



**The
Canadian
Society of
Presbyterian History**

Papers 2013



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Edited by Elizabeth J. Millar



The
Canadian
Society of
Frostbite Medicine

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THE CANADIAN SOCIETY OF FROSTBITE MEDICINE

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The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History

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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George Monro Grant and the Bow of Ulysses

D. B. Mack

The 1960s marked the decade at which Christian Canada, long on life support, finally expired.¹ George Parkin Grant's *Lament for a Nation* (1965) provided an eloquent, if slightly oblique, eulogy. No one had spoken more forcefully or acted more energetically on behalf of Christian Canada—in its English-speaking variant—than his grandfather, the Rev. George Monro Grant. Rev. Grant's talents as a journalist and preacher of national righteousness, his organizational skills and fund-raising abilities, made him a significant player on the political landscape. He had been on familiar terms with both Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Wilfrid Laurier and had once urged the young William Lyon Mackenzie King to consider a call to ordained ministry in the Presbyterian Church.² (King would conclude, after much agonizing in his diary, that God's will was more conveniently aligned with his own political ambitions.) However unconvincing King would later become in his self-appointed role as a "Knight of the Holy Spirit"³ and champion of Christian Canada, it had once produced individuals like Grant and the French Roman Catholic politician and journalist, Henri Bourassa; people who worked effectively and sacrificially for the public good as they understood it. Part of what gave the grandson's lament its poignancy was a gloomy sense of what had been lost and a foreboding about the future, in the absence of any shared and substantive account of the human good.

In no sphere was George Monro Grant's contribution to the public good more significant than his involvement in establishing two universities, Dalhousie in Halifax, Nova Scotia and Queen's in Kingston, Ontario. Neither were sectarian institutions; both were intended to produce the Christian leadership that Grant assumed necessary for Canada to successfully exploit the possibilities opened up by the political fact of Confederation. The practical objective of a university education, as Grant explained every year in moving convocation addresses, was to be equipped for participation and leadership in the providential purposes of God, purposes for which the British Empire and a Christian Canada were means. In the case of Dalhousie, Grant assembled a coalition of badly divided Maritime Presbyterians in the 1860s and reached out, unsuccessfully, to sister denominations in order to resuscitate a provincial public university that had floundered for lack of church support. At Queen's in the 1880s and '90s he pushed a formally Presbyterian institution in an ecumenical direction so that it might become a generically Christian and national university. After his death in 1902 that ambition collapsed in the face of the secularizing impulses of the twentieth century and Jewish political protest. No one else

¹ Mark A. Noll, *What Happened to Christian Canada?* (Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 2007); Catherine Anne Gidney, *A Long Eclipse: The Liberal Protestant Establishment and the Canadian University 1920-1970* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004).

² William Lyon Mackenzie King, 3, 4 January 1897, *The Diaries of William Lyon Mackenzie King*, Library and Archives Canada.

³ Joy E. Esbrey, *Knight of the Holy Spirit: A Study of William Lyon Mackenzie King* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).

possessed the requisite organizational skills and drive or the political influence to bend the bow of Ulysses. In her official history of Queen's University, Hilda Neatby writes that Grant's death,

came to the university not only as a grief and loss, but as a grave blow. The prayer of his dying hours, 'Give me a chance, Oh my God, give me a chance,' was not untypical of attitude to his work. Paraphrasing the younger Pitt, he might have been saying, 'I know that I can save Queen's and no one else can.' It was now that the students' gay and affectionate references of 'Geordie our King' began to represent a real and tragic truth. The superb politician who could dominate the General Assembly, inspire respect if not awe in Ontario's politicians, and at Queen's make 'all the various departments of University administration . . . simply mouthpieces for his will' had died at a critical point in the history of the university.⁴

The failure of Queen's to become a Christian and national institution over the following decade portended the death of the Christian Canada it was intended to serve. The severing of the legal links between Queen's and the Presbyterian Church in 1912 provides a useful marker in tracing the twentieth-century estrangement of Christian faith and the university.

No issue polarized Canadian Presbyterians in nineteenth-century Canada more deeply than the question of Church and State. It had obvious implications for university education. The Secessionist and Free Church strands of Scottish Presbyterianism were content to have the State take responsibility for general education and to focus on providing professional theological training for clergy. This was the model adopted by Knox College at the University of Toronto and Presbyterian College at McGill. The established Church of Scotland tradition, however, because it understood Christian faith to be at the centre of national culture, saw the necessity for a closer connection between a general education in Arts and Science and theology. Requiring prospective ministers to acquire an Arts degree before studying theology obviously made little sense if the education in question served mostly to unsettle, confuse and undermine Christian faith. The "Auld Kirk" cherished the traditional ideal of a university and the coherence of human knowledge. No less than in the High Middle Ages, Christian faith was assumed to provide the integrating element to all dimensions of life and the human personality; rather than the fragmented, specialized and pluralist world of the modern multiversity, Christian faith was to provide the fundamental orientation for the university as a whole. From such a perspective, the importance of universities and the rational expression of Christian faith in all domains of human knowledge were obvious.

Unlike Scottish Secessionism or Free Church Presbyterianism, which stuck closely to the seventeenth-century theology of the Westminster Confession, the established Church opened itself to the influence of the Scottish Enlightenment and sought to hold faith and reason together as two parts of a complimentary whole with God as the author of all truth. In its openness to rational critique and intellectual debate within the culture as a whole, the Church of Scotland tradition reflected an optimistic faith in the self-authenticating nature of truth over the long term. Eventually, vindicated by vigorous intellectual challenge and the rough and tumble of history, God's truth would prevail. The Secessionist tradition operated with a more typically Puritan

⁴ Hilda Neatby, *Queen's University*, vol. 1, 1841-1917 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978), 245.

suspicion of culture as part of the dark realm of fallen and unredeemed nature from which little but human perversity could be expected, and out of which individuals needed to be saved “as brands plucked from the burning” (Zechariah 3:2). This fundamental difference in understanding the theological relationship between nature and grace, creation and redemption had implications for education which are captured in the distinction between church and sect. The Secessionist strand of Scottish Presbyterianism represented the sectarian tendency within Christian faith. The focus lay on the gathered congregation of God’s elect rather than the nation at large.

George Monro Grant was unusual, perhaps unique, amongst nineteenth-century Canadian Presbyterians in the way in which his background and education enabled him to straddle and eventually forge alliances across this Presbyterian political and theological divide. Although he came from Church of Scotland stock, the strand of the Scottish Presbyterianism that voted Conservative and supported the possibility of an established church as a bulwark of the social order, he attended the Secessionist West River Seminary for two years before leaving for Glasgow between 1853 and 1860. He thus received an education and made friends on both sides of the divide. The influence of the Rev. Thomas McCulloch (1776-1843), a formidable educator of Secessionist conviction, was still strong at West River in the person of his student, the Rev. James Ross. From McCulloch’s perspective there was little need for any theological dialogue with the larger culture since the truth had already found ultimate expression in the 1647 Westminster Confession, a document which McCulloch expounded thoroughly and pugnaciously against all comers in such works as *Popery Condemned* (1808), *Popery Again Condemned* (1810), and especially the posthumously published *Calvinism, The Doctrine of the Scriptures* (1847). Theological rigidity and an inability to see truth in any position but his own made him a poor dialogue partner and politician, though it certainly provided Grant with a good grounding in what was called the Calvinist “system.” When political conflict eventually brought McCulloch’s educational ambitions to an end in Pictou County, he was appointed the first President of the state-controlled Dalhousie College in Halifax where he taught moral philosophy, logic and rhetoric in the few remaining years of his life.

After two years at the West River Seminary, in Durham, Pictou County, Grant was sent by the Church of Scotland to Glasgow, where he absorbed the “Broad Church” vision of national Christianity associated with Victorian worthies like Thomas Arnold, the Rev. Charles Kingsley, and Grant’s mentor, the Rev. Norman McLeod, minister of the Barony church in Glasgow and a favorite preacher of Queen Victoria’s. There his theology would be reshaped under the impact of nineteenth-century Scotland’s greatest theologian, the Rev. John McLeod Campbell⁵ and the writings of Thomas Carlyle. He would return to Nova Scotia in 1860 convinced of the unity of all truth, that theology was “the Queen of the sciences”⁶ and as a great believer in Christendom; one convinced of the need to establish Christian institutions in the land of his birth if the country were to escape the hedonistic, utilitarian “Profit-and-Loss philosophy” that Carlyle railed against, the philosophy that made “Soul synonymous with Stomach and grinds out Virtue from the husks of Pleasure.”⁷ Carlyle’s admonition from *Sartor Resartus* (1836) lay constantly on his

⁵ Thomas Torrance, *Scottish Theology: From John Knox to John McLeod Campbell* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1996).

⁶ George M. Grant, “The Outlook of the Twentieth Century in Theology” *The American Journal of Theology* 6, no. 1 (1902): 16.

⁷ Kathleen Blake, *The Pleasures of Benthamism: Victorian Literature, Utility, Political Economy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 91.

lips: "There is a higher in man than love of happiness; he can do without happiness, and instead find blessedness. Love not pleasure; love God. This is the Everlasting Yea, wherein all contradictories are solved; therein whoso works and walks it is well with him."⁸ Students needed to be saved from the godless politics of rational self-interest, hedonism, possessive individualism and contract, and pointed instead to the blessedness of participation in divine love and God's project of mending the world. It was a powerful vision and one that would sustain Grant as a culture warrior for the next forty years.

Soon after his return to Nova Scotia in 1860, Grant spearheaded a campaign to re-establish Dalhousie University, moribund since McCulloch's death in 1843. Making good use of his contacts on both sides of the Secessionist / established Church of Scotland divide and working with both the Conservative leader Charles Tupper and Liberal Premier Joseph Howe in the Nova Scotia Assembly, Grant brokered a deal which saw the Assembly reorganize and refinance Dalhousie, in partnership with a united Presbyterian front that brought both financial and political support to the table.⁹ Existing endowments covered the cost of three professors, to which combined Presbyterian efforts would add three more. James Ross, as professor of ethics and political economy, was named President of the revived college in 1864, and soon received an honorary degree from the established Church of Scotland institution in Kingston, Ontario: Queen's College. Thomas McCulloch Jr. assumed the position of professor of natural philosophy. Grant more or less singlehandedly raised the £4,000 required to endow the chair of mathematics, to which his Glasgow friend, the Rev. Charles Macdonald, was soon appointed. Macdonald would become the most popular teacher on faculty and eventually its *de facto* President. Macdonald also served as Clerk of Session at Grant's church, St. Matthew's, the largest and wealthiest Presbyterian congregation in the Maritimes. Dalhousie's existing endowments were used to employ the Rev. William Lyall, professor of logic and metaphysics, who came from a Free Church background, and George Lawson, professor of chemistry and mineralogy who moved to Halifax from Queen's to take up the position. The only non-Presbyterian member of the faculty, Irish Anglican John Johnson, was appointed to teach classics when the Rev. Dr. John Prior, former President of Acadia and minister of the Granville Street Baptist church refused to resign his pastoral charge as a condition for the appointment. Five of the six faculty were thus Presbyterian, three of them clergy.

This heavy Presbyterian influence over what was legally a non-denominational, provincial institution would continue well into the twentieth century despite Grant's best efforts to broaden the base of support. Other denominations were invited to join in an ecumenical partnership, with seats on the governing board allocated in proportion to the number of chairs endowed, but there were no takers. Baptists were not inclined to uproot Acadia College from Wolfville, founded in protest a quarter century earlier when their candidate, Dr. Edmund Crawley, had been rejected as Professor of Classics at Dalhousie by the governing board of the day. Denominational loyalty and the distance from Sackville, New Brunswick to Halifax similarly precluded Methodist cooperation. Although Grant pushed hard for a union with the Anglican King's College, established in Windsor since 1789, those efforts were similarly unsuccessful.¹⁰ King's would only finally relocate to Halifax in 1923 in response to a financial

⁸ William Lawson Grant and Frederick Hamilton, *Principal Grant* (Toronto: Morang, 1904), 504-5.

⁹ [George M. Grant], "The Meeting of Synod," *The Monthly Record of the Church of Scotland in Nova Scotia and the Adjoining Provinces*, August 1862, 175-76.

¹⁰ Grant and Hamilton, *Principal Grant*, 66.

crisis and enticed with money from the Carnegie foundation. Roman Catholics already had St. Mary's in Halifax and St. Francis Xavier in Antigonish. Moreover, Presbyterian animosity against "the Church of the anti-Christ" which Thomas McCulloch had helped stoke early in nineteenth-century Nova Scotia, was still not unknown in later years. Grant was unique amongst Presbyterian clergy in the way he joined boisterously in St. Patrick's banquets¹¹ and established a close friendship with the Irish Archbishop of Halifax, Thomas Conolly. He sat for hours at Conolly's death bed and wrote a moving eulogy in the *Halifax Morning Herald*.¹² One of Conolly's accomplishments involved the establishment of a school for girls by the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul. In 1914, Mount St. Vincent would begin granting university degrees though affiliation with Dalhousie. But in the 1860s and '70s, Grant's openness to Roman Catholics was very much a minority position—as the rabble-rousing, ex-priest the Rev. Charles Chiniquy once took great pleasure in publicly demonstrating from Grant's own pulpit.¹³ Thus Dalhousie would be carried into the twentieth century as a public university on Presbyterian energy, financial support, leadership and commitment to education.

In the judgment of Dalhousie's official historian, P. B. Waite, Presbyterians were galvanized into concerted action for the public good by Joseph Howe, then Liberal Premier. Waite points to Howe's longstanding friendship with the Rev. Peter MacGregor, minister of the Poplar Grove congregation in Halifax and a confidential letter to him in June of 1862 that included "some frank suggestions" that he could show to "his Presbyterian friends."¹⁴ Rather than being the catalyst, however, it is just as likely that the letter represented a formal indication of government support for an arrangement Presbyterians had already arrived at amongst themselves. The fact that the two rival Presbyterian Synods (the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces and the Synod of the Maritime Provinces of British North America in connection with the Church of Scotland) just happened to be meeting simultaneously in New Glasgow a few days later suggests as much, as does the speed at which an understanding between the hostile parties was reached. If Peter MacGregor were an old friend of Howe's, it was Grant who wrote publicly about the need to re-establish Dalhousie and who reached out to the rising star of the Conservative Party, Charles Tupper, to assure him of Auld Kirk support for the arrangement.¹⁵ By combining forces across customary political lines, Presbyterians effectively de-politicized the university question by breaking the association in the public mind of Dalhousie with Howe and the Liberals. The new religious and political coalition held. When the Liberals fell from office not long after passing the legislation, Tupper repelled attempts by Anglicans, Methodists and his fellow Baptists for its repeal. In later years, Presbyterians on both sides pointed to Grant's key role in brokering and financing the deal that was struck.¹⁶

¹¹ Grant and Hamilton, *Principal Grant*, 116.

¹² Grant and Hamilton, *Principal Grant*, 175-77.

¹³ Charles Chiniquy, *Forty Years in the Church of Christ* (Toronto: Fleming H. Revell, 1899), 301.

¹⁴ P. B. Waite, *The Lives of Dalhousie University*, vol. 1, 1818-1925: *Lord Dalhousie's College* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 82-94.

¹⁵ In Grant's article in *The Monthly Record* he deplored "Pharisaic sectarianism in our religion" and warned the same readership that "if something were not done, the last hope for the higher education of the country on a liberal basis would be lost forever. . . . Dalhousie College has never yet had a fair trial; let us give it one" (175).

¹⁶ The Rev. George Patterson, *The History of Dalhousie College and University* (Halifax: Morning Herald, 1887), 64-67; St. Matthew's United Church Congregational Archives, St. Matthew's Scrapbook Vol. 1 by R. H. Williams, clipping dated 24 October 1917: "St. Matthew's Do Honour to Former Pastor; Tribute to G. M. Grant by

The union of all the branches of Canadian Presbyterianism in 1875, (a project in which Grant also took a leading part) made possible the re-founding of Pine Hill theological college, now the ecumenical Atlantic School of Theology. As usual, Grant took the lead in raising most of the \$100,000 required for staff and the construction of the buildings on Halifax's Northwest Arm.¹⁷ Although he continued as an active member of the Board of Governors of Dalhousie until 1886, Grant had already done the best that could be done at the time to establish a strong generically Christian university in Nova Scotia. He had shown himself to be without equal in playing the angles and rolling with the politics of such a project at a provincial level. It was time to try his arm on a national scale.

In 1874, in an address to the Evangelical Alliance in Montreal, Grant set out his vision of a national and Christian university:

In our organization as a Dominion, education was left to the different provinces. As far as universities are concerned, a greater mistake could not have been made. There should be common intellectual centres where the young men of the Dominion could form friendships. Ideally, they would be funded by "the liberality of the whole country" rather than being left to "the fostering care of individuals and sects."

Grant's Broad Church vision of university education in a Christian Canada implied ecumenical cooperation in a country badly divided along linguistic and religious lines. It was a vision he would continue to pursue, and to which he would inspire others during the quarter century (1877-1902) in which he was the Principal of Queen's College in Kingston. Spelling out this vision in his speech, he declared that

God will give us the church of the future. It shall arise in the midst of us, with no sound of hammer heard upon it, comprehensive of all the good and beauty that He has ever evolved in history. To this church, Episcopacy shall contribute her comely order, her faithful and loving conservatism; and Methodism impart her enthusiasm, her zeal for missions, and her ready adaptiveness to the necessities of the country; the Baptist shall give full testimony to the sacred rights of the individual; the Congregationalist his to the freedom and independency of the congregation; and Presbytery shall come with her massive, well-knit strength, holding high the Word of God; and when, or even before, all this comes to pass, that is, when we have proved our Christian charity, as well as our faithfulness, proved it by deeds, not words, who shall say that our Roman Catholic brethren, also shall not see eye to eye with us, and seal with their consent that true unity,

Dr. Pollok." "But few know how much of the success [of the revival of Dalhousie College] was due to him. But for him the plan would not have gone into operation. At the same time he had the co-operation of others such as Howe and Tupper and above all the United Presbyterian Church and Principal Ross." James Ross and faculty of Dalhousie College to Grant 20 November 1877 thanking Grant for his work in establishing the College in 1863 and for the energy with which he had pursued its interests on his years on the Board of Governors: ". . . success of the College thus far due, in no small measure to your labours."

¹⁷ John Thomas McNeill, *The Presbyterian Church in Canada 1875-1925* (Toronto: The General Board, The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1925), 73.

the image of which they so fondly love? Why not? God can do greater things even than this. And who of us shall say, God forbid?¹⁸

Queen's presented Grant with a different starting point than Dalhousie from which to realize the ambition of a national university. Rather than being the creation of the provincial government, it had been founded by the Church of Scotland in reaction to Presbyterian exclusion from the Anglican King's College in Toronto. As a student in Glasgow, Grant had once shared a meal with Alexander Morris, who would negotiate the numbered treaties with natives in the Canadian Northwest in the 1870s. (Morris had also been in Scotland in 1859 as part of the delegation that recruited the Rev. William Leitch as Principal of Queen's.) Over dinner, the conversation turned to the future of the Presbyterian Church, Queen's and their hopes for Canada. They agreed "that the first steps to be taken were the political union of the different Provinces of British North America into one Confederacy and the Ecclesiastical Union of the different Presbyterian Churches into one, with Queen's as their central seat of learning."¹⁹ Twenty years later, the first two objectives had been achieved and Grant had played a significant role in both. Their third goal proved unrealistic. The newly formed Presbyterian Church in Canada was still too divided on the subject of university education to be interested in consolidating its efforts in Kingston or in sponsoring the project of a national university. The Church of Scotland wing of the new church, with its ideal of a unified education that tied Arts, Science and Theology together, was a minority partner in the union. The majority viewed Queen's as an expendable encumbrance, a drain on denominational resources more properly devoted to the specialized task of providing professional training for theological students at Knox College in Toronto and Presbyterian College in Montreal. Rather than viewing the Church as a culture-shaping institution with responsibilities for the guidance, preservation and moral leadership of the nation, what Grant characterized as the "sectarian" view relinquished responsibility for post-secondary education to government-funded and controlled institutions like the University of Toronto in all fields but theology. Rather than seeking to sponsor a university at which students came together to think about and enter into dialogue about "the whole" of human knowledge from the perspective of Christian faith, it restricted its focus and ambition to the specialized training of its own clergy and the perpetuation of denominational distinctiveness.

Grant caught the imagination of the Ontario public when his inaugural address was printed in the *Toronto Globe*.²⁰ In it he spelled out the broad outlines of his educational policy at Queen's and pointed to his guiding conviction of the ultimate unity of truth in all spheres of human knowledge, particularly science and Christian faith. Grant insisted that piety and learning, reason and revelation, faith and science could not ultimately contradict each other. The harmony between reason and revelation were taken as axiomatic. "[The] truth is one even as God is one; that though His revelations are sporadic, multiform, and often dark, the glorious beauty of the All shall yet be seen."²¹ To assume otherwise, was to sink into the rank agnosticism of the modern

¹⁸ G. M. Grant, "The Church in Canada: is such a thing possible?" (address Montreal, 1874).

¹⁹ George Monro Grant fonds, R3202-0-3-E, vol. 7, p. 4426, Library and Archives Canada.

²⁰ *The Globe*, 8 December 1877.

²¹ cf. Grant Monro Grant fonds, R3202-0-3-E, vol. 13, notebook beginning Lecture I (To be delivered Div Student's Queen's Dec 10th, 1877) p. 90, Library and Archives Canada. "God of nature and God of grace are not two Gods but one. Look with suspicion on every philosophy which implies 'truth' is not One. Such a position leads

multiversity. Protestantism, Grant insisted, had nothing to fear from honest inquiry. The Church needed to courageously open itself to the scientific questions of a new age in the faith that it would not be confounded. “[Quoting Joseph Cook] There are four Testaments, an oldest and an old, a new and a newest. The oldest Testament is the Nature of Things; the newest is Christ’s continued life in the present influence of the Holy Spirit. The oldest and newest are unwritten; the old and the new are written; but the voices of the four are one.” “God cannot be inconsistent with himself. Partial views come not from him, but from us, from our narrowness and intolerance, and such views are dishonourable to Him.”

Because God was Truth, all four Testaments could be investigated and interpreted fearlessly. To those who argued that scientific investigation unsettled faith and was pursued in a spirit antagonistic to religion, Grant urged a deeper reliance on the God of Truth. The antidote to bad science was more science. Science itself would ultimately humble the irreligious prejudices of some scientists. “Collect all the facts and rightly interpret them, and you will find that they prove subversive of all anti-Christian theories.” Old theology and new science needed to be reconciled in faith—and the university was the natural place for that to happen. Darwinism was sometimes feared and thought to constitute a fundamental challenge to Christian faith. But even if the Darwinian hypothesis were established, he wondered, “what possible harm can result to theology?” He quoted Dr. Asa Gray, the Christian Darwinist, to the effect that “it would only mean that what you may have thought was done directly and at once, was done indirectly and successively.”²² “What then is the conclusion of the whole matter? This, that truth is one; that however many sided truth may be, all sides should be considered and though none is able to see the whole in all its glowing full-orbed beauty, we and our children will see it hereafter. Now we see in part, and part satisfies us and even now is the marrow and fatness of the soul.”

The ultimate triumph of truth was assured, even if present perspectives were incomplete and provisional. Human beings could lay claim to real knowledge which was significant and for which they were to give thanks. But it was a partial knowledge. Only in the age to come would the truth be revealed completely and God be seen face to face. In the meantime, any claims to comprehensive or infallible knowledge by either scientists or clergy were to be resisted. Grant thoroughly believed in the “scientific spirit and method of the age” even while he understood its limitations and resisted Positivistic pretensions to define all truth in scientific terms. John Watson, who was in the audience that night, was impressed by Grant’s “abounding energy, insight, largeness of vision, and mastery of men that he produced, as he drew the broad outlines of his policy.”²³ These included a fund-raising campaign for a new arts building and the endowment of two new chairs, one in Christian apologetics and the other in Physics. In the event, Grant delivered more than he promised. In addition to the new chair in Christian apologetics, James Fowler was appointed to teach botany, W. L. Goodwin chemistry and D. H. Marshall physics. Grant had himself won prizes as a student in Glasgow in chemistry and studied

inevitably to Pyrrhonism In almost every department of thought there are men and leading men nowadays who take up this radically wrong position.”

²² cf. James R. Moore, *The Post-Darwinian Controversies: A Study of the Protestant Struggle to Come to Terms with Darwin in Great Britain and America, 1870-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979). Moore argues in fact that Calvinists like Gray had little trouble accepting Darwinian notions of natural selection. It fit rather well with Calvinist notions of election. He thinks that the supposed conflict between science and Christian “orthodoxy” has been greatly exaggerated.

²³ John Watson, “Thirty Years in the History of Queen’s University,” *Queen’s Quarterly* 10 (1902): 194.

physics under Lord Kelvin. The split between the arts and the sciences, which would become such a prominent feature of the modern university, did not exist for him. The ideal to which Queen's aspired was the ultimate unity of all human knowledge.

The arrangements negotiated in preparation for the 1875 Presbyterian union cut Queen's loose from church control. Though still nominally Presbyterian, it effectively became a private institution. Previously, its governing body, the Board of Trustees, had been elected by the Synod of the Church of Scotland from a list of persons nominated by individual congregations. After the union, the Board became a self-perpetuating body. Theoretically, the corporation of the university remained the communicants of The Presbyterian Church in Canada and trustees were required to be Presbyterian, but practically, the church both relinquished control and disclaimed financial responsibility for the university. The four thousand dollars a year promised by the Assembly in 1875, directed solely towards the cost of theological instruction, were a source of grievance since they were always in arrears; about \$9,000 at the time of Grant's death. The only change in the funding pattern occurred in the midst of Grant's plans to amend the Queen's charter so as to separate the Presbyterian theological college from what was to become a broadly ecumenical university. In 1901, the church helped to endow a Chair of Church History and the History of Christian Dogma.

Queen's only survived its ecclesiastical neglect during the quarter century of Grant's tenure as Principal because of his skill at tapping the old Church of Scotland constituency in Ontario. The 1878 fundraising campaign raised \$150,000 to establish new chairs in theology and physics and to build the New Arts building. But if Queen's were to become the Christian and national university that Grant envisioned, it obviously required other partners than the newly formed Presbyterian Church in Canada. Grant cultivated a new and ecumenical funding base in the city of Kingston and the region of Eastern Ontario as he considered ways to draw on the resources of the provincial government. The two objectives were obviously inter-related. The reason that the secular University College at the University of Toronto had been created in the first place was incessant denominational rivalry and wrangling: Baptist against Presbyterian, Methodist against Anglican, Protestant against Catholic. It was an exasperated government's response to the ecclesiastical equivalent of Hobbes' "war of all against all." But if Queen's could be transformed into a truly non-sectarian and generically Christian institution, then it might successfully bid for public funding from the provincial government. Instead of being taxed with the unfairness of supporting one denomination over its rivals and paying a political price that no wise government would ever pay, financial support for an institution in which all denominations felt they had a stake might even yield political dividends. Grant knew from his Nova Scotia experience that the project of university building in Canada was highly political, but he was willing to play a long game.

During the 1880s Grant fought off political pressure to merge Queen's with the government-controlled University of Toronto. Methodists were persuaded to relocate their college from Cobourg and to join with Anglican Evangelical at Wycliffe and the secular University College in the new federation. St. Michael's (Roman Catholic) and Trinity (High Church Anglican) soon followed. Although offered both the position of Minister of Education by the provincial liberal government of Oliver Mowat and the presidency of the reconstituted University of Toronto, Grant opted to stay put at Queen's in Kingston. As he explained to J. S. Willison, editor of the *Toronto Globe*, the latter offer had little appeal for him. "Here [at Queen's] I have a free hand, and can work towards my ideal. I prefer that, united with poverty, to a nominal presidency, and a struggle against those ecclesiastical and political wire-pullings from

which a university must be free, if it is to breed either men or thinkers."²⁴ Grant cherished the ethos and practice of self-government and fought to preserve the freedom and independence of the institution over which he presided from government control, as he would in the next decade resist attempts by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church to appoint faculty for whom it was not willing to pay. Those who would not pay the piper were certainly not going to call the tune.

The combined resources and improved competitive position of the expanded University of Toronto after 1885 provoked an energetic response from Queen's. The \$250,000 raised in the 1887 Jubilee campaign was mostly used to expand the Arts Faculty. Professor James Cappon was called to the new chair of English language and literature, the Rev. John Mcnaughton became professor of Greek, Professor McGillvray assumed responsibility for the teaching of modern languages, and two of Professor John Watson's students were engaged: the Rev. Samuel Dyde to teach mental philosophy and the erstwhile theological student, Adam Shortt, began what would become the first department of political economy in Canada.

The new constituency to which Grant increasingly turned his attention and in which he rested his hopes for Queen's future were its alumni and the baptized public of eastern Ontario. In 1889 he had the university constitution modified so that not all trustees were required to be members of the Presbyterian Church. The constitution of 1874 had already empowered the alumni to elect a chancellor. That document had also established a body elected by graduates, called the university council, which served mostly in an advisory capacity to link the governing body of trustees with the broader base of university supporters. After 1889, this group was empowered to elect five members of the Board of Trustees. They soon included two Anglicans, a Methodist and a Baptist. What really provoked the concern of commissioners to the 1892 Presbyterian General Assembly, however, were media rumours about two Roman Catholic candidates. Grant successfully repulsed efforts led by William Mortimer Clark, later Lieutenant Governor of Ontario, to reassert Assembly's control over the institution it had abandoned in 1874 and which it still refused to fund. Power and decision-making had to be linked to a demonstrated willingness to shoulder financial responsibility. Grant was not to be bullied or deterred in relation to his ecumenical agenda.

Grant enjoyed a close relationship with the Irish-born Conservative and Roman Catholic senator from Kingston, Michael Sullivan, who lectured in surgery in the Queen's medical faculty and operated at Kingston's Hotel Dieu hospital. Grant also made heroic efforts to get along with the irascible Roman Catholic Archbishop Vincent Cleary, although there would be no eloquent tribute to his skills as either a churchman or statesman upon his death as there had been for Thomas Conolly.²⁵ (Relations with the local Anglican bishop were also good.) But the man appointed as the Roman Catholic trustee on the Board was William Harty, a local businessman and municipal politician who had helped Grant establish the Queen's Women's Medical School

²⁴ G. M. Grant, "Principal Grant," *The Globe*, 15 September 1904.

²⁵ Archbishop Cleary held strong views, among which was that Protestant marriage was "no more than legalized concubinage." In contributing a marble angel to mark the mass grave of Irish immigrants beside the hospital on the Queen's campus, he wanted the accompanying plaque to record both the sufferings of the Irish and the wickedness of their English oppressors. Grant persuaded him to modify the emphasis on the latter point and a witness recalled Grant's public address in accepting the angel on behalf of Queen's as a "masterpiece in the art of changing the subject." T. R. Glover, *A Corner of Empire: The Old Ontario Strand* (Cambridge: University Press, 1937), 40.

in the 1880s.²⁶ In 1892, Harty was elected to the Ontario legislature and soon became the Roman Catholic representative in the cabinet.

During the 1890s, new additions to the faculty also had an ecumenical flavour. Grant recruited the young English Baptist, T. R. Glover, in 1895 as Latin Professor. William George Jordan, who replaced “Rabbi” John Mowat (the Premier’s brother) as the Old Testament professor, came from an English Methodist background. A northern Irish Presbyterian, the Rev. Samuel McComb, the first occupant of the Chair of Church History and the History of Christian Dogma would move to Boston after Grant’s death. There, as an Episcopalian priest, McComb would become a major figure in the Emmanuel Movement, which combined Christian faith and psychotherapy in spiritual healing. Glover’s teaching responsibilities included classes for the theological as well as arts students. This was true also of the Greek professor, the Rev. John Macnaughton. Their scholarly expertise helped to flesh out the historical context in which the early church preached the gospel to the classical world. James Cappon from the English department also taught the theological students, as did the Rev. Samuel Dyde. His assignment included explaining John Watson’s exposition of “the secret of Hegel” to students still bewildered by it.

This overlap between Arts and Theology on the university campus was much prized by Grant, and obviously reflected the Church of Scotland ideal of what a proper theological education involved. For a theological college to be more than a Bible School required relating Christian revelation to the culture which had developed around it. Until Christendom effectively came to an end with the First World War, it was a plausible strategy. The well-known Alumni Lecture series at Queen’s through the 1890s was a reflection and an extension to the general public of the intellectual ferment on campus. The Methodist preacher, Salem Bland, was not mistaken in identifying Queen’s as the hub of stimulating theological discussion in Canada during that decade. Grant’s importance in fostering such an environment is suggested by the fact that it did not long survive his death. Queen’s became a less interesting place, something of a backwater from where talented people would move on.²⁷ The intellectual and spiritual energy, so obvious on the campus during the 1890s, dissipated.

Neatby’s history of Queen’s devotes a whole chapter to the “unique freedom” that characterized the university over which Grant presided. Looking back on his experience at Queen’s in the 1890s, Adam Shortt marvelled that the “the social and academic atmosphere at Queen’s was so free, self-adjustable and liberal that men of the most varied types found themselves equally at home in it.” And John Macnaughton noticed upon his arrival that his colleagues were “distinguished . . . for harmony in their mutual relations to an extent which I fear is rather rare among the learned.”²⁸ Contemporary observers contrasted Queen’s favourably with the more repressive atmosphere that prevailed on the campuses in Toronto and Montreal. A McGill student admired the intimate relations between the professors and the students, the fruitful influence of the graduate students in theology and other studies, and the freedom of all to

²⁶ Harty, later MP for Kingston, contributed \$1,000 to the construction of Grant Hall (Glover, *A Corner of Empire*, 157).

²⁷ George Rawlyk and Kevin Quinn, *The Redeemed of the Lord Say So: The History of Queen’s Theological College 1912-1972* (Kingston: Queen’s Theological College, 1980). Professor E. F. Scott moved to Union Theological Seminary, New York; Nathaniel Micklem returned to Mansfield College, Oxford to be its Principal.

²⁸ Neatby, *Queen’s*, 193-210, 180, 182.

express and defend any new idea, with no censorship of the *Queen's University Journal* and the self-regulation of student activities. Such freedom and good feeling were, claimed the *Queen's University Journal*, the foundation of "the Queen's Spirit." "[Grant] has always treated the students not as boys, but as gentlemen, seeking to lead rather than to coerce, and under his sway there has been no need for normal discipline. . . . It is the *esprit de corps* among the Professors that develops it among the students."²⁹

Grant's objective of an ecumenically Christian and national university had in large measure been achieved informally at Queen's by the time of his death in 1902. Besides 384 Presbyterians, the student body included 123 Anglicans, 236 Methodists, 67 Roman Catholics, 16 Baptists, 14 Congregationalists and 13 (presumably Jewish) "Others."³⁰ Jewish students won scholarships on the same basis as those from the various Christian denominations.³¹ Amidst the chronic sectarian strife of late nineteenth-century Canada, Queen's was an unusual place. Despite the much more substantial financial resources available to the government-funded University of Toronto and McGill University (generously endowed with the proceeds of the Redpath sugar refineries and the Macdonald tobacco factories) it was chronically under-funded Queen's that transformed the sons and daughters of eastern Ontario farms into committed nation builders like Adam Shortt, O. D. Skelton, Charlotte Whitton and the many others who moved from Kingston to the other end of the Rideau Canal to establish the civil service in Ottawa.

The annual report submitted by the Queen's Trustees to the General Assembly was for information and as a matter of courtesy rather than because the Assembly actually made decisions about how the university was run. Because of the tumultuous history of sectarian warfare and university funding in Ontario, however, even a mostly formal denominational link with the Presbyterian Church was politically embarrassing for the Liberal government in Toronto. The structures of legal governance needed to be brought into alignment with the reality that Grant had created on the ground. Grant's strategy at Queen's, as at Dalhousie, involved calculations about how to obtain provincial government funding by forging an inter-denominational coalition of church partners that made such funding politically attractive. Until the death of Sir John A. Macdonald in 1891, Grant had mostly supported the Conservative government in Ottawa in its nation-building agenda. During the 1890s he would throw his considerable influence behind the Liberals both at a federal level under Wilfrid Laurier, and provincially.

In 1893, *The Globe* published four letters from Grant critical of the Conservative Government.³² Two Federal cabinet ministers, Sir Adophe Caron, the Postmaster General and John Haggart, the Federal Minister of Railways and Canals, replied by accusing Grant of flippancy and ignorance. Haggart, the Conservative MP from Perth (who had replaced Alexander Morris when the latter moved to Manitoba) was so incensed that he sent investigators to Pictou County to try to uncover family scandal that could be used against Grant.³³ They were unsuccessful. Grant was a dangerous man to tangle with in public debate because his sources of

²⁹ *Queen's University Journal*, 2 March 1895.

³⁰ Grant and Hamilton, *Principal Grant*, 422.

³¹ In 1905, Archie Bennett secured a McLeod scholarship (*Canadian Jewish Times*, 26 July 1905).

³² G. M. Grant, *The Globe*, 4, 7, 11, 14 November 1893.

³³ George Geddie Patterson, "University Builder and Canadian Imperialist," *The Pictou Advocate*, 23 January 1936.

information were very good. Grant met the challenge to his initial statements about contracts for deepening the Galops Canal in a fifth letter, with more detailed charges and a rebuke that “our chief servants do not think it their first duty to tell the people ‘the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth’ with regard to the public works with which they have been entrusted.”³⁴ There was no further public correspondence. When Sir John Thompson died in 1894, Haggart’s Prime Ministerial ambitions fell victim to rumours about his womanizing habits and to the self-interested ways in which he had exploited his position as Minister of Canals.³⁵ That year Grant also publicly endorsed the provincial Liberals, explaining to voters that the honesty and administrative skill of the Premier warranted another term of office. “Ontario cannot afford to dismiss Sir Oliver Mowat” was the way he put it, and it became the Liberal campaign slogan.³⁶

Grant was, in short, a power for Canadian politicians to reckon with. There can be little doubt of a link between valuable political support in Eastern Ontario and the funding for Queen’s which soon started to flow from a grateful Liberal government in Toronto.³⁷ Irish Roman Catholics and Church of Scotland Presbyterians (both traditionally Conservative supporters) were important in a swing riding like Kingston. Federally, Hiram Augustus Calvin, the Baptist trustee on the Queen’s Board, represented the riding of Frontenac County as an independent Conservative. (His independence is reflected in his stand against the party on the subject of tariffs and in following Grant’s lead in supporting Laurier on the Manitoba Schools question.) In the 1896 Federal election, which brought the Laurier Liberals to power, Calvin stepped aside so that David Dickson Rogers could be elected by acclamation for the Patrons of Industry. The Patrons represented the farming interest in Ontario, and had sent seventeen MPPs to Queen’s Park in the 1894 provincial election.³⁸ Rogers, as a Director and President of the Farmers’ Institute and Agricultural Association, was part of Grant and Calvin’s plans for the projected School of Mining and Agriculture.³⁹ The 1896 election also saw the conservative Federal MP for Kingston, James Henry Metcalfe, lose to Liberal Byron Moffatt Britton in what had been Sir John A. Macdonald’s old riding. In and around Kingston, Grant harnessed the dynamics of both federal and provincial partisan politics to his ambitions for Queen’s. Strange things happened in and around the Queen’s campus. An ethos of freedom and good comradeship added up to a happy family in which Latin professor, T. R. Glover, son of a Baptist pastor, voted for an Irish, Roman Catholic Conservative as Mayor.⁴⁰

³⁴ G. M. Grant, “Wasted Money,” *The Globe*, 21 November 1893.

³⁵ Larry Turner, “Haggart, John Graham,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 14 (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1998), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/haggart_john_graham_14E.html.

³⁶ “The Campaign: Principal Grant Strongly Supports Sir Oliver,” *The Globe*, 23 May 1894; Grant and Hamilton, *Principal Grant*, 341.

³⁷ Grant and Hamilton, *Principal Grant*, 341, 344.

³⁸ Russell Hann, *Farmers Confront Industrialism: Some Historical Perspectives on Ontario Agrarian Movements* (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1975).

³⁹ D. D. Calvin, *Queen’s University at Kingston: The First Century of a Scottish Canadian Foundation, 1841-1941* (Kingston: The Trustees of the University, 1941), 206.

⁴⁰ During his five years in Kingston, Glover’s politics shifted from those of a little Englander to a liberal Imperialist. Writing to his mother in 1899, he mentions voting for Dr. Edward Ryan, who taught anatomy in the Medical College as Mayor of Kingston: “So when you find me voting for Celt, Catholic, and Conservative, you won’t call me hidebound, prejudiced and narrow-minded anymore” (H. G. Wood, *Terrot Reaveley Glover: A Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 47.

Although nominally independent, the School of Mining, established in 1893, functioned as a “milch cow” for the parallel but legally separate Faculty of Applied Science; as the school’s first director, W. L. Goodwin, later admitted.⁴¹ The teaching was done and paid for by the School of Mining, but the degrees were granted by the College, which had the authority to do so. The School of Mining, financed by the Ontario government, would eventually blossom into Queen’s Faculty of Applied Science. Like many of Grant’s arrangements, it was an arrangement which required nimble management techniques and, however necessary for Queen’s expansion in the short term, was not a good long-term solution. The conditions that permitted it were not to be counted on permanently. The legal and institutional structure of Queen’s needed to be regularized, so that it more accurately reflected the reality Grant had achieved on the ground.

In order for the provincial government to fund Queen’s openly, the legal connection between Queen’s and the Presbyterian Church needed to be severed. This was the task to which Grant set himself in the last couple of years of his life. On the provincial front, Grant’s negotiating partner was the Liberal premier, George Ross, who had accepted the job of Minister of Education that Grant had declined in 1883. Grant’s negotiating position was strengthened by the fact that William Harty, the Roman Catholic trustee, was also the sole Roman Catholic representative in Ross’s cabinet. Ross had good reason to be cooperative. The funding spigot had already been opened wide and would soon pay for the construction of both Ontario and Fleming Halls. Grant played his cards close to his chest and ran a one-man administration so there are not many written reports of the negotiations. A student song, however, captured the common perception and expressed confidence in Grant’s ability to make the appropriate arrangements. Set to the tune of the standard Presbyterian doxology, the words were:

Praise Ross, from whom these blessings flow,
Praise him Queen’s students here below,
Praise both of them, ye joyful host—
Both Grant and Ross—but Grant the most.⁴²

On the ecclesiastical side of things, Grant worked on two fronts. The Presbyterian General Assembly which would give his successor, Principal Gordon, such headaches for a decade, needed to be brought onside and made to face facts. The key to winning the vote at Assembly lay in working closely with its leading voices. If the acknowledged leaders indicated agreement, the approval of Assembly would quickly follow. Besides his own, such voices included Principal Caven of Knox College, Toronto and Principal MacVicar at Presbyterian College. Both already had sufficient reason for blessing Grant’s proposal in self-interested institutional protection, but he nevertheless took care to cultivate their support and draw them into his plans. Caven was appointed by the Assembly in 1900 to convene the liaison committee to work with the Queen’s trustees to prepare a detailed plan to alter the Queen’s charter. He was a good choice, and well-acquainted with university politics, having served on the Senate of the University of Toronto since Knox College’s affiliation with it in 1885. He was also active politically in a number of public moral campaigns like prohibition and the banning of Sunday

⁴¹ W. George Richardson, *Queen's Engineers: A Century of Applied Science, 1893-1993* (Kingston: Queen’s University, 1992), 18; Richardson cites a letter from Dr. Goodwin to Frederick Hamilton, Grant’s co-biographer, dated 28 March 1903.

⁴² H. C. Burleigh, *Forgotten Leaves of Local History* (Kingston: Brown & Martin, 1973), 161.

streetcars, would soon give the eulogy at Oliver Mowat's funeral, and continued to serve as a trusted political advisor to Ross in keeping Scottish and Irish Presbyterians in Ontario within the Liberal camp. Coming from a Secessionist background, the separation between arts and theological education was a matter of conviction for him. But this difference of opinion on the relationship between the study of Arts and Theology hardly precluded Caven and Grant from working together.

Grant was clear that in his plans to alter the Queen's charter what he sought was not secularization, but what he called "nationalization." In his report to the 1901 Assembly, he reported that Kingston ratepayers had endorsed a by-law granting \$50,000 for an additional building on campus. The measure had been overwhelmingly supported by all denominations "including the highest representatives of the Roman Catholic, Anglican, Methodist, Baptist and Congregational churches, and of the Jewish community" as well as the Trades and Labour council. The time had come, he announced, "to nationalize by statute the university, as completely as it has been nationalized in practice for many years, and to give to the Faculty of Theology a separate and independent incorporation, seeing that there is a certain inconsistency in having a denominational Faculty of Theology an integral part of an undenominational university."⁴³ By "undenominational" Grant meant generically Christian. What Grant asked of Assembly was to tidy up the legal paperwork of what had already been achieved so that legal technicalities did not stand in the way of the ecumenical future. A change in law required to remove a political impediment to open provincial funding for an institution that already clearly served the public good enjoyed broad support amongst the Christian public.

In the short term, an exclusively Presbyterian Board of Trustees would exercise control over the theological college while the governing Board of the University would be opened to those of all denominations, including representatives from any theological college affiliated with the new ecumenically Christian university. So far as Grant was concerned, these legally distinct institutions would share the same buildings so that faculty and students continued to rub shoulders and engage in discussion about "the whole." Divisions that might exist on paper would be smudged in the reality on the ground, as the university continued to evolve in the direction that Grant desired and anticipated. As he reported to Caven after a conversation with Ross, "nothing would compensate me for the weakening of religious life at Queen's, and I see no practical guarantee for the maintenance of that so great as the close relations which have existed in the past between our arts and theological students."⁴⁴ While certainly suspicious of Roman Catholics, especially Jesuit machinations in Quebec, Caven was open to ecumenical cooperation between evangelical Protestants. He had been a key speaker at the Toronto Conference on Christian Unity which brought Presbyterians, Methodists and some Anglicans together in 1889. He also served as the third president of the Canadian Society of Christian Unity, founded in 1898, following the Rev. Herbert Symonds, a Broad Church Anglican, and Principal Grant in that position.

Grant's efforts to draw Broad Church Anglican into his ecumenical and national project for theological education at Queen's is reflected in the fact that Symonds, the Anglican champion of an ecumenical and national church received an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree

⁴³ "Queen's University and College. Report of the Board of Trustees," *The Acts and Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1901): 190, 191.

⁴⁴ George M. Grant to William Caven, 21 May 1900, George Monro Grant fonds, R3202-0-3-E, Library and Archives Canada.

from Queen's in 1901.⁴⁵ A similar honour was conferred the following year on Mackenzie King's mentor, the Broad Churchman and fellow Scot, Prof. William Clark. They were men who shared what Clark said in his eulogy of Grant: "in regard to the fundamentals of Christianity he would not in the least give way, but that, outside that limit, he would allow great liberty. Indeed there are few men who represented more fully than he did the saying '*In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas*'"⁴⁶ (in necessary things unity; in uncertain things freedom; in everything compassion). Such was the Broad Church ideal.

Grant's plans for the university he had saved from extinction were thrown into disarray by his death. He was, quite simply, irreplaceable. No one else could pull off what he was attempting. No one else wielded his influence in provincial politics, commanded his legendary fundraising skills or enjoyed his credibility as an ecumenical partner. Perhaps the task, itself, was impossible in the Canadian context at the beginning of the twentieth century. In any case, it is clear that no one else could even string Ulysses' bow so as to aim at the target. No one else had travelled the world as Grant had or operated with such broad horizons. His death resulted in years of inconclusive struggle and debate as university and church struggled clumsily, without effective leadership, with the question of their legal relationship. It amounted to a decade of paralysis, as Christian Canada moved towards the catastrophe of the First World War which would change the contextual landscape so profoundly. Without Grant, there were no guarantees of further provincial funding. Premier Ross had made no commitments in writing and the Liberal grasp on power was becoming less secure. In office since shortly after Confederation, they would lose the 1905 election.

Nor was there anyone else in the Presbyterian Church to champion the ecumenical option towards which Grant was clearly driving. His project of studying Christian theology historically, ecumenically and "scientifically"—the intention behind the new chair of Church History and History of Christian Doctrine—was stillborn. It was clearly a Broad Church project, but the Rev. Samuel McComb, whose academic qualifications for the position Grant glowingly described to the Assembly in 1900, left in 1902 to take over D. M. Gordon's teaching responsibilities in Halifax when he was called as Grant's successor, before leaving Canada permanently in 1905 to graze in greener American Episcopalian pastures. Neatby is mistaken in her contention that Grant was indifferent to matters of Christian doctrine. He simply wanted to have it studied historically and to be focused on such essentials as the Incarnation and the Trinity rather than fruitless arguments about the exact relationship between divine determinism and human freedom that had so divided Presbyterians and Methodists, or dogmatic assertions about church polity. As far as Grant was concerned, the Church didn't stand or fall on whether it was governed by bishops or presbyteries.⁴⁷ In this respect he was following in the footsteps of such Church of Scotland worthies as Charles Inglis, John Stuart and John Strachan, all of whom became founding bishops in Canadian Anglicanism. Grant's theological focus was clearly on the uniting essentials of Christian faith rather than denominational distinctives and difference.

⁴⁵ Richard Ruggle, "'Better No Bread Than Half a Loaf,' Or 'Crumbs From the Historic Episcopate Table': Herbert Symonds and Christian Unity," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 18, no. 2-3 (1976): 59.

⁴⁶ Memorial tribute from Prof. William Clark, George Monro Grant fonds, R3202-0-3-E, vol 25, p. 607, Library and Archives Canada.

⁴⁷ In his *Lectures on Christian Unity* Herbert Symonds cites Grant as an influential Presbyterian not hostile to the possibility of Episcopal government in the project of constructing a national church (Toronto: William Briggs, 1899), 118.

Grant expounded these goals most fully in his powerful response to the attempt at the 1892 General Assembly to assert authority over academic appointments at Queen's:

Queen's is developing out of the rich and generous soil of Canadian Presbyterianism, in which it originated, into the great Christian university—for Christianity is wider than Presbyterianism—that its founders contemplated, a Christian University that students of all churches are attracted to, that all denominations who know anything of its work are proud of, a university that was a protest for freedom to begin with, that has done good work since, and that every broad-minded educationist wishes to see prosper, because he knows well that such a university may be even more needed in the not very distant future than it was needed in the past. These are days in which almost all Christians are longing and praying for a greater measure of union than has yet been accomplished. We frankly acknowledge the members of others churches as brethren. We do so practically in many ways. Is it not one good way to give them the share in the management of our University to which they are entitled? Then, should union be accomplished, the other Churches will find that in this particular we have anticipated the formal act of union, and feel that they enter into the possession of what they already had in earnest.⁴⁸

Queen's was to be a sign and symbol of Canada's ecumenical future. When Grant said that he wanted theology to be studied scientifically, he meant with historical rigour and comprehensiveness rather than being caught up in denominational polemic. He used the adjective "scientific" in the same way as his friend, the Rev. Andrew Martin Fairbairn, the Scottish Congregationalist founder of Mansfield College, Oxford. As Fairbairn put it,

From the strife of the sects we would return into the calm and gracious presence of Him who is at once the Head and the Heart of His Church. He has given us His peace, and it abides with us even amid the collisions and contradictions of men. These are but of time, while He is of eternity. And in His presence we may not meet negation with negation, and affirm of those who say that there is no Church but theirs, that theirs is no Church of Christ; on the contrary, we shall draw no narrower limits than those traced by the hand of the Son of man: "Whosoever shall do the will of My Father which is in heaven, the same is My brother, and sister, and mother."⁴⁹

A scientific theology implied rigorous and comprehensive study of the whole Catholic Christian tradition tested for coherence with the rest of human knowledge. Because it is grounded in history rather than the vagaries of either personal experience or an arbitrary claim to authority, theology was an appropriate discipline for study in the academy rather than one properly relegated to the Bible College. Grant's ambition for Queen's is another instance of his attempt to hold faith and the best of the Enlightenment tradition together on the assumption that

⁴⁸ George M. Grant, *Speech by Rev. Principal Grant to the General Assembly on the Relation of Queen's University to the Church* (Toronto: Presbyterian Printing & Publishing, 1892), 12.

⁴⁹ A. M. Fairbairn, *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1893), 548.

the truth is one and self-consistent. Such an understanding of theology as a scientific discipline implied ecumenical co-operation in a society that understood itself to be Christian before it was Baptist, Methodist, Roman Catholic or Presbyterian.⁵⁰ Grant was pushing for a post-denominational Christian church which would be at the centre of Canadian society.

After Grant's death, the terms of the discussion at Queen's began to shift. Increasingly, it turned simply to money and what was required to obtain it. Severing the legal link with the Presbyterian Church was a precondition for receiving money from the provincial government. A few years later, the Carnegie Fund would insist on the same requirement in order to provide pensions for professors of retirement age. But necessary conditions are not sufficient conditions; possibilities not guarantees. Without a leader of Grant's energy and capacity to realize the possibilities, a visionary with the ability to inspire others with a sense of destiny and passion to work towards a common goal, there was a tangible loss of confidence and momentum that affected both the Church and the University.

In the leadership vacuum that developed, the Honorable John Charleton, an American-born Liberal MP who preferred Canadian assumptions about the proper relationship between Church and State to those of the land of his birth, resurrected the possibility that Grant and Alexander Morris had discussed fifty years earlier in Glasgow. He offered \$50,000 towards the goal of making Queen's into a national Presbyterian university, one in which Arts and Theology would both be funded. The 1904 Assembly was persuaded to reverse the direction for which approval in principle had already been given, to retain legal control of the university and undertake to raise \$500,000 towards funding the Faculty of Arts. It would require another seven years for it to become obvious to practically everyone that Grant had been correct in his assessment, many years earlier, that the Presbyterian Church was not willing to concentrate its educational resources in Kingston. The fundraising campaign failed to meet expectations, especially when it had to compete with simultaneous campaigns by Knox and Presbyterian College. The belief that Arts education was properly the responsibility of government was far too deep-seated to be changed in most Canadian Presbyterians. The only realistic possibility for a university that tied Arts and Theology together on the Church of Scotland model lay in an ecumenical direction.

As it became increasingly clear that the church was not willing to fund its own national university, resentment mounted amongst faculty and students against irresponsible control of the university being exercised by a body unwilling to pay the bills. The question came down to whether or not the General Assembly would do what was legally required in order to allow Queen's to pursue other sources of funding. But without Grant's leadership to shape the result on the ground, long-time supporters of his plan got cold feet. In an environment that was becoming increasingly secular and less interdenominational, they feared for the future of the university in which they had invested so much. Among those who moved into opposition were Robert Campbell, the Clerk of the General Assembly, and G. M. Macdonnell, the university solicitor, as well as the Rev. Professor Samuel Dyde of the philosophy department. They pointed back to the mission laid out in the original 1841 Royal charter, namely "the education of youth in the principles of the Christian religion, and for their instruction in science and literature" and urged the Assembly not to "consent to any change in the constitution of the College, which would place beyond the control of the corporators the proper fulfillment of the trusts upon which the

⁵⁰ William Lawson Grant to Samuel Dyde, 28 January 1920, quoted in Rawlyk and Quinn, *The Redeemed of the Lord Day Say So*, 47.

said college is founded.”⁵¹ They sought, in other words, legal guarantees that the education provided at Queen’s would continue to be Christian in character.

So it came to be that the legislation eventually presented to the Federal government in 1912 called for Queen’s to be both a “national university”—Grant’s announced objective—and also “distinctly Christian” to satisfy the fears of those who sought to make explicit and legally binding an outcome which Grant assumed and towards which he was driving. A nineteenth-century Victorian, Grant took the fact of Christendom and Christian civilization for granted. But Christendom was grounded and depended on a shared faith rather than a legal code. Obviously Christendom could not be preserved merely by legal statute, whatever lawyers might hope. Positive law was a by-product of a social consensus that existed at a much deeper level.

The private member’s bill presented to Parliament in 1912 in relation to revisions in the Queen’s charter generated outrage amongst Canada’s recently arrived Jewish immigrant population. Loud protest rallies were held in Montreal, Toronto, Kingston and Winnipeg at the prospect of “a Christian and national university” in Kingston. A large delegation descended on Ottawa, led by the man who would soon become the Jewish MP for Montreal, Samuel Jacobs. According to Jacobs, a national university that remained “distinctly Christian” apparently raised the prospect of marauding Cossack hordes; the plan to transform Queen’s from a Presbyterian institution to a generically Christian one would make Queen’s “more Russian than Russia”⁵² he warned ominously. Such fears were easily stoked amongst those who still spoke no English and who had bad memories of Eastern Europe. Archie Bennett, a young Zionist who attended Queen’s on scholarship, won a gold medal in philosophy and would later play a leading role in establishing the Canadian Jewish Congress, characterized the reaction in the Jewish press as “inflammatory rather than instructive.”⁵³ He himself, however, considered the Presbyterian Church “guilty of bigotry” in “ungenerously” wanting to preserve the Christian character of “an institution over which it had once had absolute control.” Other Jewish journalists, even those writing in English, were less restrained in denouncing

the gratuitous insult to all non-Christians, that is to say Jews, because there are no other religions in the Dominion against whom, it could possibility be intended . . . We object to Parliament being made the vehicle of a small number of Presbyterian fanatics, and giving sanction to an act which draws distinctions between different religions in the Dominion of Canada . . . the air of Canada is too pure to allow distinction between race, religion or creed.”⁵⁴

The fact that significant numbers of Jews had attended Queen’s for years, apparently without injury, did not figure in the public discussion. Nor did the passionate commitment of the

⁵¹ *The Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-Seventh General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1911): 36, 37.

⁵² Bernard Figler, *Sam Jacobs: Member of Parliament* ([Ottawa: Harpell’s Press Co-operative, 1970]), 30.

⁵³ Bennett’s article, “Queen’s University Bill,” *Canadian Jewish Times*, 7 June 1912 was written partially in response to Marcus M. Sperber, “The Queen’s University Bill,” *CJT*, 22 March 1912 and “Protest Against the Queen’s College Bill,” *CJT*, 29 March 1912. According to Bennett, the Jewish press was “woefully incorrect and unfair in the treatment of the matter.”

⁵⁴ M. M. Sperber, editorial, *The Canadian Jewish Times*, 22 March 1912.

Canadian Jewish community to the Zionist cause, or how this might be reconciled with the abstract liberal principles so eloquently advertised in relation to Queen's.

Jacobs' talent for rabble-rousing helped to launch a long political career. He had already made a name for himself challenging the confessional nature of the Protestant school board of Montreal. Opposition to a private member's bill in relation to what was to become a self-governing university offered him a similar opportunity to campaign against alleged discrimination. But political agitation on a matter that had seriously divided Canadian Presbyterians for over a decade was perhaps not the wisest behaviour for a recently arrived immigrant community. Significantly, the Montreal Jewish establishment, including Sir Mortimer B. Davis and Mark Workman opposed Jacobs' candidacy as a Laurier Liberal in the 1917 election, worried about the effects of a small minority loudly challenging the assumptions on which the country had been built.⁵⁵ After all, the notion of a Christian Canada still had its defenders, not least Mackenzie King, who would dominate Canadian politics for the first half of the twentieth century. Overt opposition and ridicule of the Christian past only became commonplace after the 1960s. Until then, the political establishment still, at least, paid lip service to the Christian roots of Canadian liberal democracy.

The long-term effects of Jewish opposition to Grant's vision for Queen's are difficult to assess, but it is unlikely to have strengthened gentile support for increased levels of Jewish immigration. The 1912 political campaign made Jewish hostility to any conception of a Christian Canada a matter of public record. According to Michael Brown, it aroused animosities that surprised and frightened many in the Jewish community.⁵⁶ Erna Paris dates "overt anti-Semitism" in Quebec to the following year.⁵⁷ Certainly attitudes towards Jewish immigration had changed by the 1920s, and in the aftermath of the First World War. An obviously irritated McGill professor told a young David Lewis in 1928 that he didn't like it "when people of your race, who enjoy this country's freedom and opportunity, spend time attacking and denigrating our great society"⁵⁸—a sentiment perhaps more often thought than expressed. Cultural conservatives like T. S. Eliot also resented the contribution of secularized Jews to the perceived problem of the cultural dissolution of Christendom during the interwar years.⁵⁹ So, apparently, did John Buchan, Canada's Governor General in the 1930s.⁶⁰ Mackenzie King's well-documented ambivalence towards Jews thus need not be attributed solely to the early influence of Toronto's most famous anti-Semite, Goldwin Smith, or political pressure from Quebec and threatened resignations by Ernest Lapointe.⁶¹ It was more likely tied to the assessment that the Jewish community favoured a secularization of Canadian society that King opposed. For one who still lived in a world thick with the dead spirits of Christendom, "the evidence [was] very

⁵⁵ Michael G. Brown, *Jew or Juif: Jews, French Canadians, and Anglo-Canadians, 1759-1914* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1987), 247.

⁵⁶ Brown, *Jew or Juif?*, 246.

⁵⁷ Erna Paris, *Jews: An Account of Their Experience in Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1980), 50.

⁵⁸ David Lewis, *The Good Fight: Political Memoirs: 1909-1958* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1981), 23.

⁵⁹ Anthony Julius, *T. S. Eliot, Anti-Semitism, and Literary Form* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

⁶⁰ Gertude Himmelfarb, *Victorian Minds* (New York: Knopf, 1968).

⁶¹ Alan Mendelson, *Exiles from Nowhere: The Jews and the Canadian Elite* (Montreal: Robin Brass Studio, 2008), 65-67; 88-89.

strong . . . that in a large percentage of the race there are tendencies and trends which are dangerous indeed.”⁶² In any case, Samuel Jacobs’ impassioned pleas in the House of Commons during the 1920s and ’30s for increased levels of Jewish immigration fell on deaf ears. Ironically, a political career that began with a public campaign against even a nominal connection between Church and Nation, ended in heartbreak over the same issue. Jacobs was crushed at not being sent by Mackenzie King as a Canadian representative to King George VI’s coronation at Westminster Abbey in 1936—surely an odd ambition for one so violently opposed to the connection between Church and State.⁶³

King understood the Second World War to be a contest between Christian Civilization, badly decayed by materialism, and Nazi Paganism. While visiting President Roosevelt in 1937, he noted in his diary that he could have spoken of “Christ or Caesar as being the real issue,” but had refrained from doing so. He had made it clear however, that in his view “it was Christian civilization or the opposite.”⁶⁴ Beneath the military and political struggle between Fascism and Democracy lay a deeper, spiritual struggle. Shortly before Christmas 1939, King attended a speech at the Canadian Club at which he was reminded of Principal Grant. What he recalled was not Grant’s “coldness towards Jews” (an unfootnoted allegation in Michael Brown’s book *Jew or Juif? Jews, French Canadians, and Anglo-Canadians, 1759-1914*),⁶⁵ nor did he recall the “genteel anti-Semitism” that Alan Mendelson attributes to Grant in *Exiles from Nowhere: The Jews and the Canadian Elite*.⁶⁶ What he remembered was Grant’s contention that human politics at the deepest level involved a struggle between worldviews and philosophies: “I felt over and over again the truth of Principal Grant’s statement to me at the time I wrote him about post graduate studies as I was about to leave for Chicago when he said everything has its beginning and end in philosophy. . . . the present conflict is between Christianity and Paganism.”⁶⁷

There was too much Jewish influence around the Washington of Franklin D. and Eleanor Roosevelt for Prime Minister Mackenzie King’s taste, and he worried about parallel developments in Canada—especially after the Igor Gouzenko revelations.⁶⁸ In a materialistic age, King saw himself as a lonely defender of Christendom, whether it was under attack by the Nazis, the Conservative leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons or from any other quarter.⁶⁹ In its opposition to the Christian Canada that Grant had helped to create, and that he

⁶² Mendelson, *Exiles*, 88.

⁶³ Mendelson, *Exiles*, 127; Paris, *Jews*, 80-82.

⁶⁴ King, *Diaries*, 6 March 1937.

⁶⁵ Brown, *Jew or Juif?*, 245.

⁶⁶ Mendelson, *Exiles*, 95-110.

⁶⁷ King, *Diaries*, 19 December 1939.

⁶⁸ Mendelson, *Exiles*, 72, 88.

⁶⁹ King, *Diaries*, 26 February 1942. “[Hanson] went on to quote what Hutchison said about my reading the Bible, having faith in prayer, and believing in immortal life. He made the astonishing statement that he himself used to read the Bible, but had no time for it now. Personally, I felt proud to have this declaration made in Parliament of my foundation of beliefs. I have always hoped that the day might come when, in the Canadian Parliament, I might stand for the kind of thing that Gladstone stood for in the public life of England in the matter of political action being based on religious convictions, and the later known and boldly stated. The fact that the Leader of a political party would today say that he had no time for the reading of the Bible indicates, perhaps, better than anything else, just how completely the materialism of the recent past has destroyed the religious spirit, and the need there is, if

himself was trying to perpetuate, King distrusted the Jewish community. It was one of the factors eroding the Victorian religious past to which he clung. In this respect, King had something in common with religious and political authorities in Roman Catholic Quebec. His obvious ambivalence on the subject left him unwilling to oppose those whose views on the subject of Jewish influence were firmer. But explaining King's opinions by invoking the allegedly malevolent influence of Principal Grant is simply false. They flowed from his own worldview and his recognition of the constructive and self-sacrificing virtues of Christian Canada, its energy and sense of purpose in the task of nation-building north of the forty-ninth parallel, virtues summed up in the life and career of Principal Grant. Given King's assumptions about the importance of Christian civilization, his hesitations about Jewish immigration were no more irrational than present day concerns about the socially disruptive consequences of Muslim immigration in late modern liberal societies.

As a matter of historical record (as opposed to ideological assertion), the Kingston and the Queen's College that King had known as a young man had been anything but a centre of rabid anti-Semitism. The leading figure in Kingston's Jewish community, Samuel Oberndorffer, had been a friend of the Principal's, whose smiling face (between a Martello tower and the New Arts building) adorned the boxes that left Oberndorffer's cigar factory for the tobacconist shops of the nation.

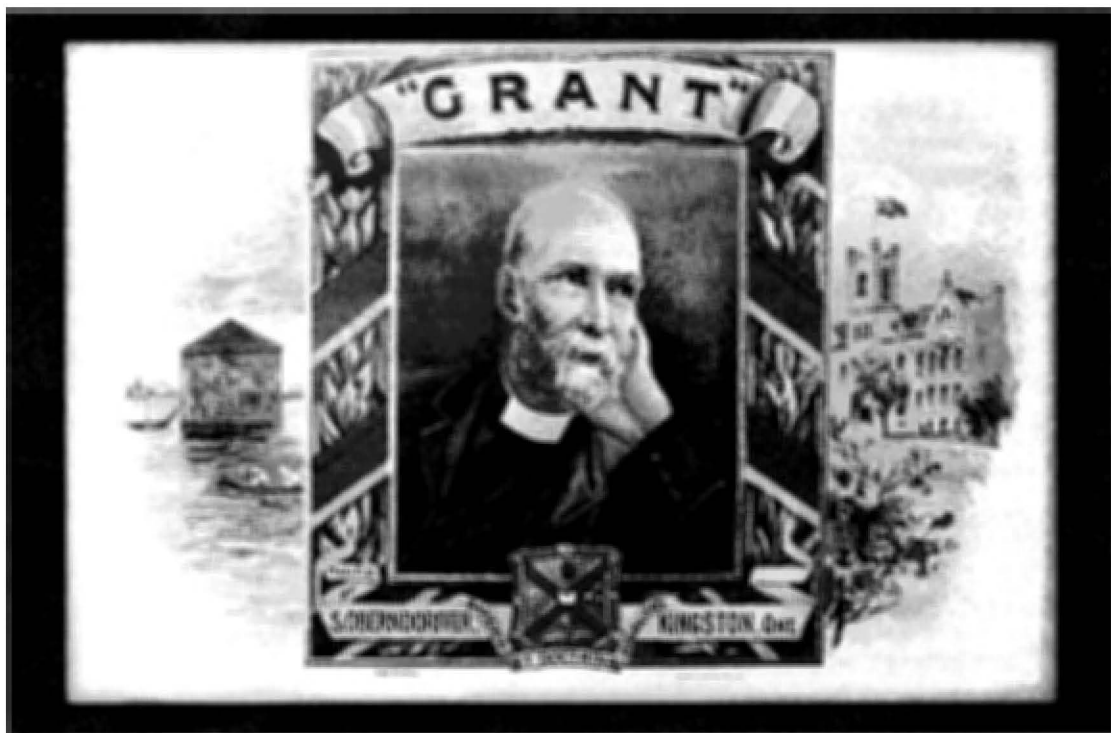


Figure 1: Grant on cigar box from Samuel Oberndorffer's factory in Kingston.

mankind is to be saved and a new order established, to get back as rapidly as we can to the old faith and the appreciation of the Eternal realities.”

On at least one occasion, Grant put his skills as a fundraiser to work on behalf of Kingston's Jewish community.⁷⁰ The historian, B. G. Sack, singles out Kingston as a Canadian city particularly hospitable to Jews.⁷¹ Kingston churches raised significant money for the victims of the Russian pogrom in 1905. When a synagogue was finally built, Kingston's gentiles contributed a fifth of its cost. The Hon. William Harty, by then Kingston's MP in Ottawa, alone contributed \$200. At the laying of the corner stone of the synagogue in 1910, the invited guests included two Presbyterian ministers (the Rev. Dr. Mackie, Grant's minister at St. Andrew's and the Rev. Dr. Macgillivray of Chalmer's Presbyterian) both of whom made speeches extolling the Jewish contribution to Western civilization.⁷² Archie Bennett, writing in the *Canadian Jewish Times* during the uproar over the modification of the Queen's charter, noted that "no institution is a truer reflection of the spirit of the Canadian nation, of its civilization at its best and noblest than Queen's. In Canada, I think I can safely say that the men of learning have, as a rule, shown themselves to be singularly fair and unbiased in their attitude toward Jews."⁷³

One understands Jewish anger, resentment and suspicion of the Christian past; the tragic events of the twentieth century have also provoked deep self-examination of an uneasy Christian conscience. No doubt a critique of Christian Canada is warranted and necessary, but history is the realm of ambiguity. In the years between the 1881 and the 1911 censuses, the Jewish population had increased from virtually nothing to only significant religious minority—approximately one percent of the population, the vast majority of whom lived in Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg. A generalized Christian antipathy for Jews such as Mendelson posits doesn't explain the obvious difference in public attitudes toward Jewish immigration in Canada before the First World War and after it.⁷⁴ There were other factors at work, perhaps including the vocal opposition of recently disembarked Jewish immigrants to the ground rules and assumptions on which the country had been built. This was most evident in relation to Catholic Quebec, but it also surfaced in the public opposition led by Samuel Jacobs and his associates in relation to Grant's plans for Queen's and for Canada at the beginning of the twentieth century.

In 1926, long after Queen's had turned towards the secularized and fragmented future that was to be Canada's twentieth-century destiny—a future bereft of any substantive account of the human good or Grant's unifying vision of the whole—a future Principal of Queen's, William Mackintosh, wrote to his friend, the Rev. Neil Leckie, complaining about the sense of drift and malaise in the university's administration: "I don't think that anyone here since the days of Grant had any clear conception of what he was trying to do with the university."⁷⁵ Whatever his faults, and whatever the results of his strenuous and focused life, Grant at least knew what he was aiming for.

⁷⁰ Grant and Hamilton, *Principal Grant*, 493.

⁷¹ B. J. Sack, *Canadian Jews—Early in This Century* (Montreal: National Archives, Canadian Jewish Congress, 1975), 7, 55.

⁷² *Kingston Whig Standard*, 11 October 1910.

⁷³ Bennett, "Queen's University Bill."

⁷⁴ Michael Brown, "From Stereotypes to Scapegoat," in *Antisemitism in Canada: History and Interpretation*, ed. Alan Davies (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1992), 39-66. The change in climate is evident in W. S. McCulloch's "This Anti-Semitism," *Queen's Quarterly* 45 (Autumn 1938): 384-93.

⁷⁵ W. A. Mackintosh to Neil Leckie, March 15, 1926, W. A. Mackintosh Papers, Queen's University Archives.

Adaptation and Risking Taking at Manitoba College, 1891-1912

Peter Bush

Theological colleges and other institutions of higher education are not often regarded as places of risk-taking and rapid adaptation. In exploring the pre-World-War-I history of Manitoba College, this paper will argue the Theological Department of Manitoba College took risks and adapted to meet the changing reality of The Presbyterian Church in Canada's mission field on the Canadian Prairies. The Theological Department was able to make these changes because it understood itself to be a servant of the Church.

John Black developed the preparatory school called Manitoba College almost immediately after his arrival in the Red River Settlement in 1851. His goal for the school was it would assist in raising up Manitoba-born Presbyterian clergy in the hopes they would serve Presbyterian congregations on the Prairies. The school would give students the educational background they needed to complete undergraduate studies and then theological studies in one of the eastern schools. By 1871, it was clear the costs of going east for university and theological training were preventing a significant number of potential clergy from pursuing this calling. So, Manitoba College started offering an undergraduate program after which students would do their theological training in the East. In the late 1870s some graduates of Manitoba College, having heard a call to ministry, asked why they needed to go east for theological training. The General Assembly approved the development of a temporary theological training program at Manitoba College under the direction of an Assembly-appointed Committee of Theological Superintendence which gave permission to the Presbytery of Manitoba to oversee the examination of students and the power to ordain those who successfully completed the program.¹ In the spring of 1883 the first five theological students completed their program at Manitoba College and were "engaged in the mission field" by June of that year.

Given the success of the temporary program, the Presbytery of Manitoba overtured the General Assembly, requesting the establishment of a Theological Department along with the appointment of a Principal and Professor of Divinity who would take responsibility for the program. The Assembly concurred and appointed the Rev. John M. King to be Professor of Theology. The choice was unexpected. King was a parish pastor not a theological professor, although many students from Knox College attended St. James Square Presbyterian Church, Toronto where King was pastor. King did not have roots in the West, and he appeared to be well established in his congregation. Over the course of a difficult summer, King came to the decision to accept the appointment to Manitoba College. He arrived in Winnipeg in the fall of 1883 and he threw himself into the work.

The trickle of settlers flowing on to the Prairies grew steadily through the 1880s and the demand for ministers far out-stripped the ability of the colleges to provide graduates. Theological students were employed to fill vacant pulpits during the summer months when they were not in school. The standard school year of October to March meant some Prairie congregations had a "minister" for six months of the year. But what of the six winter months? How were these congregations to be supplied with ministerial support? The 1891 Assembly was confronted by three overtures, one from the Presbytery of Toronto and the two others, being championed by the

¹ "Report of the Senate of Manitoba College for the Year 1882-83," *The Acts and Proceedings of the Ninth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1883): Appendix cl.

Rev. Dr. James Robertson, the Superintendent of Missions, were from the Presbytery of Brandon and the Synod of Manitoba and the North-West Territories. They all asked for one of the colleges to be given permission to reverse its school year from winter to summer.² The introduction of a Summer Session would free up some students to provide support to vacant congregations during the winter months. While the proposal was not a long-term solution to the clergy shortage, it was an immediate response which would alleviate part of the problem.

A high-powered committee of thirty-five men, including the principals of all the theological colleges, a number of other faculty and influential parish clergy, along with Robertson and nine prominent lay people, was named to study the issue. The committee could not reach a consensus. The majority reported, “after lengthened and full deliberation” of both the needs of the West and “how the interests of Theological education and the standard of ministerial efficiency may be conserved” the following conclusion was reached:

In view of the serious difficulties and evils which would attend the establishment of a Summer Session for Theological students, your Committee cannot recommend that our present College system be disturbed by introducing such an arrangement.³

The Committee asked that this become the decision of the Assembly. George Bryce, Professor at Manitoba College, and William Gregg, Professor at Knox College and a well-known traditionalist, both members of the minority group on the committee, were immediately on their feet with an amendment going the opposite direction, allowing for a three-year trial in one college. The debate on the amendment took the rest of the sitting of the Assembly and much of the next sitting, which was lengthened beyond the time for adjournment. In the end the amendment failed on a vote of 50 to 68. Before the question could be called on original motion, a motion was brought by Hugh McKellar, a long-time missionary on the Canadian Prairies, asking that “the whole question anent a Summer Session be referred to the Presbyteries of the Church.” This passed on a vote of 64 to 60.

Over the next year presbyteries discussed and responded to the proposal and the Senate of Manitoba College developed a plan to launch a Summer Session if they received approval. The Senate reported to the Assembly,

The important question of a change in the season of year, during which the classes in theology should be taught, has largely engaged the attention of the Senate since the date of last report. In the interests simply of the institution the Senate could have wished that this question had not been raised. In deference, however, to what appears to be a general desire of the Church that a summer session should be instituted at the seat of one of the colleges, under the Assembly, and in view of the fact that Winnipeg, especially because of its proximity to the largest mission field of the Church, appears to be the most suitable locality, the Senate has agreed to recommend to the General Assembly to arrange that the theological classes in

² *The Acts and Proceedings of the Seventeenth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1891): 26-27.

³ *Acts and Proceedings* (1891): 48.

Manitoba College should hereafter, and until otherwise appointed, be held during the summer months. . .⁴

Manitoba College and its faculty were willing to remake their academic calendar “in deference” to the desire of the Church to provide supply to fledgling congregations on a year-round basis. Such a change meant some Manitoba College faculty, including Principal King, would be teaching eleven months of the year—six in the undergraduate program and then five in the Theological Division.

Thirty-seven of the forty-six presbyteries in the denomination responded to the question about a Summer Session. One presbytery did not say “yes” or “no”; three presbyteries said “no”; and thirty-three said “yes” to the Summer Session. All agreed Manitoba College should be the host of the program.⁵

The opinions of the presbyteries and the Manitoba College plan were presented to the Assembly in 1892, and the Moderator named a committee to come back to the Assembly with recommendations. The committee membership, while smaller than the 1891 committee, was drawn from the academic community and prominent clergy and lay people. The committee met during the Assembly, and reported: “after long deliberation, the Committee being divided in regard to the principle of a summer session, deem it expedient to refer the whole matter back to the Assembly.”⁶ Unable to decide, the Committee turned to the Assembly, and the Assembly after some debate voted 114 to 13 to approve the Summer Session at Manitoba College.⁷ The first such session would be from April to August 1893.

With great anticipation Manitoba College prepared for the Summer Session. The faculty the first summer included: Dr. Scrimger of Presbyterian College, Montreal; Prof. Thomson of Knox College; and Prin. Grant of Queen’s. Professor King and Andrew Baird, also of Manitoba College, taught the Biblical languages. Dr. McLaren of Knox College, who as a member of both the 1891 and 1892 committees of Assembly looking at the matter had opposed the development of the Summer Session, taught Systematic Theology. When he returned for the 1894 Summer Session he told the *Winnipeg Free Press* that he “was not favourable to a summer session when it was first proposed, but now that it is a settled fact, he is doing all in his power to make the work successful.”⁸ McLaren had submitted to the will of the Church and was prepared to serve that will to the best of his ability, becoming a regular on the Summer Session faculty.

The student-managed *Manitoba College Journal* wrote glowingly about the first Summer Session: “the experiment is giving promise of great success. It is expected to prove a powerful factor in securing a continuous supply of services throughout the year in every mission station in the Synod.”⁹ By November 1893 King and Robertson were offering theological students in eastern Canada a unique opportunity: take first-year theology in an eastern seminary in the fall and winter, come to Manitoba College and take second-year courses in the Summer Session, and

⁴ “Report of the Senate of Manitoba College for the Year 1891-2,” *The Acts and Proceedings of the Eighteenth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1892): Appendix 9, iv.

⁵ *Acts and Proceedings* (1892): 27-28.

⁶ *Acts and Proceedings* (1892): 36.

⁷ *Acts and Proceedings* (1892): 45.

⁸ *Winnipeg Free Press*, 25 April 1894.

⁹ Editorial, *Manitoba College Journal* 8, no. 6 (July 1893): 143-44.

then spend a full year in a Prairie congregation, before returning to their home institution for a third year in the fall and winter. The *Manitoba College Journal* was excited by this new possibility (all theological students at the time were men):

We believe that any student who will stay away from his own college for one year to serve the new church in the West and to take one session with us in the summer will not only do his duty to his fellow countrymen, but will find that the year's experience has made him a larger and broader man.¹⁰

This development in the Summer Session appears to have been unanticipated by the theological colleges in the eastern part of the country. Recruiting students to take their second year away from their home institutions would likely have led to some animated conversations between Manitoba College leadership and their counterparts in other colleges.

The Summer Session brought theological voices to Winnipeg that would never have come any other way than that they were invited to teach at the Summer Session. Principal Caven when he came in 1894 not only taught but gave a series of free public lectures. McLaren and Grant preached in a variety of city pulpits during their time in Winnipeg. As the Summer Session became established King's ability to invite prominent international faculty grew: James Orr of the United Presbyterian Church's theological college in Edinburgh taught two summers and George Adam Smith from Glasgow (Smith did not move to Aberdeen until 1909) taught one session, as did Francis R. Beattie of Louisville Theological Seminary. (Beattie had been born in Guelph, Ontario and served congregations in Canada for ten years before going to Louisville.)

The college had taken a risk in seeking to respond to the needs of the Church, a risk opposed by many within the academic community of the denomination, but a risk that proved beneficial to the Church as in the first year alone more than fifteen pastoral charges had supply through the winter months.

John Mark King died unexpectedly in the spring of 1899 at the age of seventy, and in 1900 William Patrick became Principal of Manitoba College.¹¹ One of Patrick's first moves was to return the Theological Department to a traditional academic year, making 1902 the last of the Summer Sessions. The change created a challenge for the Home Mission Committee and by extension for the General Assembly: where to find sufficient personnel to staff congregations?

The General Assembly named a Winnipeg-based committee to explore ways to get more missionaries into the "great work of home mission" in particular the "outlying fields." Among the proposals was the creation of a new class of minister—the Minister-Evangelist. The Committee was convinced the traditional educational model of undergraduate degree followed by three years of theological college would not produce enough clergy to meet the demand in the short term, that being seven years. While unwilling to lessen the academic demands in the education of "ordinary ministers," the committee advocated the creation of the Minister-Evangelist class of ministry. Any male with a high school diploma who was able to demonstrate the academic ability to do the course work and had some ministry experience was eligible for the program. The program was shortened by one year for each year of credit the prospective student

¹⁰ Editorial, *Manitoba College Journal* 9, no. 1 (Nov. 1893): 15.

¹¹ For more on William Patrick see: David Rollo, "William Patrick: Ecumenical and Economical Presbyterian," in *Boswell's Children: The Art of the Biographer*, ed. R. B. Fleming (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992), 99-110.

had from a similar program offered outside the Presbyterian Church. The curriculum was much like a Bible College program with a heavy emphasis on Bible and practical ministry courses. The faculty of the host institution could substitute New Testament Greek for another course at their own discretion if they thought that was necessary. The recommendation was the program be offered at Manitoba College. William Patrick was among the members of the committee, and was supportive of the program being offered concurrently with the regular college term.¹²

Graduates of the program would be eligible for appointment by a Presbytery to mission charges funded by the Home Mission Committee; they were not eligible to be called to a self-supporting congregation. By their appointment the graduates were ordained to celebrate the sacraments in the pastoral charge, but nowhere else. After four years of “approving [themselves] able to do efficiently the full work of the ministry,” presbyteries could request permission of the General Assembly to grant “the full status of a minister” to the Minister-Evangelist. The Clerks of the General Assembly argued opening up such a path to ordination required consultation with Presbyteries. The Assembly thought differently, approving the creation of Minister-Evangelists in the year the idea was introduced. The needs of the Church trumped the niceties of church processes.¹³

The program attracted students to Manitoba College; of the seven students who graduated from the program in 1905, four had had previous Bible College training. The program also attracted students who were somewhat older, with job experience before entering theological training. Often this experience included having served in some kind of mission work, either in the inner city or as a catechist in a remote congregation. By 1906, half of the students in the program were immigrants from Scotland who saw in the program a path to ordination which was easier than the one required by the Church of Scotland.¹⁴

Two unexpected consequences resulted from the program. First, some students who were academically able to handle the rigors of the full theological course chose the route of Minister-Evangelist. Patrick bemoaned this loss to the College and the Church, but was prepared to accept it as a necessary evil in order to meet the Church’s larger need of finding a sufficient number of personnel. A second surprise shocked Patrick. He had always thought the mission charges to which the Minister-Evangelists would be sent were going to be in remote, hard-to-reach areas. However, the mission charge of Dufferin Ave. Church in the north end of Winnipeg requested the Presbytery of Winnipeg appoint J. G. Bitcon to the congregation. The congregation had come to love and respect Bitcon as he served them during his student days at Manitoba College training to be a Minister-Evangelist. Patrick spoke vehemently against this appointment because it blocked the way for “ordinary ministers” to find city congregations.

Prepared to see some students lost from the traditional theological program for the good of the Church, Patrick was not willing to see congregations in attractive locations filled by ministers who had been groomed for the edges of the country. There was a limit to how much he was prepared to bend in the service of the Church. Despite Patrick’s concerns with the program,

¹² “Report of the Committee Appointed by the General Assembly on the Training of Men for Home Mission Work,” *The Acts and Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1902): Appendix 310-11.

¹³ *Acts and Proceedings* (1902): Appendix 310-11, “Report of the Committee on the Training of Men for Home Mission Work,” 65.

¹⁴ *Manitoba College Journal* 20, no. 6 (Apr. 1905): 20; *Manitoba College Journal* 21, no. 6 (Apr. 1906): 6; *Manitoba College Journal* 22, no. 6 (Apr. 1907): 3.

the Minister-Evangelist program remained in place until 1915 when over the course of three years it was phased out.¹⁵

Clifford Sifton's time as Minister of the Interior (1896-1905) in the government of Wilfrid Laurier had led to the immigration of thousands of Ukrainians and other Eastern Europeans to the Canadian Prairies. Among these new arrivals were John Bodrug and John Negrich and others disenchanted with the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox Churches and drawn to a Protestant understanding of the faith. In these new arrivals the churches in Canada, and the Presbyterian Church in particular, heard a call to reach out with the gospel message. Part of the Church's motivation was to help the immigrants acquire "Canadian thought and sentiment" and part was the "spiritual elevation" of the Ukrainians. These two were linked in the desire to instill the "highest ideals of Christian citizenship."¹⁶

Bodrug and Negrich decided, in October 1898, to seek admission to Manitoba College. They were warmly received by Principal King and James Robertson and others. These two were the start of what evolved into "the Galician class," a program inside Manitoba College that taught Ukrainian students in Ukrainian and in English. The program was bilingual so students would learn English but not be held back from advancing academically. Later, when Michael Sherbinin became the director of the Galician program, Ukrainian language study was introduced because Sherbinin believed if students understood the grammar of their mother tongue well, it would be easier for them to acquire an additional language. Sherbinin was a Ukrainian aristocrat who took seriously his obligations as nobility to seek the best for his fellow compatriots; his aristocratic standing and university education allowed him to gain the ears and minds of leading figures in Manitoba.¹⁷ At first, the goal was to create a group of teachers who could teach school in the Ukrainian communities dotting the West, but the development of the Independent Greek Church in 1903 created a need for theological-trained Ukrainian-speaking clergy, and that training took place at Manitoba College. By 1905 a parallel education program was running alongside the traditional work of Manitoba College. Over the next eight years it drew eight to fifteen students a year into the teacher training program and a similar number into the preparation for ministry program. The 1908-1909 school year was the high-water mark of the program with a total of twenty-seven students enrolled.¹⁸

The Independent Greek Church was called Greek not because of the ethnicity of its parishioners but because of its liturgy. Funded by the Home Mission Committee of the Presbyterian Church, its worship was a blend of John of Crysostom and nineteenth-century Presbyterian preaching. The Independent Greek Church was a denomination within a denomination. Although Patrick taught a special five-week systematic theology component in the ministry training section of the Galician Class, Sherbinin was given almost complete freedom in the teaching of his students, and was instrumental in the creation of a Catechism. Question 40 asked: "How many Sacraments are there?" The answer: "The Orthodox Greek Church says seven, namely: 1. Baptism, 2. Unction with Chrism, 3. Penitence, 4. Communion, 5. Anointing of the sick, 6. Orders, and 7. Matrimony." Question 41 asked: "What are the principal

¹⁵ A. G. Bedford, *The University of Winnipeg: A History of the Founding Colleges* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 78.

¹⁶ Principal William Patrick, quoted in *Winnipeg Free Press*, 17 November 1910.

¹⁷ George Knysh, *Michael Sherbinin in Winnipeg: A Preliminary Study* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1994).

¹⁸ Bedford, *University of Winnipeg*, 79.

Sacraments?” The answer: “Baptism and the Lord’s Supper, called also Eucharist.” The Catechism did not use the word “Mass.” At Manitoba College a catechism was introduced to students in the Galician class which opened the door for the marking of seven sacraments. Two were “principal” but the other five were not condemned or excluded. The leadership of Manitoba College was prepared to bend its theological understanding so the Church might advance in its mission among a people it had never served before.¹⁹

The experiment called the Independent Greek Church collapsed in 1912-1913 largely because The Presbyterian Church in Canada was not prepared to allow such an experiment to continue outside of the centralizing control of the emerging church bureaucracy. The Independent Greek Church was not the only experimental mission impacted by the rise of the church bureaucracy; other missions that did not fit the “standard” approach for doing church work were also shut down or severely curtailed.²⁰ With the collapse of the Independent Greek Church, Manitoba College took seriously the opportunity to open a way for Ukrainians to find a home in the Presbyterian Church, investing personnel and resources in a parallel college and theological program not in English at a time when there was pressure to have all education in Manitoba done in English. The College chose to serve the mission vision of the Church.

Manitoba College showed itself prepared to adapt to the changing mission and ministry needs of the Church. Even when the adaptation meant going against the best “academic” interests of the College the leadership was prepared to defer to the Church. Even when it meant, in Paul’s words, “becoming all things to all people” it did so.

¹⁹ *Catechism of the Independent Greek Church* (Winnipeg: Ranok Publishing, 1908).

²⁰ See Peter Bush, “Developing a Denominational Structure: The Introduction of a Unified Budget,” *Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers* 37 (2012): 17-33.

Stanford Reid's Legacy for Christian Academics

A. Donald MacLeod

This conference marks the centenary of the birth of William Stanford Reid, born 13 September 1913, at 619 Victoria Avenue here in Westmount. The name suggests his dual heritage: William Dunn (W. D.) Reid, the name of his forty-eight year old Scottish father, a doughty Presbyterian minister whose new church was being built a few blocks away. Stanford was his mother's name: English Daisy Stanford, thirty-five, a woman of courage and conviction who had served as a missionary to India. Their older son, who always used his second name Stanford, went on to make his mark as the twentieth century unfolded as cleric, academic, scholar, *provocateur*, and above all a Christian, an evangelical Calvinist. It is his legacy I have been asked to summarize as we celebrate the centenary of his birth. As I do so I will speak first of the legacy of the man and then the legacy of his message.

It is appropriate that our celebration is on the campus of McGill University. McGill, funded by a fur trader who worshipped at St. Gabriel St. Presbyterian Church as soon as it was founded in 1792, was dominated for thirty-eight years of the nineteenth century by Principal Sir William Dawson, geologist and psalm-singing Free Churchman. McGill's major financial backers in the mid-nineteenth century were Free Church elders Peter and John Redpath and Joseph MacKay who also built and endowed Presbyterian College on the McGill campus. For over thirty years its Principal was another doughty Calvinist, Donald Harvey MacVicar. MacVicar created what was called the "Princeton [Seminary] of the North" and stamped his theology on Stanford Reid's father and, by inheritance, Stanford himself.

The Reid identity was tied up with McGill: W. D. and his two brothers, Andrew and Allan, were graduates in arts and did their theology studies at Presbyterian College. W. D. taught there but when a choice had to be made as to which seminary Stanford would attend, having received an honours BA and an MA at McGill before he was 21, he opted instead for Westminster Seminary in Philadelphia. That renunciation of his past was later repeated when, in 1965, after teaching at McGill for twenty-four years, he left Quebec forever to found the History Department at the new University of Guelph.

On 2 June 1963 Stanford Reid made a headline in the *Montreal Gazette*: "Presbyterian Minister Leads a Double Life." Marcia Hollis, the American wife of the man who became the eleventh Anglican archbishop of Montreal, described Stanford Reid's double life as minister and academic as "difficult" but done "with considerable success." Reid had just been appointed Director of Men's Residences at McGill. His responsibility for the previous eleven years for 224 students as Warden of Douglas and Wilson Halls of Residence had now expanded to 825 with the new dormitories just opened further up Mount Royal. She noted that "Professor" Reid—never Rev. Reid at McGill—was also an ordained Presbyterian minister, "a fact less well known."¹

¹ Marcia Hollis, "Teaches At McGill: Presbyterian Minister Leads A Double Life," *Gazette*, June 2, 1962, 22.

Straddling two careers was never an easy call for Stanford Reid. When, after a decade of part-time teaching at McGill, he left the pastorate of the Town of Mount Royal Presbyterian Church, which he had founded in 1944, to accept an appointment as associate professor at McGill in 1951, he did so, the article continued, with “a growing commitment that ‘secular universities’ needed more teachers of Christian convictions and background. I’ve never tried to proselytize, Dr. Reid said firmly. But I do feel that everyone speaks from some background, whether it’s humanism, materialism or Christianity.” Reid went on to cite a student who had railed against church, clergy and all forms of religion in his classes. As Reid always did with his students, the young man was invited to tea in Reid’s apartment in Douglas Hall and discovered that Reid was not only a Christian; he was also an ordained minister. He apologized profusely. “I told him,” Reid explained, “that if he really believed what he said, he should keep on saying it whether I was a minister or not. I don’t think he quite understood my point of view.”

Fifty-one years later: how things have changed! Earlier this month Quebec’s Premier Pauline Marois introduced a so-called “Charter of Quebec Values” designed “to promote secularism and religious neutrality in public institutions.” From being the most religiously observant area in North America fifty years ago, Quebec has become the most secular. This is reflected in its social norms: in 2006 a third of couples in Quebec were in common-law unions and close to 60% of new registered births in Quebec were to unmarried mothers.² With that collapse has come an aging and emptying of churches, striking with the large Roman Catholic mausolea of a previous generation but even more obvious with the Protestant mainline churches in Quebec. This is due to the impact of secularism but greatly exacerbated by the Anglophone exodus of the 1970s. Church attendance in Quebec is lower than anywhere else in North America and is on a par with Western Europe.

Stanford Reid’s legacy as an academic historian in the university has to be placed in the context of the seismic changes that took place in Canadian religious life during his teaching career. He began his academic work at McGill at the zenith of an ultramontane Catholicism that bordered on fascism. To this day in the Church of the Madonna della Difesa in Montreal’s Little Italy there is a fresco commemorating the 1929 Lateran Treaty with the Vatican with an heroic Mussolini riding his horse in triumph. Just before the outbreak of war in 1939 the three-time Mayor of Montreal and local Member of Parliament Camilien Houde stated “the sympathy of the French-Canadians in Quebec will be on the side of Italy. Remember that the great majority of French-Canadians are Roman Catholics, and that the Pope is in Rome.”³ He sat out most of the war in prison for sedition.

As an “Anglo” in a French-speaking province, whose family had arrived from Scotland in the 1830s and settled in a small community south of Quebec City, much of Stanford Reid’s pugnacious assertiveness came from being a part of a minority. He was not only a Protestant vastly outnumbered in the general population, he was an evangelical, one of only two on the McGill faculty at the time, outspoken about their faith identity. Even in his own denomination, as a continuing Presbyterian who was a confessional Calvinist, he was often marginalized and dismissed as “that fundamentalist,” which he definitely was not. Despite all his pugnacity, however, he was never bitter nor angry.

² France-Pascale Ménard, “What Makes It Fall Apart? The Determinants of the Dissolution of Marriages and Common-Law Unions in Canada,” *McGill Sociological Review* 2 (April 2011): 60.

³ Camilien Houde, speech given at the Montreal YMCA, quoted in “Canada: Houde for Dictators,” *Time*, February 20, 1939, 20-21.

The union of 1925 between Presbyterians, Methodists and a few Congregationalists had been fought out combatively, even among the Reids. The three brothers were divided: Andrew went with the Unionists, Allan became the rallying point for minorities who re-established 120 Presbyterian churches across the Synod of Montreal and Ottawa, and then there was feisty W. D. Reid, Stanford Reid's father, minister of Stanley Presbyterian Church in the upscale Montreal suburb of Westmount. Stanley Church was dedicated the year after Stanford Reid's birth. It was a monument to Christendom, a recreation of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. That summer of 1914 "death like a proud tower looked gigantically down" on Western civilization.⁴ With the outset of World War I, the slow march to extinction of both the British Empire and Western institutional Christianity began. The war memorial from Stanley Church, commemorating the scores of loyal British colonials who gave their lives in the trenches of France, was last seen in an antique store on Notre Dame Street, downtown Montreal. What does it mean to the West Indian émigrés who now fill the auld kirk?

The Presbytery of Montreal, the geographic heart of opposition to church union in 1925 and once the largest in the continuing denomination with sixteen thousand members, has now shrunk to fewer than three thousand. One of Stanford Reid's more productive efforts, it seemed at the time, was church planting in the 1950s: of the nine suburban Montreal Presbyterian churches he helped initiate or support only four struggling congregations now barely survive. His own Town of Mount Royal Presbyterian Church, founded by him in 1944 to be a solidly Reformed and committed congregation, is currently on life support.

In his oft-quoted article "What Happened to Christian Canada?" Mark Noll sets about to explain why, quoting a priest in Quebec film-maker Denys Arcand's *Les invasions barbares*, "In 1966 all the churches emptied out in a few weeks."⁵ Three years earlier, as a university professor, Stanford Reid anticipated the exodus in an article on "The Church and the Campus": ". . . most of the students lost to the church during their college careers came to the campus without any real understanding of Christianity. They are abysmally ignorant of even the most elemental Christian principles and certainly have no idea of the meaning of personal faith in Christ as Saviour and Lord." The superficial Christianity that built those pretentious A-frame churches of the 1950s and early 1960s with their so-called Christian education centres that proved to be neither Christian nor particularly educational, Reid saw to be a chimera, an illusion. "The church does not need to lose out on the campus," he concluded, "if it is prepared to do its 'home work.'"⁶ That, it subsequently turned out, it had singularly failed to do.

So Stanford Reid would answer Mark Noll's question "What Happened to Christian Canada?" by a simple answer: they lacked a coherent and credible Christian faith. The failure was primarily a *theological* one. Church union in 1925, creating Canada's largest Protestant denomination, had compromised a distinctively Christian voice based on Biblical authority and theological integrity. Ironically it was the Free Church element in The Presbyterian Church in Canada (the largest Protestant denomination in Canada prior to 1925) that took the lead in church union negotiations.

⁴ "While from a proud tower in the town / Death looks gigantically down," Edgar Allen Poe, "The City in the Sea" (1845), lines 28-29, appropriated by Barbara Tuchman for her best-selling account of the summer of 1914: *The Proud Tower: A Portrait of the World Before the War, 1890-1914* (New York: Macmillan, 1966).

⁵ Mark Noll, "What Happened to Christian Canada?," *Church History* 75, no. 2 (2006): 252.

⁶ W. Stanford Reid, "The Church and the Campus," *Presbyterian Record*, April 1963, 14.

The Free Church in Canada, formed in 1844 as the Canada Presbyterian Church, through its various unions (1861 and 1875) had always represented the best and most evangelical element of Canadian Presbyterianism. When in 1902, on behalf of their General Assembly, then meeting in Winnipeg, three Presbyterians appeared before the concurrent General Council of the Methodists the spark was lit; a spark that ignited a controversy that ironically disunited Canadian Protestantism in the name of union. One of the Presbyterians was C. W. Gordon, who by his pen name Ralph Connor was known for syrupy novels of a sentimental Canadian spirituality. The second of the trio was recently immigrated William Patrick, a Free Church minister from Scotland, who had become Principal of Manitoba College, and who enthused about the recent union between the United Presbyterians and the Free Church of Scotland as a template for a merger between ostensibly Calvinist Presbyterians and Arminian Methodists. As the conflict raged for the next quarter century W. D. Reid was forced to take sides as C. W. Gordon shouted to him across the 1923 General Assembly: “We will force you rebels by an act of parliament, whether you like it or not.”⁷

Deprived of its Free Church element, what emerged in the continuing Presbyterian Church was a rump at both ends of the theological spectrum: confessional Calvinists (and some fundamentalists) on the so-called “right” and broad church latitudinarians and Scotophiles on the “left.” When both the two remaining theological colleges were led by principals on the “left”—Gresham Machen having turned down a proposal to nominate him to be principal of Knox College⁸—The Presbyterian Church in Canada lost any coherent theological identity. The neo-orthodoxy of Walter Bryden, who taught at Knox College from 1927 to 1952, came closest to providing it. In December 1951, on Bryden’s all-too-brief retirement, David Kerr wrote in *Reformation Today*, the magazine Reid edited (and financed): “Dr. Bryden has done a great deal to make the Presbyterian Church theologically conscious.”⁹

That is why, when he arrived at Westminster Theological Seminary in the autumn of 1935, Stanford Reid found the school so challenging and life-affirming. It shaped not only his theology, it also instructed him in that Calvinist sense of vocation which understood “full-time Christian service” as more than the ordained ministry or missionary service, and instilled a deep respect for academic scholarship, contrary to the anti-intellectualism of 1930s American fundamentalism. Although Reid had only a year and a half with Gresham Machen before Machen died on 1 January 1937, the exposure to Reformed theology was life-redirecting. Hitherto his experience of Evangelical Christianity had been the Keswick piety of his English mother and the fundamentalism of Howard Guinness, who had founded the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship in 1929, followed by “Tiny” or Noel Palmer. Though still in high school, Reid had been a charter member of IVCF, an English transplant specializing in camping experiences and personal evangelism. By Christmas 1935, returning to Montreal, he shared his enthusiasm for his newly acquired theological insights with his bewildered local InterVarsity alums.

⁷ A. Donald MacLeod, *W. Stanford Reid: An Evangelical Calvinist in the Academy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2004), 36.

⁸ See my “Knox College and Knox Church Going Separate Ways after Church Union,” *The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers* 37 (2012): 34-42. See also Daryll G. Hart, *Calvinism: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 266-67

⁹ David W. Kerr, editorial, *Reformation Today* 1, no. 3 (1951).

In 1973, looking back over thirty-three years of academic work, Reid wrote a church functionary in response to a questionnaire as to why he had “left the ministry.” Appealing to the example of the apostle Paul who lectured in school of Tyrannus in Ephesus for two years, he challenged such a narrow concept of ministry, “My conviction is that our church has to get away from the quasi-priestly concept of the minister to a much broader view.” He added: “being a convinced Calvinist, I believe that the New Testament clearly teaches that Christ guides his people by his providence and that as they prayerfully follow his providential leading he opens up ways before them. All my moves have taken place only after a good deal of thought and prayer in order that I should do what the Lord wished me to do.”¹⁰

In a quote from my 2004 biography of Reid that has often been cited since, I say that “Throughout his life he was ignored, minimized, ostracized and rejected. Remarkably all of these experiences did not leave him bitter or angry. His Calvinism provided a ready antidote to this buffeting. He was continually going back to the themes of providence and the perseverance of the saints. His Calvinism was of a very practical and personal nature.”¹¹ The life of an academic is not free from struggle—there is no ivory tower in academia, as Reid discovered. Twice he received stinging reverses: the failure of the 1950 Canadian Presbyterian General Assembly to appoint him to the chair of church history at Presbyterian College in favour of a much less qualified man, and his passing over after he accepted an invitation in 1954 to preach during the vacancy at Knox Church, Toronto, the premier evangelical Presbyterian pulpit in Canada. These haunted him to the end of his life. And there was at the end his wife Priscilla’s blindness and dementia. Westminster Seminary made him convinced of the sovereign grace and love of an Almighty God; life confirmed it.

In 1965 came that great rejection as he accepted an appointment to set up a History Department at the University of Guelph, then derisively called “Moo U” because of its previous incarnation as an agricultural school. Leaving a full professorship at McGill, Provost of one of the most prestigious universities in Canada, a recognized scholar which provided him time for research and study, he and Priscilla set off for small-city Ontario. It turned out to be the most fruitful fourteen years of his professional life. At Guelph he was riding the crest of a wave of university expansion, money (at least initially) was no consideration, and he brought together his own department of diverse interests and personalities. As an invited preacher he had opportunities to speak across denominational divides, finding a special welcome in the growing Ontario Christian Reformed community who appreciated a native Canadian voice for their recently imported Reformed faith.

He brought some of his graduate students with him to Guelph—a particular reason why Guelph had hired him—and soon he had more of them than any other professor in the new Wellington College. The impact of his careful and caring supervision widened and perpetuated his influence. There were drawbacks: he never found a congregation that was totally theologically congenial, and his research and writing were often postponed in spite of his prodigious work ethic. Covering for an appointee in his department he never should have hired meant that his biography of John Knox, which was to be his *chef-d’oeuvre*, had to be delayed beyond the 1972 commemoration of Knox’s death and as a result was not all that it might have been.

¹⁰ W. Stanford Reid to Alex MacSween, 7 September 1974. W. Stanford Reid fonds, RE1 UOG A0965, McLaughlin Library, University of Guelph.

¹¹ MacLeod, *W. Stanford Reid*, 300.

So much for Reid the man: what, as an academic, were the emphases of his scholarship that made him so important a figure for his students and for the many who respected his keen insights and careful research? I emphasize five areas of his interest:

(a) The Special Place of Quebec Within the Canadian Mosaic

Stanford Reid was first and foremost a Quebecker and his academic interests were shaped by his place of birth, his *patrimoine*. While his first book, his master's thesis published in 1936, was about Upper Canada, his initial research as an academic was Quebec and specifically the seigneurie of Mille-Îles. During the war years, unable to go overseas, he spent a lot of time in the registry office in St. Eustache poring over its early records. Though not completely bilingual, Reid, always a gifted linguist, spoke serviceable French and preached in Église St. Luc in East End Montreal at the request of the Presbytery when no Francophones were available. McGill at the time was English to an extent hardly conceivable today but residents of Douglas Hall can remember, while eating their meals in the dining hall, lively conversations in *patois* between Reid at the high table and the formidable Auriole Horiange in the kitchen. Once a Quebecker, always a Quebecker: moving to Guelph did not alter his primary allegiance to his province of origin. Priscilla Reid's contribution to the preservation of Le Vieux-Montréal as President of the Historical Association of the city was a further enhancement of the Reids' legacy to the future of their native province.

(b) Scotland's Unique Place in History

Stanford Reid's greatest legacy was his contribution to the study of Scottish history and the establishment of the Scottish Studies program at the University of Guelph. This reflected not only his father's Scottish identity; it also reflected that symbiosis between the Québécois and the Scots after 1763 in which the enemy of my enemy is my friend—a North American version of the auld alliance. Doing his graduate study at the University of Pennsylvania provided him with excellent resources for his PhD thesis on fifteenth-century Scotland, particularly important since the countries were at war and travel was limited. Henry Charles Lea had accumulated a remarkable collection of primary source material and the medievalist Arthur Charles Howland was Reid's supervisor. The four academics on his thesis committee were all distinguished medievalists but none had ever ventured north of Tweed and Reid would later boast that he knew more about Scotland in the Middle Ages than any of them. Though never published, out of his thesis research flowed several learned articles. After the war he and Priscilla made frequent forays over the Atlantic, and in the process of his research would acquire a series of Scots nobility that he recruited to McGill as residents in Douglas Hall. It was at Guelph, a centre of Scots emigration, that the Scottish emphasis took flight: the collection of primary Scottish sources now rivals that of the University of Pennsylvania and Reid was a notorious trophy hunter for the University of Guelph Scottish Collection. In addition to the Knox biography he wrote another on *The Skipper from Leith*, Robert Barton of Over Barnton, a fifteenth-century Scottish privateer, which was probably Reid's best book. Unfortunately, another of his books, *The Scottish Tradition in Canada* which he edited, was uneven but his concluding remarks bear repeating: "the Scots who have come to Canada . . . have been an influential factor in Canadian

history” and this influence he traced to “their historical inheritance, the Scottish Tradition.”¹² Much of the rising interest in that tradition in Canada can be traced back to the influence of W. Stanford Reid.

(c) Reid’s Reformed Theological Commitment

From his days at Westminster Seminary Stanford Reid was a passionate advocate of Reformed theology, the faith of the Scottish Reformation. In four memorable lectures given to several Canadian Presbyterian synods in 1960 at its 400th anniversary he spoke of the revolutionary impact of Reformed theology in Scotland as a paradigm for the present day: “The true preaching of the Gospel was the heart and core of the reformers’ objective, the weapon of their warfare, and this would seem to be the greatest need of the world today . . . the exposition and applications of the Scriptures.”¹³ Reid was not only a Calvin scholar, his willingness to be identified as a Calvinist at a time when such a designation was not at all popular meant that he was soon enlisted in several causes that would owe much to his commitment and are a part of his legacy. In 1946, out of the Gordon Clark fiasco, he became a trustee of Westminster Seminary, a position he held for thirty-seven years. He left only after successfully—but at a heavy personal cost—defending the school from non-Reformed teaching about justification. Other organizations he poured himself into proved not to be as durable: the Reformed Ecumenical Synod is now a thing of the past, as is the International Association for Reformed Faith and Action.

(d) The Task of the Christian Historian

One of Reid’s more memorable and influential series of lectures was given in 1960 at the Cherry Hill Farm in Unionville, Ontario, to the second Conference of the Association for Reformed Scientific Studies, another Reformed organization that has morphed into several subsequent incarnations including the Institute for Christian Studies. Titled “Absolute Truth and the Relativism of History,” Reid concluded by addressing the issue of how one’s Christian faith affects the work of an historian creating “a situation somewhat different from that of his unbelieving colleagues. In the first place it impresses upon him the responsibility of his calling to be a Christian historian. God has called him to this work in order that he may think God’s thoughts after Him, although on a finite space-time conditioned level.” He then traced the consequence of such an audacious assertion: “It should . . . make him a very busy and industrious worker, not merely as a collector of facts, but as one who strives, in the light of the Scriptures, to understand, even though in a very fragmentary way, something of God’s action in history.” He then disclaimed any attempt to force history into a pattern:

for he does not have to prove God’s providential action in the Creation since he realizes that it is there whether one recognizes it or not. Also, he knows that only by the Spirit speaking through the Scriptures can one ever really acknowledge God’s sovereign rule. For this reason and because he believes that all the facts are

¹² W. Stanford Reid, “The Scot and Canadian Identity,” in *The Scottish Tradition in Canada*, ed. W. Stanford Reid (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1976), 310.

¹³ *The Scottish Reformation: Addresses by W. Stanford Reid to the Synods of the Maritime Provinces and Toronto and Kingston* ([Montreal]: s.n., 1960).

God's facts, he strives to carry on his work with as much care, accuracy and honesty as he can muster.¹⁴

Stirring words, and among those present none was more affected than C. Thomas MacIntire, later to become a distinguished Professor of History at the University of Toronto and now Professor Emeritus at its Victoria University.

(e) The Role of a Christian Academic in the University

One of the things that gave Reid stamina as a Christian academic in an environment often inhospitable to his Christian commitments was the persuppositional apologetic of Cornelius Van Til, his professor at Westminster Seminary. On Van Til's ninetieth birthday he wrote to him to express his gratitude:

Basing my thinking on your whole method of approach, I taught history from that point of view with quite amazing results. This was particularly true of a course I gave for some twenty years on western intellectual history since 1500. I would have the class read various assigned readings and we would discuss them in class, and I would all the time use your methodology to present criticisms of non-Christian positions and then have them think of the Christian writers, philosophers, musicians, artists, etc. The results were very often extremely interesting—my approach was quite acceptable to the university authorities, for at McGill I was asked to act as the fill-in lecturer for the principal's course on economic history and when I was asked to take over the directorship of the men's residences I was told by the principal that it was because of my Presbyterian stance. And I found that the same attitude was common at the University of Guelph.¹⁵

Intellectual history is no longer in vogue in academic circles, and Reid's course, History 410, is an anomaly in academia, providing as it did a panoramic view of western thought with select readings Reid had chosen, from the Reformation to a passage in Martyn Lloyd Jones' *Truth Unchanged and Unchanging*. It always surprised me that Jewish co-eds found his approach particularly appealing. The reference to the suave and sophisticated McGill Principal Cyril James is significant: Reid would not have had the freedom he had without James as his sponsor and supporter. Theirs was a complex and intense relationship from the moment they both arrived on the McGill campus almost simultaneously. When McGill Chancellor, the industrialist Ray Edwin Powell, fired James, Reid was there for him finding, as Christian academics in secular universities sometimes discover, there are opportunities to share one's faith in unexpected circumstances as doors open. For James, devastated by ill health and with an uncertain future, Reid helped to remind him of a youthful faith he once had professed.

¹⁴ W. S. Reid, "Absolute Truth and the Relativism of History," *Christian Perspectives* (Hamilton: Guardian, 1961), 115.

¹⁵ W. Stanford Reid to Cornelius Van Til, 23 June 1985. W. Stanford Reid family fonds, file 1992-5001-3-5, The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives and Records Office, Don Mills, ON.

So the question with which we are left as we mark the centenary of the birth of William Stanford Reid is: would he have had the same freedom today that both McGill and Guelph provided him as an observant and committed Evangelical Calvinist? There has indeed been a sea change in the culture: Christendom is gone forever, secularism marches on, and the world that Stanford Reid knew, from his birth in comfortable Anglophone Quebec a few months before the ominous summer of 1914, a Quebec he escaped as it was in the early throes of the Quiet Revolution, that world is no more. McGill is a different place, as are all Canadian universities. His tenure as an academic was in that brief twilight of academic freedom when a religious voice could still be heard and respected in academia. He seized that opportunity, redeemed the moment that never returned, and left a legacy of faithful service and obedience.

Perhaps the last word can be left to a present-day McGill professor, Charles Taylor, who, he tells me, did not take Reid's History 410 as an undergraduate. In his magisterial *A Secular Age* he speaks of today's "spirituality of quest" and urges "that we focus not on what our Age has displaced, but on what characterizes it." He calls ours an Age of Authenticity and says that:

The same long-term trend which produced the disciplined, conscious, committed individual believer, Calvinist, Jansenist, devout humanist, Methodist: which later gives us the 'born-again' Christian, now has brought forth today's pilgrim seeker, attempting to discern and follow his/her own path. The future of North Atlantic religion depends for one part on the concatenated outcomes of a whole host of such quests; and for another, on the relations, hostile, indifferent, or (hopefully) symbiotic, which will develop between modes of quest and centres of traditional religious authority. . .¹⁶

It is not an ordered picture Taylor presents but one full of challenges for the observant Christian. It is a world which Stanford Reid, who loved the cut and thrust of debate, would have found highly congenial, had he been granted the same freedom today that he enjoyed during his years as an academic. His faith, his commitment to a Reformed world-and-life view, represents a belief-system that historically has thrived in uncertain times: had Canadian mainline Protestant churches been clearer in their own beliefs, as Reid constantly affirmed and subsequent events have proved him right, they would be in a much healthier space today. "My ministry," he once wrote, "may be different from most. As a result of my lecturing and writing I am able to take a stand among scholars and since they know my position, I believe that it is a testimony to the grace of God in Jesus Christ."¹⁷ That is the legacy that Stanford Reid has left us.

¹⁶ Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 2007), 532-33.

¹⁷ Reid to MacSween, 7 September 1974.

Minutes - Annual General Meeting, Canadian Society of Presbyterian History

September 28, 2013

Presbyterian College, Montreal, PQ

1. Roll and Regrets
 - a. Attendance: Al Clarkson; Charles Creese; Mary Rogers; Dan Shute; Kate Revington; John Vaudry; Jeff McDonald; Peter Bush; Barry Mack; Bruce Cossar; Ross Lamb; Geoff Johnston; Kirk Baker; Stuart Macdonald (acting secretary); A. Donald McLeod (president).
 - b. Regrets: Jeremy Bellsmith (memorial service); Ian Mason.
2. Approval of agenda: A motion to approve the agenda was duly moved, seconded and adopted.
3. Approval of minutes: The minutes were approved as circulated.
4. Business arising from the Minutes:
 - a. It was noted that we followed through on the meeting in Montreal. We are grateful to those at Presbyterian College who helped in these arrangements.
 - b. Other society business has been conducted throughout the year.
5. The President's Report was circulated. Michael Millar's contribution to the society was noted with deep thanks. The new appointment of Jeremy Bellsmith as secretary/treasurer was noted with thanks to Jeremy for being willing to serve. A motion to approve the report (Mary Rogers, moved; seconded by Peter Bush) was passed.
6. Editor's Report. The editor's report was received and discussed. It was (Cossar/Bush) that this be approved, with an expression of thanks to the editor, Elizabeth Millar. Agreed.
7. Website Administrators report. The report was received, approved (Lamb/Vaudry), with an expression of thanks to Bob Anger, our administrator.
8. Secretary Treasurer's Report. The interim financial statement was presented. Some outstanding issues remain as a natural result of the process of changing treasurers. The report was approved (Cossar/Shute).
9. New Business
 - a. There was a request from Dan Shute who is writing the biography of William George Brown of Red Deer for any leads on him that anyone may have.
 - b. Peter Bush reminded members of the 5 Solas event celebrating the Reformation, which will be held on November 2nd in Vancouver, and live-streamed.
 - c. A reminder was made about the Presbyterian Museum in Toronto.
 - d. The Call for Papers for the 2014 was distributed. The president announced he already has one paper.
10. Election of officers

- a. The existing officers were nominated: president: A. Donald MacLeod; vice president: Stuart Macdonald; secretary/treasurer: Jeremy Bellsmith.
- b. No other nominations were made and it was moved (Peter Bush/Mary Rogers) that nominations be closed. Approved. The slate of officers was thus elected.

11. Adjournment

It was duly moved that the meeting adjourn.

Report of the President
To the 2013 annual meeting of the Canadian Society of Presbyterian History
28 September 2013

This is my sixth report as President of the Canadian Society of Presbyterian History, entering its thirty-ninth year. I am convinced, more than ever, of the need for our organization. The amazing response that the centenary celebration of the birth of W. Stanford Reid, one of our early supporters and a presenter, has occasioned is both a gratifying and a hopeful sign that church history will indeed regain its place as an important stimulus in articulating and recovering our church's heritage and preparing for a confident future full of promise and hope.

One of the significant events of the past year was signalled at the last annual meeting: the resignation of our long-time Secretary-Treasurer Michael Millar. As I said at the time "It is hard to imagine the Society without Michael at the receipt of custom" and his absence is felt keenly at this annual meeting. He has handed over all his meticulously maintained files and accounts.

I am pleased that, in our search for a successor, we were led to Jeremy Bellsmith, minister of Burns Church, Ashburn, Ontario, and a previous contributor to the Society. Jeremy ushers in a whole new generation for our organization and his cheerful willingness to assume responsibility – as well as his strong support for the vision of the Society – has been a source of great satisfaction and encouragement to me as President. He will make his mark on CSPH.

This year we have ventured away from the heartland of our organization and gone to the heartland of the 1925 continuing Presbyterian Church, travelling in the footsteps of Ephraim Scott, Scott MacKenzie, Allan S. Reid and W. D. Reid. In joining with a hundred and fifty others in celebrating the centenary of W. Stanford Reid we have been reminded of the impact that Canadian Presbyterians have made internationally. May I express on your behalf (and perhaps a motion from the floor is in order), thanks for the meticulous arrangements that have been made for the conference by Jason Zuidema. This has been a five-year project and we are honoured to share in such a significant event for Christian Faith and the University.

The next annual meeting, to be held 27 September 2014 in Knox College, Toronto, has an obvious theme: the momentous year 1914 which made Canada both a nation and sowed seeds of political discord and spiritual alienation. There are so many ways that we could develop the impact of the hundredth anniversary of the outbreak of World War I as it relates to the Presbyterian Church in Canada and church union that I would hope that there will be no shortage of papers volunteered. Hopefully we will get a response from the colleges for the Baillie bursary. It has been a disappointment that Mel's generous bequest is not being used.

I thank our Editor, Elizabeth Millar of Mount Allison University Library, and our webmaster Bob Anger. Our Programme Committee and our Editorial Committee also continue.

Respectfully submitted,

A. Donald MacLeod

Canadian Society of Presbyterian History
Editor's Report for the 2013 Annual General Meeting

The 2012 *Papers* were printed and mailed out to members in June 2013, and updated versions of the Indexes will soon be posted on the Society's web site at: <http://cspg.ca/SelectedPapers.html>

In 2006 the Society adopted the footnote system of the *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers* as its in-house citation style. Since that time the Modern Languages Association has adopted in-text, or parenthetical documentation, as its sole citation style. In light of this change, and in keeping with the widespread use of *The Chicago Manual of Style* by scholarly publications as well as university religious studies and history departments, the Editorial Committee recommends the Society adopt *The Chicago Manual of Style* as its new in-house style. If this recommendation is accepted, I would like to reassure this year's presenters that if they have any questions about the changeover they are welcome to contact me at: emillar@nb.sympatico.ca

As always I would like to thank the Executive, the members of the Editorial Committee, and the presenters for their dedication in ensuring the Society's continued success.

Submitted by,

Elizabeth Millar
Editor, CSPH *Papers*
September 2013

CSPH Website Administrator Report 2013

The website remained relatively static in 2013 with no major revisions or expansions. Information concerning the 2013 meeting was placed on the website in early April, and earlier this month updated versions of the two indexes to the CSPH papers were added. The host for the website is Doteasy, which continues to provide decent service. No problems or difficulties, or breaks in service, were encountered over the year.

The following sections are at present included on the website:

- Home Page
- About Us
- Membership Information
- Papers
- Annual Meeting Information
- Dr. Bailey Award
- Contact Us
- Links

There are currently 18 past papers available as PDF downloads, as well as “draft” versions of the 2010, 2011 and some of the 2012 papers.

An index (by author and by year) of all the papers up to and including 2012 is also available for viewing.

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

Submitted by:

Bob Anger
CSPH Website Administrator
September 28, 2013

THE CANADIAN SOCIETY OF PRESBYTERIAN HISTORY:

INTERIM FINANCIAL REPORT - 30 June 2013:

<u>Item:</u>	<u>Income:</u>	<u>Expenses:</u>	<u>Balance:</u>
Balance forward 29 September 2012:			4609.61
Memberships 2010	20.00		
Memberships 2011	60.00		
Memberships 2012	400.00		
Memberships 2013	180.00		
Memberships 2014	20.00		
Corporate memberships 2011.	135.00		
Sale of Papers	180.00		
Postage sold	20.00		
Bank Interest - Sept. '12 to June '13	0.34		
G. I. C. 9078920 (11 October 2012)	2,000.00		
G. I. C. Interest	14.92		
Luncheon charges 2012 meeting - paid	105.00		
<u>Total Income.</u>	<u>3,135.26</u>		<u>3,135.26</u>
<u>Sub-total.</u>			<u>7,744.87</u>
Postage - Secretary-Treasurer		125.43	
Office Supplies - Secretary-Treasurer		11.25	
Catering, 2012 meeting, Knox College		426.01	
Editor, honorarium 2011 Papers		100.00	
Editor, honorarium 2012 Papers		100.00	
Kwik Kopy Barrie 2011 Papers		591.92	
Kwik Kopy Barrie 2012 Papers		503.14	
Printing - 2013 meeting brochures		89.27	
Office Supplies - President		74.59	
Website		260.64	
G. I. C. 2313-9078920 maturing 11 October 2013		2,000.00	
<u>Total Expenses.</u>		<u>4,282.25</u>	<u>4,282.25</u>
<u>Balance Forward 30 June 2013:</u>			<u>3,462.62</u>
<u>Assets - G. I. C. @ 2000.00.</u>			<u>2,000.00</u>
<u>Total - Balance Forward plus the G. I. C.</u>			<u>\$5,462.62</u>
Michael Millar, FRPSC. ex Secretary-Treasurer.			