen. Chu Wang was MacGillivray's home throughout his first term. It was a busy term, full of the usual hassles of pioneer missionaries, not the least of which was negotiating a property just outside the wall of Changte (now Anyang). But MacGillivray was an indefatigable worker. In the midst of all his other responsibilities he found time to publish, in 1898, the first edition of his *Mandarin Romanized Dictionary of Chinese*.[16] The book caught Timothy Richard's eye.

Richard was a Welsh Baptist who had come to China in 1870 with the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS). A turning point in his career came with the famines of the late seventies, which convinced him that western scientific expertise could prevent future such disasters, and that the appropriate missionary strategy was to deal first with the intelligentsia, the scholar gentry, and the leaders of reforming religious sects. This position seems to have put him at odds with the BMS and he worked for a while as a freelance missionary, at one point closely associated with the reformers around Kang Yu Wei. In 1891 the Baptists seconded him to the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese, later the Christian Literature Society (CLS). Richard was the Secretary of the Society and soon cast covetous eyes on the talented Canadian. MacGillivray was keen, but the Presbytery had to be persuaded to part with him. It couldn't decide, and left the matter to the Foreign Missions Committee (FMC). Perhaps swayed by a stirring appeal from Richard, the FMC approved the transfer and MacGillivray set off for what was to be his life's work.

One would think, from his long association with Richard, that MacGillivray should be counted among the liberal China missionaries, especially when the fundamentalist, modernist debate got under way. Such, however, was not the case. In the initial division of labour between himself and Richard, MacGillivray was responsible for religious books, while Timothy looked after "general" publications. The arrangement worked without a hitch until 1910.

Richard had always been interested in Chinese Buddhism, the Mahayana variety, but it was not until 1884 when he was in Nanjing on other business that he came upon what he considered to be the basic texts for the school, "The Awakening of Faith" and the "Lotus Scripture." He was so taken by the "Awakening of Faith" that he called it a Christian book. Ten years later he completed a translation of the two texts but didn't get around to publishing them until 1910, when they appeared as "The New Testament of Higher Buddhism."[17] The book was published over Richard's name, at his expense, and with no reference to the CLS. Such translations were not unusual, they had been going on since the days of James Legge, a half-century earlier. What was unusual was Richard's introduction, in which he speculated that given the parallels between Christianity and Pure Land Buddhism, they probably arose from a common, ultimately Babylonian, source. Further, "the religion of the future will satisfy all nations and all races and will not be born of any party cry, but will be born from the habit of

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[16] This is the title of the third edition, 1911. In all he published seven editions, the last one appearing in 1925. He was working on another version when he left China in 1930. See Margaret H. Brown, *MacGillivray of Shanghai: The Life of Donald MacGillivray* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1968) 210-12.

[17] Timothy Richard, *The New Testament of Higher Buddhism* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1910).

looking at the highest and permanent elements in all religions and gladly recognizing all that helps to save man, body soul and spirit, individually or collectively, as Divine."[18] This was not a path MacGillivray was prepared to tread, and for some time he seriously considered leaving the Society if Richard continued as Secretary. Richard was conciliatory, and R. P. MacKay, Secretary of the Canadian FMC thought MacGillivray's departure would be a disaster. Richard was due to retire, but he didn't and by March 1913 MacGillivray was ready to leave at the end of the year if Richard didn't. A few months later he changed his mind. He had taken on too many commitments to leave the Society at that point.[19]

One of MacGillivray's commitments was a translation of Hasting's *Dictionary of the Bible*, for which he had undertaken to do the New Testament. They did not propose to translate Hastings "holus bolus" but to provide the Chinese leadership with a book that was conservative, but "up to date." In other words he did not want to duck the questions which biblical criticism was raising, but to provide traditional answers. In the same way, when the Bible Union was formed in 1921 he refused to join, despite considerable pressure.[20] Meanwhile he had become Secretary of the CLS, and one of his first duties was writing the 1919 report in which he poured forth "the finest of eulogies" for Richard.[21]

MacGillivray is best described as an open conservative and therefore could manage to straddle the division between the fundamentalists and the modernists. As the dispute with Richard shows, straddling the divide was not always easy. The incident suggests the limits on cooperation with modernists, even though the line was very fuzzy. MacGillivray's old friend Jonathan Goforth was much less tolerant of fuzzy distinctions. Goforth's major contribution to the church in China was as a revivalist.

It came about through what his wife and biographer called a "jumble" in the Presbytery of Honan. Because of the jumble Goforth was assigned to accompany R. P. MacKay, the Secretary of the FMC, on a visit to Korea in 1907, the year of the Korean revival. Goforth was impressed with what he saw and on his return began to try his hand at revival preaching. As it turned out, he was very good at it. The Korean visit came at an opportune time. After the excitement of starting the Honan mission and the drama of the Boxer affair life in Changte had settled down to the routine of a moderately prosperous mission. I have a hunch that Goforth was getting bored, and even before the Korean visit his mind had begun to turn to the question of revival.[22] From his first visit to Manchuria in 1908 until he returned there in 1926 to start a new mission, Goforth was heavily involved in revival preaching. After his break with the Honan mission in 1917, he did nothing else.

Goforth's first revival tour was in Manchuria during 1908, working with Scottish and Ulster missions. In September and October 1908 he was in Shansi, with the CIM. In 1910, after a

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[18] Richard 35.

[19] MacGillivray, letter to R. P. MacKay, 7 Mar. and 20 May 1913. I have not seen anything in which MacGillivray says specifically what he found objectionable in Richard's book. However, in February 1921 he wrote to R. P. MacKay saying that he did not think there was a single missionary in China who did not preach Christ as the only name by which men could be saved. Richard's suggestion that Christianity and Pure Land Buddhism were cut from the same cloth is incompatible with Christ as the only saviour. The correspondence cited here can be found in the United Church Archives, Toronto.

[20] MacGillivray, letter to R. P. MacKay, 21 Feb. 1921, United Church Archives, Toronto.

[21] Brown 136.

[22] Goforth 177-83.

furlough, he was in Shandong with Hunter Corbett, who had been so helpful when the Goforths first arrived in China. In the same year he did a series of meetings with the English Baptists, also in Shandong. The years 1912 and 1913 seem to have been spent conducting revival meetings in north Henan among his old colleagues. In early 1914 Goforth was back in Shandong and in 1916 he extended his activities across the Yellow River to Henan proper. He then went home for a combination of furlough and sick leave, returning to China in the fall of 1917.

At this point Goforth finally parted company with his colleagues in Henan Presbytery. The issue was not his revival preaching, for as we have seen he did a fair amount of revival work within the Canadian mission. The issue was biblical interpretation, the hallmark of the fundamentalists in their controversy with the "modernists." Goforth would have neither truck nor trade with "higher criticism" and when his colleagues would not back down either, he felt he had no choice but to leave the mission. FMC wouldn't go that far. It insisted he remain with the mission, but without responsibilities in north Henan. They kept him on salary but he had to fund his housing and travel expenses himself. The Goforths moved to central China, to a place called Kikungshan.[23]

Goforth never abandoned North Henan. He was back again at the end of 1921 with his usual revival meetings. But the new residence meant that he could expand his work into South China. In November 1919 he conducted a mission for the Church Missionary Society in Guilin, Guanxi Province. In 1923 he took part in a series of conferences in Fujien and Jiansu provinces, winding up with a meeting of students in Nanjing.[24] In 1924 he was back in Canada on a deputation tour of the Maritime Provinces. The time of decision had arrived; every congregation and every minister in the Presbyterian Church had to decide whether or not to enter The United Church of Canada. Given Goforth's long history of cooperation with other churches he seems to have assumed that he would vote for the United Church. But his time in the Maritimes gave him reason to doubt, and when he finally had to cast his vote, he voted for the Presbyterians. His old mission in Henan was assigned to the United Church, and Goforth was asked by the Presbyterians to start a new China mission. By this time he was sixty-seven, but like the fire horse in the story he could not resist. After a number of false starts he finally answered an invitation from James McCammon, an Irish Presbyterian in Newchang, Manchuria, one of the scenes of Goforth's early revivals, to start a new mission in the empty spaces of northeast China. The mission party arrived in early 1927. As he had begun, so Goforth ended his career, at the suggestion of an established mission. However there were limits to cooperation in Manchuria.

The Canadians occupied a vacant place, a part of Manchuria the other Presbyterians had been unable to handle. Ten years later, in 1937, it was time to organize a Presbytery. By this time Goforth had retired, but the field was effectively led by two of his tradition, Allan Reoch, a Canadian on his first job, and William Davis, a veteran American who had been in a way hand picked by Goforth. The Presbytery these men organized was free standing, with only limited and informal cooperation with the other Presbyterian churches in the province. E. H. Johnson, who had replaced Goforth in 1935, believed that the problem was theological:

> The Reochs and Davises tend to carry on the aggressively fundamentalist atmosphere that Dr. Goforth started and look with suspicion on the faith of most of the Manchurian missionaries and the integrity of the Manchurian Presbyterian

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[23] Goforth 232-33.

[24] See *The Presbyterian Record* of September 1920 and October 1923.

> Church which embraces the large majority of the Manchurian Christians. As a result they don't want our Chinese church to be part of this large church [. . .].[25]

The Goforth tradition set the limits to cooperation somewhat more sharply than did MacGillivray.

As might be expected of small missions coming late into the field the Canadians did the normal things. They sought the advice of established missions before choosing a field, they entered into comity agreements where necessary, and they participated in joint institutional ventures, especially in higher learning. All this is routine. The more interesting examples of cooperation are those in which men of particular talents, Goforth as a revivalist and MacGillivray and Endicott as editors were set free from specifically denominational work to serve the church as a whole. But even here, especially with the Presbyterians, there were limits.

[25] E. H. Johnson, letter to his father, 14 Nov. 1937, Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives and Records Office, Toronto. Johnson was no liberal, but he was more representative of the main stream of Canadian Presbyterianism than Goforth. He subsequently went on to a distinguished career with the Canadian Presbyterians, especially as Overseas Secretary from 1954-1972.

THE CANADIAN SOCIETY OF PRESBYTERIAN HISTORY:

Minutes of the Annual Meeting 25 September 2010, held at the 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 1:25 p.m. The Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. Michael Millar, acted as Secretary for the meeting. Thirty-four members were in attendance.

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

Regrets:

The President called for regrets. Mr. Bob Anger, Rev. Dr. James S. S. Armour, Ms. Kim Arnold, Mr. Mark Boundy, Rev. Calvin Brown, Hon. Lorne Clarke, Rev. Dr. Eldon Hay, Professor Stuart Macdonald, Miss Elizabeth Millar, Rev. Ritchie Robinson, Rev. Dr. Donald Smith, Rev. Angus Sutherland, Dr. Marguerite Van Die, Principal John Vissers, 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 Secretary-Treasurer, seconded by Rev. Dr. Clyde Ervine, the agenda as presented, was the agenda for the meeting.

Minutes of the 2009 Annual General Meeting:

On motion of Rev. Dr. Victor Shepherd, seconded by Rev. William Haughton, the Minutes of the 2009 Annual Meeting, as published in the 2009 papers, and circulated with the agenda for this meeting, were approved, no errors or omissions having been noted.

Business Arising from the Minutes:

(1) H. S. T. implications. The Secretary-Treasurer informed the meeting that the Harmonized Sales Tax will have a minimal effect on our operations. We are significantly below the threshold where we will have to charge HST on our memberships. We paid GST and PST on our printing previously. The only area where it will impact is on our postage purchases, but we can absorb that amount quite readily and no rate increase is recommended at this time.

(2) Theme for 2012. It was noted that 2012 will mark the 60th anniversary of the introduction of the New Revised Version of the Bible – that is a possibility. It was agreed that further suggestions should be forwarded to the President.

(3) Review of the Terms of Reference for the Bailey Bursary. Professor Macdonald and Rev. Dr. Barry Mack are still working on this. Progress is reported, with a further report to the 2011 meeting.

(4) Society Mission Statement. The President and Executive have not been able to direct as much time to this matter as desired because of other commitments. Progress is reported, with a further report to the 2011 meeting.
(5) Publicity Officer. It was agreed to move this item to the Election of Officers segment of the Agenda.

President's Report.

The President then gave his report. He touched on various highlights of events during the year. He thanked the Editor, Webmaster and Secretary-Treasurer for their individual contributions

Editor's Report.

The report of Society Editor, Elizabeth Millar, was read by the Secretary-Treasurer. The Editor reported that a meeting of the Editorial Committee – Rev. Dr. Eldon Hay, Rev. Dr. Jack Whytock and herself – held in December 2009 had reviewed several citation styles for use with the Papers. The Committee determined that the Modern Language Association was the best one to follow. The 2009 Papers have been published and the Editor is looking forward to reading the Papers presented here today. On motion of Mr. Al Clarkson, seconded by Rev. Peter Bush the Report was received and the Editor thanked with a round of applause.

Webmaster's Report.

The Webmaster's Report was read by the Secretary-Treasurer. In it Mr. Anger outlined the various sections on our website. He noted that our Internet Host is Doteasy of Vancouver, B. C. We currently use the Basic Plan which has no monthly fee and gives us 100MB of disk storage. We are currently at approximately 65MB. An expansion of the website has been suggested with a view to increasing the number of previous Papers put up there. For seven dollars and ninety-five cents ($7.95) we could go up to the Ultra Plan, which would give us 1000MB of disk storage, more than enough for our requirements. It was moved by Rev. Peter Bush, seconded by Mr. Ian Mason "That we spend one hundred dollars ($100.00) to upgrade to the Ultra Plan." Carried. Moved by Dr. Ervine, seconded by Mr. Bush, that the Report of the Webmaster be received. Carried, and the Webmaster was thanked with a round of applause.

Secretary-Treasurer's Report.

The Secretary-Treasurer informed the meeting that we currently have eighty-two (82) regular members and seven (7) corporate members. The latter consist of a number of university and college libraries.

The financial statement was circulated and discussed. Ms. Anstice expressed concern at the apparent drop in memberships, at least according to the numbers given in the statement. The Secretary-Treasurer explained that a comparison with the previous year's statement is required to get a true picture. He informed the meeting that he cuts the books off on the Thursday prior to the meeting so that he can have the financial statement finalised and printed in time for the

meeting. He stated that he had taken in a number of 2009 memberships at the meeting today and these would show up in the financial statement next year. He stated that the printing arrangements with the Barrie Kwik Kopy outlet are working very well. We are getting a good product at a very reasonable price. There being no further questions or comments, he Moved, seconded by Dr. Mary Rogers, "That the Financial Statement be approved." Carried.

He asked for some direction from the meeting as to whether he should re-invest the G. I. C. that matures on the 20th of October, or simply leave the money in the Bank Account, given the miniscule amount of interest it will earn. In response to a question regarding other investment possibilities he replied that because of the structure of our Society – non-profit without Charitable status – our investment options are really just limited to a Bank G. I. C. While no vote was taken, the sense of the meeting was that the money be left in the account when the G. I. C. matures. Following the presentation of the report the Secretary-Treasurer was thanked with a round of applause.

New Business:

(1) 2011 meeting – 24th of September – theme is still the 1861 Union although so far only one Paper is on point. Additional Papers on the theme will be welcomed by the President.

(2) 2011 meeting venue and luncheon charges. In light of complaints of not much food for our twenty dollars ($20.00), the President raised the issue of meeting somewhere else. Several people pointed out that the Minutes of the 2009 AGM clearly stated that "We meet at Knox College for the foreseeable future." That brought the discussion to a halt and the President and Secretary-Treasurer agreed to pursue the issue of the menu with the College administration. It is possible that if we pay for the room we might not be obligated to use the College catering services.

(3) 2012 meeting, 29th September – theme covered under Business Arising.

(4) 2013 meeting, 28th September – this year will mark the centenary of the birth of Rev. Dr. W. Stanford Reid and a major two-day conference – Thursday and Friday – is being planned for the Presbyterian College, Montreal to mark the occasion. We could forego our Toronto meeting and meet on the Saturday at Presbyterian College. Moved by Mr. Clarkson, seconded by Dr. Rogers "That the 2013 meeting be held at Presbyterian College, Montreal." Carried. Details will be worked out later.

(5) Dr. John Moir, the last of our Founding Members, is not in very good health and this prevents him from attending our meetings. In light of his tremendous work and support to this Society over many years, it was Moved by the Secretary-Treasurer, seconded by Ms. Jo-Ann Dickson "That Dr. John Moir be elected an Honorary Life Member of the Canadian Society of Presbyterian History." Carried unanimously.

(6) Mr. Michael Stainton was invited by the President to talk about a petition being circulated to request Canada Post to issue a postage stamp – hopefully a joint issue with Taiwan – to commemorate the 130th anniversary of Tamsui Oxford College. Mr. Stainton is part of the

Canadian Mackay Committee. The petition was circulated at the meeting and the Secretary-Treasurer will forward it to Dr. Wilma Welsh before the 15th of October. Mr. Stainton brought a number of brochures from his Committee and many of these were taken by the members. Moved by Rev. Stuart Coles, seconded by Father Ed Jackman "That we support this petition." Carried.

Election of Officers:

Moved by Dr. Geoff Johnston, seconded by Dr. Ervine "That the Officers remain the same for 2010 – 2011." Carried. The matter of an officer to deal with publicity was, by agreement, left for the Executive to deal with.

Any other business

It was noted that a display from the National Presbyterian Museum on the Church in China, had been brought from the Museum by Mr. Ian Mason and Mr. Al Clarkson. Both gentlemen thanked the Society for its support in allowing them space for the display and their book table.

Adjournment:

The 2010 Annual General Meeting was adjourned at 2:25 p.m. on motion of Mr. Clarkson, seconded by Dr. Shepherd and carried, and the regular business of the Society resumed.

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

Michael Millar, FRPSC.
Secretary-Treasurer.

Report of the President
to the 2010 annual meeting of the Canadian Society of Presbyterian History
25 September 2010

This is my third report as President of the Canadian Society of Presbyterian History. I note that our numbers today, thirty-four, are the largest we have had for some years. The Society seems to be in good heart, with papers of weight and worth being presented, and much interest being generated.

Our two subcommittees, editorial and programme, have discussed various matters related to their responsibilities. The sabbatical of Professor Stuart Macdonald will affect the programme committee's deliberations, though Professor Brian Irwin will serve as his surrogate and we are grateful to him. We thank the members of these two committees for their participation.

The theme for our meeting today is the centenary of the missionary conference Edinburgh 1910 and the Canadian Presbyterian contribution. Next year we focus on the union of The (Free) Presbyterian Church of Canada and the United Presbyterian synod to form the Canada Presbyterian Church. 2013 marks the centenary of the birth of W. Stanford Reid, the well-known Canadian Presbyterian historian, and McGill University and the Presbyterian College Montreal will host the event with David Bebbington and Mark Noll as plenary speakers.

I would, on your behalf, express thanks to Michael Millar, our secretary-treasurer, whose careful administration of our exchequer and our records is an invaluable contribution to our organization's continued viability and credibility. We also appreciate greatly the tireless work of his daughter Elizabeth of Sackville, New Brunswick, as our editor. Bob Anger continues to serve as our webmaster.

The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History has an important role to play, not only within The Presbyterian Church in Canada, but also in the wider academic and church communities. Without a knowledge of our past, we have no future.

Respectfully submitted,

A. Donald MacLeod, President

Canadian Society of Presbyterian History
Editor's Report for the 2010 Annual General Meeting

I would like to begin by expressing my appreciation to the Society's membership for their patience in awaiting the 2007 papers, which were delayed in publication while the 2008 papers were completed. The 2007 papers were mailed out in November 2009.

In December 2009 Dr. Eldon Hay, Dr. Jack Whytock and I held the first meeting of the Society's new Editorial Committee. The primary item on the agenda was to review the preferred citation style for the published conference papers. After a discussion of the attributes of the myriad styles available, we determined that continuing to use the style of the Modern Language Association was the best path to follow. The matter of copyright was also raised, and while authors do hold the copyright for their work this has not been made well known. As a result, the Committee recommended to the Executive that a copyright notice be added to both the published papers and the Society's web site stating that copyright is retained by the authors and permission to reprint must be obtained from them. I would like to thank Eldon and Jack for the good cheer and advice they bring to this committee.

At the end of August the 2010 presenters were mailed a copy of the formatting guidelines as well as footnoting examples from the *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers* to assist them in the final preparation of their papers. I look forward to reading them.

The 2009 papers have been printed and will be available for members attending the 2010 conference to pick up. The remaining copies will be mailed out the following week. As well, the Index to the papers has been updated to 2009 and forwarded to our web administrator for posting online. Following past practice of printing the Index every five years, it will also be updated and attached to the 2010 papers.

Once again I would like to thank Ms. Kim Arnold and Mr. Bob Anger of The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives and Records Office for their assistance in checking citation information for me.

Report submitted by,

Elizabeth Millar
Editor, CSPH Papers
September 2010

CSPH Website Administrator Report 2010

The CSPH website currently consists of the following sections:

Home Page
About Us
Annual Meeting Information
Membership Information
Papers
Bailey Bequest Information
Relevant Links

The Internet Host for the website is Doteasy. We are currently using the "Basic Plan", which has no monthly fee and provides up to 100MB of disk storage. Our website is currently using approximately 65MB and so we are comfortably within our allowance.

One area in which an expansion of the website has been suggested, is in the number of past papers that are available for viewing and downloading. Depending on the length of the paper, another 5 to 10 could probably be copied to PDF and made available without having to upgrade our Internet plan.

However, if there is a desire to see more papers than this added, it will require an upgrade. The next stage up from the "Basic Plan" is the "Ultra Plan" which provides 1000MB of storage space (more than enough for any possible upgrade to our site), but costs $7.95/month.

Last year, draft versions of the 2009 papers were placed up on the website a few days after the meeting with a photograph of the presenters. If this is to be done again this year, presenters should email me either a PDF or Microsoft Word version of their paper as soon as possible.

Thoughts or comments regarding the website are always appreciated and can be sent to me at the following email Banger@presbyterian.ca.

Submitted by:

Bob Anger
CSPH Website Administrator
September 17, 2010

THE CANADIAN SOCIETY OF PRESBYTERIAN HISTORY:

FINANCIAL REPORT - 25 September 2010:

Item:	Income:	Expenses:	Balance:
Balance forward 24 September 2009:			**2171.48**
Memberships 2008 and previous years	340.00		
Memberships 2009	600.00		
Memberships 2010 and 2011	400.00		
Corporate memberships 2007.	120.00		
Corporate memberships 2008.	120.00		
Corporate memberships 2009 and 2010.	40.00		
Sale of papers.	2.00		
Bank Interest - Sept. '09 to August '10	0.30		
G. I. C. 9078920 (20 October 2009)	2,000.00		
G. I. C. Interest	42.83		
G. I. C. 9605280 (31 May 2010)	2,000.00		
G. I. C. Interest	4.00		
Luncheon charges 2009 meeting - paid	210.00		
Luncheon charges 2010 meeting - paid	190.00		
Donations	80.00		
Total Income.	**6,149.13**		**6,149.13**
Sub-total.			**8,320.61**
Postage - Secretary-Treasurer		579.36	
Photocopying - Secretary-Treasurer		2.00	
Office Supplies - Secretary-Treasurer		58.08	
Printing - 2009 meeting brochures		101.70	
Catering, 2009 meeting, Knox College (1)		510.48	
Kwik Kopy Barrie for 2007 Papers		193.29	
Kwik Kopy Barrie for 2009 Papers		158.21	
Printing - 2010 meeting brochures		380.05	
Editor - Honorarium - 2008.		100.00	
Editor - Honorarium - 2009.		100.00	
G. I. C. 0317-9078920 maturing 20 October 2010		2,000.00	
Total Expenses.		**4,183.17**	**4,183.17**
Balance Forward 24 September 2010:			**4,137.44**
Assets - G. I. C. @ 2000.00.			2,000.00
Total - Balance Forward plus the G. I. C.			$6,137.44

Note (1) - Actual catering cost 2009 meeting - $120.48.

Michael Millar, FRPSC.
Secretary-Treasurer.

Name Index to *The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers* 1975–2010

The Papers are listed alphabetically by author and title, with the volume number followed by the year of publication in brackets, and then the page numbers.

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