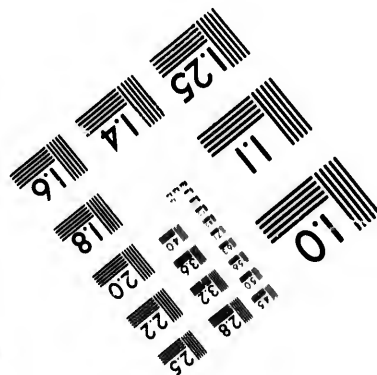
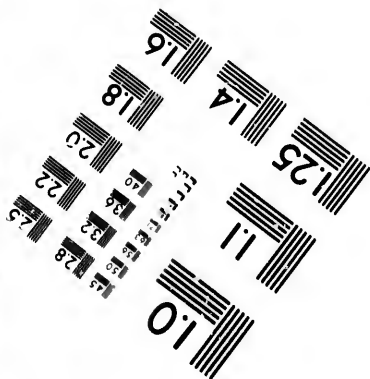
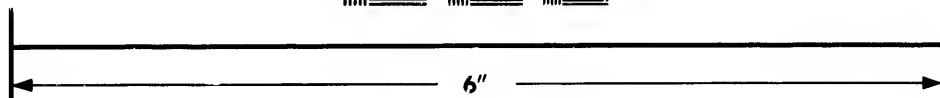
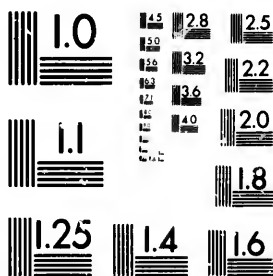


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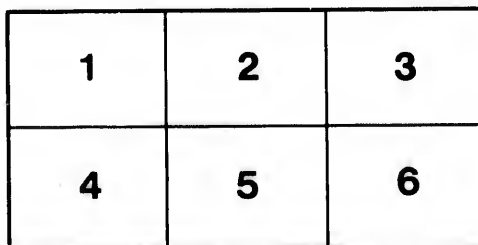
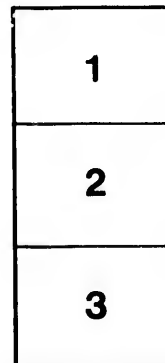
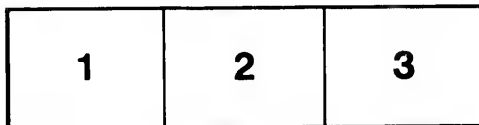
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PRESBYTERIANISM

IN THE

COLONIES

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO

*THE PRINCIPLES AND INFLUENCE OF
THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND*

The Fifth Series of the Chalmers Lectures

BY

R. GORDON BALFOUR, D.D.

EDINBURGH

AUTHOR OF "CENTRAL TRUTHS AND SIDE ISSUES"

CONVENER OF FREE CHURCH COLONIAL COMMITTEE FROM 1874 TO 1881

Edinburgh

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EXTRACT FROM THE DEED INSTITUTING THE
CHALMERS LECTURESHIP.

(*The Deed being dated 26th May 1880.*)

"I, ROBERT MACFIE, Esq. of Airds and Oban, considering that I feel deeply interested in the maintenance of the principles of the Free Church of Scotland, have transferred . . . the sum of £5000 sterling for the purpose of founding a Lectureship in memory of the late THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D., LL.D., under the following conditions: namely—1. The Lectureship shall . . . be called *The Chalmers Lectureship*; 2. The Lecturer shall hold the appointment for four years, and shall be entitled . . . to one-half of the income . . . 3. The subject shall be 'Headship of Christ over His Church and its Independent Spiritual Jurisdiction;' 4. The Lecturer shall be bound to deliver publicly a Course of not fewer than six Lectures . . . in Edinburgh, in Glasgow, and in Aberdeen; 5. The Lecturer shall be bound, within a year, to print and publish at his own risk not fewer than 1500 copies . . . and deposit three copies in the libraries of the Free Church Colleges; 6. One-half of the balance of the income . . . shall be laid out in furnishing with a copy all the Ministers and Missionaries of the Free Church."

NOTE.—The eight Lectures contained in this volume have all been publicly delivered in the three Colleges.

PREFACE

THE purpose for which this Lectureship was instituted by the thoughtful munificence of the late Robert Macfie, Esq., of Airds and Oban, was to explain and defend the distinctive principles of the Free Church of Scotland. That was done so ably and so fully by the first two lecturers, Sir H. W. Moncreiff, Bart., D.D., and Dr. W. Wilson, that it seemed as if nothing further of any great importance could be said upon the subject. A happy thought, however, occurred to the third lecturer, Dr Thomas Brown. With Mr Macfie's concurrence, he prepared a course of Lectures designed to show that the principle of spiritual independence for which the Free Church testified and suffered had been maintained by the faithful portion of the Church of Scotland from the Reformation downwards. By taking this line he was enabled to embody in his Lectures some of the most interesting passages of Scottish Church History, and, by accompanying them with a graceful and judicious commentary, to make the position of our Church intelligible to those who might have been repelled by mere abstract reasoning. The last holder of this Lectureship, Dr Norman Walker, having to deliver them soon after the celebration of our Church's Jubilee, conceived the idea of carrying out Dr Brown's historical mode of treatment by telling the story of the Free Church during the first fifty years of its exis-

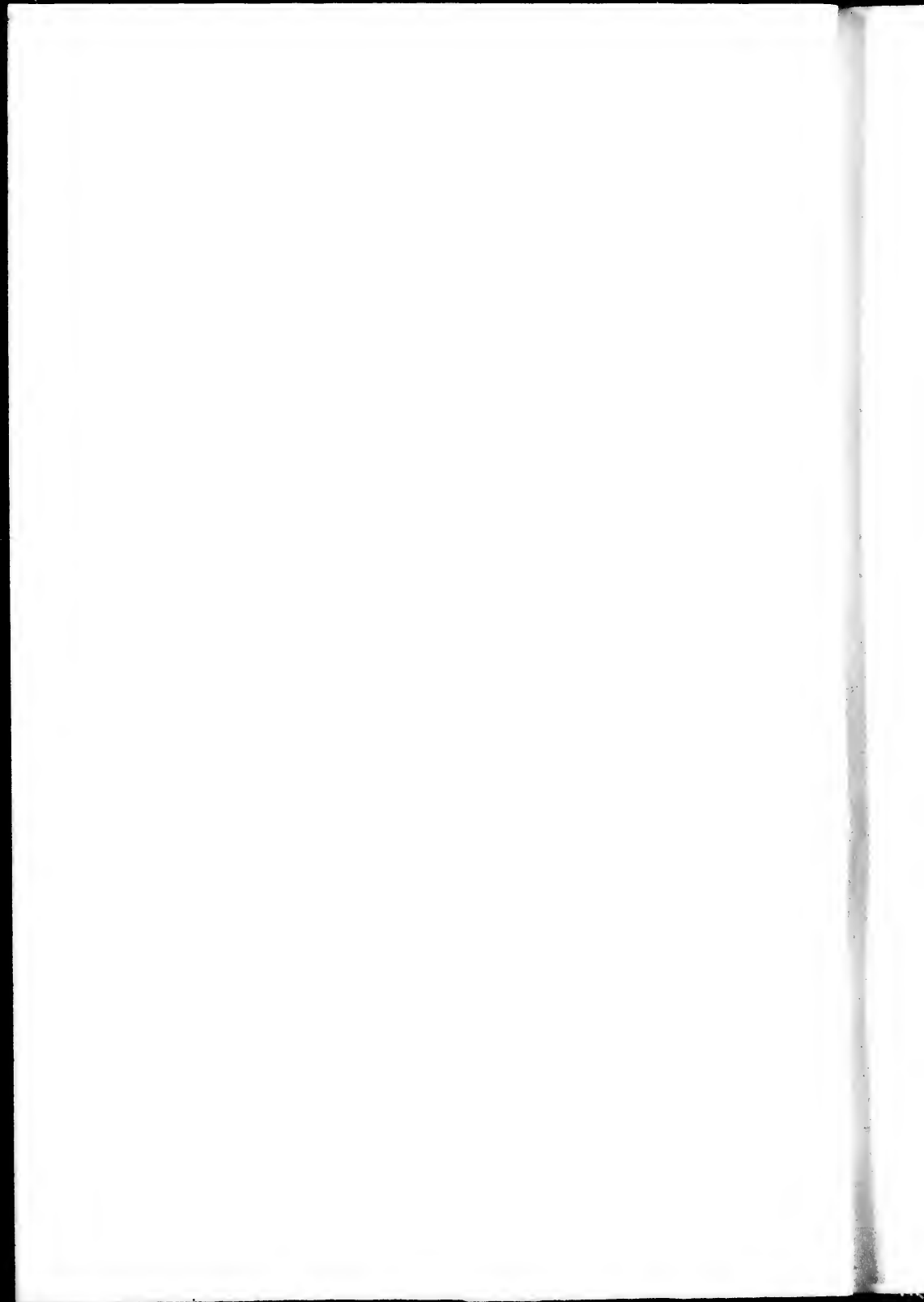
tence in a condition of separation from the State. This he has done in a very graphic and interesting way, with considerable fullness of detail and great impartiality.

It occurred to the present lecturer that this line of historic narrative might with advantage be carried out a little farther by giving some account of the work which our Church has done, and of the influence which its principles have exerted in the Presbyterian Churches of the Colonies. The chief sources from which he has obtained his information, in addition to the letters from Colonial ministers acknowledged in the Lectures, are the following: *The Free Church Missionary Record*, Reports of Free Church Colonial Committee, Professor Gregg's "Short History of Presbyterianism in Canada;" "Life of Dr Robert Burns;" "Life of Rev. Wm. Burns;" Proceedings of General Assembly and Reports of Home Mission Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Canada; Presbyterian Year-Books and Almanacs of Canada and Australia; Dr Lang's "Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales;" Jubilee Volumes of Dr Hamilton and Dr Campbell, Victoria, and Rev. James Chisholm, Otago; "Presbyterian Church of Victoria," by Rev. R. Sutherland; "Colonisation and Church Work in Victoria and the Story of the Otago Church and Settlement," by Rev. C. S. Ross; "Life of Dr Stuart," by John Hislop, LL.D., F.R.S.E.; "History of South Australia," by Edwin Hodder; Theall's "South Africa," "Hewitson's Life;" Dr Geikie on Presbyterian Union in New South Wales; "Memorials of our Colonial Missions" in *Free Church Monthly*, by Dr Milne Rae; "The Scottish Church

in Christendom," by Rev. H. Cowan, D.D. ; "The Presbyterian Churches : their Place and Power in Modern Christendom," by Rev. J. N. Ogilvie, M.A. ; Proceedings of General Presbyterian Councils.

The Lectures were written from three to four years ago, and the progress of some of the Colonies during that period has been such as to make constant revision necessary in order to bring the information down to date. With so wide a field to traverse, and so many details to gather up, perfect accuracy can hardly be attained. All that the author can say is, that he has spared no pains in the endeavour to secure it. As there is no other book that covers precisely the same ground, he is not without the hope that this volume, with all its defects, may be found to possess some interest and value, and that the labour bestowed upon it may not have been labour lost.

P.S.—The reader will find on page 2 a reference to the invitation given to the Premiers of all the Colonial Legislatures, and cordially accepted by them, to be present at the celebration of our Queen's Diamond Jubilee. This was followed by the statement, that nothing had ever done more to promote a sense of solidarity in the British Empire, or to advance the cause of Imperial Federation. Since these words were written that act of courtesy to the Colonies has met with a magnificent response in the generous loyalty with which they have all come to our help, and that most effectively, in the prosecution of the South African war. This ought surely to bind us to our Colonial brethren by a new tie of gratitude and affection.



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PRESBYTERIANISM IN THE COLONIES

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LECTURE I

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PRESBYTERIANISM IN CANADA

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WE have long been accustomed to think of Great Britain and Ireland as a country lying off the coast of France and the Netherlands, consisting of 120,832 square miles, and containing a population of about 40 millions. And of course this is literally true. But if this were all the territory and all the population over which Queen Victoria ruled, instead of holding a foremost place amongst the nations, we should occupy the position of a very third-rate power. The greatness of Britain is largely due to the vast extent of its Colonies and Dependencies. Putting out of view for the present the Empire of India as being scarcely a suitable field for colonising, both on account of its dense population and its tropical climate, the Colonies of Great Britain in Canada, Australasia and Africa, are nearly sixty times as large as the United Kingdom. It is true that their population is not so great as that of the Mother country, because they may be said to be as yet comparatively in their infancy. But they are rapidly increasing, their resources are very varied and practically inexhaustible, and there can be little

doubt that there is a great future before them. Hitherto they have proved very loyal to the British Crown, and, with the warning of the American Revolution before our eyes, we are not likely by any high handed treatment to drive them to revolt. At present, at least, we rejoice to think of them as Greater Britain. We are proud of their growing prosperity and thankful for their steadfast loyalty. We feel that though seas roll between us, and they must be left to govern themselves in their own way, yet we are bound to them by ties of kindred, language, and mutual interest, which we trust shall never be broken.

A striking proof of this has recently been afforded in the invitation to the Premiers of all the Colonial Legislatures to be present at the celebration of our Queen's Diamond Jubilee, in the heartiness with which they all accepted the invitation, and in the honour paid to them by all classes during their visit to this country. It may be safely asserted that nothing has ever done more to promote a sense of solidarity in the British Empire, or to advance the cause of Imperial Federation.

But what, it may be said, has all this to do with the Free Church and its principles? Much every way. The Free Church of Scotland, strictly so-called, consists of about 1050 congregations, numbering fully 350,000 members, all living on the Scottish mainland and its adjacent islands. Even this is no inconsiderable part of the Protestant and Presbyterian section of the Church of Christ. But as there is a Greater Britain in the Colonies, enjoying an autonomy of its own, while linked to what they love to call the

home country by many strong and tender ties, so there are Presbyterian Churches in the Colonies which, while absolutely independent of the Mother Churches, hold our principles firmly, and have taken pains in their ecclesiastical arrangements to maintain them. In these Churches, therefore, we cannot but feel the deepest interest. Many of them were offshoots from our own olive-tree, and although other branches have been grafted in among them, and they have now taken root in their native soil and have their own peculiar flavour, yet their identity has not been lost. They still hail from dear old Scotland, and cherish, like ourselves, the best traditions of the Church of Knox and Melville, Henderson and Chalmers. We claim no monopoly of interest in these Churches. Our own children among them would be the first to repudiate such a claim. They are independent Churches, rearing a ministry of their own, and ready to assimilate the best elements of all the Presbyterian Churches in Great Britain, Ireland, and America. But we cannot forget, and neither, we are sure, can they, the interest felt in them, and the valuable men sent to them by the Free Church, and their attachment to our principles, as brought out both in their disruptions and in their subsequent reunions. This then is the subject to be handled in these lectures—the Free Church in the Colonial field—including some account of the origin of these Churches in the Colonies, a description of the influence exercised on them by the Disruption of 1843, their history since that date, and the contribution to their progress and prosperity which the Free Church has been enabled to make.

The story of our Colonial Empire is more like a romance than a piece of sober history. Anticipated as we were by Spain and Portugal, France and Holland, in the discovery and acquisition of fresh territory, we have now far outstripped them in the extent of our Colonial possessions. Therein has the saying been fulfilled : "So the last shall be first, and the first last." The adventurous voyages of Columbus and Vasco da Gama, that threatened to make Spain the mistress of the Western and Portugal of the Eastern world, have actually resulted in our falling heir to the greater part of this rich inheritance. And what is even more remarkable, this was largely brought about by an event that seemed to threaten our independence, and even our very existence as a nation, the invasion of the Great Armada. It was that act of hostility on the part of Spain that gave this country the excuse for seizing upon some of her foreign possessions, and it was the annihilation of the Spanish fleet that paved the way to that maritime supremacy which has made us the carriers and the colonisers of the world.

But the power and prestige thus won were to all appearance lost again by the revolt of our great American Colony, and the declaration of its independence under the title of the United States. For not only was the fairest jewel thus plucked from Britain's crown ; a feeling of utter insecurity was created with reference to the loyalty of all her colonial possessions. Turgot's pithy aphorism was almost universally accepted : "Colonies are like fruits which cling to the tree only till they ripen." For a time this led to the comparative neglect of

the Colonies as possessing little or no value to the Mother country. It was taken for granted that they would follow the example of the United States as soon as they thought that they were able to maintain their own independence, and the feeling naturally prevailed that it was hardly worth while to expend much money upon a kind of property, the tenure of which was so precarious. The evils of this policy of indifference and neglect were, however, so far counterbalanced by the free hand which, taught by bitter experience, our country now gave to those Colonies which continued loyal to the Crown. This has tended gradually to produce a mutual feeling of respect and affection, which promises to postpone indefinitely that separation which was at one time thought to be inevitable and not far distant. Meanwhile the progress of science, with its rapidity of locomotion and its almost instantaneous transmission of intelligence, has brought these territories practically so near, that the problem, how to maintain the tie that binds us to each other, is now very different from what it was in our fathers' days. "Science has given to the political organism a new circulation, which is steam, and a new nervous system, which is electricity."¹ The result has been a quickened sense of our vital connection with those vigorous self-governing countries in the West and South which speak the English tongue and fly the English flag. We are coming to regard them, not so much with paternal interest, as with patriotic pride, as organic

¹ "The Expansion of England," by J. R. Seeley, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge; a valuable treatise, full of interesting suggestion.

parts of the British nation ; and we are not without the hope that some plan of federal union may soon be devised, by which our real oneness may be practically exhibited and effectively carried out.

We have thought it necessary to say thus much of our Colonial Empire as a wonderful gift from God, bestowed upon us providentially and in very unexpected ways, preserved to us when it seemed to be slipping from our grasp, and now very generally acknowledged to be one of the chief elements of our nation's greatness. For if the Colonies are disparaged or despised, little interest will be felt in the story of our Church's labour in that field, whereas, if there is a recognition of their true importance and a belief in their high destiny, there will be no disposition on the part of Christian men to despise the day of small things, or to undervalue the efforts made to bring religious influences to bear upon them at the earliest period of their history.

On the 18th of May 1843 the Church of Scotland was rent in twain, one part remaining in connection with the State, and another, under constraint of conscience, setting up a separate organisation for itself, where it might enjoy that freedom to obey the laws of Christ which it could no longer exercise as an Established Church. The Church which thus started in one day upon a new career had an arduous task before it. Five hundred churches had to be erected and five hundred ministers to be supported, not to speak of manses and schools and colleges, the building of which was subsequently undertaken. It has always been regarded as a signal proof of the strong faith and religious fervour of the Church

of the Disruption that, with so much work to be done at home, she at once resolved to prosecute her Foreign Missions with unabated energy and zeal. It might, however, be said that in this she had really no alternative. For as soon as there had been time for communications to pass from Scotland to India and back, it was found that all the missionaries had cast in their lot with the Free Church, and it would have been simply discreditable to desert them. Besides, the command of Christ, to go and make disciples of all nations, is so plain and peremptory that it would be an act of obvious disloyalty to the Master in any Church to enter on Foreign Mission work, and forthwith, because of straitened circumstances, to forsake it. It may therefore with some plausibility be maintained that it was a still more striking proof of the vitality of the Free Church and her resolute determination to do her Master's will, that she threw herself with so much earnestness into Colonial work, giving liberally of her scanty means, and sending some of her most gifted sons to follow up their expatriated fellow-countrymen with the means of grace.

It is to be regretted that things are somewhat altered now, that the keen interest then felt in the Colonies has sensibly declined. We have still a Colonial Committee, which does all in its power to select and send out suitable agents to that important field, but the funds placed at their disposal for this purpose are very inadequate, and show no symptoms of improvement. Various circumstances may so far account for this. At the time of our Disruption those who sympathised with us in the Colonies felt

constrained to imitate our example, separating from those of their brethren who still retained the old connection with the Established Church. In some cases this involved great pecuniary sacrifice, and it necessarily entailed a great amount of labour in maintaining the services of religion among the scattered congregations who adhered to the principles of the Free Church. It was naturally felt that our Church was bound in honour to come to the help of those who had thus proved faithful to her cause, and this, to her credit be it said, she strained every nerve to do. Since that time, however, these breaches have almost all been healed. The divided Churches have been re-united—nay, the unions formed have been even more comprehensive than those originally broken. This may be a much better state of matters for these Churches, but it has somewhat altered the relation in which they stand to us. None of them are now so distinctively Free Church in membership and sympathy as were the smaller churches that cast in their lot with us in 1843. They have been merged in a larger unity, and have not so strong a claim upon our help as when they were holding up the very banner under which our fathers fought. It must be admitted also that the Colonies as a whole have made great strides in population and in wealth during the past fifty years. Most of them have now Colleges of their own, where they are training a ministry for themselves more familiar with Colonial ways and more adapted for Colonial service than that which we are able to supply. So that, besides the feeling that their claim upon us is not so strong, there is the

further impression that their need is not so urgent as it was.

Still, while all this may be said, and not without some truth, as an explanation of our Church's diminished interest in the Colonies, there cannot be a doubt that they are still a great and necessitous field of labour. Some of these Colonies are at that stage in their history in which they are quite unable, without help from home, to overtake the vast population which is pouring in upon them. They have not enough of ministers to provide these immigrants with the means of grace, and even if they had the men, they have not the means needed to maintain them in regions where the people are too widely scattered and as yet too poor to support a ministry for themselves. The field is in such cases practically a mission field, and it is one of the most hopeful in the world—far more so than missions to the heathen, the Mohammedans, or the Roman Catholics. This, however, only on the assumption that the work is done promptly, as soon as the settlers arrive on the ground. For then you have the traditions of the home country, habits of Church attendance, and a trained Christian conscience on your side. But if these emigrants are neglected, too soon they lose all relish for ordinances, and even all reverence for sacred things, and then indeed it will be hard to reclaim them to the customs of their fathers and to the worship of their fathers' God. Do we really believe that these Colonies, with their vast territory and their boundless resources, are destined to become great and powerful nations? Then ought we not to realise far more than we seem to do, the unspeak-

able importance of introducing, at the earliest possible moment, that leaven of Gospel truth which will never cease to work till the whole be leavened? If these lectures shall be the means of awakening a deeper interest in the religious condition of the Colonies, one great object of the lecturer will be gained.

I. THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE DOMINION OF CANADA

In the rapid survey of the history of Presbyterianism in the Colonies, more especially as influenced by the Free Church, which is all that our limits will permit, we naturally begin with Canada, the most ancient and extensive of our Colonial possessions, and the one whose loyalty to the Mother country has been most severely tested. A glance at the first beginnings of British rule and Presbyterian order in Canada is indispensable, if we would form a right conception of the part performed and the influence exercised by our Church in that vast dominion.

It is a strange thing that Canada is included in the British Empire at all. Those by whom it was first settled were French, and the Government of France did their best to build up a strong French community there. For more than two hundred years it seemed as if Northern America were destined to be a French Dependency. It was not until 1763 that the keen struggle between France and Great Britain for the supremacy on that continent ended in our favour; and thus in the providence of God that vast territory was opened up as a field for British immigration and Protestant evangelism, as it never

would have been had it continued in the possession of the French. Fifty years, however, before our acquisition of Canada proper, Nova Scotia, which then included New Brunswick, was ceded to us by the treaty of Utrecht. It was inhabited by a people of French origin and Roman Catholic religion, who were called Acadians. Refusing either to leave the country or take the oath of allegiance to their new rulers, and being often found in league with the native Indians, and in arms against the British authority, it was found necessary in 1755 to remove them to the older English Colonies, now the United States of America. The story of this forcible transportation is told in a very touching way by Longfellow in his well-known poem "Evangeline," but the measure, though involving cruel hardship, seems to have been rendered necessary by the exigencies of the case. At all events it resulted in the introduction of a large number of Protestant settlers from England, Ireland, and the United States, who were invited to fill the place of the Acadians, and were induced to come by the promise of liberty to worship God according to their consciences. A considerable number of these immigrants were Presbyterians, who lost no time in applying to a Presbytery in New Jersey, and to the Burgher Synod in Scotland, for ministers to labour among them.¹ Several were sent,

¹ At this point the lecturer would desire once for all to acknowledge his deep indebtedness to the admirable little volume of the Rev. Wm. Gregg, M.A., D.D., Professor of Church History, Knox College, Toronto, entitled, "Short History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada from the Earliest to the Present Time." From this book he has derived most of the facts related in this lecture, which he would otherwise have found it very difficult on this side of the Atlantic to ascertain.

who left after a short period of service ; but in 1766, the Rev. James Murdoch, a native of Ireland, was appointed to Nova Scotia by the Anti-Burgher Synod and laboured there with great zeal and faithfulness amid many discomforts till his death in 1799.

The first meeting of Presbytery ever held in any part of what is now the Dominion of Canada was constituted in a peculiar way and for a somewhat peculiar purpose. Certain members of the Dutch Reformed Church had come from the Continent of Europe and settled in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia. For sixteen years they were without a minister, having failed in every endeavour to obtain one who could speak to them in their own tongue. At last they resolved to choose one of their own number, Mr Bruin Romcas Comingoe, who had been a fisherman, and who, though without a College education, was a man of excellent character, of good natural parts, and well acquainted with the Scriptures. Two Presbyterian ministers and two Congregational ministers agreed to unite in ordaining him to the ministry, which they did in the city of Halifax, in the presence of the Governor of the Province and representatives of various Christian denominations. It was a hopeful augury for the future of the Presbyterian Church of the Dominion that, in the constitution of its first Presbytery and the ordination of its first minister, there was manifested not a spirit of narrow ecclesiasticism, but of catholicity and common sense. It is further interesting, in connection with the previous history of the Colony, to be told that, after the usual questions about doctrine, discipline, government, and worship, Mr

Comingoe was further interrogated : " Do you own and promise allegiance to His Majesty King George III. in all things lawful and civil ? " to which question he gave a satisfactory reply. This good man laboured on, an earnest pastor, an evangelical and affectionate preacher of the Word, till he died in 1820, at the age of ninety-six.

One thing that strikes the reader of the annals of this period is the patriarchal age which many of these pioneer ministers were spared to attain, notwithstanding the rigour of the winters, the extent of country over which they had to travel, and the amount of hard work they had to undergo. No doubt they came of a good stock, many of them being Scotch seceders ; they were temperate in their habits, and severely simple in their mode of life. Still it is remarkable that so many of these hard-worked, ill-paid men lived far beyond the three-score years and ten.

Here is an illustration of the trials endured and the noble spirit manifested by some of these devoted men. The third Presbytery organised in Nova Scotia was that of Pictou, which consisted at first of three ministers and two e'lders. One of these ministers was Mr, afterwards Dr James M'Gregor, an anti-burgher from Scotland. " During the course of his ministry there were many things which were sources of discomfort. At first he could scarcely find a lodging-place in Pictou, and for some time had to conduct worship in the open air. He adopted a plan of preaching in different places, which rendered it necessary for him to be absent from his home for six or eight weeks at a time, and

deprived him of leisure for study. He received serious annoyance from a set of profligates, whose enmity became so outrageous that they threatened to shoot him and burn the house in which he lodged. He was dependent for his support on the voluntary contributions of his people. These were neither large nor punctually paid, and they were paid chiefly in produce. For a year and a half he received not a shilling in cash. He had to preach both in Gaelic and English, and this increased his labours and awakened jealousies. But no difficulties deterred him from his Master's work. For forty-five years he laboured in the ministry with unwearied patience and abundant success, not only in the congregation in the county of Pictou—of which he had the special charge—but in many other places in the Eastern Provinces, to which he took frequent and toilsome missionary tours."

In the year 1817 the Presbyterian Churches throughout Nova Scotia were united into one. The united Church was organised as a Synod divided into the three Presbyteries of Truro, Pictou, and Halifax. On the roll of the Synod were the names of nineteen ministers, most of whom had been in communion with the Burgher or Anti-Burgher section of the Secession Church in Scotland, while a few had been ministers in connection with the Scottish Established Church. At this date the whole population of the eastern provinces of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, was about 160,000, of whom 42,000 were Presbyterians. The number of Presbyterian ministers was twenty-six, and these were almost wholly dependent

for support on the contributions of their own congregations.

Immediately after this union, the Synod of Nova Scotia took measures for supplying the great destitution of the means of grace which prevailed throughout the province. Prominent among these was a spirited effort to train a native ministry. Shut out from King's College, Windsor, by the bigoted exclusiveness of its Episcopalian governors, the Presbyterians were compelled to establish an academy of their own at Pictou for the higher education of their members. Of this academy Dr M'Culloch was the president, and indeed the founder, and some idea may be formed of his indomitable energy, marvellous versatility and extensive reading, when it is mentioned that, besides discharging the duties of pastor of the congregation at Pictou, he taught Greek, Logic, Moral and Mental Philosophy in the Academy, and, at the request of the Synod, also instructed the students for the ministry in Hebrew and Systematic Theology. In these days of division of labour, when every branch of knowledge must be taught by a specialist who has nothing else to do, this would be thought a ridiculous provision for theological education. But in the infancy of the Church, and in the absence of men and means for the better equipment of the institution, this was all that could be done. All honour to the man who undertook so arduous a task and did it so well, sending forth a goodly number of ministers of the gospel, and of others who rendered signal service both in Church and State. This branch of the Presbyterian Church made good progress in spite of many difficulties

with which it had to contend, so that, beginning with nineteen ministers in 1817, it had twenty-nine in 1845, and the number of communicants was at that date about five thousand.

In the year 1825 an important step was taken in the mother country with the view of following the increasing stream of emigrants to the West with the means of grace which they had enjoyed at home. This was the formation of the Glasgow Colonial Society "for promoting the moral and religious interests of the Scottish settlers in British North America." It was composed of members of the Established Church of Scotland, and one of its fundamental rules was that all its agents, whether ministers, probationers, teachers, or catechists, should belong to that communion. Perhaps it was the circumstance that vessels trading between Scotland and America usually sailed to and from the estuary of the Clyde that led the inhabitants of Glasgow to be the first to take a practical interest in the spiritual welfare of their fellow-countrymen in the Western world.

It is here, then, at a point of time eighteen years previous to the Disruption, that we come upon a tiny spring of Christian influence flowing from the Church of Scotland towards the Colonies, which afterwards broadened and deepened into that goodly stream of religious life to which the Free Church so largely contributed, and which it is the object of these lectures to describe. At this period the Scottish Church had no Colonial Committee, and the formation of this Society was the first organised effort put forth in connection with that Church to

promote the spiritual welfare of Presbyterians abroad. The man who was the means of founding it, who was appointed its principal secretary, and may be said to have been its head and heart and hand during the fifteen years of its existence, was Dr Robert Burns of Paisley.¹ Dr Burns was a remarkable man, of great physical energy and mental power, of undaunted courage, indomitable perseverance and enthusiastic zeal. He was one of a family who, like the Bonars, had many representatives in the ministry, all of them belonging to that party which afterwards became the Free Church of Scotland. As his nephew, Dr Burns of Kirkliston, used to say with characteristic emphasis: "There was never a Moderate among us."

Associated with Dr Burns in this work were such men as Drs Beith, Welsh, and Henderson, who afterwards became leading Free Churchmen. The income of the Society was comparatively small, on an average about £500 a year, but it was judiciously expended. Within ten years it sent out upwards of forty ordained ministers to the British American Colonies, and thus did something to supply the great spiritual destitution that prevailed among a people too poor and too widely scattered to be able to provide ordinances for themselves.

It is a curious and interesting circumstance that among those who offered themselves for this work was no less remarkable a man than the assistant to

¹ See "Life and Times of the Rev. R. Burns, D.D., Toronto," by the Rev. R. F. Burns, D.D., Montreal, a volume from which we have derived much valuable information regarding Dr Burns and the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

the Rev. Mr Gregor, Bonhill, afterwards so well known as the Rev. Dr Candlish of St George's, Edinburgh.¹ It is needless to speculate on what might have been the result to the Free Church on the one hand and to the Presbyterianism of Canada on the other, had the services of that great preacher and consummate ecclesiastical leader then been transferred to the Colonial field. We may be permitted to believe that the hand of God was in this matter, and that the sphere in which he was ultimately placed was the one in which he was able to do the most important service. And yet it cannot be denied that the great want of the Colonial Churches has often been that of some man of extraordinary impulsive and organising power, to do for them when they were yet young and plastic, what Luther and Calvin and Knox did for the Churches of Germany, Geneva, and Scotland.

One result of the formation of the Glasgow Colonial Society was so great an increase of the number of ministers from the Church of Scotland in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island that a Synod in connection with that Church was organised there in 1833. It consisted at first of only ten ministers, but within nine years its numbers were doubled, and it then included the Bermudas and Newfoundland within its bounds. Various efforts were made, chiefly on the side of the Secession Synod of Nova Scotia, to bring about a union with this Synod then in connection with the Church of Scotland, and indeed with all the Presbyterian Churches in the Eastern Provinces, but a considerable time elapsed and several

¹ "Life and Times of Rev. R. Burns, D.D.," p. 155.

events transpired, which will afterwards be related, before the negotiations were crowned with success.

But we must now turn to that portion of our North American territory which came into our possession as the result of the capture of Quebec by General Wolfe in 1759, and the surrender of Montreal to General Amherst in the following year.

As in Nova Scotia, so in Upper Canada, the first earnest efforts to send ministers to care for the souls of the Presbyterians came from the Dutch Reformed Church of the United States and the Secession Church in Scotland. In 1818 they formed a Presbytery, which was to be independent of any of the Scottish Churches, the idea being that it would thus be easier to unite all the Churches in the Province under one organisation. At this date the population of Upper and Lower Canada was about 500,000, of whom about 47,000 were Presbyterians; and as there were only sixteen Presbyterian ministers it is easy to see how many there must have been, scattered over so wide an area, entirely destitute of any spiritual supervision, or any public ordinances of religion.

An interesting episode in the history of Presbyterianism in that region and at that time was the founding of the Red River Settlement by the fifth Earl of Selkirk, a nobleman of great energy and great benevolence. Having seen with his own eyes the unhappy circumstances in which many of our Highland crofters were living, he succeeded in inducing about seventy of them, chiefly from Sutherlandshire, to emigrate to North America, purchasing for them a large tract of land from the Hudson's Bay Company, and undertaking to bear the whole

expense of their settlement there. The first detachment, which reached its destination in 1812, was afterwards followed by others, and being men of the right sort the experiment would have been a great success had it not been for the bitter and unscrupulous opposition of a rival company of fur traders. Protesting against the whole proceedings, as being likely to prove injurious to their trade, they stirred up the half-breeds against the settlers, and compelled them to leave the lands which had been purchased for them. After suffering many hardships and making several abortive attempts to recover their lost possessions, they were at last delivered from their troubles by the arrival of the Earl of Selkirk, who reinstated them in their holdings, compensated them for their losses, gave to the place the name of Kildonan, from the parish in Sutherland to which most of them had belonged, and promised to send a minister of the Church of Scotland to care for their spiritual interests. The minister selected for this purpose was the Rev. Donald Sage, one of a family from which a succession of notable ministers have sprung. He never reached the Colony however; but his place was supplied by an elder, Mr James Sutherland, to whom the high testimony was borne, that "of all men that ever entered this country, none stood higher in the estimation of the settlers, both for sterling piety and Christian conduct than he!" This worthy man was forcibly carried off to Canada by the servants of the North-West Company in 1818, and again these poor Highlanders were left without anyone to care for their souls. "After a time they had Episcopalian ministers, paid, I think, chiefly by the Hudson's Bay

Company. These for a length of time accommodated themselves to the views of the people, but at length introduced Episcopal forms. The people conformed, but when the Rev. John Black appeared among them, all the Highlanders turned to him. The Orkney people continued Episcopalians, save one man who had a Highland wife."¹ It was one of the many services rendered to the colony by Dr Robert Burns, that in 1851 he succeeded in persuading the Rev. John Black, who had been one of his own students in Toronto, to go to this interesting and necessitous field of labour, where there were 2000 Highlanders, and many Indians and half-breeds besides. The appointment proved a very happy one, and Mr Black continued to labour there until his death about fifteen years ago, when in place of being a solitary pioneer he was the father of a considerable Presbytery. For this little colony of Sutherland Highlanders was the advance-guard of a great army of emigrants, who were afterwards to pour into Manitoba and the North-West territories in such numbers, that there were in 1896 fourteen Presbyteries in that district, and ninety-three settled charges, besides four vacancies and sixty-nine mission stations.

We have seen that the first effort to organise a Presbyterian Church in the Western Provinces of Canada was made by ministers who were connected with the Associate or Burgher Synod of Scottish Seceders. They did their work with great energy, appealing most pathetically to the mother Church to send them active, pious, self-denying labourers,

¹ Extract from letter from the late Rev. Dr MacTavish of Inverness, to the author, of date August 1895.

undertaking arduous missionary journeys, when, in spite of these appeals, they were left to face without assistance the spiritual oversight of enormous territories, and doing all in their power to supply the dearth of labourers by training a native ministry. Probably their zeal provoked the Church of Scotland to enter on this field, which they did so vigorously that, when the union took place in 1840, the Synod in connection with the Church of Scotland had sixty ministers, while the United Synod of Upper Canada, as it was called, had only sixteen. This union took place in connection with the claim which both Churches put forward to a share in the Clergy Reserves. These were lands reserved in 1791 "for the maintenance and support of a Protestant clergy." At first these lands were of little value, but in the year 1817, when they began to yield a revenue, a controversy arose as to the parties who had a right to participate in the proceeds. The Church of England clergy coolly claimed the whole, but the law officers of the Crown, on being appealed to, gave it as their opinion that by the Act of 1791 the clergy of the Established Church of Scotland were entitled to a share. This should have settled the question, but unhappily it did not, the Church of England clergy fighting desperately in their own interest, and memorialising the Home Government in the most preposterous terms as to the disastrous effect which it would have on the cause of religion and of loyalty to the British rule if Presbyterians were permitted to lay a finger on these funds. The controversy reached an acute crisis in 1836, when it transpired that Sir John Colborne, the Lieutenant-Governor, had, on the

eve of his departure from the Colony, in opposition to the declared policy of the Imperial Government, and to the will of the majority of the local legislature, created forty-four rectories of the Church of England, and endowed them with extensive and valuable glebe lands out of the Clergy Reserves. This was done in such an underhand way and with such contemptuous disregard of the rights of the people that it created an intense feeling of indignation, and was one of the chief causes of the rebellion in 1837-1838. Soon after this, however, in 1840, the claims of the Church of Scotland and other Churches were recognised, although even then the share that fell to the Church of England was disproportionately large. It was at the time when the claims of Presbyterianism were thus acknowledged, and in connection with a recommendation from one of the Secretaries of State for the Colonies, that the negotiations for union between the United Synod of Upper Canada and the Synod in connection with the Church of Scotland were at length brought to a successful conclusion.

In 1841, the year after the union, a royal charter was obtained for the establishment of Queen's College at Kingston, chiefly with the view of training a native ministry, though the College was to have the standing of a University, with power to confer degrees.

There still remained, however, outside of this united Church several smaller Presbyterian organisations. The most important of these was the Missionary Presbytery of the United Secession Church, which, holding voluntary principles, could neither claim nor accept anything in the shape of a State

endowment. The Church was formed into a Synod in 1843 consisting of three Presbyteries, and having on its roll the names of sixteen ministers.

The preceding brief and imperfect outline of the history of Presbyterianism in Canada down to the year 1843, may enable us better to understand the events that took place at that important epoch. The country itself was then broken up into a number of separate provinces, each having not merely one but two or three Presbyterian Churches feebly attempting to cope with the great spiritual destitution which everywhere prevailed. It might seem, in these circumstances, as if the Disruption of the Church of Scotland, followed as it was by a similar cleavage in almost all the Presbyterian Churches in the colony, was a terrible calamity, a great weakening of the Churches, and a great hindrance to the evangelisation of the land. In one sense this was true, yet there were not wanting many compensations. In the first place, the great sacrifices on the part of the ministers and the great efforts on the part of the laity of the Free Church of Scotland not only sent a thrill through all Christendom but quickened the pulse of religious life in all the Presbyterian Churches of the world. Weakened in point of numbers, the Disruption Church, and those who in other countries followed her example, were greatly strengthened in fervour and evangelistic zeal. And this in course of time reacted even upon those Churches which had no sympathy with her principles, or at least no idea of making sacrifices to maintain them. Even they were borne along by the wave of enthusiasm and stirred to noble deeds. Meanwhile the broken and

enfeebled condition of the Presbyterian Churches, so similar in organisation and in doctrine that there seemed to be no sufficient reason why they should not coalesce, was felt to be an anomaly, the continued existence of which it was difficult to defend. Hence, as the years went on, and both parties were able to review the past in a calmer and more impartial mood, there began to arise in the minds of all a longing for re-union. And thus, in the providence of God, disruption became the pathway to a happier reconstruction, just as the gospel of Jesus Christ, which brought at first into the earth division and a sword, will in the end introduce universal peace and union. But we are anticipating, and must retrace our steps to a period about two years prior to the memorable Disruption.

The conflict that had arisen between the Church of Scotland and the Court of Session, the one maintaining the inalienable rights and liberties of the members and office-bearers of the Church, believing them to be guaranteed by the Revolution Settlement and the Treaty of Union, and the other interpreting these documents in the light of a foregone conclusion, that the ultimate supremacy of the State is the indispensable condition of all ecclesiastical establishment, was watched with deep interest by all the branches of that Church throughout the world. The sympathies of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada were all with the evangelical party in their contention for non-intrusion and spiritual independence. In the year 1841 this resolution was unanimously adopted :—"That the Synod, in view of the trials through which the Established Church

of Scotland is passing, and the eventful crisis at which these have arrived, do record our most affectionate sympathy with her, and our earnest prayer for her success in her struggle against every encroachment of the civil power on her spiritual independence and jurisdiction, and that she may be a faithful witness to all Christian nations of the true principles according to which the civil magistrate should support the visible Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ." At the same time they unanimously resolved to "petition the Queen and the Imperial Parliament in support of all the just rights and claims of the Church of Scotland, and in particular that the wishes of the people be duly regarded in the settlement of their ministers, and that the secular courts be prevented from all interference with the spiritual concerns of the Church." In 1842 the Synod unanimously passed a resolution concurring in the great principles asserted by the Commission of Assembly in a series of resolutions enumerating the encroachments of the civil courts and asserting its determination to maintain its rights. In 1843, two months after the Disruption, the Synod adopted a series of resolutions, ending with the declaration that they "regard with the deepest concern the present condition and prospects of the Church of Scotland, and do hereby record their deep and affectionate sympathy with those of her rulers and members who, leaving the Establishment at the bidding of conscience, have thereby sacrificed temporal interests and personal feelings to an extent that must ever command the respect and admiration of the Christian Church." It was rather ominous that these resolu-

tions, guardedly enough expressed, were only carried by a majority of twenty-eight to eleven.

In the interval that elapsed between this and the next meeting of Synod, the question of the relation in which the Church should stand to the Established and the Free Church of Scotland, was keenly canvassed in congregations and Presbyteries and the public press. When the Synod met in 1844 there was a long and animated debate, at the close of which the vote was taken on two sets of resolutions, the one proposed by the Rev. Dr Cook of Quebec, and the other by the Rev. John Bayne of Galt. The drift of Dr Cook's motion was, that the jurisdiction of the Synod, whatever interpretation might be put on its connection with the Church of Scotland, was, is, and ought to be, final and uncontrolled; that the members feel called on to pledge themselves to maintain supreme jurisdiction against all interference from any quarter whatever; that Presbyteries be directed to receive ministers and probationers from all Presbyterian churches holding the same standards with themselves, producing satisfactory evidence of learning, character, and good standing, and that, considering the divided state of opinion in the Synod, and the danger of division, it is expedient to abstain for the present from any correspondence with the parent Church. The substance of Mr Bayne's resolutions was that, as the words "in connection with the Church of Scotland" in the title of the Church are now inappropriate, and might be used as a ground of misrepresentation and cause of strife, they should henceforth be omitted; that civil sanction should be sought for

the change ; that in the event of its being decided by the British Legislature that, by their change of name, they forfeited their endowments, they would submit to its decision, protesting against its injustice, and, considering the vital and fundamental importance of the principles on account of which the disruption of the Church of Scotland has taken place, the Synod adhere to the resolutions adopted at previous meetings ; and that they will take such action as may seem expedient for carrying these principles into effect. Dr Cook's motion was carried by a majority of fifty-six to forty, and was followed up by a further resolution to the effect that the Synod did not feel itself called on to enter on the discussion or decision for themselves of the practical bearings of those principles which have so-unhappily divided the Church of Scotland, and that the Synod's connection with this Church neither implied that it was under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Church of Scotland, nor that the latter was responsible for the actings of the Synod.

The natural, perhaps inevitable, result followed. Mr Bayne, on behalf of himself and those adhering to him, gave in reasons of dissent from the decision of the Synod, and protested that they could no longer hold office in the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland. Twenty-two ministers, among whom were the moderator and clerk of Synod, signed this protest, and withdrew to organise a separate Synod. These were about a fourth part of the ministers of the Church, and as in Scotland, so in Canada, the seceding party numbered some of the best and ablest within their

ranks. The brethren who remained appointed a Committee to draw up answers to the dissent and protest, which, it must be admitted, they did with considerable skill.

Such then was the first effect of the example and influence of the Free Church of Scotland upon the Presbyterianism of Canada. It led to a disruption there precisely similar to that of 1843, though on a smaller scale. What are we to say of this rending of the Church in twain? Was it an imperative though painful duty, or was it a reprehensible act of schism? Looking back upon all the circumstances in the light of subsequent events, and after the lapse of half a century, can it be successfully maintained that the action of the protesters was required of them as a testimony to principle—a homage to Christ? Or must we admit that, however conscientious, they were misguided men, who, under a mistaken view of duty, took a step which was hurtful to the interests of religion, and which some of them lived to repent and retrace? Let us try to look into this question with calm and unprejudiced minds. In the first place, there can hardly be a doubt that those who retired from communion with the Synod and set up a separate Church, were consistently following out the line of conduct to which the previous resolutions of the Synod naturally pointed. These were framed so as to express the warmest sympathy with the evangelical party in the Church of Scotland in their defence of the Church's spiritual independence. They had prayed to God and petitioned Parliament on their behalf, and when the disruption took place they put on record their sympathy with them in their sufferings

for conscience' sake. Surely it was natural to expect that those who had gone thus far would go a little farther—that when the question was forced upon them, whether they should continue connected with the Church which had maintained at all hazards the principles of which they had explicitly approved, or the Church that had either denied these principles or betrayed them, mere consistency, if nothing else, would have constrained them to take the former course. But, apart from the question of consistency, it might be said that it was enough for the Church in Canada that they had from time to time expressed their approval of the principle of spiritual independence, and now offered their sympathy to those who had suffered for maintaining it, but that there was no such necessity laid upon *them* to make themselves martyrs in this cause, inasmuch as their spiritual liberties were not in danger. There is indeed some force in this consideration, but not enough to justify the remanent party in continuing in connection with the Established Church of Scotland, after it had submitted to Erastian Domination and practically renounced those principles to which the Canadian Church had given its cordial approval. It was rather gratuitous and irrelevant in the majority to protest in their resolutions that they pledged themselves to maintain supreme jurisdiction against all interference from any quarter whatever. A very superfluous statement, when no one was threatening their independence. What was needed was not a valorous declaration of what they would do if their freedom were assailed, but an act of withdrawal from preferential communion with those who had tamely submitted to the invasion of that supreme

jurisdiction which they were prepared to maintain as a sacred trust against all comers. It is possible that the protesters went too far in the way of insisting that ministers and probationers should henceforth be received from the Free Church alone, although it must be remembered that the state of feeling in Scotland ran so high that any Colonial Church offering to recruit its ranks from the Established Church and Free Church indiscriminately, would probably have been spurned by both. Of this, indeed, the experience of the Church of New South Wales, as we shall afterwards see, gave ample proof. To us, reviewing the matter in the light of subsequent events, it seems as if the true course would have been, for the Church of Canada to declare itself independent of all the home Churches, to re-affirm its adherence to the principle of spiritual independence, and to welcome probationers and ministers from any Church, provided they were duly educated and accredited, and prepared to sign the standards, submit to the discipline, and conform to the accustomed worship of the Church. But there can be no doubt that such a line of action, however theoretically correct, would have cut off the Canadian Church from the sympathy and help of both the home Churches, at a time when that Church was absolutely dependent on them for the maintenance and extension of Gospel ordinances throughout the land. Obviously the ground of the objection to the deletion of the words, "in connection with the Church of Scotland," from the title of the Church, was the apprehension that it might involve the forfeiture of that share of the Clergy Reserves for which they had fought for many a year. We admit

that they were not so manifestly shut up to the necessity of making this sacrifice as if their own spiritual liberties had been invaded. If this makes their conduct less discreditable than that of those who drew back at the eleventh hour at home, it makes the courage and fidelity of those who resigned their endowments rather than be associated with those whom they regarded as unfaithful to Christ all the more worthy of admiration.

The Free Presbyterian Church of Canada organised itself as a Synod, having four Presbyteries and twenty-three ministers, intimating without delay to the Free Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian Church of Ireland the step they had taken, and urgently representing the need they had of missionaries to enable them to overtake the wide field of labour that lay before them. They also appointed a Commission to make provision for the education of students, and to prepare a Home Mission Scheme and a Scheme for collecting funds for educational, missionary, and other purposes.

In the Eastern Provinces the course of events was substantially the same. In Nova Scotia the majority of the ministers was in full sympathy with the Free Church movement, so that in 1844 they resolved to change their name from "the Synod of Nova Scotia in connection with the Church of Scotland" into "the Synod of Nova Scotia adhering to the Westminster Standards." Four years afterwards they discarded this title and assumed the name of "the Synod of the Free Church of Nova Scotia." When the first of these changes was made, four ministers dissented and withdrew from the Synod. Of these, two returned to Scot-

land, the result of which was that for four years there was no Synod of Nova Scotia in connection with the Established Church of Scotland. The exceptionally strong position of the Free Church in Nova Scotia was partly due to the labours of an admirable Scottish lady well-known to a generation that has now passed away, Mrs Mackay of Rockville. Intensely interested in the spiritual condition of the Highlanders in Cape Breton, which was united to Nova Scotia in 1820, she was the means of providing them with a number of earnest evangelical ministers who proved faithful in the day of trial. The state of matters in New Brunswick was very different. There only three ministers seceded. The remaining ten continued to hold regular meetings of Synod till 1868, when they united with the Synod of Nova Scotia in connection with the Church of Scotland, which had been resuscitated in 1854. The three who withdrew from them, with a courage almost amounting to audacity, formed themselves into the Synod of New Brunswick, adhering to the Westminster Standards. A year however had not elapsed when they found it necessary on account of the smallness of their numbers to resolve themselves into a Presbytery. In 1854 they had so increased as to be able again to assume the position of a Synod, consisting of three Presbyteries, and entitled the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of New Brunswick.

If these successive disruptions were in some respects regrettable events, there was one good end which they unquestionably served. They effectually woke up all the Churches to a sense of the vastness

of the field which the Colony presented and the great spiritual destitution that prevailed throughout its borders. The ministers on the spot girded themselves for the work and put forth superhuman efforts to meet the demands that were made upon them, while from both parties there came to the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland and Ireland the old Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us." Listen to the following statement made by the Montreal Association of Presbyterian congregations on behalf of Missions :—

"From replies to these circulars and personal intercourse, your committee have ascertained that the degree and extent of the existing destitution and its sad effects are almost too great to be credited. Families have been traced—grown-up men and women, and not very distant from this city—who have never been within a place of worship—never heard a sermon preached—yet bearing the name of Presbyterian. In many parts of the country there are families that have been without Bibles for ten, twenty, thirty, and in a few cases for forty years. Some stated that they had *heard* of the Bible, but they never *saw* one ; and one *preacher* said that he had not had a Bible for two years."

These things may seem incredible, but they go on to say :—

"Some members of the Committee have been at considerable pains to ascertain the accuracy of these statements, and it has been found that the more their research is continued the more evident it becomes that the lamentable effects of the religious wants of their long neglected brethren are not yet fully known."

The resources of the Free Church were at this time strained to the utmost to supply her own vacant congregations, so that comparatively few could be spared to the Colonial or the Foreign Mission field. In these circumstances the next best thing that could be done was to send some of her ablest men and most effective preachers, both Gaelic and English, to

spend several months in Canada, visiting the most needy districts, rallying the people, encouraging the ministers, and preaching the everlasting Gospel wherever they could find an open door. One has only to look into the "Missionary Records" for the years immediately following the Disruption to see what a number of deputies were sent out, how carefully they were selected, and how important was the service which they rendered both to the Colony and to the Church at home. A few extracts from the letters of some of the deputies by way of illustration are all that our space will permit us to introduce. It was natural that the redoubtable Dr Burns of Paisley, the energetic and warm-hearted Secretary of the Glasgow Colonial Society, should be one of the first sent out. Writing from Nova Scotia, he says: "In the county of Pictou alone there are upwards of 12,000 souls who, I am persuaded, under the vigorous agency of pious and devoted men from home, could be secured to us perhaps in twelve months. In Prince Edward's Isle there are about 10,000 of our people left as sheep without a shepherd. To supply these not less than ten or twenty ministers are required. How shail we get them?" Another of the deputies was the Rev. John MacTavish, then the Free Church minister of Ballachulish, who afterwards fulfilled a long and laborious ministry in Canada, and finally was translated to Inverness, where he lived for twenty years honoured and esteemed by all.

This venerable man, whose ministerial jubilee was celebrated in 1894, was then the sole survivor of the band of deputies sent by the Free Church to Canada immediately after the Disruption. In a letter written

to the author in August 1895, he gives the following interesting notes of the work he did and the difficulties he had to encounter :—

“In going to the settlement of Mr Campbell I had to go through woods where the snow was up to our thighs. My luggage was placed on a sled drawn by one horse, and my two attendants and I took turn about of walking in front of the horse and breaking a track for him. After a trial we found this plan would not do, so we left the sled, placed my things on the horse's back, and made him do part of the tracking for us, I riding at times. We began our journey about 5 P.M., and finished our five miles about 11 P.M. I was tired, but we got our work accomplished.”

Again he says :—

“Leaving the Synod in session at Toronto, I went on to Fergus, and thence to Owen Sound. I paid £5 to get conveyed forty miles. I left Owen Sound with two horses, but as these had to be returned at a certain point, and not being able to get others, I shouldered my luggage and set off on foot. I had not one hour of daylight, and about five miles to go of a bush track, and just as it became pitch dark I reached a solitary house. The owner had just come home, and I could not tempt him to convey me farther, till I spoke in Gaelic, and told him what my errand was. Then he would not hear of money, went to a neighbouring house, got torches of cedar-bark, and then the two went with me about seven miles more. At Prince Edward's Island I preached on two Sabbaths in the Baptist Church, or rather in the window, and baptised a child. The minister was most friendly, and laughed when told that I had baptised a child in their Church. I drove from Charlottetown to Murray harbour road, and there preached and baptised about thirty-eight or forty children. I was encouraged to do this from the character of their elders, and because they could easily get some others to do this, but they were too staunch Free Churchmen. I hurried thence and began my journey home, where, by God's hand, I arrived safely, after being seven and a half months in America, preaching at the rate of once a day, and spending less money, as Mr John Bonar told me, than any other deputy, though none had been so long away.”

LECTURE II

PRESBYTERIANISM IN CANADA—CONCLUDED

IN addition to Dr Burns, Paisley spared another distinguished man to go forth as a deputy to the Canadian Churches, the Rev. John Macnaughton, afterwards of Belfast. I quote from his letter the following judicious and valuable statement :—

“ I am thoroughly persuaded that the spiritual wants of the Colonies are not at all appreciated, either by our preachers or by our people. Destitute and neglected as large tracts of territory were in these great lands prior to the Disruption, that event has as yet only aggravated the difficulties of their condition. The attraction of vacant livings at home has lured from America a large proportion of its scanty supply of ministers, so that, instead of helping the Colonies, the Scottish Establishment has withdrawn many labourers from that field ; and the parish pulpits at Kilbarchan, Fortrose, Daviot, Kirkhill, etc., have been replenished at the expense of the poor and unbefriended flocks abroad. The eyes of our brethren in this country are rivetted on the Free Church. Her developed energies and declared principles have awaked hopes that were almost extinct, and raised the expectation, which we must not suffer to prove delusive, that a long period of criminal neglect is now to be succeeded by ardent and devoted efforts, somewhat commensurate with the magnitude of their claims, and with the scale on which all our other schemes are being carried out. . . . When I state to you that the Colonies would require from forty to fifty additional ministers—and even that would be far from an adequate supply—you must see the necessity for devising a plan by which to mitigate the evils we cannot remove. In the present state of the Free Church,

with her home exigencies, and the many pressing demands from England, India, and indeed from almost every part of the world, I can only suggest three ways in which to help America. We may foster her colleges, and supply them with professors and libraries; we may consent to part permanently with a few of our ministers and preachers; and we may lend for a limited time some of our ablest ministers to build up and organise the Church."

The line of action here suggested was precisely that which the Free Church adopted. She supplied the Theological Colleges of Canada with such Professors as Drs Burns, Willis, King, MacKnight, and Messrs Paxton, Young, and Lyall. She sent out deputies from year to year from the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland, whose labours were very gratefully acknowledged. She gave ungrudgingly such men of mark as Messrs MacTavish and MacLeod, Mr Clark of Quebec, Dr Topp of Elgin, and many more. And, in addition to this, she sent pecuniary help from time to time, contributing for several years to the current expenses of the Colleges at Halifax and Toronto, as well as aiding their building funds, and more particularly supporting their great Home Mission enterprises both in the east and in the west, the latter of which has now grown to gigantic dimensions.

A letter from one of the deputies gives a very gloomy picture of the state of religion in the part of Canada East which he visited. This he ascribes partly to long neglect and to the influence of Romanism around them, but still more to the conduct of some who had either come or been sent out as ministers from Scotland. It is indeed difficult to exaggerate the evil consequences that follow when the ministers sent out to remote regions, away from

the restraints of Church discipline or public opinion, are ungodly and immoral men. One can hardly conceive of anything likelier to prove a greater curse to a young community at the time when its moral and religious character are in progress of formation, than to have such men for its spiritual guides. And yet it cannot be denied that ministers have been sent to the Colonies with the ecclesiastical hall-mark upon them, as if they were genuine silver, who have proved to be very base metal indeed. The writer is glad to be able to testify, from long acquaintance with the business of the Free Church Colonial Committee, that this is a line of action which they have been scrupulously careful to avoid. They have never, so far as he knows, sent anyone to the Colonies, whether minister or probationer, of whose moral character they had the least suspicion. Often have they been urged to do so, the friends of the candidate remonstrating with them on the cruelty of condemning a man for a single fault. But their answer has always been, "We have no objection to a man who has fallen once having a second trial. He may rise from that fall like Peter, a sadder and wiser man, and may yet be honoured to do good service for the Master. But let him go on his own responsibility, and re-establish his character in a new sphere by hard work and consistent conduct. If he succeeds, the credit will be all his own. If he fails, he and those who accepted him without credentials are alone responsible, and the Church is not discredited and disgraced." Doubtless it is owing to the firmness with which this principle has been carried out by the Colonial Committee, that so very few of

those sent out by the Free Church have morally broken down.

Having given some indication of the sombre side of things, it is right that we should now look at some of the brighter and more encouraging aspects of the field, which the letters of other deputies disclose. Mr Blair writes in March 1847 :—

“Travelled fifteen miles in a sleigh on the Bras d’Or Lake, which was frozen all over. Came to Malagawatch, and preached there on Thursday to an attentive audience of about 200 persons. The day was piercingly cold, the wind being from the north-west. One-half of the windows were broken, and there was neither stove nor fire in the church ; yet the people endured the cold, and sat patiently during the whole time of public worship. They heard the Word with marked and earnest attention, and seemed to drink in every sentence which was read or spoken.”

Here surely was a people who, though long without a minister, were still hungering for the Bread of Life. How interesting too is this account of the preaching of Dr Macgillivray, of Glasgow, to a congregation of Highlanders at Grafton, ten miles from Coburg ! The Rev. Dr Macgillivray preached in Gaelic. Some had not heard a sermon in that language for twenty years. “So affecting,” says the doctor, “was the sound of their native language to them from the pulpit, that they began to shed tears the moment I began to read the Gaelic psalm ; and, before it was sung out, they were almost dumb with weeping. It was one of the most touching scenes I ever witnessed.” Dr Macgillivray’s labours in Canada West were much appreciated and signally blessed. In Glengarry there was a revival of religion quite as remarkable as that which took place on a much wider

scale some fifteen years later, spreading from America to Ireland, and thence to Scotland. "The next time I officiated there," he says, "which was the Sabbath week following, my attention was still more forcibly arrested by the symptoms of a spiritual awakening which presented themselves. The breathless stillness with which the people listened to the Word—the looks, or rather the *look*, of intense interest and profound emotion which sat upon their countenances, the suppressed sighs and silent tears that bore witness to the internal struggles which they were striving to control—all showed very plainly that the Gospel was coming to them 'in power' at least, if not 'in the Holy Ghost.' There was something so marked in the whole scene that every one was wondering what these things would come to." Nor was the impression merely temporary, as the following extract from a letter written by the Rev. J. Fraser more than two months afterwards fully proves. The movement had spread over the whole of Glengarry, and he says :—

"I can give you no idea of the excitement which prevails. I have just come home from a tour through the greater part of Glengarry, broken down in body and mind through excessive fatigue. The people are not content to meet by day ; the most of the night is spent in prayer to God and preaching ; and the houses are full to the doors. The ministers must be everywhere, and at all times. Mr Clark left his own house last Sabbath morning, and will not, nay cannot, be back for a week. And whither has he gone? Not an inch beyond the limits of his own parish, and at no time will he be farther away than eight miles from home. That fact will at once let you see the state of the public mind in reference to the great concerns of eternity."

We would fain have quoted from the very interesting memoir of Dr Burns, written by his son, some account of what he saw of the state of the country in his many missionary journeys, but the difficulty of selecting from such a mass of material is insuperable. If ever there was a man whose whole life was devoted to the promotion of the cause of Christ in the Colonies of British America, it was Dr Burns. First, as Secretary of the Glasgow Colonial Society in awakening interest in that field at home and persuading men to go, then as a deputy in 1844, then as the pastor of Knox's Church, Toronto, to which he was inducted in May 1845; and finally, as Professor of Evidences and Church History in Knox College, he rendered incalculable service to the cause of Presbyterianism in Canada. And yet, as if that were a small thing, he went from year to year on preaching expeditions to every part of what is now termed the Dominion, and specially to those places which were most remote and inaccessible, making light of hardships and of dangers that would have daunted younger men, keeping alive the flame of piety where it seemed ready to expire, and kindling it in the breasts of many who had been sunk in spiritual death. It may be truly said that the Free Church, in giving Dr Burns to Canada, bestowed upon her a gift of inestimable value.

When mentioning the services rendered to the Canadian Church by the indomitable Dr Burns, we must not omit to refer to the visit paid to the Colony by his nephew, the Rev. William Burns, whose evangelistic labours in Kilsyth and Dundee had been so signally blest, and who was afterwards

so well known as the pioneer Missionary to China of the English Presbyterian Church. He went to Canada, not as a deputy from the Colonial Committee, but at the express invitation of many in the Colony who had heard of his work in Scotland. Reaching Quebec in September 1844, he laboured in season and out of season for two years, not only in the great centres, such as Quebec and Montreal, but in the remotest regions throughout the whole dominion. He preached with fearless intrepidity on the streets of these two cities, in the face of multitudes of Roman Catholics roused to fanatical frenzy, at the peril of his life. He preached to the soldiers of the 93rd Regiment, and made a deep impression upon them. With his marvellous linguistic power he succeeded in preaching with fluency to the French Canadians in their own tongue, and was able even to read a psalm in Gaelic and comment on it in the same language to a congregation of Scottish Highlanders. His labours were not only abundant and unwearied, but followed by very remarkable and abiding fruit, though the trying scenes through which he passed "left their mark upon him in the loss of the clear tones of a voice of more than ordinary compass, and in an *aged* look which he never afterwards wholly lost."¹

Before passing from this period in the history of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, immediately subsequent to the Disruption, and narrating the steps that led one by one to its present condition as a re-united, powerful Missionary Church, a word must be said in regard to one of its congregations that has a special history of its own. We refer to Côté

¹ "Memoir of the Rev. W. Burns," p. 288.

Street, now Crescent Street Congregation, Montreal.
To quote from Dr Burns, writing in 1849 :—

“ Its members were the first who raised the standard of the protesting Church of Scotland in the Colonies, and they have continued to grasp it with an unflinching hand. They erected, at great expense, years ago, an excellent and commodious place of worship, with lecture-room, Bible class-rooms, and accommodation for week-day schools. The Free Church at home has supplied them from time to time, with faithful ministers, in the character of deputies, who have remained for periods of from three to six months each. With all the inconveniences inseparable from frequent change of ministers, the congregation has never lost a member by desertion, and it is at present in as flourishing a state as at any time since its first opening in May 1845. Its staff of elders and deacons comprises a band of faithful men, characterised by sound judgment, elevated piety and active habits.”

The names of some of the deputies sent to this Church are these : Mr John Bonar, afterwards Dr John Bonar, Convener of Colonial Committee, Mr Somerville, Mr Arnot, Mr Burns of Kirkliston, Mr Lewis of Leith, Mr Stevenson, Tullibody. It was certainly remarkable that a congregation thus fed for years with the finest of the wheat, accustomed to the best sermons of some of Scotland's best preachers, should have chosen for its minister a young man who had grown up among themselves, who had been engaged in business in Montreal but not with much success, and who had then studied for the Church chiefly in Toronto. Perhaps it was even more remarkable that this young man not merely maintained the congregation but increased it, until the fame of his preaching led to his being re-called to his native land where the last year of his course as a divinity student had been spent. I refer to the late Dr Donald Fraser, the popular and esteemed minister

first of the Free High Church, Inverness, and afterwards of Marylebone Presbyterian Church, London.

During the period we have now been considering the Presbyterianism of Canada was, as to its spirit, instinct with life and energy, but as to its form, sadly broken up and disorganised. It cannot be denied that the Disruption in Scotland, and the emergence of the Free Church into a condition of separation from the State, and of intense spiritual activity, had considerable influence in bringing about this state of things. But the spirit of a Church is the main, the essential thing, its form is of secondary importance. If the spirit be right it will mould the outward form and make it what it ought to be. And so the spirit of life awakened in the Canadian Churches by the rise of the Free Church and their contact with it soon led these Churches to a feeling of intense dissatisfaction with their sundered and divided state and a longing for re-union. The same feeling was beginning to arise in the political world, and led ere long to the union of the various Provinces into one great confederacy, the Dominion of Canada. Probably the two movements re-acted on each other and were mutually helpful.

But before considering the ecclesiastical unions which began in 1860 and culminated in 1875, we must touch upon a circumstance which doubtless had an important place in the way of removing obstacles to these unions. We have seen that after a long struggle the Presbyterians in connection with the Church of Scotland had succeeded in obtaining a third part of the Clergy Reserves, two thirds going to the Episcopalians. The Free Church Synod in

1844, although no longer in connection with the Church of Scotland, felt that they had a fair claim to a share of these funds as being loyal to the true principles which that Church had all along maintained, and memorialised the Governor-General to that effect. Their claim however was not allowed. A few years after it was found that there was at the disposal of the Government some unappropriated money arising from the sale of the Clergy Reserves. This was offered to Churches or congregations who might apply for it. But the Synod, after careful consideration declined the offered boon, partly because they objected to be parties to a system of indiscriminate endowment, and partly because they feared that their acceptance of these funds would tend to diminish the liberality of their people and would place the ministry of the Church in a state of undue dependence on the State. By this time a strong feeling had arisen throughout the country against the justice or expediency of State endowments. An agitation was got up on the question, and numerous petitions were addressed to the Provincial and Imperial authorities on both sides. The result was that an Imperial Act was passed in 1853 transferring the disposal of the Clergy Reserves to the Canadian Legislature, with the single proviso that life interests should be duly guarded. In the next year the Legislature of Canada passed an Act making over these reserves for secular purposes to the municipal corporations, provision being made to satisfy the claims of the existing incumbents. As in the case of the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland and the withdrawal of the Regium Donum

from the Irish Presbyterian Church, power was given by the Act to commute these life interests according to their actuarial value. In this case that value was calculated at the rate of six per cent. per annum on the probable life of each clergyman. This was not the disestablishment of the Church, for there was no Established Church in Canada, but it certainly was its disendowment, and there can be little doubt that it materially paved the way for the comprehensive union of the various Churches, with their Established, Free and voluntary proclivities, which took place soon after.

The first of these unions accomplished was in the Province of Nova Scotia between the Synod that had all along been in close relation to the Secession Church in Scotland, and the Synod of the Free Church in Nova Scotia. In 1845 the Committees of the two Synods had agreed unanimously upon a basis of union. But difficulties arose which delayed that union for fifteen years. These were chiefly an unwillingness on the part of the Secession Synod to suspend all communion with the Church of Scotland, as the Synod of the Free Church wished them to do, and an opposition on the part of the Free Church Synod to that voluntarism which generally prevailed among the members of the other Synod. Negotiations were for a time suspended, but were resumed in 1858, and in 1860, on the 4th of October, the union was happily consummated, in the town of Pictou, both parties conceding somewhat, and both agreeing that the points on which they still differed were of minor importance, and might well be made matters of Christian forbear-

ance. The United Church assumed the name of the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces of British North America. The new Synod was divided into nine Presbyteries, and had eighty-two ministers on its roll, forty-six of whom had been members of the Synod of Nova Scotia and thirty-six of the Free Church Synod.

The second union was that of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church of Canada and the Synod of the Free Presbyterian Church of Canada. This, too, was a union between Churches previously kept apart by a diversity of view on the voluntary question, and here no doubt the refusal of the Free Presbyterian Synod to share in the Clergy Reserves, and the grounds of that refusal, as well as the subsequent secularisation of these Reserves by the State, tended to remove the difficulties in the way of union. Still these difficulties were very fairly and fully faced. Thus in 1848, long before our union negotiations with the United Presbyterian Church in Scotland had begun, an elaborate statement of the points of agreement and difference between the two Churches in Canada had been drawn up. The points discussed in that statement were Christ's Headship over the nations as distinguished from His Headship over the Church, the province of the civil magistrate, the national recognition of Christ's Headship over the nations and of the authority of Revelation, the suppression of sins against the first table of the law, specially the law of the Sabbath, the education of the young, the promotion of religion by means of the public funds. On all these questions it was found that there was a divergence of opinion between the

Churches on certain details, although there was a large and probably an unexpected amount of agreement on the great underlying principle. This statement was subjected to a keen and searching discussion for thirteen years in Church Courts and conferences, in letters and pamphlets, with this result, that in 1861 a basis was drawn up on which it was believed that a union might be formed without any compromise of principle on either side. In that basis, which declared that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament were to be the supreme, and the Westminster Confession and Catechisms the subordinate, Standards of the United Church, it was explicitly provided that there should be the fullest forbearance as to any difference of opinion on the question of the endowment of the Church by the State. On the other hand it was as explicitly declared that the Lord Jesus Christ, as Mediator, is invested with universal sovereignty, and is therefore King of nations ; and that all men, in every capacity and relation, are bound to obey His will as revealed in His Word ; and particularly, that the Civil Magistrate (including under that term all who are in any way concerned in the legislative or administrative action of the State) is bound to regulate his official procedure, as well as his personal conduct, by the revealed will of Christ. On this basis the union was consummated with great solemnity and great joy at Montreal on the 6th of June 1861. The rolls of the two Synods were called, when 59 ministers and 46 elders of the United Presbyterian, and 129 ministers and 74 elders of the (Free) Presbyterian Synod answered to their names. The designation

which the United Church adopted was "The Canada Presbyterian Church."

The question that here inevitably arises is, How was it that this union was so successfully carried out, while precisely similar negotiations for union between the Free and United Presbyterian Churches here in Scotland had to be broken off more than twenty years ago? Both the Churches evidently understood their respective principles as thoroughly and clung to them as fondly there as they did here. It will surely not be maintained that either of the Canadian Churches, in order to secure the advantages of union, consented to abandon any vital part of their testimony. What then was the secret of their success and of our failure? Simply that before their negotiations were completed all the State endowments in Canada had been secularised, while ours had to be carried on in the presence of an actually established and endowed Church, a circumstance which gave to the mere accidents of the question an altogether factitious importance.

The third union was that between the (Free) Synod of New Brunswick and the Synod of the Lower Provinces, which was consummated after long negotiations at St John, New Brunswick, on the 2nd of July 1866. We need not dwell on this, as it was formed upon the same basis as that on which the latter Synod had been constituted in 1860. The practical result of this union was the addition of eighteen ministers to the roll of the Synod of the Lower Provinces.

The fourth union was that between the Synod of New Brunswick on the one hand, and the Synod of

Nova Scotia and Prince Edward's Island on the other, both being in connection with the Church of Scotland. There was of course no need of lengthened negotiations or of a basis of union here. It was simply the combining, with a view to consolidation, of two parts of the same Church, situated on separate but adjoining territories. This union was consummated at Pictou, on the first of July 1868, under the portentously long title "The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Maritime Provinces in connection with the Church of Scotland." The Synod was divided into five Presbyteries, having on their rolls the names of twenty-nine ministers and four missionaries.

But all these partial and local unions were only preliminary to the great general union of all the Presbyterian Churches in the various provinces which were in 1867 confederated as the Dominion of Canada, the province of Prince Edward Island joining the confederation in 1873. The tide had been manifestly rising, and very little was needed to bring it to flood height. That little was supplied by a letter from the Rev. Dr Ormiston, ex-Moderator of the Synod of the Canada Presbyterian Church, written in 1870 to the Rev. Dr Jenkins, ex-Moderator of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland, stating that after much earnest thought and private consultation with brethren he thought it right to address him in reference to the incorporation of all the Presbyterian Churches in the Dominion under one General Assembly, and making certain practical suggestions as to the steps that might be taken with a view to this end. The letter was

read in the Assembly, and was favourably received. Copies of it were sent to the Moderators of the Synod of the Maritime Provinces, of the Synod of the Lower Provinces, and of the General Assembly of the Canada Presbyterian Church—for it should be mentioned that the Synod of that Church had organised itself as a General Assembly in 1869. All these supreme courts of the four Churches entertained the proposal in a friendly spirit, and each of them appointed six delegates to meet and deliberate on the subject. Towards the close of September 1870 these delegates met in Montreal as a joint committee, of which Dr John Cook was chosen chairman, and Dr Alexander Topp secretary. After full discussion of all questions connected with the Headship of Christ, worship, discipline, missions, colleges, and the disposal of the Temporalities Fund, it was found that there was sufficient agreement to warrant an incorporating union. Accordingly a preamble and basis of union were drawn up which conserved all that was deemed essential in the distinctive principles of all the Churches. In particular the Free Church had no difficulty in getting the united Church to put in the forefront of her preamble a clear assertion of the sole Headship of Christ, while, as a matter of course, the two Synods in connection with the Church of Scotland consented to drop that part of their title which had been the chief cause of Secession in 1844, and to assume the position of an entirely separate and independent Church. On the other hand, their feelings were considered and their wishes carried out by the Free Church section no longer insisting on the suspension of all fellowship with the Scottish Establish-

ment, as they had not unnaturally done in the heat of Disruption days. For it was expressly declared that "this Church cherishes Christian affection towards the whole Church of God, and desires to hold fraternal intercourse with it as opportunity offers," and that "this Church shall, under such terms and regulations as may from time to time be agreed on, receive ministers and probationers from other Churches, and especially from Churches holding the same doctrine, government, and discipline with itself." And, finally, the principles of the Secession party were sufficiently guarded by the explicit statement that in adopting the Westminster Confession and Catechisms as their subordinate standard it was to be distinctly understood that nothing contained in them regarding the power and duty of the civil magistrate shall be held to sanction any principles or views inconsistent with full liberty of conscience in matters of religion. On the other hand, that party acted generously and wisely in consenting that in the United Church the fullest forbearance should be allowed as to any difference of opinion which might exist respecting the question of State grants to educational establishments of a denominational character. Some may be disposed to think that as voluntaries they carried concession too far when they agreed along with the others that it was best to express no special opinion as to the appropriation of the Temporalities Fund after the lapse of vested rights, inasmuch as the decision on the subject rested with the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland. But it must be remembered that that Church had been already

disendowed, provision being made for life interests, that these interests had been bought up by the State by the payment of a capital sum to the incumbents, that this sum they had handed over to the Church, receiving only the annual interest of it during their lifetimes. The Temporalities Fund, therefore, was the legal property of the Synod to which these ministers belonged. It was that Synod alone that had the right to say what should be done with it when all those entitled to the annual interest accruing from it had passed away. And the most extreme voluntary could not object to the Church's conduct in accepting this sum of money, not from the State, but from its own ministers, and applying it to any purpose it might think right.

Arrangements were made for the future management of the Widows' and Orphans' Fund, the Colleges, and the Home and Foreign Missions under the United Church, and with commendable prudence legislation was asked and obtained from the various provincial legislatures to protect the rights of all parties in all kinds of property belonging to the negotiating Churches. All these preliminaries having been satisfactorily adjusted, the great comprehensive union of the four Synods was accomplished at Montreal, in the Victoria Hall on Tuesday the 15th of June 1875. It was a scene of great enthusiasm, many members and adherents from all parts of the Dominion and from other lands having come to witness the proceedings of this memorable day. Memories of the controversies and disruptions of former days, recollections of venerated fathers and brethren who had laid the foundations of the various

Churches, and now rested from their labours, gratitude to God for the way by which He had led them, and hopes of a bright future for the now United Church filled the hearts of men too full for utterance. The various functions in the solemn and impressive services of the day were judiciously distributed among the representative men of the Synods and Assemblies now being merged in one. The Church assumed the name of "The Presbyterian Church in Canada," and unanimously chose as their first Moderator the Rev. John Cook, D.D., minister of St Andrew's Church, Quebec, and Principal of Morrin College, who had moved the resolutions in 1844 which led to the secession of the Free Church party. Congratulations on this auspicious union were soon received from the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, from the Montreal Conference of the Methodist Church, from the Church of England Dioceses of Montreal and Toronto, from the Presbyterian Church in the United States, from the Free Church of Scotland, and from the Presbyterian Church of Victoria.

The number of ministers on the roll of the United Church, excluding several missionaries and retired ministers, amounted to 623, of whom 35 were from the Synod of the Maritime Provinces, 129 from the Synod of the Lower Provinces, 115 from the Canada Synod in connection with the Church of Scotland, and 344 from the Assembly of the Canada Presbyterian Church.¹ The one subject of regret in con-

¹ The General Assembly, as organised in 1875, consisted of four Synods—the Synod of the Maritime Provinces, with eleven Presbyteries; the Synod of Montreal and Ottawa, with five Presbyteries; the Synod of Toronto and Kingston, with nine Presbyteries; and the

nection with this union was that some esteemed fathers and brethren felt it to be their duty to stand aloof. Of those who declined to enter the union there were two of the Canada Presbyterian Church, ten of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland, and nine of the Synod of the Maritime Provinces. It will be seen that by far the greater number of these dissentients belonged to the Synods in connection with the Church of Scotland. The General Assembly of that Church, while conveying to the United Church of the Dominion their earnest prayer that God would bless and hallow the union, and declaring that they saw nothing in its terms indicative of disloyalty to the Mother Church, expressed no opinion as to the duty of accepting or rejecting the union, and held out the hand of fellowship equally to both parties.

In prospect of the approaching union, Acts had been passed by the Legislatures of Ontario and Quebec regulating the disposal of the Temporalities Fund. A life interest in this fund was secured to all the ministers of the Synod in connection with the Church of Scotland whether they entered into the Union or not. Ten of the dissentient ministers, however, not satisfied with this equitable arrangement, claimed that they alone represented the old Synod and that they were entitled to the whole.

Synod of Hamilton and London, with eight Presbyteries. Deducting those ministers who did not enter into the union, the number is reduced to 602. But to these might be added nine ordained missionaries in foreign lands, fifteen ordained ministers labouring as home missionaries, eighteen retired ministers, and two ministers without charge, making 646 in all.

They alleged that in passing the Acts referred to, the provincial legislatures had gone beyond their powers, and that these Acts were therefore null and void. To establish this they raised an action in the civil courts, and when that was decided against them they appealed to the English Privy Council. Their judgment was that an interference of the Dominion Parliament was necessary in order to a final settlement of the matter. That Parliament was accordingly moved to legislate on the subject, which they did, confirming the Acts of the provincial legislatures. Few will regret that in their attempt to punish the Church for entering into a union which involved no sacrifice of principle and was manifestly fitted to increase her usefulness, these ten dissentients lost their case. It may be added that owing to various causes the Temporalities Fund has of late years been greatly diminished. It has been agreed that the balance which may remain, after the claims of all the annuitants are met, is to be devoted to the missionary and other benevolent schemes of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

The union thus formed has now had a trial of more than twenty years, and has been followed by the happiest results. In its numbers and pecuniary resources, in all departments of work, professorial, pastoral, evangelistic, and in all its various mission fields, there has been a marvellous development of energy. In proof of this the number of Presbyteries has risen during this period from 33 to 50, of Congregations and Stations from 1841 to 2738, of Ministers from 579 to 1032, of families from 54,132 to 106,604, of Communicants from 88,222

to 202,247. The total contributions for all purposes have increased from 982,671.81½ dollars to 2,180,390 dollars. These figures are taken from very full and valuable statistical tables prepared by the Rev. Dr Torrance of Guelph, of which we would have given a much larger sample, had our space permitted. In view of these results Dr Torrance may well say :— “Has not the Lord been mindful of us and blessed us? And if progress is an evidence of His approval, it is manifest that He has given His to the union which brought together the two streams—or, say, three—of religious influence and effort which were flowing through our land. May it not be expected that He will bless us still?” To all this progress and prosperity the Free Church has in no small degree contributed. One circumstance which illustrates the value of her contribution to the ministry of the United Church is this, that of the first twenty men called to occupy the Moderator’s Chair since the union twelve were originally Free Churchmen.

We have seen how nobly the various Synods, even when their ministers were few in number, ill-remunerated and over-worked, strove to make provision for the training of a native ministry. The result was that when the union took place the Church found herself in possession of a large number of admirably equipped theological institutions, so that all that was needed was consolidation, re-arrangement, and more adequate endowment. First, there was Halifax College, in Nova Scotia, which was transferred to a spacious building, in the best state of repair and surrounded by ten acres of land. This building was transformed into a College, with class rooms, library,

and residences for one professor and twenty students. The accommodation was subsequently enlarged ; the College was empowered by the Local Legislature to grant degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Divinity ; and it now possesses both a Professorial and a Bursary Endowment Fund of considerable amount.

Then there was Morrin College, at Quebec, of which the venerable Dr Cook was principal. There have been great changes in the professorial staff there from deaths and other causes, but it is still a flourishing institution, doing a good work, and contributing its quota of candidates for the ministry. Next was the Montreal College, which at the time of the union had two professors and two lecturers. Since that time the two lecturers have been made professors, and a fifth has been added to the staff. The Endowment Fund has been largely increased and a splendid building, "The David Morrice Hall," has been added to the College by the generous individual whose name it bears. Then there came Queen's College, Kingston, the condition of which was very critical in 1844, when nearly all the theological students cast in their lot with the seceding ministers, and when Principal Liddle and Professor Campbell resigned their posts and returned to Scotland. Before the union, however, it had rallied greatly, and under Principal Grant it is in a very flourishing state, with new and splendid College buildings, large endowments, and a goodly number of theological students. Then there was Knox College, Toronto, the scene of the labours of Drs Willis and Burns, which in 1875 had for its theological staff Principal Caven,

Professor Gregg, to whose short history of the Presbyterian Church we are under the deepest obligations, Professor Maclaren and Dr Proudfoot. Since the union an additional Professor of Old Testament Introduction has been appointed, and the College has been empowered to grant the degrees of Bachelor of Divinity and Doctor of Divinity. The endowment Fund has risen enormously, and a large number of theological students have been trained within its walls. Last of all was Manitoba College opened by the Canada Presbyterian Church at Kildonan in 1871, and transferred to Winnipeg in 1874, at which date the Church of Scotland co-operated in the support of the College in anticipation of the approaching union. Until 1883 this College was almost entirely a literary and scientific institution, though a few of the students were trained in theology under the superintendence of the Presbytery. In that year, however, it was deemed necessary in the interest of the Church in the North-West to add to it a Theological department, with a Principal and Professor of Divinity. To this office the Rev. Dr King of Toronto was appointed, who, besides teaching theology and philosophy, has rendered valuable service to the Church in connection with the finances of the College. In the eight years that elapsed between 1884 and 1892 thirty-seven students completed their theological education in that remote school of the prophets. This is a large number, considering how few are usually found willing to study for the ministry amid the engrossing occupations of a recently settled Colony.

Before passing from the subject of the colleges we may make this single observation. These institutions have not merely provided a much more adequate supply of ministers than could ever have been obtained from the home Churches, they have also developed a peculiar type of preaching more acceptable to Canadian congregations and more likely to produce good spiritual results than that of the best preachers whom we could send them. It may be difficult to describe the difference between the one style of preaching and the other, but any one can feel it. There is a dignified sententiousness about the one, and a short, sharp incisiveness about the other. The Canadian pulpit seems to possess in combination some of the characteristic elements of Scotland, Ireland, and America. It has Scotch theology for its subject matter; it is flavoured with the humour and pathos of the sister Isle; and it is instinct with the intense life and energy of the citizens of the United States.

An interesting part of the Home Mission work of the Church in Canada is the Mission carried on among the French Canadians. In 1871 the Canada Presbyterian Church, which had previously contributed to this object through an undenominational Society, set up a special organisation of her own. Before this, the Rev. Charles Chiniquy, a converted priest of the Church of Rome had come, with his congregation of French Protestants, the fruit of his own labours, at St Ann's Kankakee County, Illinois, asking to be received into the Canadian Church. After full inquiry into the circumstances this request was granted. In 1874 he was with his own consent

removed from his congregation at St Anne's, and settled at Montreal to superintend the work of French Evangelisation in the Province of Quebec. This remarkable man, while a Roman Catholic priest, had done a great work in the promotion of the cause of temperance, and was selected by the Bishop of Chicago as the fittest agent whom he could find for carrying out a grand design which he had conceived of peopling the Western States with members of the Church of Rome. It was when he was actually engaged on this Mission that his eyes were opened to the errors and corruptions of that Church, and from that time forward it became the business of his life to lead out others into that liberty with which Christ had made him free. This work among the French Canadians was also taken over by the United Church and prosecuted with such energy that in the following year the Board was able to report that a considerable debt had been converted into a favourable balance, and that twenty-six missionaries of all kinds were at work. Mr Chiniquy and his fellow-labourers were often in danger of their lives, being attacked by a bigoted and infuriated mob, but still the work went on, till in 1892 the Report given in to the General Assembly could state that whereas "fifty years ago there was not a single French-Canadian Protestant on the St Lawrence; now, at the very lowest calculation, there are 12,000 French-Canadian Protestants in the Province of Quebec, and 20,000 in the United States."

But the great Home Mission field of the Presbyterian Church in Canada is now to be found in the far North-West. The opening up of the Hudson's

Bay Company's territory and the formation of the Canadian Pacific Railway has completely changed the centre of gravity in Canada, so that, whereas the Province of Ontario used to be called Canada West to distinguish it from Quebec, or Canada East, now the whole country from the Atlantic to Lake Superior is termed Eastern Canada, while Western Canada extends from that to the Pacific Ocean. It is an enormous field, the line of railway, on either side of which it lies, being 2000 miles in length. It is calculated that there is enough of land in this region suitable and available for settlement to cover the whole of Central Europe. And it has not, as in the case of most colonies, been gradually explored and slowly settled, but suddenly thrown open to the immigration of the world. "Every one of the 133 stations on these 2000 miles of railway becomes a distributing point for settlement. Since the completion of the main line, branch lines have sprung out from the main stem, north and south, with a total length of over 1600 miles." The natural result has been not only an immense influx of population, but the scattering of this population in comparatively small groups over an immense area. This makes the task of planting churches within reach of the people, or even supplying them with missionaries to itinerate among them, an arduous one indeed. But the Presbyterian Church, stimulated rather than deterred by the magnitude of the work, has risen nobly to the occasion. Knowing that about two-thirds of the many thousands who have poured into these regions were professedly Presbyterians, she has recognised the call addressed to her in Providence to care for their souls.

The Rev. Dr Cochrane of Brantford, a worthy son of the Free Church, was, for a quarter of a century, the able and indefatigable convener of the Home Mission Committee, Western Section. To his watchful care and untiring energy it is largely due that the Presbyterian Church has grappled so earnestly with this great problem, and done so much to solve it. His death, which took place in the autumn of 1898, has created a blank that will not be easily filled up.

In 1881 the Rev. Dr Robertson, a man specially qualified for such a work, was appointed superintendent of this Mission. Stations were immediately planted here and there, at distant posts throughout Manitoba and the territories beyond. The missionary followed the railway as it worked its way westward, and proved a blessing to many who were far from home and friends and the ordinary means of grace. I quote from one who is himself engaged in this great Mission field, and has given us in a brief but telling pamphlet a vivid picture of the variety and interest of the work :—

¹ “The new-comers to the country will always be glad to see the missionary, and will gladly welcome his invitation to service next Sabbath. The ‘old timers,’ having been long neglected, have forgotten most of their religion, and often consider the proposal to introduce religious service as a sort of infringement upon their liberty, and the missionary a nuisance. Such a welcome the writer received from one who had been a superintendent of a Sabbath school in the East—though not a Presbyterian, he was relieved to find—but who found it hard to come back to the faith and religious habits of other years.

“After some days in the saddle, eating and sleeping where he can, the exploring missionary has made the round of his com-

¹ “Presbyterian Missions in the Canadian North-West, 1893.” By the Rev. C. W. Gordon, lately minister at Banff, North-West Territories.

munity, and has established a preaching-point, then another and another, in the district, until he has a group of three or four. Some distance away he organises another group, and this he may supply on alternate Sabbaths. Thus a station is organised ; as soon as possible a Church is built, a board of management elected, and the station moves on towards self-support."

"The work among the Lumber Camps is perhaps the most delightful of all. For four or five months the lumber men live up in the woods in companies of from fifty to two hundred and fifty. These the missionary visits, distributing literature, most eagerly received—even almanacs are treasured—and holding services. One cannot well forget these services in the lumber *shanties*. The dim light falling upon the earnestly listening faces ; the full chorus of strong, rough, not unmusical voices ; the reverent attitude in prayer ; the hearty, jolly supper ; the pipe, the yarn, the quiet talk of home and other days, the dreamless sleep, the hearty farewell in the morning, and 'Come back again.' No ! one does not forget a visit to the sturdy, hearty lumber men. But oh, for some kind Christian help when they come back to civilisation with their wages in their pockets and devil-dens standing open to them."

The following sentences taken from a letter from the same pen, of date 19th Jan. 1899, will give some idea of the formidable difficulties with which this energetic Church has to grapple at the present moment :—

"During this past year also, the tide of immigration, which had ebbed for some years past, began to set in more strongly again, 35,000 people coming to Western Canada. Of this amount one-third were from the Continental countries of Europe, and this week some 5000 Doukhobors from Russia are being added to our population. This influx of foreigners to our country constitutes one of the serious factors in the problem of Home Missions, and there is little doubt that an increasingly large number of non-English-speaking people will be attracted by the fertility of our prairies and the wealth of our mining regions, to Western Canada. At present there are over 12,000 Galicians settled in colonies throughout Manitoba and the North-West Territories. In addition to these we have colonies of Swedes, Hungarians, Germans, Finns, Icelanders,

Poles and Chinese. The Gospel is preached in Western Canada in fourteen languages, and it is a question whether the Canadian Church will be able to deal satisfactorily with the religious problem that the presence of these foreign nationalities makes so serious. Unless this people can be surrounded by English-speaking communities that are permeated by a warm, vigorous Christian life, and unless we are able to furnish them with the Gospel, for as a rule they have no missionaries of their own, it will be impossible, but that the whole moral tone of the community will suffer, and our best Canadian traditions in regard to our religion will be lost."

The extraordinary energy with which that Church has thrown herself into this vast and difficult yet most interesting field of labour is evident from the following facts. In 1897 Dr Robertson reports as follows:—

"In 1875 there was one Presbytery; now fourteen: while the preaching stations have shot up from 35 to 832. Families increased twenty-two-fold, communicants thirty-five, and contributions forty-fold. The revenue of the former year was £1365, and of the latter over £50,000.

It was surely a well-merited honour that was conferred on Dr Robertson, and a fit reward for his invaluable and self-sacrificing labours when the Church called him to occupy the Moderator's Chair in the Assembly of 1895.

Since these words were written a new Mission field has been opened up, and a new strain been put upon the resources of the Canadian Church by the discovery of gold at Klondike. Without even waiting for the sanction of the General Assembly or its Committee, the executive took the bold step of sending four ministers in the autumn of 1897 to follow up the multitudes who were eagerly rushing to that rich but inhospitable region. The Church has now put upon the Mission the stamp of its cordial approval, and has gratefully recognised the

fitness of the brethren appointed for the arduous and hazardous work before them. But the strain of keeping up with the extraordinary rapidity of settlement is too great even for this earnest, united, powerful Church to bear alone, in addition to all the other work she has to do. The home Churches have helped her in the past, and in the present crisis she needs their prayers, their sympathy, and their pecuniary assistance more than she ever did before.¹

May we not add that she is well entitled to receive it, not only because so many of those immigrants thus thrown upon her hands are our own fellow-countrymen, but because she has never made the extent of her Home Mission enterprise an excuse for neglecting the foreign field. On the contrary, she has taken a distinguished place among the Churches in the prosecution of the Foreign Mission cause, having attacked heathenism at many points, and in some places with remarkable success. Let us take a brief survey of these in their chronological order.

The first of the British American Presbyterian Churches to enter on the foreign field was the Synod of Nova Scotia, which, it will be remembered, was in close relations with the Secession Churches in Scotland and Ireland. So early as the year 1844 they appointed a board of Foreign Missions, empowering them to collect money, to select a field and appoint a missionary. The field chosen was

¹ It may be mentioned as an illustration of the desire of the Canadian Church to do everything in their power for the cultivation of this field, that they have made arrangements for having the Theological Classes in Manitoba College taught in summer, that the students may be able during winter to take charge of the Mission fields left vacant by the withdrawal of the students of other colleges who have to return to their classes in the autumn. Hitherto this plan has proved a great success.

the Island of New Caledonia, but it was in the New Hebrides that the work was actually begun and carried on. The first missionary was a remarkable man, the Rev. John Geddie (afterwards Dr Geddie). Devoted by his parents in his infancy to Foreign Mission work, he had all along burned with a desire to enter on it, and most willingly responded to the Church's call to be their pioneer missionary. Accompanied by Mrs Geddie, and by a lay assistant and his wife, and reinforced by the Rev. Mr Powell and seven native teachers whom the London Missionary Society's agents sent with him from Samoa, he landed on Aneiteum, the most southerly of the New Hebrides group, then inhabited by fierce and treacherous cannibals. In 1850 his European assistant had to leave, but in 1852 he was joined by a true yoke-fellow, the Rev. John Inglis, of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland. By the blessing of God upon their labours, Aneiteum became not only a Christian island, but a source of light to all the others in the group, its natives being found to be able and willing workers in the Mission field. After his death in 1872 a tablet was placed behind the pulpit in which he had ministered, with this inscription: "In memory of John Geddie, D.D., born in Scotland, 1815, Minister in Prince Edward Island seven years, Missionary sent from Nova Scotia at Anelcauhat, Aneiteum, for twenty-four years. He laboured amidst many trials for the good of the people, taught many to read, many to work, and some to be teachers. He was esteemed by the natives, beloved by his fellow-labourer, the Rev. John Inglis, and honoured by the missionaries in the New Hebrides, and by the Churches. *When he*

landed in 1848 there were no Christians here, and when he left in 1872 there were no heathen. He died in the Lord, in Australia, 1872. 1 Thess. i. 5."

The second missionary sent by this Church to the New Hebrides was the Rev. George N. Gordon. He too was a remarkable man, for he had reached his thirtieth year before he began his studies for the ministry; and after these were completed, when he had offered himself as a missionary, he studied medicine and learned to do the work of a blacksmith, shoemaker, tailor, and printer, all to qualify him for his future work. In 1857 he and his wife arrived at Aneiteum, where they were welcomed by Messrs Geddie and Inglis, and where they decided to make Erromanga, the island on which Williams and Harris had been massacred, the scene of their labours. They found the natives as cruel and depraved as ever, but undeterred by present difficulties or by the terrible memories of the past, they prosecuted their work with zeal and patience and not a little success. Then came the sad yet glorious end. Cruelly murdered on the 20th of May 1861, they rested from their labours and received the martyr's crown. It was a high testimony to the faith and courage of the Church of Nova Scotia that they resolved at once to continue the work at Erromanga, and that when the question was asked, "Whom shall we send, and who will go for us?" the brother of the martyred missionary and two others offered themselves willingly for this post of danger. Alas! the second Mr Gordon soon shared his brother's fate. On the 18th of March 1872, he was tomahawked by a savage while engaged in translating the account of the martyrdom of Stephen.

But "the blood of the martyrs" has proved in this, as in many other cases, to be "the seed of the Church." This Mission was of course taken over by the Church at the union, and it is interesting to learn from the Foreign Mission Report presented to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1895, that "in this island of Erromanga, besides the head station at Dillon's Bay, there is another at Portnarevein in Polenia Bay, on the east side of the island, where the missionary spends part of his time, and where the sacrament is dispensed alternately with Dillon's Bay. There are about thirty other stations, and a staff of forty native teachers located in various parts of the island, of whom five are elders. A very large number of the people can read; many can write, and some understand English, so the education of the island is not neglected." The Canadian Church has at present three representatives on these islands, Mr Robertson on Erromanga, Mr M'Kenzie on Efate, and Dr Annand on Santo. The New Hebrides Synod, at its meeting in April 1894 at Aneiteum, was attended by these three missionaries and eleven others, when an important step was taken. It was resolved to set up a College on Tangoa for the training of native teachers and pastors, and to appoint as its Principal the Rev. Joseph Annand, M.A., D.D., one of the missionaries of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

In 1866 the Canada Presbyterian Church began a Mission among the Cree Indians at a spot which they named Prince Albert, on the North Saskatchewan River. The Rev. James Nisbet, along with his devoted wife, after making his way with some difficulty to that remote spot, laboured among the

Indians there with great zeal and considerable success. But the health of both gave way under the strain, and they returned to Kildonan, the scene of their first labours, where they died, regretted and esteemed by all. Mr Nisbet had several excellent coadjutors and successors in his work. One of them, Mr John M'Kay, died at Prince Albert in 1891. He was an eloquent speaker in the Cree tongue, and had much influence with the people, many of whom looked up to him as their spiritual father. This Mission is now being carried on with great vigour at a number of centres. There are thirty-seven teachers and missionaries in all. There are three day schools and eight industrial and boarding schools. The Indians, besides being instructed are taught to labour, and are gradually acquiring habits of industry and independence. A greatly better understanding now prevails between them and the whites ; on the Indian reserves there are Churches well filled with devout worshippers, and in Sabbath-keeping they furnish an example which their white neighbours might well imitate.

In 1868 the Synod of the Lower Provinces organised a Mission to the coolies in Trinidad, then numbering about 25,000, who were bound to their masters by indentures for five years' service. They were in general well treated, but nothing was done for their intellectual, moral, or spiritual welfare. The Rev. John Morton, who urged the Synod to undertake this work, went out as their first missionary, and in 1895 he was still labouring in Trinidad, along with several other missionaries and native agents. The work has been crowned with a considerable measure of success. The number of

schools connected with the Mission is 53. The number of pupils enrolled during the year is 4764. Government gives grants in aid, and the sugar planters are now taking a growing interest in the schools. The number baptised during the year was 479; the number of communicants in good standing is 638; and the average rate of contribution for religious purposes is nearly £1 per communicant.

In 1871 the Canada Presbyterian Church came to the conclusion that the time had arrived for their engaging more extensively than before in Foreign Mission work. The field which they chose was China, and they were singularly fortunate in their first missionary, the Rev. George L. Mackay, who was a native of Ontario, had studied at Knox College and in Princeton, N.J., and had been licensed in the United States as a preacher of the Gospel. On his arrival in China he resolved to visit the island of Formosa before deciding definitely on his field of labour. He found that the English Presbyterian Church had been labouring successfully in the southern part of the island for several years. There he remained for upwards of two months, acquiring the language and visiting the Mission Hospital. As there was no missionary in the north of Formosa, he resolved to break ground there, taking Tamsui for his headquarters. There he laboured indefatigably, teaching, preaching, travelling from place to place, building chapels, using what medical knowledge he possessed, and inducing the Church to send out a medical missionary to take up this department of the work. In short his labours were quite phenomenal, and equally phenomenal was the success

with which they were attended. Entering on his work at Tamsui in 1872, the anniversary of his arrival there was celebrated in 1886 with great rejoicings by no fewer than 1273 converts. In a letter written the day following, Dr Mackay says :—

“Fourteen years ago yesterday, at 3 P.M., I landed here. All was dark around. Idolatry was rampant. The people were bitter toward any foreigner. There were no churches, no hospitals, no preachers, no students, no friends. I knew neither European nor Chinese. Year after year passed away rapidly. But of the persecutions, trials, and woes ; of the sleepless nights ; of the weeping hours and bitter sorrows ; of the traveling barefoot, drenched with wet ; of the nights in ox stables, damp huts, and filthy, small, dark rooms ; of the days with students in wet grass on the mountain-top and by the sea-side ; of the weeks in savage country seeing bleeding heads brought in to dance around ; of the narrow escapes from death by sea, by savages, by mobs, by sickness, and by the French, you will never fully know. I will tell you what I told the *great multitude* in and about the College, that being shut out from my beloved Formosa was the hardest thing I had to bear during all the fourteen years.”

It is pleasant to know that Dr Mackay still lives to labour in his beloved Formosa, that the work goes prosperously on, and that in recognition of his great services he was called to preside as Moderator over the General Assembly of the Church in 1894.

In 1887 a Mission was begun on the mainland of China, in the Province of Honan. Two things gave special interest to this Mission : the first, that it took its origin from the students' Volunteer Missionary Union ; and the second, that the expense of maintaining it is largely defrayed by one or two large-hearted men, and by certain congregations of the Church who have guaranteed considerable sums

in addition to their previous contributions to the Foreign Mission Fund.

In 1892 Mission work was hopefully begun among the Chinese in British Columbia, of whom there are thousands, employed chiefly in the salmon canneries.

Something had been done in the way of breaking ground in Central India previous to the General Union in 1875, but after that the work was carried on with much greater vigour and on a far larger scale.

At first this Mission had a somewhat bitter opposition to encounter, but the appointment of Lord Dufferin, who as Governor-General of Canada had known something of the good work of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion, to be Viceroy of India, soon put these troubles to an end. Like most missions in India, except those among the aboriginal tribes or outcasts, the work has consisted rather in a slow leavening process than in rapid and numerous conversions. But all the various departments of work, medical, educational and directly evangelistic, are in full and healthy operation. In the Report to the General Assembly in 1895, it was stated that the native Christian community had been considerably increased, chiefly by conversions among the Mang caste in Indore, and from various castes in Mhow and outlying villages. A number of catechists, Bible readers and teachers, have been trained to assist the missionaries in their work, and one of the most faithful and devoted of these native agents will soon be licensed by the Presbytery as a preacher of the Gospel.

It only remains to be mentioned in this connection, that since 1876 the Foreign Mission work of

the Church has been greatly promoted by the formation of Women's Foreign Missionary Societies. These have not only raised considerable sums of money, but have awakened and deepened in the minds of many an interest in the spiritual welfare of the heathen, more particularly the heathen women and children.

From this rapid sketch of the history of Presbyterianism in Canada, it is very evident that if the Church delays to provide earnest, faithful ministers for settlers in a new country, evil may be done which cannot easily be undone. We have seen, too, that the broken, divided state of the Presbyterian Church was a serious hindrance to its success, though the efforts put forth by all its branches to cope with the difficulties arising from a rapidly increasing and widely scattered population were beyond all praise. We have marked the gradual rise of a union spirit both in Church and State, and we have seen with the utmost satisfaction the marvellous development in all directions of the new energies of the United Church. We have endeavoured, as the special theme of these lectures required us to do, to show the contribution made by the Free Church of Scotland to the life and work of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, while frankly recognising the assistance rendered by all the sister Churches in Scotland, Ireland, and the United States. And we have pointed with peculiar interest to the fact that the distinctive principles of the Free Church, which are simply those that were always maintained by the Reformed Church of Scotland in its best days, have been fully conserved and formally adopted by that large and powerful branch of the Church of Christ, the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

LECTURE III

PRESBYTERIANISM IN AUSTRALIA

IN our former lecture we considered the stand which was made by our brethren in Canada for the maintenance of the principles of the Free Church, and the recognition of these principles which was embodied in the Basis of Union adopted by the United Church in 1875. We have also seen something of the work done by the Free Church in the way of helping the Presbyterian Churches in Canada in their great Home Mission work. We now turn to Australia, another of the British Colonies, not much smaller than Canada, nearly as large as the whole of Europe, and twenty-five times the size of the United Kingdom, to see what part the Free Church has played in building up the Presbyterian Church, and so promoting the cause and Kingdom of Jesus Christ, in that great southern land.

We have seen that at one period it was far more likely that Canada would have been a French Colony and a Roman Catholic preserve than a part of the British Empire, where every form of faith is tolerated, and where the Protestant religion is professed by a growing majority of the population. The case of Australia was somewhat similar. It was discovered by the Dutch in the seventeenth century, and should have become a Dutch Colony. Indeed they named

it New Holland, and it was so named in all our maps till a comparatively recent date. How then did it come into our possession? Not by conquest, as in the case of Canada, but because the Dutch, whose great object was Commerce, deemed it of no value, and did not think it worth their while to claim what seemed to them a barren and unprofitable country. At the same time they had no desire to see us or any other nation settled there, and so they carefully collected all the journals and charts of those who had discovered this new territory and hid them in their repositories in Amsterdam. With all its apparent shrewdness this proved to be a foolish policy. Had they made known their discovery, the ships of other nations would have visited the place; its vast extent and varied resources would soon have been made known, and if others had attempted to appropriate it, the Dutch would at once have asserted their prior claim, which their flourishing settlements in the east would have enabled them to make good. As it was, the country remained unappropriated and practically unknown till the end of last century. In 1778, the year after we had lost our American Colonies, Australia was re-discovered by Captain Cook. Having successfully carried out a mission to Tahiti in the interests of science he resolved to visit New Holland on his way home—a country in regard to which Dampier, an English buccancer, had spread some strange intelligence. Captain Cook's natural course would have been to sail round the northern shore, in which case he would probably have confirmed the Dutch report of its utter barrenness. But happily he was driven southward by the

prevailing winds, and landing in the neighbourhood of Botany Bay, he found the country to be full of rich and varied vegetation, whereupon he hoisted the British flag upon its soil, and claimed it for his King and country. And so it came to pass, in the wonderful providence of God, that this great island of the southern sea dropped from the hands of the Dutch, who had discovered but despised it, and became one of the most valuable possessions of the British crown.

For a time however, it must be admitted, our rulers seem to have had a very inadequate conception of the value of the prize which they had so easily obtained. At least the first use to which they put it was a very ignoble one. In 1788, ten years after its discovery by Captain Cook, the first band of settlers arrived, and of whom did they consist? A gang of seven hundred and sixty convicts, accompanied by two hundred and fifty-seven soldiers, artisans, and attendants. It does seem unfortunate that in colonising this fine country Great Britain should have begun by pouring into it the dregs of her criminal population. And yet there is something to be said even for such a policy as this. It was surely more humane to transport our convicts than to hang them. It was giving them a chance, in a new country, far from their former associations, of retrieving their lost character and making a fresh start in life. This benevolent purpose and this encouraging prospect were clearly indicated in the words addressed to that mixed and motley company by the Governor on landing. "We are here to take possession of this fifth division of the globe on behalf

of the British people, and to found a State which will not only occupy and rule this great country, but will also be the beneficent patroness of the entire Southern Hemisphere. How grand is the prospect that lies before this youthful nation!" It cannot be denied that serious evils arose from the taint of crime with which Australia was thus infected, but at all events it provided the infant Colony with what it most urgently needed—an adequate supply of labour.

I. PRESBYTERIANISM IN NEW SOUTH WALES

Having made these few introductory remarks with reference to Australia as a whole, let us proceed to take up in succession the various Colonies into which it is now divided. Of these New South Wales, the oldest, and the parent of all the others, is entitled to the first place. It has an area more than five times as large as Great Britain, and a population of somewhat over a million, of which about 100,000 are Presbyterians. For the first thirty-five years of its existence, from 1788 to 1823, there was no Presbyterian minister settled in New South Wales. There was, however, a small settlement of about a dozen families from the South of Scotland on the banks of the Hawkesbury River, about thirty miles to the North of Sydney, who kept up the worship of God after the manner of their fathers. Emigrating in 1802, they received from Government a free passage, a hundred acres of land, and some free stores. As soon as they were settled they set about the erection of a stone Church which was finished in 1817 at a cost of £400. It was appropriately called *Ebenezer*, and stands to

this day, the first Presbyterian Church in Australia, and the oldest Church in the Colony. There Mr James Mein, whose name is deservedly held in grateful remembrance, discharged the duties of a catechist, and conducted divine worship gratuitously for thirty years.

The first Presbyterian minister settled in New South Wales was a man of extraordinary energy, the Rev. John Dunmore Lang, M.A., D.D. He was born at Greenock in 1799, graduated at Glasgow University in 1820, was ordained by the Presbytery of Irvine in the same year, and received from his *Alma Mater* the degree of D.D. in 1825. The accounts which he received from his brother George of the social and moral condition of the Colony led him to choose Australia as a field for missionary labour. Reaching Sydney in 1823, he was warmly welcomed by the Presbyterians there, and began to hold services in the Courthouse, the use of which was granted for the purpose. His fervent and powerful preaching soon gathered a large congregation; subscriptions were raised for the building of a Church, Sir Thomas Brisbane, the Governor, heading the list. But Dr Lang, though full of zeal, was often sadly lacking in discretion, the result of which was that misunderstandings soon arose, and Sir Thomas withdrew his name and support. In spite of this, however, the Church was opened in 1824, and soon filled with a large, attached, and influential congregation.

After labouring among them for two years Dr Lang returned home, for the purpose of inducing suitable persons to emigrate, and procuring ministers

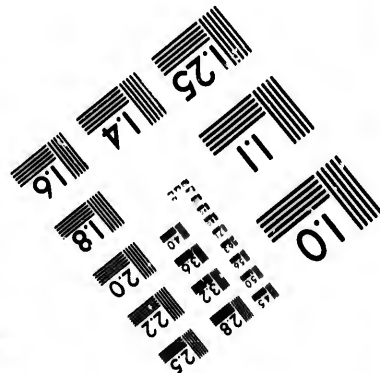
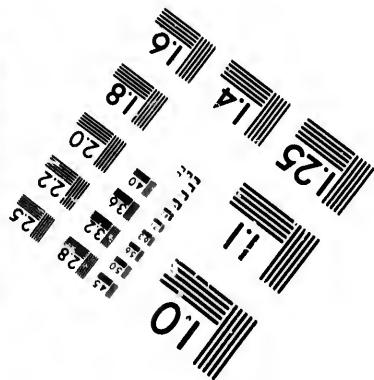
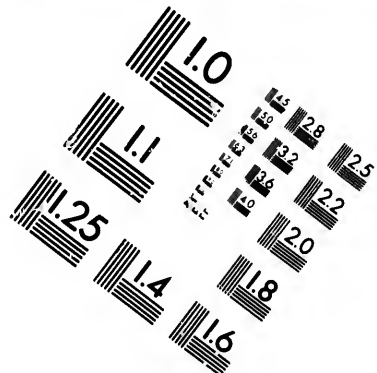
and teachers. He was so far successful that he was able, on his return in 1826, to establish schools in Sydney and the neighbourhood, and had the satisfaction of seeing them prosper. He made excursions through the country, opening preaching stations, and taking steps for the settlement of ministers in due time. In 1831 he made a second voyage to this country, the result of which was that he succeeded in bringing out with him five ministers, whom he saw settled in five of the stations which he had previously formed. And so anxious was he for the increase of the population by the introduction of men of the right stamp that he actually brought out a large number of Presbyterian settlers at his own expense. One result of the arrival of so many ministers was the formation of a Presbytery, which was effected in 1832. In 1833 this indefatigable man again visited the Home country, with the view of bringing out more emigrants, and especially more ministers and teachers. About this time he had the satisfaction of seeing his earnest and self-sacrificing labours for the establishment of a College in Sydney crowned with success. Returning in 1835 he added to his other labours the editorship of a paper called the "Colonist," in which he spoke his mind so plainly about persons whose conduct he thought it his duty to denounce, that he was repeatedly mulcted in large sums for libel, and was at one time imprisoned for four months. In 1836 he paid a fourth visit to England, when he succeeded in inducing Lord Glenelg, then in the Colonial Office, to give such assistance to emigrants that 3000 went out in three years. Nor did he forget their spiritual

and educational wants, for he brought out at the same time several teachers, and no fewer than fifteen ministers and candidates for the ministry.

On his return to New South Wales in December 1837, Dr Lang found that an Act had been hastily passed by the Legislative Council, prompted by his own ministerial brethren, to regulate the temporal affairs of Presbyterian Churches. Its object evidently was to deprive the doctor of the influence he had been in the habit of using with the Government in all money arrangements with ministers and congregations. He was very indignant at this manifestation of ingratitude and want of confidence on the part of men who owed their position in the Church to his own exertions. He was also offended by the stealthy way in which this Act was hurried through, at a time when he was doing his very best, at great expense to himself, to promote the interests of the Church. So far one can thoroughly sympathise with the aggrieved founder of the Presbyterian Church in Australia. But in the matter which brought things to a crisis, and led to a rupture between himself and the Presbytery, Dr Lang was in the wrong. He insisted that the ministers whom he had brought with him, and who were ordained, should at once be allowed a seat in the Presbytery, and afterwards be appointed to their respective charges. The Presbytery, being probably irritated by Dr Lang's denunciations of their conduct, would not concede this, which was certainly contrary to rule, whereupon Dr Lang, and the ministers whom he had brought out from Scotland, withdrew, and formed a new body, designated "The Synod of New South Wales."

This was a most unhappy schism. Presbyterianism was feeble enough at that time without being further weakened and discredited in the eyes of the community by being split up into two rival factions. The breach was healed indeed in 1840, but not without another voyage to England on the part of Dr Lang, to secure recognition for his Synod both from the Government and from the Scottish Church. Still, though the Presbytery of Australia and the Synod of New South Wales were united under the title of "The Synod of Australia in connection with the Church of Scotland," the elements of discord were not extinguished, but only smouldering, and ready to burst into a flame. Dr Lang having paid a visit to America to inquire into the working of the system of ministerial support without State endowment, and also the plans adopted in the formation and management of academies and colleges, gave a report on this latter subject to the Synod on his return. That Synod, which now numbered eighteen ministers, appointed a committee, with Dr Lang as convener, to take steps for establishing a Theological Hall. Dr Lang, with his usual impetuous energy, at once proceeded to Port Philip and Tasmania to push the scheme. Unfortunately in his haste he omitted to convene the Committee and obtain their sanction, and he also omitted to make provision for the supply of his own pulpit. The consequence was that when he returned, having succeeded not only in securing pecuniary assistance for the proposed theological seminary, but even the promise of students for the ministry, instead of receiving thanks and congratulations, he was taken to task by the Presbytery for





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his offences. It certainly showed a paltry, if not a vindictive spirit, to make so much of trifling errors, and so little of the extraordinary services he had rendered to the Church. It was scarcely to be wondered at that a man of his temperament should resent this ungenerous treatment, and resign his connection with a Church so jealous of his influence, so unwilling to give him anything like freedom of action. When he left the Synod, which he did in 1842, refusing to obey their citation and being deposed for contumacy, he carried with him the majority of his congregation and the Church property. This led to a lengthened litigation, in which the doctor was successful, and the Presbytery had heavy damages to pay.

It is difficult, even at this distance of time from the exciting events with which he was mixed up, to form a clear, impartial, and adequate conception of the character of Dr Lang. That he was a man of intense enthusiasm and boundless activity goes without saying. He must also have had great powers of persuasion, as was proved by his remarkable success in bringing large numbers of emigrants and not a few ministers and teachers to the Colony, and in carrying his point again and again in his interviews with the civil and ecclesiastical authorities at home. He was an effective speaker and powerful debater, whether in the pulpit or on the platform, in Church Court or Legislative Assembly, for he was a statesman as well as an ecclesiastic, being elected a member of the first Legislative Council for Port Philip in 1843, and finally retiring from Parliament only in 1869. He was what would even now be called

an advanced Liberal. After his visit to America he became strongly opposed to indiscriminate endowment, organised the Synod of which he was the leading member on the principle of self-support, and in his place in Parliament advocated the withdrawal of all State-aid to religion. He may have thrown himself into the arena of secular politics with greater vehemence than was becoming in a Christian minister, but no one could doubt the purity of his motives, or his passionate desire for the welfare of the Colony for which he had done and sacrificed so much. He may have been too impetuous in his conduct, too unguarded in his language, too impatient of control. But take him all in all he was perhaps the most prominent figure and the most powerful man, not only in the Presbyterian Church but in the Colony of New South Wales.

Before the Church had time to recover from the shock sustained by the secession of Dr Lang and his supporters, another similar catastrophe was upon them. For events were now transpiring in Scotland that could not fail to affect all the branches of the Presbyterian Church that had sprung from the Scottish stock. The Ten Years' Conflict between the Ecclesiastical and the Civil Courts had been watched with intense interest by Presbyterians in Australia, notwithstanding their distance from the seat of war, the time that intelligence took to reach them, and the unlikelihood of their ever being brought into a similar collision with the Courts of Law. The Rev. James Forbes, a distinguished member of the Presbytery of Melbourne constituted by authority of the Synod of Australia in June 1842, brought this

matter formally before the Church. In October 1844, at the first meeting of the Synod after the tidings of the Disruption reached Australia, and in connection with letters from the Colonial Committees both of the Established and Free Church, he introduced an overture consisting of nine propositions. The substance of these was: that the members of the Synod having signed the Confession of Faith deem it incumbent on them at the present time to proclaim their adherence to the Headship of Christ over His Church, her spiritual independence, and the doctrine of Non-Intrusion, expressing their gratitude to God that their circumstances were such that they had no reason to apprehend interference from without in carrying these principles into practical effect, and ending by asserting the independence of the Synod, and her freedom from all transmarine control, in terms of a Declaratory Act of the General Assembly of the Established Church of Scotland passed in 1840. This overture was adopted by all the members of Synod present, with only one dissident.

So far there was a remarkable unanimity in favour of Free Church principle and practice in a Court composed of a number of ministers from all parts of Scotland, who had watched the progress of the non-intrusion controversy from a distance, and might therefore be expected to give a calm and impartial verdict. But now a more delicate and difficult question had to be discussed. What answer was the Synod to give to the communications they had received from Scotland? What was to be their future attitude towards the two Churches? To borrow the language of a late lamented statesman,

which has almost become proverbial, "there were three courses open to them." They might resolve to continue as hitherto, in a relation, not of subordination to, but of special friendship with the Church of Scotland as by law established; or they might transfer that special friendliness to the Free Church, which had at great sacrifice maintained those principles to which the Synod had solemnly renewed its adherence; or they might take up a neutral position, holding out the hand of fellowship to both the Churches, since they had no responsibility for the acts of either, and since the question at issue was not a practical one for them. Each of these three courses had its supporters in the Synod. It was ably argued by the Rev. William Hamilton, of Goulburn, that it was the first duty of the Synod to maintain its own unity and peace—that they being an independent Church, in no way responsible for the conduct of either of the home Churches, were under no obligation to adhere to the one and repudiate the other, as both seemed to expect and desire—that while there was a difference of opinion among them as to the men and measures of both the Churches, a large number approving of the conduct of the Free Church, and sympathising with its sufferings for conscience' sake, all were agreed that they were both portions of the Catholic Church of Christ, and were prepared to hold communion and friendly correspondence with both, if they on their part were ready to accept it. His motion concluded with a direction to the Moderator gratefully to acknowledge the interest expressed by both the Churches in the Colony, and to assure them of the Synod's readiness

to receive their co-operation and assistance—with an explicit permission to any members of Synod, who might think it their duty, to divest themselves of any privileges which according to law belonged to them as licentiates and ministers of the Established Church of Scotland—and with a resolution that, although the present designation—viz., “Synod of Australia in connection with the Church of Scotland” implied no approval of that Church’s recent proceedings, yet in case it might be supposed to mean that they had more intimate communion with the Established than with the Free Church, the designation should be changed, and an amendment on the Temporalities’ Bill procured to give civil sanction to the change. The Rev. Dr M’Garvie, who had dissented from Mr Forbes’ Overture moved, that it does not appear to this Synod necessary to alter the designation by which they have been hitherto known, or to abandon the connection they have held with the Established Church of Scotland.

The third possible course was moved by the Rev. John Tait. Referring to the communications which they had received from the representatives of both Churches, requesting to be informed as to their views of the principles involved and the course which they might feel it to be their duty to pursue, he maintained that it was incumbent on them to follow up their clear declaration of principle with an equally explicit statement of the line of action which they meant to take up. That line was indicated in three propositions: 1. That the Synod had watched with deep interest the struggle for the maintenance of the Headship of Christ and the rights and privileges of

the Christian people—that while grateful to God for the support of the Colonial Government granted to them without any invasion of their liberties, and while they were thus not directly affected by the encroachments of the Civil Power in Scotland, still they felt imperatively called upon to express their deep regret at such an interpretation being put upon their standards by the State and submitted to by the Church as involved a virtual surrender of the principles in question, and their thankfulness to God that so many of her office-bearers and people had proved faithful, and at the sacrifice of all that the State had bestowed had left an Establishment in which they were no longer able fully to carry out the mind of Christ. 2. That although their relation to the Established Church involved no dependence or liability to interference or control, still it did imply such a preference for her as was inconsistent with the principles they had now declared, therefore, while grateful for past advice and assistance, they felt that they were no longer warranted in maintaining the peculiarly close connection previously kept up, and therefore must take the necessary steps to have their designation changed. 3. “That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the Moderators of the Established and Free Churches, and that the thanks of this Court be tendered to the latter for their generous offer, in the midst of their own privations and difficulties, to assist the Synod in supplying our countrymen in this territory with religious ordinances, and to express our willingness to receive any aid they may be able to render.”

Dr M'Garvie's motion to continue their former

relation to the Established Church had only the support of himself and his seconder. Mr Hamilton's motion for practical neutrality was carried against Mr Tait's in favour of transferring their fellowship to the Free Church by a majority of three.

This decision was, of course, intimated to both the Churches in Scotland; but before their reply reached the Colony another meeting of Synod was held, at which the question was again brought up, whether they should hold correspondence with both the Free and Established Churches, or with the Free Church alone. On this occasion eight voted on the side of the Free Church, six for neutrality, while eight declined voting, probably because they deemed it right to await the answers of the two Assemblies to their previous finding. When these answers came it appeared that the attempt to continue friendly relations with both parties had proved satisfactory to neither. The answer of the Established Church was unwarrantably strong—almost bitter in its tone. They accused the Synod, not only of totally repudiating their statutory connection with the Established Church of Scotland, which was rather a strong way of describing their proposal to alter their designation, but also of denying the authority of the government and discipline of that Church as determined by law. The Established Church ought to have remembered that, by their own Declaratory Act in 1840, they had disclaimed all such authority, and recognised the autonomy of the Synod. And then they went on further to declare that all adhering to these resolutions would no longer be regarded as ministers and elders in connection with the Church of Scotland,

or as parties having any just claim to the privileges secured by law to such ministers and elders in the aforesaid Colony. This looked like a somewhat inept and futile threat to deprive them of their emoluments, which, however, they received from the Colonial Government, not as members of an Established Church, but simply as congregations with a certain number of members, in common with the Wesleyans and Baptists, Catholics and Jews. Even if this was not the meaning of the Assembly's deliverance, it was a rude and violent repulse to give to a Church whose only fault was the not unamiable one of wishing to be on friendly terms with both the sections into which the Mother Church was now unhappily divided.

The answer of the Free Church, though it contained no menace, was equally unfavourable. And one word used by Dr Candlish in reporting on the subject to the Free Assembly seemed to many of our brethren worse than a threat—a sneer. It was an unfortunate expression; yet it is to be observed that he used it to describe, not so much his own view of the attitude of the Synod, as that in which it was regarded by the Established Church. He said: "They have been told in very plain terms that that Assembly gives them small thanks for such a milk and water resolution as they have come to; that they must be either off or on—either in the Establishment or out of it. I daresay this Assembly will be disposed not very materially to differ from the other on this point." And then he went on to apologise for the good men in Australia who, far from the din of conflict, had tried to avoid taking

sides with either party, and to anticipate that they would still bear a faithful testimony, even at the cost of a disruption.

After receiving such communications from the two Churches to which they had chiefly to look for the supply of ministers, the idea of neutrality had to be abandoned.

The Synod which met in October 1846 had to make choice of its alliance, and, strangely enough, whether intimidated by the threat of the one or stung by the sneer of the other, after having explicitly committed itself to Free Church principles, it elected to abide by the Established Church connection. It cannot be said that any of the parties came out of this transaction with much credit. The problem which the Synod of Australia had to face was a new and difficult one, but that will hardly justify the vacillating course which they took in their attempt to solve it, first declaring their intention to be neutral, then voting in favour of adherence to the Free Church, and finally resolving to continue their statutory connection with the Established Church of Scotland. The answer of that Church, as we have seen, was needlessly harsh, gratuitously offensive. Nor can it be maintained that the answer of the Free Church was either generous or wise. It was hard to precipitate a disruption in a Church that had unanimously endorsed the principles of the Free Church and was under no temptation practically to betray them, simply because that Church was willing to receive duly qualified ministers from either Church, provided they were prepared to sign their Standards. And as a mere matter of policy a kind and courteous reply made at that juncture to a

Church which had publicly avowed adherence to her principles, would have bound it to the Free Church by a bond of love and gratitude that would not have been soon broken. What constitutes the irony of the situation is this, that in 1857, after a lapse of only eleven years, we find Dr Candlish, in an able and carefully prepared letter signed by himself, Dr Cunningham, and others, urging the minority who objected to the union of the Australian Churches not to stand out upon the question of the source from which they were to look for their supply of ministers and probationers, in other words, to consent to the very neutrality which a few years before he had himself ridiculed and condemned—a change of front of which Mr Miller of Knox's Church in his answer to that letter does not fail to remind him. The only thing to be said by way of palliation of the blunder then made by the Free Church is that which is very justly and generously said by the biographer of the Rev. Irving Hetherington, the leader of the party in the Synod, who preferred to remain connected with the Established Church. "In times of conflict, neutrality, however theoretically advisable, is often practically impossible; and where high principles are at stake, neutrality is either culpable indifference or contemptible cowardice. The Free Church Assembly, glowing with the consciousness of having suffered for conscience' sake, and with zeal for the principles of spiritual independence, were impatient of neutrality." And we believe that he is only dealing equal justice to the other side when he adds: "There is not the slightest doubt that those who took up a neutral position in the Synod of 1844, did so from no indifference to principle, but from a

desire to keep the Colony unembarrassed by home divisions."

The result of the Synod's final decision could be nothing else than that disruption which Dr Candlish had anticipated. Sixteen ministers remained in connection with the Church of Scotland; four withdrew on Free Church grounds, of whom three, the Revs. J. Tait, W. Macintyre, and Colin Stewart, formed the Synod of Eastern Australia; and one, the Rev. James Forbes, founded the Free Presbyterian Church of Australia Felix. The Revs. W. Hamilton and T. Mowbray joined neither party, but stood aloof from both, believing that the only proper course for the Church to take was that of neutrality and entire independence.

Mr Hamilton was the only son of the Rev. Andrew Hamilton of Kilmarnock, and was born in 1807. He had long felt his heart drawn to the Colony by a deep conviction of the importance of the field. Soon after arriving in New South Wales in 1837, he accepted a call to Goulburn, and entered with great zeal and diligence on what must have been in some respects very discouraging and trying work. Thus we find him saying:—

"I had expected a pretty large attendance at public worship in the Court-house at Goulburn on Sunday, but was considerably disappointed. I had an impressive proof furnished me of the utter indifference about religious ordinances, which has been induced by the state of destitution in which the people have long been placed. The whole population is large, amounting to thousands. They border on heathenism, and have hitherto been without a minister."

On 14th March 1833 he records:—

"I this evening sit in my own hired house. I came to it last

night with all the luggage which I brought from Scotland with me, and which, through the kindness of Mr Waugh, a distinguished member of my Church, had been brought up from Sydney to Goulburn. I made my bed on three trunks placed side by side, and, though quite alone in a new and half open house, enjoyed quiet rest. To-night I have tended my house myself, and made my own tea, and washed up my own dishes. So must shift for a few days till I can obtain the furniture which I purchased lately at Sydney, and servants to manage my domestic affairs. I desire to recognise the gracious providence which God has exercised towards me in this country, by which I am put in possession so soon of a house in which I may be alone with Him, and it is my intention to dedicate my house to Him, and to beg of Him to make it to me as the gate of heaven. Whatever company enter this house may they be made to feel that it is a dwelling sanctified to God and blessed to its inmates."

We quote these sentences partly to show the hardships which in those early days Colonial ministers had to face, and partly to show the devout and contented spirit in which this good man underwent them. Assuredly he was not of a complaining spirit, yet we find him writing thus:—

"My journey to the coast of St Vincent's was lengthened by my repeatedly losing my way, and was rendered unsatisfactory by the very small interest taken in my visit. I felt terribly shocked, after I had undergone extreme labour in the journey, and in fact hazarded my life by going up a precipice with my horse, from which I had been twice well-nigh thrown down, to see hardly any one willing to hear me preach, and find an offer to conduct worship altogether declined."

At another time his horse was lost, being probably stolen, and, as he could not afford to buy another, he had to undertake, often late into the night, weary and exhausting journeys on foot. "Still," he exclaims, with the true spirit of a Christian hero, "I revive after my labours, and am encouraged to pursue them

by the growing interest which is taken in them. My flock, though small, are becoming, I trust, rightly united. My classes and congregation, to all outward appearance, are in a more thriving state than ever before !”

Mr Hamilton was settled in New South Wales when he proposed, and in the first instance carried, the motion in favour of neutrality, of which we find him saying at a later date :—

“These resolutions appear to me still to have marked out the precise *line of duty* in the circumstances in which our Synod was placed. And though they appear to have been scouted by some of the greatest and best men on earth, I am not ashamed of them, but confidently look forward to the time when they shall be approved by Him Who is Head over all, and Who is a judge above any party bias.”

Certainly there was no ground for the suspicion that it was a mere trimming expedient designed to secure the temporalities and to please both parties. He was quite prepared to find that it was satisfactory to neither of the home Churches, and in proof of his thorough conscientiousness he resigned a yearly salary of £170, a church and manse erected through his own exertions, and worth £2000, and a splendid garden on which he had expended £500. Having made this sacrifice for conscience' sake, he set out for Australia Felix with his wife and four children—a journey of 560 miles, not knowing what might befall him, or how he was to be maintained, but certain of this, that voluntaryism had hitherto proved signally unproductive in these Colonies. It did not detract from the grandeur of the sacrifice that God so prospered him that he was able to say,

after the experience of several years, "I have not found the voluntary principle too weak to sustain a Gospel ministry even in the interior."¹

Let it be here recorded to the honour of the Presbyterianism of Australia that, while ministers in the initial stages of their work had to endure hardships there as elsewhere, there was almost no district in which a church could be planted where there were not liberal and leal-hearted laymen ready to support the good cause, and to put their ministers in a position, if not of affluence, at least of substantial comfort. We would gladly name some of these noble men to whom the cause of Christ in Australia has owed so much, but the list is far too long for insertion here, and to select from it would be an invidious task. They may be found in the interesting histories of Mr Sutherland and Mr Ross; and, what is better far, we doubt not that the names of many, if not all of them, are written in heaven.

Mr Hamilton, having accomplished his long and perilous journey, settled down at Kilnoorat, gathering around him an attached congregation unconnected with any Church. When the union of the Presbyterian Churches of Victoria, afterwards to be narrated, was accomplished in 1859, an interesting incident occurred. Mr Hamilton, who, of course, had taken no part in the preliminary negotiations, appeared in the midst of the united Assembly, requesting to be allowed to join the union. It must have been with very genuine satisfaction, and perhaps with just a touch of mild reproach

¹ "Colonisation and Church Work in Victoria." Rev. C. S. Ross, p. 207.

and pardonable pride, that he gave as the reason for this request, that they had now united on the very lines which he had so earnestly advocated fifteen years before. It is scarcely necessary to add that he was unanimously and very cordially admitted. But we are anticipating, and must retrace our steps.

The Free Church party, as we have seen, consisted at first of only three ministers, who, along with certain elders, constituted themselves into the Synod of Eastern Australia. They were soon strengthened, however, by the arrival of the Rev. Alexander Salmon from Scotland, who did much to diffuse information as to the principles of the Free Church throughout the Colony. Shortly after the discovery of gold in 1851 an urgent request was sent to the Free Church of Scotland for eight men for New South Wales, along with the money needed to defray the expense of their passage and outfit. That request was duly responded to. In 1853 eight ministers from the Free Church arrived, of whom but few are now surviving. One at least is still spared, the Rev. Dr Cameron of Richmond. He has done admirable work for the Church as Convener of the Church Extension Committee, and in various other capacities. The writer has great pleasure in acknowledging his deep indebtedness to Dr Cameron for information regarding the history of the Church of which he is so conspicuous a member, which he would have found it difficult otherwise to obtain.

At the time when these ministers arrived the Presbyterian Church in the Colony was divided into

four sections—the Synod of Australia, representing the Established Church of Scotland ; the Synod of Eastern Australia, representing the Free Church of Scotland ; the Synod of New South Wales, consisting of Dr Lang and those who adhered to him ; and one congregation representing the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, its first minister being the Rev. H. Darling, who was succeeded by the Rev. Adam Thomson, formerly minister at Hawick, Scotland, son of the Rev. Dr Adam Thomson of Coldstream, to whose efforts chiefly it was due that the monopoly of Bible printing in that country was broken up.

Two steps were taken by the civil authorities about this time, both of which probably tended to raise the question of Presbyterian Union in New South Wales. The one was the diminution of the vast area of that Colony, and its compression within reasonable limits by the erection of the southern section in 1851, and the northern in 1859, into the separate and independent Colonies of Victoria and Queensland. The other was the abolition in 1862 of all grants for ecclesiastical purposes. Negotiations for union were then entered upon, and, as usual in such cases, everything at first went on smoothly, and there seemed to be every prospect of the goal being very speedily reached. It was of course essential as a preliminary step that three of the negotiating bodies should, each for itself, formally declare that they were no longer ecclesiastically connected with the Churches in the home country which they had hitherto represented, but were perfectly free and independent. This was done

without difficulty or demur. A basis of union was also adopted in the end of 1863, and a formula of adherence to that basis, to be signed by the office-bearers of the United Church. To all this the previous union of the Churches in Victoria had paved the way. One difficulty arose in connection with the question, how they were in future to obtain a supply of ministers from Britain, and this delayed the consummation of the union for two years.

One of the chief difficulties in the way, and one in which they had of course no precedent in the neighbouring Colony to guide them, was the position occupied by Dr Lang. The Synod of Australia felt that they could not, without some preliminary process, unite with one whom they had deposed, and who had openly disregarded and defied their sentence; nor could the Synod of Eastern Australia ignore the fact that Dr Lang, rightly or wrongly, was ecclesiastically disqualified for entering the union on equal terms with the others. Dr Lang, in order to remove this hindrance, adopted vigorous measures for having the sentence removed and his status restored, and in this he succeeded. But the Synod of Australia was still averse to the idea of uniting *directly* with one who had not only triumphed in his action against them, but had also involved them in considerable legal costs. It was intimated, however, that if the Synod of Eastern Australia would first unite with the Synod of New South Wales, the Synod of Australia would not object to a union with the body thus formed. Accordingly a preliminary union took place between the Synod of Eastern Australia and the body represented by Dr Lang, the Synod thus constituted being

designated the General Synod of the Presbyterian Church in New South Wales. The basis of union having been adjusted, the difficulty about the mode of obtaining ministers was got over. (1) by declaring (a) that no official application for the supply of ministers be made from the United Church to any of the Churches in the United Kingdom, (b) that no agency for the supply of ministers shall be appointed in the United Kingdom for the United Church; and (2) by taking steps for the establishment of an efficient college for the training of a native ministry.

These difficulties having been at last overcome and a bill having been carried through Parliament to provide for the transfer of property to the United Church, on the 8th day of September 1865, the long desired union was at length consummated. The Moderators of the three Churches, the Rev. James Fullerton, LL.D., the Rev. Archibald Constable Geikie, and the Rev. Adam Thomson, formerly of Hawick, jointly presided. Great joy was manifested in connection with the happy event. It healed sores which had long festered, and united those who had been separated for twenty years. The union was not quite all-embracing. A small section of the Synod of Eastern Australia, chiefly Highlanders, stood aloof, fearing lest by entering into this union they should be involved in some measure of complicity with the Erastianism of the Established Church of Scotland. This minority, consisting of five ministers and one elder, set up a separate Church, retaining the designation of the Presbyterian Church of Eastern Australia. They have not increased in numbers during the last

thirty years, for they have at present only four ministers and one ordained missionary. Still one cannot but respect them for the tenacity with which they have clung to their convictions and maintained their separate standing. Let us hope that they may ere long be satisfied that their fears of being implicated in any approval of Erastianism by uniting with their brethren are imaginary, and that they may cast in their lot with those who are as earnest in upholding the blue banner of Presbyterianism as they are themselves.

The now United Church entered vigorously upon its work. At the first meeting of its General Assembly steps were taken to initiate a Sustentation Fund, a Home Mission Fund, a Foreign Mission Fund, and it was determined to raise £1000 forthwith for the purpose of bringing ministers from the Home Country. Deputations were sent throughout the Colony to explain the union, and to kindle fresh zeal in the congregations in the work of extending the Church. Gratifying progress was made by the Church in perfecting her organisation, in procuring additional labourers, and in occupying new fields as the demand increased.

One of the most important of the undertakings which engaged the attention of the Church after the union was the establishment of St Andrew's College. The University being a purely secular institution an act was passed entitled "The affiliated Colleges Act," with the view of providing for the religious element in the education of those resorting to the University. By this Act the Presbyterian Church became entitled to a handsome site of ten acres

adjoining the University, and to an annual salary of £500 for the Principal of the College. It provided also that pound for pound should be contributed by the Government towards the building, from £10,000 and upwards; the conditions being, that tutorial assistance, moral supervision, and systematic religious instruction, should be given to the students while attending the University classes. The question was long and keenly debated in the Church whether they should take advantage of the liberal provisions of this Act, or whether, with the limitations imposed, it could be made to answer the purpose of a Theological Hall for the training of young men for the ministry, as well as a home for undergraduates at the University. The Church came at length to the conclusion that it would be unwise to forego the advantages offered, and resolved to proceed. A Provisional Committee was accordingly formed, of which Dr Cameron was appointed Honorary Secretary. The necessary subscriptions were obtained, an Act of Incorporation was passed, and the first Council of the College was duly elected by the subscribers. The councillors elected were the following: Rev. John Dunmore Lang, D.D.; Rev. Adam Thomson; Rev. Robert Steel, D.D.; Rev. James Cameron, D.D.; Hon. John Richardson, M.L.C.; Hon. Samuel Dean Gordon, M.L.C.; Mr Andrew Brown; Mr John Campbell; Mr John Hay Goodlet; Mr Charles Smith; Hon. John Fraser, M.L.C. Dr Lang expected to be chosen as the first Principal of the College. On various grounds he had a strong claim, but his age, and his lack of administrative talent were, in the view of a majority of the

councillors, fatal objections to his being appointed. The Rev. Adam Thomson was elected, and at his death the appointment was conferred upon the Rev. John Kinross, D.D., who still presides over the institution. The College is a handsome building, and has cost £39,213. It has proved very successful and is felt to be a strength to the Church. A new wing has recently been added, including class-rooms for the accommodation of the theological Faculty of the General Assembly. The theological tutors are appointed by the General Assembly, and are assisted in their work by the Principal of the College.

Besides St Andrew's College the Church has three other excellent educational institutions carried on under her auspices—the Presbyterian Ladies' College at Croydon, of which Dr Marden is Principal, believed to be as good as any in the Southern hemisphere—the Coverwall Academy, in the bosom of the Blue Mountains, of which C. A. Flint, M.A., is Rector, and the Scots College in the neighbourhood of Sydney, of which Rev. A. Aspinall, B.A., is Principal, beautiful for situation, and so far successful.

In the year 1880, some fifteen years after the union, Rev. John Ross, who had rendered important service to the Presbyterian Church in England in connection with her financial arrangements, especially in the development of her Sustentation Fund, paid a visit to Sydney. He was invited to give an address on the Sustentation Fund and the success which had attended his efforts in England, and the result was, that he was appointed General

Agent of the Presbyterian Church, with the view of stimulating the progress of the Sustentation Fund, which had not yet taken proper hold on the sympathies of the people. Having entered on his duties he threw himself with much zeal and energy into the work, and continued to labour with singular devotion till his death, which took place a few years ago. Though not faultless, there can be no question that his accession marked a new era in the history of the Church. He rendered valuable service in the way of organising the Church and in quickening the zeal and drawing forth the liberality of her members, and although his sanguine temperament prompted him to initiate movements which in some instances ended in failure and loss, his influence was in the main powerful for good, and his memory is gratefully cherished.

Among those who have exerted a leading influence in developing the Presbyterian Church in this Colony a foremost place must be assigned to the Rev. Dr. Steel. By his pulpit and public addresses, by his writings, by his zealous advocacy of every good cause—notably the Mission to the New Hebrides—by his wise counsels, his brotherly spirit, his amiable character, and his abundant labours in manifold directions, he won for himself not only the gratitude of his own Church, but the esteem of all the Churches.

In 1886, when the Church had attained her majority, a fund was started, called the "Majority Fund." By this movement nearly £30,000 was raised for various departments of work, especially for debt extinction.

We have seen how earnestly this Church, encouraged doubtless by the experience of the sister Church in Victoria, sought after union; and how, though long baffled, her efforts were at length successful. It may have been partly the experience of the fresh energy which this union had imparted to all her enterprises, and partly the example of the Churches in the various provinces of Canada, that led to a desire for a wider and more comprehensive union. It was in 1886, after conferences held in Sydney and Melbourne, that the Churches of New South Wales and Victoria, of South Australia, Queensland and Tasmania, entered into a Federal Union. This union has already yielded good fruit, with the promise of greater in store. It has been productive of mutual acquaintance, mutual interest and fraternal feeling among the office-bearers and members of the various Churches. It has served to give greater uniformity to their ecclesiastical procedure, as well as to their worship and their work. It has led to united effort in missionary work. It has been promotive of common action on great public questions, and has given a weight and momentum to the Church which could not otherwise have been attained.

The first Federal Assembly was held in Sydney, and was presided over by the late Dr Nish. The second was held in Melbourne, presided over by Dr Cameron. Since then the Federal Assembly has met in the various capitals, Adelaide, Hobart, and Brisbane, and the work of unification has been proceeding, though not as rapidly as many have desired. With the view of preserving the vitality of

the Union Movement, and of giving it greater practical effect, it has been proposed to proceed from Federation of Churches to a Federal Church; and to secure, as far as possible, the unification of all the Churches under one General Assembly, having legislative, judicial, and administrative functions. The difficulty in the way of this union was the opposition of a small but resolute minority in the Presbyterian Church of Victoria, who feared that the large powers proposed to be vested in the Federal Assembly would seriously interfere with the independence of the provincial Churches. Happily a conciliatory spirit has been manifested by the majority, and a compromise has been proposed which has already been accepted by the Victorian minority, and will probably be endorsed by the Supreme Courts of the other Churches. There is thus every prospect of the five Presbyterian Churches in Australia being wedded together into one strong, homogeneous, federal Church.¹

¹ The motion on the Report on Union submitted to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria on the 16th of November 1898, and approved by the House, is as follows:—

“Receive the Report; affirm the desirability of a closer union among the Presbyterian Churches of Australia and Tasmania than at present exists; record their gratification that the Committee appointed by last Assembly and composed of those holding different views on the subject of Union, have found terms of agreement; express their satisfaction at the declaration of the Federal Assembly, that it found no insuperable barrier to Union in the proposals submitted to it by the Victorian Committee; approve of the scheme contained in the report, in so far as it provides: (1) for an Assembly with supreme functions with regard to the doctrine, worship, and discipline of the Church, the Missions to the heathen, the training of students, the admission of candidates to the ministry, and the reception of ministers from other Churches; (2) for the new Assembly endeavouring to hold its meetings biennially; (3) for the delegation of the judicial function

Although for the last few years the prevailing depression has greatly paralysed the efforts of the Church, there are yet gratifying signs of vitality within all its borders. It is easy to understand the difficulties arising from a comparatively limited number of Presbyterians being dispersed over a vast area. There are over 140 charges divided into 14 Presbyteries—the Presbytery of Sydney alone comprising 14 charges—a tenth part of the entire number. Handsome Churches have been erected in all the main centres, and the number of comfortable manses is considerable. There is an Aged and Infirm Ministers' Fund, a Widows' Fund, a Church and Manse Fund, and a Sustentation Fund, with a capital of about £40,000. Presbyterianism in New South Wales has shown itself to be well adapted to the circumstances of a new country. Because of what it has already done, the influence which it has exerted in developing the religious life of the Colony, it stands high in the public estimation. With the return of better times, the Church which has held its ground so well in adverse circumstances, will doubtless rise to the occasion, lengthening her cords and strengthening her stakes, so as to take her share in the glorious work of making Australia one of the fairest provinces of Christ's universal Kingdom.

of the Assembly to a special commission to be called the Judicial Commission ; (4) for provision being made for the Supreme Court receiving and considering reports from the local Assemblies on Home Missions and Sabbath Schools and other Agencies which concern the work and welfare of the Church ; and, further, agree (1) to resolve into committee to consider the details of the scheme ; (2) to reappoint the Committee ; (3) and to report to the Federal Assembly."

LECTURE IV

PRESBYTERIANISM IN AUSTRALIA—*continued*

II. PRESBYTERIANISM IN VICTORIA

VICTORIA has never been a penal settlement, like New South Wales and Tasmania. It was indeed the intention of the British Government to set up another Convict Station there, which seemed to be imperatively required by the increase of our criminal population, and they made two efforts with this view, neither of which however was successful. In 1803 a large body of convicts, guarded by a troop of soldiers, and accompanied by a small party of free settlers, was landed in Port Philip district. It turned out however that the site chosen for the settlement by the leader of the expedition was most unsuitable, and within a few months the entire establishment was transferred to Van Diemen's Land, with the exception of one convict, who escaped and lived among the aborigines till he had forgotten his Mother tongue. The second attempt was made at a different point in 1826, but a dry season being followed by a scarcity of water, this party of convicts, with their guards, had to be removed to New South Wales.

The first settlers in Australia Felix were the sons of Mr Thomas Henty of Launceston, Van Diemen's Land. They crossed over to Portland with their

flocks in 1834, and rose to be one of the largest squatting families in the Colony. A year later, the Port Philip district, where Melbourne now stands, was colonised by a Tasmanian Association. Mr John Batman was the leader of this expedition. He succeeded in concluding a purchase of 600,000 acres of land from the native chiefs, but, unfortunately for him and for the Company this transaction was disallowed by Sir Richard Bourke, who was then the Governor of New South Wales, and whose policy it was to discourage the dispersion of the Colonial population and to concentrate it in the neighbourhood of Sydney. But the action of the Governor, though it bore hardly on Batman and the Association which he represented, could not prevent settlers from streaming in, first from Tasmania, then from New South Wales, and ultimately from Great Britain and Ireland to a spot so fertile and attractive as this newly discovered region proved to be. In this population all the leading denominations of the United Kingdom were represented. The Church of England had less than one-half, the Church of Rome less than one-fifth, the Presbyterian Church less than one-sixth, at the time when the first Presbyterian services in the Colony were held.

The pioneer of Presbyterianism in Victoria was the Rev. James Clow, a man of high character and wide experience, who did much to promote the cause of Christ in that Colony for upwards of thirty years. He was the first Presbyterian chaplain appointed by the East India Company, and retired upon a pension in feeble health after having done excellent service for eighteen years in Bombay. Finding the winters

of Great Britain too severe for him he turned his eyes southward, and, having heard glowing accounts of the mild and genial climate of the new colony of South Australia, he resolved to settle there. On his arrival with his family at Hobart Town, Tasmania, he was induced by the representations made to him there to pay a visit to Port Philip before going farther ; and having done so, he was so favourably impressed that he at once abandoned all thoughts of proceeding to South Australia, and settled down with his family in Melbourne, on the 25th December 1837. Although constrained to retire from the regular discharge of the duties of the sacred office, this good man was always ready to avail himself of opportunities of preaching Christ to his fellow men. Finding that there were not a few Scotchmen even amid the scanty population of the infant town, he at once announced that he would preach to them in the manner to which they had been accustomed, and did so for several Sabbaths. His services were given cordially without any remuneration for six weeks, until the arrival of the Rev. James Forbes, who was sent thither by the Presbytery of New South Wales, and in the same generous spirit he was ready ever after to supply any vacant pulpit so far as his health permitted. Indeed his large experience, his culture and disinterested kindness won for him the esteem and affection of the whole community, and made one who came among them as a feeble valetudinarian, a power for good to his dying day.

But if Victoria was fortunate in having such a man as Mr Clow to initiate Presbyterian services, she was no less fortunate in the man who came at his urgent request to continue the work which he had thus begun.

The Rev. James Forbes was a native of Aberdeenshire, where he graduated in Arts at King's College, Aberdeen, and was licensed to preach the Gospel by the Presbytery of Garioch. For three years he occupied the position of headmaster in a school at Colchester, and it was there, under the fervent preaching of an evangelical minister of the Church of England, that the great decisive change took place. This circumstance had the effect of broadening his ecclesiastical sympathies, so that while heart and soul a Presbyterian, as his whole subsequent history showed, he cultivated the best relations and the sweetest fellowship with the ministers of other churches. It was the Rev. Dr Lang of Sydney (of whom we have spoken in a previous lecture) that induced Mr Forbes to come to Australia. Here let me quote from the interesting volume of the Rev. C. Stuart Ross on Church work in Victoria. Referring to Mr Forbes's appointment to Melbourne by the Presbytery of New South Wales, he says :—

“His brethren were, no doubt, divinely hedged in to the selection which they made. None possessed such a rare combination of qualities as he exhibited for the work which was laid to his hand to do. He was a lithe youth of only twenty-three years of age, his health not robust, and his range of experience not large ; but he had an intense spiritual energy of character, and dauntless courage of heart, an inextinguishable love to Christ, and apostolic devotion to his work, which carried him steadily forward in his appointed path, and he never for one moment shrank or swerved from the task which had been assigned him to do. If it was arduous, it was also honourable work to found and upbuild in this wide, free land, a Church of Christ, which would extend her borders with the nation's growth, and be a radiant centre of light and comfort, and birthplace of souls, until the ages close and the King comes back to claim His bride.”

Mr Forbes's ministrations were conducted in a building used by the Episcopalians at a different hour of the day. When this was claimed by the Bishop of Australia for the exclusive use of the members of his Church, the Presbyterians withdrew to temporary premises in Collins Street which were occupied as a school during the week. There Mr Forbes received and accepted a unanimous call, the Presbytery confirming the union between him and his people, because, owing to the great distance between Sydney and Melbourne, and the great expense of travelling, they were unable to be personally present.¹ The place was soon too small to accommodate the large numbers who were attracted by his earnest, able, evangelical ministrations. A Church was therefore built in 1841, and fitted up in the first instance with temporary seats for 500 persons. The minister received from the congregation £150 and from the Government £200, this being the highest income given at that time to any Presbyterian minister in Australia. Mr Forbes was very careful in preparing for the pulpit and the prayer meeting. He took a deep interest in the Sabbath School, and gave all his spare time to family visitation, a work in which he greatly delighted and greatly excelled. But while labouring faithfully among his own people he never forgot that he had the wants

¹ A very characteristic trait of Mr Forbes's character is given in the memoir of Mr Hetherington, when it is said: "In August 1839, the congregation awoke to the consciousness that the minister had as yet received no stipend whatever though he had ministered to them for eighteen months." Of course this great omission was soon rectified, but his absolute silence as to his own claims and needs for so long a time was very noble.

of the whole Colony to care for. In November 1838 he visited the rising town of Geelong and organised a congregation there, and it was in response to his appeal to Dr Welsh, the Convener of the Colonial Committee of the Church of Scotland, that the Rev. Andrew Love was sent to labour there, which he did to a numerous and attached congregation for a period of twenty-seven years. Mr Forbes continuing to plead with the Committee for more labourers, the Rev. Alexander Laurie was sent out in 1842, and soon after his arrival was settled in Portland. He was a good scholar, a superior preacher, and a capable man of business. In addition to all this he was an expert horseman, no unimportant qualification for one who had a large territory to care for and many a long journey to undertake. The Rev. Thomas Mowbray, the next minister sent out by the Committee, proved a very attractive preacher and was soon settled in Campbellfield where he did good service. He was afterwards translated to Sydney, and ultimately was led by infirm health to seek the milder climate of Moreton Bay, where he became the founder of the Presbyterian Church in Queensland.

By appointment of the Synod of Australia, the Presbytery of Melbourne met for the first time in Melbourne on the 7th of June 1842. There were present Messrs Forbes, Mowbray and Gunn, ministers, with Dr Patrick, elder. Mr Forbes was chosen moderator and Mr Mowbray clerk. Such was the small beginning of a Presbytery which has now seventy-seven ministers and two vacant charges—a wonderful progress to have been made in little more than fifty years. But small as this Presbytery

was, it was not to be despised. Its members evidently meant business. First they appointed a Committee on Public Education, being deeply impressed with "the alarming destitution of the means of instruction for the rising generation." Then they agreed to overture the Synod of Australia to apply to the Governor and Legislative Council for an amendment of the Australian Church Temporalities Act, which would make it more favourable to ministers serving a number of scattered stations in the bush. Then they agreed to consider at next meeting a scheme of missionary visits to the interior, to be made by all the members of the Presbytery. In all this Mr Forbes, with a rare union of public spirit, business capacity and missionary zeal, was not only the presiding head, but the inspiring soul.

For an account of the Disruption in Australia, following upon the greater Disruption in Scotland, we must refer to the previous lecture, for it was in Sydney, the head-quarters of "the Synod of Australia in connection with the Church of Scotland" that that event took place. Mr Forbes was not present at the meeting of Synod at which the question of their relation to the home Churches was decided; but his sympathies were all with the Free Church minority, and he adhered to their protest. But having had experience of the extreme inconvenience of attending meetings at a place so distant as Sydney, instead of joining the Synod of Eastern Australia, he embraced the opportunity of founding the Free Church of Australia Felix, sending urgent appeals to Scotland for additional labourers, to which the Free Church, with every possible desire to help,

was at first ill able to respond. Gradually, however, from one source or another, ministers arrived at Melbourne to cheer the heart of this devoted man, and to share those labours which were already threatening to bring him to an early grave. The Rev. Thomas Hastie was induced to come from Tasmania to Buninyong, where he had charge of a wide district of country; and being a good preacher and an excellent business man, he did much to promote the cause of Presbyterianism and of vital godliness for many years. In 1891 he was obliged through infirmity to resign his charge. In 1897 his jubilee was celebrated, and in 1898 he died at the age of eighty-five, a man greatly beloved. In 1847 the Rev. John Zeigler Huie was sent out from Scotland by a Ladies' Association in Ayrshire. Settled in Geelong, where there was now room for two churches, his fervid eloquence drew around him the largest congregation in the place. Mr Huie soon returned to Scotland, but his place at Geelong was well supplied by the Rev. John Tait, the leader of the Free Church party in the Synod of Australia, an able preacher and a man well versed in ecclesiastical law, who proved a great acquisition to the Free Church, especially in the difficult negotiations which preceded the union.

The Free Church Synod of Australia Felix was constituted on the 9th June 1847, present, Rev. James Forbes, Rev. Thomas Hastie, Rev. J. Zeigler Huie, ministers, and Henry Bell, Esq., elder, Melbourne. At that meeting they adopted what was called the Fundamental Act, in which they set forth their essential, distinctive principles. This important Act was often referred to during the union contro-

versy, especially the following clause, in which they give their reason for declining communion with the Established Church, and for receiving ministerial supplies from the Free Church alone: "And this Synod do condemn, and by God's help resolve ever to testify against all interference of civil magistrates with the spiritual affairs of Christ's house, and against all ecclesiastical bodies countenancing or submitting to such interference, either directly or indirectly; and against all tenets, principles, practices, and acts by which such interference on the part of the civil magistrate, or such submission on the part of ecclesiastical bodies may be countenanced." In 1851 the Synod passed eighteen Acts bearing on every point of Presbyterian polity, framed by the skilful hand of Mr Forbes. Among these was an important Act condemning the system of indiscriminate endowment which then prevailed, requiring all their congregations to abstain from applying to the Government for money or land for Church purposes, but permitting them to apply for aid to schools, provided it were given without any interference with their management or discipline.

When Mr Forbes withdrew from the Synod of Australia and demitted his charge a large proportion of his people followed him. For eighteen months they met for worship in a public hall. After that a Church was built, associated with the name of Knox, the great Reformer, which was opened for public worship in 1848. From that time onward to the day of his death, the 12th of August 1851, he laboured in season and out of season, up to and indeed beyond his strength. His death, at the early age of thirty-

eight, was a very great loss to the Church of which he was the founder and the most active and efficient minister. The pulpit of the Scots Church, which Mr Forbes left, was ably supplied by the Rev. Irving Hetherington, who was called from Singleton in New South Wales. With him were associated in the Presbytery of Melbourne Messrs Love, Gunn and Laurie, who had adhered to the Synod in connection with the Church of Scotland. In the same year, 1847, the first foundation stone of what was afterwards known as the United Presbyterian Church of Victoria, was laid by the arrival in Melbourne of the Rev. Andrew M. Ramsay, a minister of the Relief Church, under whose ministry in Hawick great revivals had taken place. Owing to his extraordinary energy no fewer than nine ministers, chiefly connected with the Relief Church, were induced to come out to Australia and were settled in prominent places, during the eight years immediately following the Disruption, when the Free Church was able to send only three ministers and the Established Church none at all. These ministers, or rather a certain number of them, met together at Melbourne and formed themselves into a Synod on the 18th January 1850.

The year 1851, in which Mr Forbes was removed by death, was rendered memorable by two other important events. The first was the separation of Australia Felix from New South Wales, and its formation into a distinct Colony under the name of Victoria. And the second was the discovery of the rich gold-fields of Victoria. It was a remarkable circumstance that the gold-fields first discovered were the richest in the Colony. The quantity of

gold found by the first diggers was immense. This of course attracted the attention of the world, and especially of the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland, the country to which the Colony belonged. In Victoria, the gold fever spread so widely and rose so high, that business was at a stand-still. The sheep of the squatter wandered about unshorn because there were none to shear them. The lands lay untilled because there were none to plough them. The harbour was full of ships detained not by contrary winds, but by the lack of men to navigate them, all the sailors having absconded to try their fortune at the diggings. The population of Victoria had already grown with great rapidity, amounting as it did in 1851 to about 100,000, all gathered within a period of fifteen years. But now the tide of immigration flowed in so fast, that by the end of 1856 that number had increased to 397,560. For this enormous multitude the Churches had to endeavour, as best they could, to make spiritual provision. And it was much needed. For the immense amount of money that fell into the hands of men, some of whom had been poor enough before, and knew of no other purpose to which to put it but the gratification of their lusts, threatened to make the Colony in general, and the goldfields in particular, a perfect hell on earth. In the extremity of their need, all the Presbyterian Churches in Victoria naturally looked to the mother churches and urgently cried for help. The Established Church of Scotland was not yet able to do much for the Synod, which was in connection with it, but they received some valuable accessions to their number from the Synod of Ulster.

The Free Church, however, rose to the occasion, and made special exertions to meet the great emergency that had arisen. The Assembly of 1852 ordered a collection to be made over all her congregations to defray the expense of sending out ten or twelve ministers. It was resolved to endeavour to send out two men of distinguished ability to occupy the more prominent positions, and ten younger men to officiate in the small towns, in the bush, and at the gold-fields. The two men of experience and standing who went out to Australia at the call of the Church were, the Rev. M'Intosh Mackay, D.D., LL.D., of Dunoon, and the Rev. Adam Cairns, D.D., of Cupar-Fife. Differing in temperament about as much as it was possible for any two men to do, they were both gifts of great value to the Australian Church. Dr Mackay was a typical Highlander, slow and solid in his preaching, cautious and conservative in all his ways, though he could show on occasions, especially when provoked, how much of Celtic fire lay hid under a somewhat cold exterior. Dr Cairns, on the other hand, was frank and outspoken, eager and impulsive, generous and true, with a fine scorn of everything mean and paltry, perhaps a little inclined to domineer, as men born to rule are apt to be. Dr Mackay's preaching was relished by the Highlanders in Scotland, and it was to care for that section of his fellow-countrymen in Victoria that he was specially deputed. But while he did much in the way of rallying the Highland colonists to the Church of their fathers, he cannot be said to have been successful as a preacher, for he failed to realise that the long theological sermons that had been

relished in the Scottish Highlands were altogether unsuited to the habits of the colonists and to the climate of Victoria. Dr Cairns, on the other hand, not only proved an able ecclesiastical leader, but a powerful and popular preacher. Some thought him a trifle too rhetorical, but his ministrations must have been solid as well as brilliant when he was able to attract and keep around him one of the largest and most intelligent congregations in the southern hemisphere for a period of twenty years. Happily these two men took substantially the same view of the Church's policy, and to their cordial co-operation the success of the union movement was largely due.

Of the ten who accompanied Dr Mackay and Dr Cairns to Melbourne two are specially worthy of mention, the Rev. William Henderson and the Rev. Archibald Simpson. These two were eventually settled, the one at the mining centre of Ballarat and the other in the pastoral district of the Leigh. Each of them found in these two very different spheres the precise work for which they were best fitted by their previous gifts and attainments, and both did good service to the Church, especially among the classes of the community who were exposed to peculiar temptations in those exciting times. Immediately before the arrival of these ten men in Australia, the Rev. Allan M'Vean had come to Portland and the Rev. Donald M'Donald to Melbourne, both of them from the Free Church of Scotland. Both were somewhat conspicuous in the subsequent history of the Victorian Church, especially the latter, who originated the Widows' and Orphans' Fund, and was for some years Convener of the Education Committee and of the Committee of

the New Hebrides Mission. In recognition of his services to religion in the Colony, the University of Aberdeen, of which he was an alumnus, conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

At the very meeting of Synod at which Dr Cairns and three young ministers were received, he succeeded in inducing the Synod so far to relax the regulation regarding Government aid as to allow congregations at their own discretion to receive sites for ecclesiastical buildings. At the same meeting a letter was received from the United Presbyterian Church, proposing the appointment of Committees on both sides to negotiate a union, and that on the ground that the Free Church had refused all grants of money and land from Government, rather than be mixed up with a system of indiscriminate endowment. The Free Synod, after the action which they had just taken on the motion of Dr Cairns, wisely postponed the consideration of this letter till next meeting. This was the first formal step taken toward a union of the Churches in Victoria, and it had no reference to the Synod in connection with the Established Church. About a month later, and before the Free Church Synod had considered the letter from the United Presbyterian Church, the Rev. Irving Hetherington of the Scots Church, Melbourne, introduced into his Presbytery a more comprehensive measure, proposing a union which should embrace the three Presbyterian Churches in the Colony. To the history of this union movement, which, with its unexpected developments, its tantalising and harassing delays, became a very complicated business, we must now address ourselves. Let it be remembered that this was the first of the

unions consummated in the Colonies in which all the three branches of Presbyterianism were comprehended. This circumstance may well account for any blunders that were made in the course of the negotiations. It was an untried and a thorny path on which our brethren in Australia had to enter. Others had *their* line of action before them either as a pattern to follow or a beacon to keep them off the rocks. And further, this was a union on the merits of which the Free Church had to give a judgment, so that it seems incumbent on us to tell the story of it with greater fulness than that of any other.

It might be supposed that it would be accepted as an axiom that Christian Churches occupying the same territory and substantially one in doctrine, government and worship, ought also to be one in outward organisation. But in dealing with human nature the power of prejudice must not be overlooked, and to overcome that prejudice it is not enough to dwell on mere abstract considerations. Union between Churches, involving as it must a measure of mutual concession, will never be accomplished unless its necessity or expediency is recognised. The special reasons for union in Victoria were certainly very strong. The cities of Melbourne and Geelong had too many ministers, while many country districts were neglected. When a minister of one Presbyterian denomination was settled in a place, the adherents of the other Presbyterian Churches might occasionally attend his ministry, but would probably not contribute to his support. And in many places the Episcopalians and Wesleyans were gathering Presbyterians into their congregations. The need

of Presbyterian union was thus very obvious, and the desire for it soon became very general and very pronounced. It is to the credit of the United Presbyterian Church that they were the first to make any overture in this direction in the letter which they sent to the Free Church Synod in the beginning of the year 1853. While this overture was still under consideration, on the 4th of January 1854 (on the motion of Mr Hetherington), the Presbytery of Melbourne addressed a communication to the Moderator of the Synod of the Free Church, inviting them to appoint a Committee to confer with a Committee of their number on the subject of a comprehensive union of all the three Churches. The Free Church Synod cordially responded to this request, and appointed as their Committee Dr Mackay, Dr Cairns, Rev. Messrs Miller, Tait, and Sinclair, and Messrs Drummond and Dickson, Elders. The two Committees met, and soon agreed that a union of the two Churches might be effected on the following basis—that they should be formed into a Synod, to be designated the Synod of Victoria, and that their subordinate standards should be the Confession, Catechisms, Directory for Public Worship, and form of Presbyterian Church Government drawn up by the Westminster Assembly, and the Second Book of Discipline, together with a Fundamental Act, declaring the duty of the Magistrate in relation to the Church, the Synod's spiritual independence, and the right of every congregation to have an effective voice in the election of its own minister.

The Free Church Synod at its next meeting

endorsed the opinion of its Committee, but stipulated that further negotiations were to be carried on only on condition of the Presbytery of Melbourne becoming a free and independent judicatory, free from connection with any other Church, and of the two judicatories uniting as one Synod on a basis of union distinctly setting forth the great principles laid down in the Fundamental Act of the Free Church Synod. These conditions were accepted by the Presbytery of Melbourne, and effect was given to the first of them by the passing of an Act in the Legislative Council on 19th April 1854, recognising the separate, distinct, and independent position of the Presbytery of Melbourne. Effect was given to the second condition by the drawing up of a series of articles as a basis of union. These were drafted by the Rev. John Tait, Clerk of the Free Synod, and, with some slight amendments, accepted by both Churches.

It was here that the first hitch in the union negotiations took place. Two questions were raised: (1) Whether the property of the Free Presbyterian Synod would be sufficiently protected by the existing Act? and (2) From what source was the United Church to look for a supply of ministers to meet her immediate wants? It was Dr Mackay who raised the first point, and he was instructed to prepare a memorial for counsel on the subject. This memorial did not quite satisfy Mr Clow and Mr Hetherington, the Members of Committee associated with him in this matter, raising as it did the whole question of the future relation of the United Church to the Established Church of

Scotland. Mr Hetherington therefore made certain annotations on the memorial. These, when they came to the knowledge of the Free Synod, did not satisfy them, and it seemed for a time as if the divergence of view was so great that the proposed union would have to be abandoned. Happily, however, owing largely to the wisdom and moderation of the two leaders, Dr Cairns and Mr Hetherington, better counsels prevailed. It was agreed that both memorial and annotations should be withdrawn, and that all further discussion of them should cease; that an act should be obtained from the Legislature recognising the entire independence of the United Church; and that the application of the Articles of Union to particular cases should be deferred until the cases actually occurred. It was proposed that one of the brethren should offer up thanks to God for the successful issue of their negotiations, which was done by Mr Clow. The final arrangements for consummating the union were postponed until the negotiations with the United Presbyterian Church should be concluded.

Meanwhile negotiations for union with the United Presbyterian Church were also going on. In all probability these would have been at once arrested by the act of the Free Church allowing congregations to accept of State endowment in the shape of grants of sites for ecclesiastical buildings, but for the fact that it had become evident that all State aid would soon be discontinued. The United Presbyterians, however, objected to the Article in the Basis of Union bearing on the duty of the civil magistrate, and proposed that it should be omitted. The Synod of Victoria would have agreed to this, but

the Free Church Synod would not consent to drop that part of their testimony, and so the negotiations for union with the United Presbyterian Church had to be suspended for a time.

About the beginning of 1856, when Dr Mackay and Mr Hetherington were both laid aside by illness, some of the ministers of the Free Church began to have misgivings about the proposed union. This appeared in a motion made by Mr M'Vean, and seconded by Mr Paul, to have all the minutes of their Union Committee, with relative documents, laid on the table for the information and satisfaction of the ministers and office-bearers of the Church. As this implied raking up matters which all had agreed to consign to oblivion, the previous question was moved and carried by a majority of six. At a subsequent meeting of Synod Mr Miller and his congregation raised difficulties, which the Synod endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to remove. Towards the end of the year Mr Paul published a pamphlet, reviewing the union negotiations, in which he accused his brethren in the Free Church of abandoning their principles, and those of the Synod of Victoria of adopting Articles of Union which, in their true sense, they did not believe. For this he was rebuked by the Synod, and required to express regret and to retract his offensive statements, his conduct in making them being aggravated by the circumstance that they were founded on what purported to be quotations from documents which were the property of the Synod, to which he had access when clerk of the Synod's Union Committee, and which he had no right to publish without their authority. At first

Mr Paul declined to retract or apologise, but after being further dealt with, he made a sort of halting apology, which the Synod accepted.

On the 7th April 1857 Dr Cairns moved, and the Synod adopted two important resolutions—the one to the effect that they were determined to go forward to union with the Synod of Victoria on the basis to which they had already solemnly and deliberately agreed, and the other referring to the minority who were opposed to this union—intimating to them that the principles of Presbyterianism required of them to cease from resisting the majority, and either to content themselves with recording their dissent or to retire in peace and form a Church according to their own mind, and warning them that if they did not adopt one or other of these courses it would be necessary for the Synod to exercise discipline upon them. To this the minority replied that they did not concur in the view of Presbyterian Church government which the proposal of the Synod assumed; that, nevertheless, they were willing, for the sake of peace, to withdraw and form a separate Church; and that all questions regarding property should be determined by a joint committee drawn in equal proportions from the majority and minority respectively. This proposal, however, did not satisfy the majority of the Synod, for on the 8th April 1857 an elaborate motion was proposed by Dr Cairns, narrating the progress of the union negotiations, the unanimous agreement arrived at to go on to union upon a certain basis, the opposition suddenly sprung upon them by Messrs Miller, Paul and M'Vean, the obnoxious pamphlet, the retractation made but

afterwards virtually withdrawn, and the subsequent efforts of the dissentient brethren to foment opposition to the union among the members of the Church ; and ending with the intimation that the Synod felt themselves shut up to the necessity of declaring these brethren to be no longer ministers or members of the Free Presbyterian Church of Victoria, trusting however that they would come to see the error of their course, in which case they would be received back with open arms. This proposal was carried unanimously, whereupon the minority, who had taken no part in the vote, protested and withdrew, claiming to be the Free Synod of Victoria, on the ground of their faithful adherence to those principles of the Free Church, which they maintained that the majority had compromised.

This was a painful and untoward issue of union negotiations hopefully begun, nay carried almost to the point of auspicious consummation without a whisper of dissent. To the majority of the Synod it was a deep and bitter disappointment. They were so far comforted by the support and encouragement which they received from Dr Lillie of Hobart Town, Dr Mackay, then of Sydney, and many eminent ministers of the Free Church of Scotland. In particular a singularly wise and able letter was written to the Moderator and brethren of the Free Church of Victoria, by Dr Candlish, and signed by himself, by Dr Cunningham, and four other ministers whom that Church had invited to visit Victoria and endeavour to restore peace and harmony. That letter indicated the thorough sympathy which those who signed it had with the union movement in Victoria,

their satisfaction with the basis proposed, and their deep regret at the differences that had arisen and the disruption that had taken place. It dealt first with the scruples of the minority, acknowledging their right to raise them when they did, but indicating where it appeared to them that they had been a little obstinate and unreasonable. And then it gently hinted to the majority that a little more delay and brotherly dealing with the minority might have been advisable, and that the act of cutting them off without a libel did appear rather summary and precipitate, notwithstanding the provocation they had received. The letter concluded with a suggestion that a little concession on both sides might, without the sacrifice of principle on either side, heal the breach and restore harmony. To the credit of the Free Church of Victoria it must be said that they accepted the advice thus tendered to them in the best spirit and acted upon it in every point. The dissentients, however, could not be brought to see that it was their duty to take the course recommended to them in the Edinburgh letter, not even when it was endorsed by the Free Church General Assembly in 1858. And so all further communications with them on the subject had to be discontinued.

At this period the prospects of Presbyterian union in the Colony were gloomy in the extreme. The United Presbyterian Church had from various causes which need not be enumerated split into three Synods. And now a mere handful of narrow-minded and irreconcilable Free churchmen posed as the Free Presbyterian Synod of Victoria, claiming all the documents and property of the Synod, and

in their official communications with them speaking of them as "the other party." But He who makes the wrath of man to praise Him brought good out of this seeming evil. It was a humbling discipline, especially for the Free Church of Victoria, which at first seemed to be carrying everything before it. The first effect of this discipline was, that on the 7th of January 1858, they unanimously agreed to a modification of the proposed Basis of Union relative to the power and duty of the civil magistrate in matters of religion which it was ascertained would satisfy the United Presbyterian Church—a modification substantially the same as that which they had previously rejected, and that which most Presbyterian Churches have now adopted. On the same day, in consideration of objections raised against some of the articles of union by Mr Love and his congregation at Geelong and by the Scots Church at Melbourne, they consented to consider any changes which the Synod of Victoria might think necessary to secure the adherence of their congregations, and if consistent with the proper meaning of the Articles, to adopt them. This was all very hopeful, but it was not enough, for it was found to be a very difficult task to make such alterations on the Articles as would render them acceptable to all concerned. In point of fact they were too long and elaborate, and besides enunciating Free Church principles, in which all concurred, they had an aspect of direct hostility to the Established Church of Scotland, which could not easily be explained away, and was of course unpalatable to many who regarded that as their Mother Church.

The wholesome effect of the trials through which the Free Church of Victoria had been made to pass was fully seen in their unanimous acceptance of the proposal of Dr Macdonald of Emerald Hill to abandon the old basis altogether and to substitute a shorter and simpler one in its stead. It was difficult for the Free Church Synod to do this after the emphasis they had laid on some points which they now consented to omit. It required some magnanimity to take up this position in the face of another Synod, small indeed but not contemptible, and fierce as a stag at bay, ready to taunt them with their change of front, and to triumph in the proof which they alleged was thus afforded, that they and they alone were the true representatives of the Free Church in Victoria. But they took the step, with all its apparent inconsistency and vacillation, believing that they were in the path of duty, to which they were shut up in the providence of God, and in following which they would best promote the cause of true religion in their own Colony and throughout the world.

The new Articles of Union were three in number. In the first they resolved that the Westminster Confession, the Catechisms, the Form of Presbyterian Church Government, the Directory for Public Worship, and the Second Book of Discipline, should be the Standards and Formularies of the Church. The second, recognising a difference of opinion in regard to the doctrines of these Standards relative to the power and duty of the civil magistrate in matters of religion, declared that the office-bearers in signing them were not to be held as countenancing any

persecuting or intolerant principles, or as professing any views inconsistent with the liberty of personal conscience or the right of private judgment. The third asserted the separate and independent position of the Church, and its readiness to receive all ministers and preachers from other Presbyterian Churches applying for admission on an equal footing, who should thereupon become subject to its authority alone.

This basis was accepted by the Free Church Synod on the 1st of February 1859, a bill to secure the property of those congregations which should enter into the union having previously passed through both Houses of the Legislature. It was also accepted by the Synod of Victoria, and two of the Synods into which the United Presbyterian Church was then broken up. The Free Church dissentients and one small United Presbyterian Church, in which there were only three ministers, held aloof, each on its own peculiar ground. On the 7th of April 1859 the union was consummated. It seemed as if the evil genius of division dogged the footsteps of this Church even on this auspicious day. It had been agreed in private conference that a minister of the Synod of Victoria should be the first Moderator of the United Church, and it was understood that the person to be proposed should be Mr Love. Instead of that, however, Mr Storie of Castlemaine rose and proposed Mr Clow, the oldest minister, and the pioneer of Presbyterianism in Victoria. Mr Nish seconded the motion. Mr Hetherington, thus anticipated, made no counter motion, and Mr Clow was unanimously called to the chair. Mr Love,

who had been requested to be in attendance that he might take the Moderator's Chair, felt that he had not been well used, left the meeting, and sent in his resignation next day. That resignation, however, was not accepted. It was explained to him that Mr Hetherington supposed, though in this he was mistaken, that the Free Church preferred Mr Clow, and was unwilling to spoil the harmony of the meeting by proposing another man, all the more so that Mr Clow's claims were undoubtedly very strong. Mr Love withdrew his resignation, and was called to the Moderator's Chair in 1861. And so this little *contretemps* passed harmlessly away.

As soon as the meeting was constituted, the Articles of Union were read, the members partook of the Lord's Supper, and the ministers and elders present signed the Formula. The number of ministers who joined the union was fifty-five. On the motion of Mr Hetherington, who said that he had been twenty-two years in Australia and had witnessed six disruptions, that every little fragment called itself a Synod, thus making the term Synod a very by-word in the country, it was agreed that the name Synod should be buried out of sight, and that the Supreme Court of the United Church should assume the designation of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria.

Having dwelt so long upon the progress of these union negotiations, and traced them down to their ultimate consummation, it will be enough to make a brief reference to the subsequent proceedings of the two small bodies which declined to be included in the United Church. The Rev. W. Miller of

Knox's Church was sent home as the representative of the Free Presbyterian Church of Victoria to put their case before the Free Church, and urge their claim to be regarded as standing in the same relation to that Church as the Free Church of Victoria did before the union. The Colonial Committee and the General Assembly both declined to receive him in that capacity, but heard him patiently as a minister of the Free Church who had laboured devotedly for years in a distant land. The Assembly then by a considerable majority adopted a motion in which they declined the request of Mr Miller and his brethren to regard them as in ecclesiastical fellowship with the Free Church of Scotland, expressed their earnest hope that the parties now separated might see their way to a reconciliation, and respectfully suggested to the Presbyterian Church of Victoria that they should take whatever steps they might deem competent to remove any obstacles to this happy issue existing in previous deliverances of the Free Synod of Victoria. When this decision of the Assembly reached Melbourne, the Presbyterian Church of Victoria hastened to comply with the suggestion, and, while guarding themselves against being supposed to pronounce any opinion upon the propriety or expediency of the Act of excision passed by the Free Synod in 1857, agreed in the altered circumstances and with the view of removing all obstacles to union, to rescind that Act and express their willingness to accept the brethren then cut off as ministers and elders of the United Church. This was communicated to the brethren referred to, but was responded to in a spirit so arrogant and

offensive as to hold out no encouragement to further negotiations. Mr Miller, however, continued persistently to prosecute his mission in Scotland, visiting ministers in their manses and addressing Presbyteries on the question, putting his case in the most plausible light, and arousing no little sympathy on behalf of the little band of loyal Free churchmen who were being disowned and brow-beaten by the Church of their fathers for their steadfast adherence to those principles which their opponents in Victoria had abandoned in their eagerness to unite with Voluntaries and Erastians. The degree to which he succeeded in enlisting Free Church prejudice on his side was apparent from the fact that the large Synod of Glasgow and Ayr almost unanimously overtured the Assembly to recognise the Australian minority and put an end to annoying agitation.

When the General Assembly met in 1861 the subject was very thoroughly discussed in a long and memorable debate. The Rev. Mr Rainy, now Principal Rainy of the New College, Edinburgh, may be said to have won his spurs on this occasion by the singularly wise, temperate, fully informed and ably reasoned speech in which he introduced the leading motion of the day. That motion referred with satisfaction to the conduct of the Victorian Church in rescinding the act of excision, and thus removing the chief, if not the only serious, obstacle to reunion ; it expressed regret that the dissentient brethren still continued to stand aloof ; it adhered to the resolutions of previous Assemblies to regard the United Church as standing in the place of the Synod of the Free Church of Victoria ; and it concluded by

expressing perfect willingness to enter into friendly relations with the dissentient brethren, provided they abstained from claiming the position formerly occupied by the Free Presbyterian Church of Victoria. Professor Gibson of Glasgow moved "that the Assembly, having regard to the conscientious convictions of the brethren who feel themselves precluded from entering into the union recently consummated in Australia, recognise them as a Church in ecclesiastical fellowship with the Free Church of Scotland." Among those who supported the first motion were Dr Begg and Mr Nixon of Montrose, though how to reconcile their action then with their vehement opposition to a proposed union on at least as satisfactory terms with the United Presbyterian Church in Scotland is a problem which it would be very difficult to solve. The great speech of the evening, however, was that of Principal Cunningham. It was an affront to his masculine common sense that this little handful of extreme, and, as he deemed them, obstinate and unreasonable Free churchmen, should claim to be the only true representatives of the Free Church in the Colony of Victoria. He felt indignant at the travesty of his Church thus presented to the whole Southern Hemisphere, and at the injury inflicted on the cause of religion by the much needed union of the Presbyterian Churches being obstructed and denounced in the name of a Church whose sacrifices for conscience' sake had disposed men everywhere to give her a respectful hearing. When Dr Cunningham was indignant he was not the man to conceal his indignation, and when his moral nature was thoroughly roused, and his tremendous dialectical power in full operation,

woe to the luckless wight against whom the terrible artillery was directed. His speech on this occasion simply demolished the arguments of Mr Miller and his friends, and for ever annihilated all hope of that narrow faction being regarded as the true exponents of the principles of the Free Church. Dr Cunningham's speech was often quoted during the controversy in connection with the proposed union of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, especially the statement which he made that he could sign the United Presbyterian Formula himself. That speech ought to have settled the union question here as much as in Victoria.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria put on their records a minute gratefully acknowledging their indebtedness to the Free Church General Assembly for having so ably vindicated their standards from persistent misrepresentation, and for having given such an emphatic utterance in favour of union. On the other hand, as might have been expected, the minute on the subject adopted by the Synod of the dissentients was one giving evidence of disappointment and resentment. This body, after making strenuous efforts to maintain its position and extend its borders, fell a prey to that spirit of division in which it had originated. Small as they were they actually broke up into two nearly equal sections, the one passing an Act of excision upon the other. Happily for the Presbyterianism of the Colony there came to them at this time an invalid minister from Scotland, the Rev. J. Oswald Dykes, now the Principal of the College of the English Presbyterian Church. He had been colleague to Dr Candlish in Edinburgh,

where he gained a great reputation as a preacher, his sermons being characterised by a rare union of power and beauty. After a residence of a few months in Melbourne his health was so far restored that he was able to assist Dr Cairns, who was now beginning to feel the weight of years and labours, and his brilliant discourses in Chalmers Church drew crowds of eager listeners and did much to elevate the character of the colonial pulpit. In addition to this Mr Dykes did good work for a time as the editor of the *Christian Review and Messenger*, and gave an important impulse to the movement for the institution of a Theological Hall. But perhaps the most important service which he rendered to the Church was in connection with the cause of union. Laying himself alongside of the members of the two dissentient Free Church Synods, as one who had taken no part in the proceedings by which they felt themselves to be aggrieved, he ascertained the precise points to which they objected in the basis of union ultimately adopted. Being persuaded that those objections were founded upon misunderstandings he drafted a Declaratory Act, explaining the true meaning of the passages in question, which having been first discussed and amended by the Free Church Synod, was afterwards accepted and enacted by the Presbyterian Church of Victoria. Thus in 1867 this painful schism was practically extinguished by the admission of all the dissentient ministers into the United Church, except two,¹ one of these being the Rev. Arthur Paul, the most extreme and obstinate, as he was by far the ablest of them all. In 1870, when the Victorian

¹ "Memoir of the Rev. Irving Hetherington," p. 181.

Legislature withdrew all State aid from the clergymen of the Colony, the small body of United Presbyterian Churches, seven in number, which had declined to join the union in 1859, indicated their readiness to enter the United Church and were very cordially welcomed.

Before proceeding to give a brief sketch of the progress in various directions of the now consolidated Presbyterian Church, it may be proper to name some of the ministers whom she has received from the Free Church of Scotland. The excellent quality of the contribution made by that Church to the ministry in Victoria appears from the fact that, of the thirty-eight who filled the Moderator's chair from 1859 to 1895, twenty were Free Churchmen. We can only particularise a very few. In 1859 the Rev. A. J. Campbell arrived from Melrose. He was soon settled in Geelong as colleague to Mr Love. Soon after it was thought expedient that he should originate a new congregation there, to which he continued to minister as sole pastor till 1883, when he obtained a colleague and successor. A fresh thinker, a popular speaker, a good theologian, well versed in church law, and above all a man full of evangelical fervour, Mr Campbell (now Dr Campbell) has rendered long and valuable service to the Victorian Church. Besides gathering round him a large and flourishing congregation, he took part in the training of the divinity students for some years, before permanent professors were appointed, and he has also published a delightful little Jubilee sketch of Presbyterianism in Victoria. The Rev. T. Mackenzie Fraser, brother-in-law of the cele-

brated Hugh Miller, followed him. He, too, was settled in Geelong, proved an effective preacher, and was also helpful in theological education of the students. After him came the Rev. D. S. M'Eachran, from Cromarty, who has taken a prominent place in the Courts of the Church, and who displayed great courage and resource in connection with the case of Mr Strong, which will afterwards be referred to. Another great service which he rendered to the Church was in connection with the raising of a Jubilee Fund. Being Moderator in that year, he was released from congregational duty that he might plead this cause, which he did so effectually that a sum of fifty thousand pounds was realised. The Rev. Andrew Cameron, who came from Maryton in Scotland to be colleague to Dr Cairns, was a man of remarkable gifts and attainments. An able and interesting preacher, he was even more distinguished for his literary power. Of this he had given ample evidence as editor of the *Christian Treasury* and the *Family Treasury* in Scotland; and in the Colony he rendered invaluable service to the cause of religion, and especially of Sabbath observance, by his able and trenchant replies to the hostile articles in the secular press. But his health was never robust, and he was not long spared to the Church which he had served so well. At a later date the Rev. Murdoch Macdonald arrived from Nairn, and was settled in the important suburban charge of Toorak. His success there, and his theological attainments, led to his appointment in 1883 as Professor of Systematic Theology and Church History in the Ormond College. About the

same time the Rev. James Beattie went out from Pitcairn Green to be minister of Chalmers Church, Melbourne, in succession to Dr Cairns, who resigned his charge on account of age and infirmity in 1876. The Rev. A. Yule, who went from Aberdeen to Carlton, Melbourne, in 1879, has also been a valuable accession to the Church. But none of these made so deep an impression in so short a time as the Rev. John F. Ewing, who came from the Free West Church, Glasgow, in response to a call from Toorak congregation, Melbourne. Though labouring under certain natural disadvantages, such as a rather ungainly manner, and a voice neither melodious nor well modulated, he maintained and increased a large and attached congregation, partly by the attractiveness of his personality, and partly by the power of his high-toned and thoughtful ministrations. He had also made his mark as a public man, and promised to be a power for good in the community in connection with the social and religious questions of the day, when he was prostrated by an attack of fever, and all too early snatched away.

The progress of Presbyterianism in Victoria from the date of the union to this day has more than fulfilled the expectations of the most sanguine supporters of that movement. In 1859 the number of ministers in the United Church was fifty-five all told. The Presbyterian Calendar for Australia for 1895 gives the number as two hundred and eight, besides seven vacant congregations, and excluding the Presbytery of West Australia. No doubt the population of the Colony has largely increased during this period, but not in anything like the same proportion. This is a

conclusive proof of the impetus given by the union to the Home Mission of the Church. In this connection it should be recorded to the credit of the ministers of the United Church that "one of their first Acts of Assembly was to pass a resolution to the effect that the religious destitution of the Colony required an immediate addition of one half of their present number of ministers (*i.e.* of thirty men) in order to meet the exigencies of the case. This resolution was followed by the appointment of a Committee who were instructed to raise a fund of £3000 for the purpose of bringing out these thirty men. Now in passing this resolution every minister was aware that it involved him in a considerable sacrifice. His annual dividend from State Aid would be reduced by one-third—from £60 to £40—which was equal to a subscription of £1200 a year to the Church Extension Fund from the ministers alone."¹

In 1862 Mr James Balfour, now the Hon. James Balfour, M.L.C., moved in the Assembly, "that a Committee be appointed by the Assembly to take into consideration the whole subject of a Theological Hall for this Church, to mature a scheme, and bring up a report to the Commission in May." The motion was carried, the Committee appointed, with Mr Balfour as Convener, and the whole subject sent down to Presbyteries for their opinion. The majority of the returns were favourable to the scheme, and vigorous efforts were at once put forth to raise a sum of £6000 for the endowment of the hall. In 1867 it was reported that subscriptions had been received to the

¹ Extract from valuable MS. notes kindly furnished by Rev. Dr Campbell of Geelong.

amount of £3884, and that sum continued steadily to rise till 1872 when it reached £14,000, at which figure it stood for the next ten years. During all that period provisional arrangements were made, some of the most distinguished ministers of the Church being appointed from year to year to superintend the studies of those aspiring to the sacred office, in Systematic Theology, Apologetics, Church History, and Sacred Languages and Exegetics. But in 1882 the Assembly resolved to appoint two permanent professors, though as yet they had only an adequate endowment for one. Most opportunely that very year they received intimation of a bequest by the late J. D. Wyse, Esq., yielding at once £14,000, and ultimately £17,000, which, with another legacy of £1000 by the late Suetonius Officer, Esq., relieved them from all pecuniary difficulty. The building in which the theological classes are taught is a wing of the Ormond College, erected by the munificent liberality of the late Francis Ormond, Esq., who gave for that purpose £45,000, in his lifetime, and bequeathed to it £40,000 more. The first two professors were the Rev. M. Macdonald, D.D., of Toorak, and the Rev. J. L. Rentoul, D.D., of East St Kilda. A third was subsequently appointed, the Rev. A. Harper, B.A., B.D., an accomplished Oriental scholar, to whom the subject of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis has been assigned.

This institution was an absolute necessity, for the supply of ministers from this country was quite inadequate. It has done and is still doing admirable work, the best proof of which is that fully one-third of the present ministry of the Church has been trained

within its walls, that they are on the average quite as efficient as those educated in our Divinity Halls at home, and that they are developing a style of pulpit ministration fully better adapted to the tastes and needs of the Colonists than that which prevails in Scotland.

The Presbyterian Church took its share in the general education of the community, until the denominational was superseded by the State school system. This is unhappily a purely secular system, and has been administered in a severely secular spirit. Against this evil the Protestant Churches have earnestly protested, while the Roman Catholic Church has not only protested but opened schools of its own, which are attended by half of the Roman Catholic children, who have thus to pay school fees while the State schools are free. One very reprehensible Act of the Education Department has been recently corrected. The school books in use contained several references to Christ. At the instigation of some rabid secularists the publishers were instructed to print a Victorian Edition from which the name of Christ was expunged. Some three or four years ago Parliament ordered it to be restored. Strangely enough the Minister of State who got it removed was the son of a Presbyterian minister, while the member of Parliament who got it restored was a Roman Catholic. There is now some prospect of getting the Irish Scriptural Extracts reintroduced into the schools. At the elections held a year or two ago a majority of candidates promised to support a proposal to take a popular vote upon the question. There can be no doubt that the result would be

satisfactory. The feeling of the community has been tested in twelve representative districts, and in these ninety per cent. were in favour of the use of these books, while only two or three per cent. positively objected to it. The Presbyterian Church, from its size and solid organisation, naturally takes a leading place in any public movement of the Churches to promote the religious and moral improvement of society, the Episcopalian Church being prevented from taking its proper place in such concerted action by the narrow bigotry of some of their dignitaries, supported, upon appeal, by the authorities of the Home Church, who decline to acknowledge the other denominations as Churches of Christ at all.

No Church on earth need expect unbroken prosperity for any length of time. Sooner or later storms will come that will test its faith and patience to the proof. In the case of the Church in Victoria the storm arose in the very quarter where it was best fitted to test the sincerity and solidity of the union that had been formed. The Scots Church, Melbourne, was, at the time to which we now refer, from its wealth and the number and social standing of its members, the leading Church in Melbourne. And although under the guidance of Mr Hetherington it had gone very cordially into the union, still it never lost its distinctive character as a congregation largely composed of Established churchmen. When it became necessary for the General Assembly to take its minister to task for alleged heretical teaching, there was sure to be an outcry. It would inevitably be said that the real motive for this pretended zeal for orthodoxy was the envy with which smaller men regarded

the popularity of the minister of the Scots Church ; and more particularly, the unfriendly feeling with which that Church was regarded by the ministers of the Free Church, who had now a preponderating voice in the Assembly. All this was actually said by members of the Scots Church, when the Presbytery took into consideration an article upon the Atonement, which the Rev. Charles Strong, their minister, had contributed to the *Victorian Review*, and found the drift of it to be inconsistent with Scriptural doctrine. The secular press, as might have been anticipated, was even more violent in its denunciations. The Presbytery, however, unmoved by this clamour, firmly but temperately held their ground. Though Mr Strong sullenly refused to relieve their minds by a single word of explanation, they contented themselves with expressing their concern at the negative character of the article which he had written, and exhorted him with all brotherly kindness to make the great facts of the Incarnation of our Lord, His Atoning Life and Death, His Resurrection and Ascension, more prominent in his future utterances. This was in 1881. What did Mr Strong do in 1883? He brought a distinguished layman of unitarian sentiments to lecture in the Scots Church, giving him permission to say what he chose. Taking advantage of his position, the lecturer attacked the great central truth of Christianity, representing our Divine Lord as a mere man—a sinful mortal—now dead and gone. Mr Strong listened to all this, thanked him for the lecture, though he said he could not go along with the whole of it. Two weeks after, when

an outburst of public indignation compelled him to explain, he did so in such obscure terms that no one could be certain what was his view upon the vital question of our Lord's divine nature. It was impossible for the Presbytery to overlook an offence like this. A few of the brethren met and laid the burden of prosecuting the matter further upon Mr M'Eachran, who drew up and laid upon the table of the Presbytery a very masterly statement charging Mr Strong with preaching and patronising unsound doctrines. Mr Strong wrote a letter to the Presbytery tendering his resignation of the Scots Church, and it was understood that he intended to leave for Scotland in the course of a few weeks. The Presbytery in the circumstances referred the matter to the approaching General Assembly. The Assembly, having looked into the charges, found that there were *prima facie* grounds for enquiry. Hearing that Mr Strong was to leave Melbourne next day, they invited him as a member to attend and give them an explicit assurance of his belief in our Lord's true Deity, in which case the charges would be withdrawn and the usual certificate would be granted. Mr Strong declined to appear, and the Assembly by a majority of 136 to 6, declared him to be no longer a minister of that Church.

This painful case, which at first threatened to prejudice the Church in the eyes of the community, served rather to establish its reputation and increase its influence in the end. The Church had refused to be intimidated by the Press, or to shrink from the exercise of discipline through fear of popular clamour. She had dealt justly and even generously with the

accused, and had been met on his part by an absolute refusal to retract or modify or even to explain his words. It was no matter of doubtful disputation that was in question, but one of the most vital doctrines of the Christian faith. If any further justification of the Church's action was needed it was supplied by the subsequent conduct of Mr Strong, who, after visiting Scotland, returned to Melbourne, and there set up a congregation with the bombastic title of the Australian Church, which is universally understood to be run on Unitarian lines. And as to the charge that this dealing with Mr Strong was due to Free Church jealousy and spleen, this was amply disproved by the cross voting both in Presbytery and Assembly. The divisions did not follow the old lines of cleavage, some who had been Free Churchmen voting in his favour, while some who had been members of the Synod of Victoria gave their vote against him, so that the Church emerged from this conflict not weakened or discredited, but stronger, more united, and more respected than before.

We have dwelt upon this incident because it is the only occasion, since the founding of the Colony, on which the great doctrines of the faith have been attacked and vindicated. The consequences would have been most disastrous, not only to Presbyterianism, but to vital religion in Victoria, if the Church had been less firm and faithful.

It was natural that a man of Mr Strong's ability should in the course of an eight years' ministry have gained the affections of many of his hearers. A number of them resented so warmly the action of

the Assembly that they resolved to secede from the Presbyterian Church of Victoria, taking their Church and its property, then estimated at £200,000, along with them. A bill framed for this purpose was actually introduced into the Victorian Parliament, but was thrown out, very much through the resolute and able opposition of Mr Robert Harper, M.L.A. The congregation, however, was still in a restless and disaffected state. Happily two influential ministers of the Established Church of Scotland, Dr Cameron Lees, of St Giles, Edinburgh, and Dr Marshall Lang, of the Barony Church, Glasgow, were induced to visit Melbourne in succession, each of them supplying the Scots Church pulpit for several months. The susceptibilities of the congregation were under their ministrations gradually soothed, a happier state of feeling began to prevail, and now, under the charge of their present gifted pastor, the Rev. Dr Alex. Marshall formerly of Inveresk, the Scots Church is as strong and united and loyal to the union as ever.

It was in connection with this case that the Church was led to take the important step of emitting a Declaratory Act, explaining the sense in which she understood certain statements of the Confession of Faith, and also the sense in which she regarded her formula as having binding force. An elder of the Scots Church, addressing a congregational meeting during the heat of the controversy, was reported in the public press to have bitterly assailed the Confession of Faith, and grossly caricatured some of its doctrines. This led a number of Presbyteries not only to condemn the

assault as unwarranted and unjust, but to overture the Assembly to have an authoritative declaration made of the proper interpretation of those portions of the Standards which had been so grievously misrepresented. This was accordingly done. A Declaratory Act, bearing on such subjects as the divine decrees, the salvation of children dying in infancy, the dealing of God with persons beyond the operation of the ordinary means of grace, and the creation of the world in six days, as also the force and meaning of certain expressions in the formula, was drawn up by a Committee of which Dr M. Macdonald was the leading member and afterwards adopted by the Assembly.

The first General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria resolved, on the motion of Mr Campbell of Geelong, to commence a mission among the Aborigines of the Colony. This, along with the mission to the Chinese, to which we shall presently refer, was the first Foreign Mission, or Mission to the Heathen, on which the Presbyterians had embarked. It was begun before they had well set their own house in order, and agreeably to the teaching of the New Testament, their first efforts were put forth for the salvation of the heathen at their own door. They had appropriated the country of these poor savages. This may have been inevitable in the general interests of humanity. But certainly the least that the white man could do for the inferior race, which he was thus dispossessing, was to bring to bear upon them all the civilising and elevating influences to which his own superiority was due. And yet it was anything but a hopeful field of

labour. The Aborigines of Victoria were a very degraded, and they were also a decaying people. Fifty years ago they were supposed to number 15,000. Now they are reduced to 780, or probably still fewer. Mr Hagenauer—a minister of the Moravian Missionary Church, who has acted as the missionary of the Presbyterian Church to this people from the year 1861 to the present time—gives a painful description of the low moral condition in which he found them. “They were slaves,” he said, “to their lusts and passions, which, working with their superstitious and cruel nature, made them ever ready to shed blood. Without a settled home, they wandered about from place to place in a most miserable and depraved state, adding to their native vices drunkenness and other evils learned from white men.” By patient loving labour, however, not a few members of this degraded race have been made partakers of the saving and sanctifying influences of the Gospel. The first-fruits of this Mission, James Fitchett, was received into the visible Church by baptism in 1866, and remained a faithful, earnest Christian for twenty-one years, when he passed away in the sure hope of a blessed resurrection. In 1889 127 had been received into the Church by baptism, and a great change for the better had taken place in the manners and customs of the whole people. They may be rapidly dying out, but it is surely a worthy and a Christ-like work to gather out of them some at least, should it be but a remnant, to take their place among the exceeding great multitude from every kindred and people and tongue and nation who shall stand before the throne when time shall be no more.

Simultaneously with this Mission to the Aborigines, the General Assembly entered on similar work at Ballarat among the thousands of Chinese, whom the discovery of gold had attracted to the Colony. This Mission was put under the charge of the Rev. William Young, who had acted as missionary to the Chinese at Singapore, and who had now for his assistant Peng Nam, a convert to Christianity. There are many things that tell against this Mission, such as the migratory habits of the Chinese, the fact that most of them come to Australia for a short period, leaving their wives and families behind them, and especially the prejudice against them in the Colony, and the legislation which has been passed to exclude them. Still there have been converts made from among them, whose pious, consistent lives have proved the reality of the change they have undergone, and several have been educated as students and catechists, who are now doing good work among their fellow-countrymen in Australia or in China. It is not easy to tabulate the results of this Mission, because so many of the converts have either returned home or been removed by death.

In 1862 the Rev. John G. Paton, being driven from Tanna by the fierceness of the natives, came to Victoria and addressed the Melbourne Presbytery, appealing for help in order to purchase a Mission ship. The Presbytery promised to do all in their power to help him in the good work. Those who have heard him tell his thrilling story, will not marvel that his appeals to the young people of Victoria so deeply moved them, that they gathered for him a sum of £3000. At the same time a great desire

sprang up in the Church to have some permanent connection with a Mission that lay so near their own country. Correspondence was opened with the Canadian Church and the Free Church of Scotland, the two Churches which were then supporting the New Hebrides Mission, with the result that the aid of the Church of Victoria was most cordially welcomed ; and it was arranged that the Rev. John Geddie of Nova Scotia, should be their first missionary to these islands. In 1865 Mr Paton himself became one of their missionaries. Since that time the Mission has greatly developed. The banner of the Cross has been set up on most of the islands of the group. Some of them have been to a large extent Christianised, and the narratives of the Rev. Dr Paton, now Mission agent of the Federated Assembly of Australia, along with the charming letters of his devoted wife, have thrown a romance around this Mission that has attracted to it the interest and sympathy of the whole Christian world. Besides Dr Paton whose work lies in Australia, there are now about twenty ordained missionaries in the New Hebrides, two lay helpers and their wives, and more than 200 native teachers and assistants, and it is now the feeling of the Churches in the Northern hemisphere, by whom this Mission was originated, that it should in future be manned and managed by the Australasian Churches, within whose province it so plainly lies. Things are evidently tending in this direction, for eleven of the twenty-four missionaries to the New Hebrides now hail from Victoria, five from New Zealand, one from New South Wales, one from Tasmania, and one from South Australia,

while three are supported by the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and two by the Free Church of Scotland.

The Jubilee of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria was celebrated with great enthusiasm in 1888. Two volumes were published on the occasion, giving an account of the Church's history during the previous fifty years, the one a large and somewhat heavy book by the Rev. R. Hamilton, D.D., written, however, with great impartiality, and a perfect repertory of authentic fact, the other a light and graceful sketch from the pen of Dr Campbell of Geelong. Two men of mark visited the Colony that year as representatives of the Established and Free Churches of Scotland, the Rev. James Macgregor, D.D., the genial and popular minister of St Cuthbert's Church, Edinburgh, and the Rev. Robert Rainy, D.D., Principal of the New College, Edinburgh, the leader of the Free Church Assembly, and the foremost ecclesiastic in Scotland. Their presence and the addresses of congratulation which they delivered contributed not a little to the success and interest of the great public meeting, and were warmly appreciated by the Presbyterian Church and by the whole Christian community of Victoria.

We have now finished our sketch of the history of this offshoot of our Scottish Presbyterian Church, planted little more than fifty years ago on the other side of the globe. We have seen how firmly it has taken root, how vigorous its life has been, how its branches have spread, how it has grown with the growth of the population, and filled the face of the land with goodly fruit. We have seen how much of this spiritual life has been derived from our own beloved Church, how faithful to her principles her

children have proved in the far-off country of their adoption, how fully these principles were accepted by all the branches of the Presbyterian Church in Victoria when proposing to unite, and how important a place they hold in that bond of union which now makes them one. Let us hope that during the next fifty years the progress of the Colony and of all its evangelical Churches may be even greater than in the fifty years that are past. Adopting their own motto we would say, "Advance, Australia." Advance in the fear of God, in the love of Christ, in purity, and righteousness and truth. Let us hope that one of the firmest columns of this advancing host may be the Church of Knox and of the Covenant. And even if that Church should lose somewhat of its rugged sternness under the softening influences of a southern sky, God grant that it may never lose its reverence for the Holy Scriptures, its jealousy for the Crown rights of the Redeemer, and its intense desire for the salvation of the souls of men.

LECTURE V

II. PRESBYTERIANISM IN THE OTHER AUSTRALIAN COLONIES

PRESBYTERIANISM IN TASMANIA

TASMANIA, originally called Van Diemen's Land in honour of Anthony Van Diemen, Governor of Batavia, who fitted out the expedition that led to its discovery, is an older colony than Victoria, and may indeed claim to be the mother from which that fair and flourishing daughter sprang. Discovered by the Dutch, but neglected in 1642, it was visited by French and English explorers in the closing years of the eighteenth century. In 1803 it became a settlement under the British Crown, being colonized from New South Wales by Lieutenant Bowen under the orders of Governor King. It was originally a penal settlement and suffered both in moral character and in reputation from the kind of population thus landed on its shores. In 1852, however, transportation to that Colony ceased, the name Van Diemen's Land with its bad associations was dropped, and that of Tasmania adopted in its stead. In 1855 it was the first of the Southern Colonies to enjoy the privilege of representative Government, and now, purged of all traces of the convict element, with its splendid climate, its fine harbours, its forests and

minerals, and fertile plains, this little island, less than our own Scotland, has an important place of its own alongside of the larger Australian States.

It was in the year 1821 that the first steps were taken by the Presbyterian settlers in this Colony to obtain a minister of their own persuasion to labour among them. This application was laid upon the table of the United Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh on the 4th of December, and was so promptly responded to that Mr Archibald Macarthur, one of their licentiates, arrived at Hobart in December of the following year. His ordination, which took place at Edinburgh in the church of Dr Jamieson (of the Scottish Dictionary), created so much interest that hundreds were unable to gain admission to the church in which the services were held. Dr Harper preached the sermon, Mr Simpson of Potterrow delivered the charge, and the proceedings were authenticated by the signature of Dr Peddie, the Moderator of Presbytery. Mr Macarthur's ministry in Hobart lasted for nearly thirteen years, during which period St Andrew's Church and Manse were built. Meanwhile the Rev. John Anderson was settled at Launceston, Rev. John Mackersey at Macquarie River, and Rev. Jas. Garrett at Bothwell.

The resignation of Mr Macarthur in 1835 placed the congregation at Hobart in a difficult position. There was no strong Church in Victoria then to come to their help, and New South Wales, despite the energy of the indomitable Dr Lang, was scarcely able to supply its own spiritual needs. The members of St Andrew's Church, Hobart, had therefore no alternative but to look for a minister to the Mother-

country. Their appeal was not made however, as before, to the Secession Church, but to the Church of Scotland. The result was that in 1837 the Rev. John Lillie, at one time tutor to the late Duke of Argyll, by whom he was very highly esteemed, was sent to be their pastor. The testimony borne to him by all who remember his ministry is that he was an able and a devoted man, a gifted preacher, a faithful pastor, and a power for good in the community. He laboured among his people at Hobart for twenty years, during which time he visited every part of Tasmania where there was any population, and did great service in the way of Church extension. Indeed he wore himself out with his arduous labours and had to retire from public duty to his property in Christchurch, New Zealand, where he died in 1866 at the age of fifty-nine, and where a monument with an appropriate inscription marks his grave.

It was in 1835 that the first Presbytery in Tasmania was formed, Dr John Dunmore Lang having been sent by the Church in Sydney for that purpose, and the Scotch Church was then placed on an equality with the English. Ten years after, an attempt was made by the Bishop of the English Church to destroy that equality, by getting the Government to acknowledge his authority over all the inhabitants of the island, but this arrogant assumption was met and thwarted mainly by the prompt and energetic action of Dr Lillie.

The attitude taken up by the Presbytery of Tasmania, when tidings reached them of the Disruption in Scotland, was precisely similar to that adopted by the majority of the Church in Canada

and New South Wales. In reply to a communication from the Free Church they declared their hearty sympathy with that Church and their approval of the course she had followed in the circumstances in which she had been placed. But while homologating the principles and proceedings of the Free Church they pointed out that their position was one of perfect freedom from secular control, and that so long as this was the case, they were under no obligation to relinquish advantages conferred by the State, not so much for their own behoof, as for behoof of their people. At a later period, to satisfy some of their members who were not quite content with this deliverance, they put forth a fuller statement of their principles, but at the same time declared their entire independence of every other Church, and their readiness to receive ministers from any Presbyterian Church who were of good education and standing, and willing to sign the prescribed formulas. The only difference between the case of the Church in Tasmania and the Churches in Canada and New South Wales was, that here the ministers unanimously adopted this line of policy, so that, for the time at least, there was no disruption.

It turned out, however, that the people were not so unanimous as their ministers. In 1848, the Rev. John Z. Huie, went across from Victoria to Tasmania and held a meeting of those desirous of having a Church in that Colony more closely related to the Free Church of Scotland, such as existed in the neighbouring colonies of Victoria and New South Wales. This visit increased that desire, and led to

an application to the Free Church for a minister. The Rev. James Lindsay, and the Rev. William Nicolson of Ferry Port-on-Craig, were found willing to go. The former was settled in Launceston in 1850, and the latter in Hobart in 1852, where he preached at first in the Court House, and afterwards in a large and commodious church, the foundations of which were laid before his arrival. Mr (afterwards Dr) Nicolson was a solid, evangelical, earnest preacher, and, though comparatively late in the field, he soon gathered round him the largest congregation in Hobart. Himself a Disruption minister, he could never see it to be his duty to abandon the position of isolation and protest which he had once taken up, and in this feeling he was supported by his people to the very last. After a long and faithful ministry extending over sixty-two years, he passed away in 1890, amid many tokens of regret and esteem. Another excellent minister from the Free Church, the Rev. Lachlan Campbell, having arrived soon after Messrs Lindsay and Nicolson, the Free Presbytery of Tasmania was formally constituted in 1853.

While these events were transpiring, Dr Lillie, in a letter to Dr Candlish, proposed that the Presbytery of Tasmania, having endorsed the principles of the Free Church, should be recognised and supplied with ministers and probationers by that Church. The Colonial Committee, to whom the letter was handed over, returned a friendly answer, expressing their hope that Dr Lillie's letter might be the basis for a good understanding and an ultimate union between the two Tasmanian Churches. Dr Nicolson, how-

ever, on the part of the Free Church Presbytery of Tasmania, gave no encouragement to this idea, and so the matter dropped. When the union movement began in Victoria the Presbytery of Tasmania availed themselves of the opportunity of entering into friendly relations with the Free Synod of Victoria, and, when at a later stage in these negotiations, the famous letter of November 14th, 1857, was sent by Drs Cunningham, Candlish, and others to the Moderator of that Synod, the Presbytery of Tasmania reprinted the letter, with an address to their people cordially approving of its recommendations. This address, being brought under the notice of the Free Church Colonial Committee, led them to declare that they could not but receive the Presbytery "as brethren, and rejoice in their renewed fellowship." Against this resolution the Free Presbytery of Tasmania remonstrated, and for thirty-five years more continued to maintain a separate position. At last, however, in March, 1896, a union between the Free Presbytery of Tasmania, with its three or four congregations, and the Synod of Tasmania, with its two Presbyteries of Hobart and Launceston, and its thirteen congregations, was happily consummated without a dissentient voice, on terms precisely similar to those of which the Free Church had again and again expressed its entire approval.

Thus the Tasmanian Disruption was the last to originate and the last to disappear. The patience of those who longed for reunion was sorely tried, but it has been well rewarded by the completeness of the union ultimately formed. It was peculiarly needful that Presbyterianism should close up its ranks and

show a united front in a Colony where it has only between six and seven per cent. of the population, numbering 9756, as compared with 76,082 Episcopalians and 25,805 Roman Catholics. The University of Tasmania, established in 1890, has power to grant certificates and degrees in all branches of knowledge except theology. The Presbyterian Church has hitherto had one or more students under local training for the ministry, but will in future send them, at the close of their under-graduate course, either to Ormond College, Melbourne, or St Andrew's College, Sydney. Education in this Colony is unsectarian, but hardly secular, for sacred extracts are used, and the clergy of different denominations are allowed, under certain conditions, to give religious instruction at the State Schools to children of their own persuasion. Dr Scott of St Andrew's, Hobart, says that in that town the non-Anglican ministers divide the schools among them, and give regular and systematic instruction to the pupils.

In 1869 the State aid previously given to the different Churches was commuted, and a capital sum of £100,000 handed over to them instead. Of this sum upwards of £10,000 were paid to the two Presbyterian Churches. The interest of the money is divided equally among all the congregations.

The Mission field in which the Presbyterian Church of Tasmania is specially interested is the New Hebrides. One of the missionaries—the Rev. R. M. Fraser of Epi, once a member of the Free New North Church, Edinburgh, is entirely supported by the subscriptions of the Tasmanian Church.

PRESBYTERIANISM IN QUEENSLAND

Queensland was originally a part of New South Wales, and began its career in 1824 by the settlement of a band of convicts at Moreton Bay. It was not, however, thrown open to the public by the sale of lands till 1844, at which date there were no white inhabitants to the north of Brisbane. In 1859 this North-Eastern division of Australia, equal in size to Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy combined, two-thirds of which lies within the tropics, was severed from New South Wales, and formed into a separate Colony, taking its name, like Victoria, from our British Queen. It has great natural capabilities, having extensive pasturage for sheep and cattle, large territories in which cotton, coffee, sugar, and other products of tropical countries can be grown, and very valuable gold-fields. The drawback is the great heat, which renders necessary the introduction of coolie or Kanaka labour. Still the Colony is a healthy one, peculiarly adapted to those who are of a bronchitic or consumptive tendency, and from the richness and variety of its resources there is every reason to believe that there is a great future before it.

The first Presbyterian minister in Queensland was the Rev. Thomas Mowbray, who, along with the Rev. William Hamilton, stood aloof from both the sections into which the Synod of Eastern Australia was divided in 1846. The view which these two brethren took, and which ultimately prevailed at the time of the reunion of the Churches, was, that the Presbyterian Church of Australia, being far from the

scene of conflict in Scotland, and in no danger of having its liberty interfered with, ought not to break up its unity and mar its influence by taking sides in a controversy with which it had no practical concern, but should maintain its own position as a perfectly independent Church. Finding that their views did not prevail, they declined to join either the Free or Established party in Australia. Mr Mowbray being in poor health removed from Sydney to Brisbane in 1847, and was the first to conduct Presbyterian services there. On the 12th of December 1849, a meeting of Presbyterians was held in South Brisbane with the view of establishing a Presbyterian Church in that young and growing town. Mr Mowbray acted as secretary to the committee formed for this purpose, and agreed to keep up Divine Service, so far as his health would permit. A church was built and opened in May 1851, Mr Mowbray acting as minister till the month of August, when the Rev. Walter Ross Macleod was ordained as first minister of the congregation. His health failed however, and he was obliged to return to Scotland within a year, when Mr Mowbray resumed his former work, conducting the services as often as he could. Towards the close of 1853 the Rev. Mr Sinclair arrived and entered on the charge. In February 1854 a Session and Deacons' Court were formed.

In 1856 the Rev. Charles Ogg arrived at Sydney, bearing a commission from the Free Church of Scotland. From Sydney he was sent on to Brisbane, to become the minister of the congregation there, which was again vacant, Mr Sinclair having moved south-

wards. Mr Ogg during a ministry of thirty-nine years saw the Church pass through various phases, its supreme court being first "the Synod of Eastern Australia," afterwards "the Synod of the Queensland Church," and finally, "the General Assembly of the Church of Queensland." He was clerk of the Presbytery of Brisbane and of the General Assembly for many years, and was chosen Moderator of the Synod in 1866, and of the General Assembly in 1887. In 1857 the congregation to which he had ministered for some time on both sides of the river was divided, Mr Ogg going with the North Brisbane portion, and the remainder, which was the original congregation, being without a settled pastor until June 1864. Meanwhile, however, several ministers had come to the Colony from the Established Church of Scotland, the United Presbyterian Church, and the Presbyterian Church of Ireland. Many of them were induced to come by Dr Lang of Sydney, who visited Brisbane as early as 1845, who had much to do with the separation of the Colony from New South Wales, and who exerted himself greatly in the way of bringing emigrants from the Mother-country, and in providing them with ministers and teachers.

On the 2nd of July 1863, a Conference of ministers and influential laymen was held in Creek Street Church, then connected with the United Presbyterian Church, to consider the question of union among the Churches. All the Presbyterian ministers in the Colony, with one exception, were present, together with a large number of elders and private members, thus showing the deep and general interest with which

the movement was regarded. At this and subsequent Conferences a basis of union was prepared, and the union was consummated on the 25th of November in that very year. In the beginning of 1862 there were three ministers stately officiating in as many congregations, with one or two in delicate health, and therefore only able to labour occasionally. At the date of the Union the numbers were twelve, two of whom, however, Dr Nelson and Dr M'Gavin, did not join the united body till 1865 and 1866 respectively. At this latter date the Union of Presbyterianism in the Colony was complete. The title then assumed—"The *Synod* of the Presbyterian Church of Queensland"—was discarded in 1869, and that of the "*General Assembly* of the Presbyterian Church of Queensland" adopted in its place.

In May 1896 there were forty-eight charges fully organised. Several of these, however, were vacant. This arose from two causes—first, that the supply of ministers was inadequate; and second, that there were some congregations which, owing to a change of circumstances, were unable to raise the minimum stipend. The Church has not a fund sufficiently large to make up the deficiency in cases such as these. The extent of the field to be overtaken, the sparseness of the population, and the arduous work which the ministers have to face, may be gathered from the following facts. The forty-eight churches referred to stretch along the coast line from Brisbane to Cooktown, about 1100 miles, or, if the Batavia River Mission to the Aborigines be included, a distance of 1900 miles. Then from Brisbane on the Coast to Charleville in the Western interior is a distance of

480 miles. The minister there is 165 miles from his nearest brother minister, and he again is 155 miles apart from his nearest neighbour in the Presbyterian ministry to the eastward. The minister at Charleville has to travel 382 miles by train to attend a meeting of his Presbytery, while the luxury of attendance at the General Assembly costs him a journey, going and returning, of not less than 976 miles. Those dwelling in the North come by sea, and have still greater distances to travel.

“One student, in the year in which he applied to be licensed, rode 12,000 miles, and held 100 services on the Lord's Day, besides pursuing his own studies. Another Home Mission agent had 23 preaching stations, and an area of 500 square miles to visit, and that within 30 miles of Brisbane. Of course that put great difficulties in the way of Church work and Church extension. Here were ministers, isolated from their fellow-ministers, and almost from civilisation, with long distances to ride and drive, stages to make of from 20 to 40 miles without water, under a semi-tropical sun, in all but unexplored bush tracks, keeping in the saddle or buggy from Sunday morning till Saturday night, having to prepare their own meals, and camp in the open at night with a saddle for a pillow! Taking all this into account, it will be seen that great effort and much self-sacrifice were required to keep up and extend a church. It will be seen also that the Queensland Church has been from the first, and must continue for many years, a Missionary Church.” Hence, “What is chiefly wanted for Queensland is men imbued with the Missionary spirit, willing to ‘endure hardness as good soldiers of Jesus Christ.’”¹

In 1879 a Committee was appointed for the training of young men for the ministry. A further step in this direction was afterwards taken by the appoint-

¹ Extracted from MS. kindly sent to the author by the Rev. A. C. Smith, late of Mowbraytown, Brisbane, sole ministerial survivor of the first Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church of Queensland.

ment of a "Presbyterian College and Divinity Hall of Queensland" Council, the preparation of a constitution, and the appointment of a Principal. A building was erected, and a Library purchased at a cost of about £2000, and much good work was done for many years. The building and Library still exist, with a fund of £2000. But no students have been trained for several years, principally because of the want of a University in Queensland, and the inability of the Church to set apart Professors for the work.

The Free Church of Scotland has shown her interest in the Church at Queensland, and her sense of the greatness and clamant necessity of the field, by sending out ministers to labour there, and by contributing to the Home Mission and Church Extension Fund, as well as to the College work, so long as it was carried on. She has sent a larger number of ministers to this Colony than any of the other Presbyterian Churches, the Irish Presbyterian Church coming next. Of those sent by the Free Church, five have occupied the Moderator's Chair in the General Assembly. Besides the Rev. Charles Ogg, already referred to, the names of the Rev. A. C. Smith and the Rev. Peter Robertson may be mentioned as having done good service in Queensland. The former was previously minister of the Free Church at Inellan, in Argyllshire, and has now retired, and is living in Victoria, where two of his sons are in the ministry. Mr Robertson was sent out by the Colonial Committee of the Free Church in 1873. For many years he has been settled in Ipswich, and has done excellent service there and throughout the Colony at large. He was called to the Moderator's Chair in 1886, and at the Federal

Assembly held in Melbourne in 1896, he gave an interesting and powerful address regarding the spiritual necessities of Queensland and the need of a union of all the Australian Churches. His zeal and devotedness may be gathered from the fact that during the twenty-four years that have elapsed since he left Scotland he has preached every Sabbath, twice, thrice, and even four times, with the exception of a short interval in 1886, when he was laid aside from over-work and threatened brain fever. It is to him that I am indebted for the greater part of the foregoing statement regarding the history of the Presbyterian Church of Queensland.

The account which Mr Roberts gave to the Federal Assembly of the spiritual destitution of the Colony was very painful. In the northern district, with Townsville as its centre, there is a population of upwards of 70,000 scattered over a wide area, with only five Presbyterian ministers. In the central district, having Rockhampton as its chief city, there is a population of 46,857, still more widely scattered. To meet the wants of this vast area and considerable population the Presbyterian Church has only two ministers and an ordained missionary. "The ministers are both settled in Rockhampton, with a population of 11,629, leaving 35,000 scattered over an area of 234,000 square miles, or nearly three times the size of the Colony of Victoria, as sheep without a shepherd, although there are eleven towns, one of them having about 1500 inhabitants." "In none of these districts does the proportion of Presbyterians ever fall below 10 per cent. of the population. In some it is as high as 15 per cent., the percentage over the Colony being 11·6 per cent of the whole population."

It is not to be wondered at that an earnest appeal should have been sent to the Home Churches asking for at least nine ministers to supply this wide field, with its great and crying need. Since that appeal was made matters have become worse rather than better. Two esteemed ministers were cut off by death in one week. Two left to join the Church in New South Wales. The Rev. A. C. Smith has had to retire owing to the infirmities of age. Another was to leave in June, and another had been ordered to seek a climate more suitable for his wife's health. No wonder that the greatly-reduced band of over-worked labourers feel almost paralysed, as they look upon the extent of the field and their own diminished numbers. No wonder that there reaches us from far Queensland the old Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us." To that cry the Committees of the various Presbyterian Churches are very ready to respond, provided the right sort of men will volunteer to go, and provided the Churches will supply the means of sending them to their destination, and supporting them for a year or two during the initial difficulties of their work.

It is to the credit of this Church that, weak as they are in resources and in men, they have not neglected the duty of preaching the Gospel to the heathen. They have not, indeed, organised a Foreign Mission, but under the Federal Assembly they conduct Mission work among the Aborigines, of whom there are about 12,000, as well as among the 8574 Chinese and 9428 Kanakas from the New Hebrides, who have come to their shores. Dr Lamb, medical missionary at Ambrym, bears interesting

testimony to the good work done among the inhabitants of the New Hebrides. He says that "on coming North from the Synod he met the *May*, a labour ship, at Nguna, and found fourteen Ambrym people holding a service in English." He adds, "They had learned to become Christians *whilst labouring in Queensland, and two have proved earnest evangelists.*" He further states that "the earliest attempts made to evangelise Ambrym were by natives, who had gone to Queensland to labour on the plantations, and had learned Christianity there, and who, on their return to the island, began to build a church and instruct their fellow-countrymen." Other testimonies to the same effect might be given. The whole question of the Kanaka labour in Queensland is one of great difficulty. The veteran missionary, Dr John Paton, denounces it as nothing better than the slave trade, and there can be no doubt that he did much to expose the iniquity of the traffic as it was at first conducted. It is now carried on under somewhat stringent regulations, and although Dr Paton holds that it is still an essentially evil thing, depopulating the islands and deteriorating the character of the labourers, there are others, such as the Rev. A. C. Smith, who was before his retirement Convener of the Foreign Missions Committee of the Presbyterian Church of Queensland, who contend that "the Kanakas are benefited physically, morally and spiritually by their visit to and residence in Queensland." A similar opinion has been expressed by the Rev. Robert Mackintosh, Alva, who visited Queensland on his return from the Jubilee of the Presbyterian Church

of Otago. When such conflicting testimony is given by good and true men on the spot, it is difficult for those at a distance to form a very decided opinion on the subject. Probably it is impossible to conduct such a traffic on proper principles without a strong Christian Government to control it at both ends. But this at least must be obvious to all, that the traffic must be strictly regulated and closely watched by the Queensland authorities, if the poor islanders are not to be defrauded and ill-used, and that the Churches of Queensland should do their utmost to secure, that the heathen who come to labour for a period on their lands should return to their homes, not bringing with them the vices of a so-called civilisation, but the virtues and graces of a Christian life.

PRESBYTERIANISM IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

The story of the discovery and settlement of South Australia has been told by Mr Edwin Hodder in a way that for fulness and accuracy of information, as well as for sound judgment and descriptive power, leaves nothing to be desired. It was in the year 1800 that Matthew Flinders, a young midshipman, who along with George Bass, surgeon, had already ascertained by personal circumnavigation that Van Diemen's Land was an island, succeeded in inducing the British Government to fit out an expedition to survey the unknown coast of Australia to the west of Bass's Straits. Flinders was promoted to the rank of a Commander, and the warship *Xenophon*, renamed the *Investigator* on account of the service in which it was to be employed, with a crew of picked men including several scientific ex-

perts, was put at his disposal for this purpose. The expedition was successfully accomplished in the spring of 1802, the coast line of South Australia with its bays and promontories and islands retaining to this day the names which their discoverers then gave them. It would take us too far from our present theme to describe how the *Investigator* barely anticipated a similar survey made by a vessel sent out by the French, and how in 1830 Captain Charles Sturt, sent by the Government of New South Wales to trace the flow of the waters of the Murrumbidgee, found it to be a tributary of a larger river to which he gave the name of the Murray, and which he followed till it emptied its waters into a large lake close to the coast already surveyed by Captain Flinders. The country thus discovered first from the seaward and afterwards from the landward side, was found to possess excellent natural harbours, to be richly wooded, and to have a fertile soil. It was thus a tempting field for immigration which was then beginning to attract general attention in this country, as the most feasible method of relieving her congested population and opening markets for her languishing trade.

The starting of a new Colony was however in those days anything but an easy matter. The consent of the Government to the plan of settlement proposed had first to be obtained. Then when this had been secured, after no small difficulty and demur, the general scepticism as to the future of the Colony and the want of confidence in the security of the investment, rendered it almost impossible to raise the modest sum required to meet the necessities of the

case. At length, however, all these obstacles were overcome, mainly through the liberality of Mr George Fife Angas, a wealthy merchant of great intelligence and enterprise, who started the South Australian Company on the 22nd of January 1836. But although this Colony was late of being settled, it was established upon sound principles. These principles, as laid down by Mr Edward Gibbon Wakefield were—"the universal sale of land instead of land-grants, and the exclusive employment of the purchaser's money to promote emigration." By adherence to these two rules the evil of land monopoly was avoided, a sufficient supply of emigrant labour was secured, and the curse of convictism was averted.

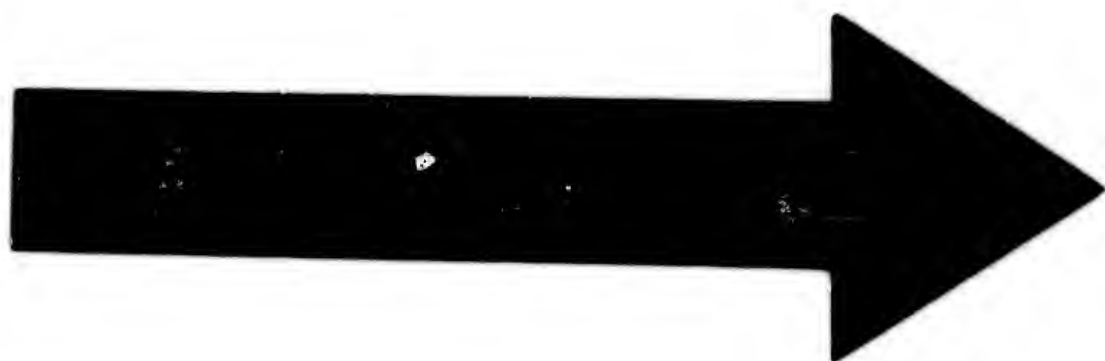
Under the administration of one of its early Governors, the Colony was by reckless expenditure brought to the verge of bankruptcy, from which it was only rescued by being made a Crown Colony and receiving a large subsidy from the British Parliament. Since that time its progress in point of population and general prosperity has been on the whole quiet and steady, without such periods of inflation and collapse as the neighbouring colonies have experienced. The name South Australia was suitable and descriptive at the first, but it is now a complete misnomer. Since the exploration and annexation of the Northern Territory, it might more appropriately be called "Central Australia," consisting as it does of a broad belt of country between West Australia on the one hand, and Victoria, New South Wales, and Queensland on the other, and extending for 1850 miles, from Adelaide on the south, to Palmerston on the north. It has an area

of 600 million acres, and, roughly speaking, is equal in size to New South Wales, Victoria, New Zealand, Germany and France combined.

The religious history of this Colony has a peculiar interest of its own. It was the firm intention of its founders that there should be the most perfect religious freedom and equality, that no sect should enjoy special privileges, that no Church should be established or endowed. Hence it has been nicknamed "The Paradise of Dissent." In spite of this, however, there crept into the South Australian Act of 1834 a clause giving power to persons appointed by the Privy Council to appoint chaplains and clergymen of the Established Churches of England and Scotland. Under this Act the first Colonial Chaplain, the Rev. C. B. Howard, was appointed by Lord Glenelg, on the recommendation of the Bishop of Chester. A strong protest was made by the founders against this violation of what they regarded as a fundamental principle of the constitution of the Colony, and in the amended Act passed soon after, the obnoxious clauses were omitted. Under the administration of Major Rose, however, who was Governor from 1845 to 1848, an attempt was made to introduce State aid to religion in the shape of concurrent endowment, and a sum of £1100, 10s. was actually appropriated for the purpose, a ridiculously inadequate dole, but intended no doubt to prepare the way for larger endowments. Accordingly in 1851 a Bill was introduced into the Legislature to continue "an Ordinance to promote the Building of Churches and Chapels for Christian worship, and to provide for the maintenance of Ministers of the

Christian religion." The Bill was rejected, and the attempt to introduce a system of State support to religion has never been renewed. During the forty-six years or more that have elapsed since then, the voluntary principle has been amply tested, and has been found sufficient to supply the religious wants of the Colony, which has indeed become remarkable for the number of its places of worship in proportion to the population.

The story of Presbyterianism in South Australia may be quickly told. It is to the credit of the Associate Synod, now incorporated with the United Presbyterian Church, that it was the first to unfurl the blue banner of Presbyterianism in that distant land. The Rev. Ralph Drummond, a minister of that Church, arrived at Adelaide and opened a Church there in 1839. After living to celebrate his jubilee as a minister, he died on the 13th April 1872, aged 80. He was succeeded by the Rev. J. Lyall who in the year 1896 had been thirty years in charge. One or two United Presbyterian congregations were subsequently formed. The Church of Scotland was represented by the Rev. R. Haining who was settled in Adelaide in 1843, and another charge was founded by the same Church in the hills a few years after. The Free Church was somewhat later of appearing on the field. Her first minister in South Australia was the Rev. John Gardner. He was ordained in Glasgow in 1840, and after a ministry of about ten years in Birkenhead, became the pastor of Chalmers Church, Adelaide, in 1850. In 1896 he was still living, having attained to the advanced age of eighty-seven. For the last twenty



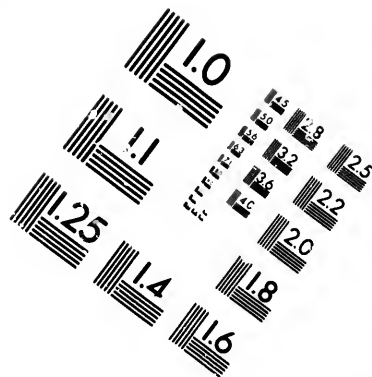
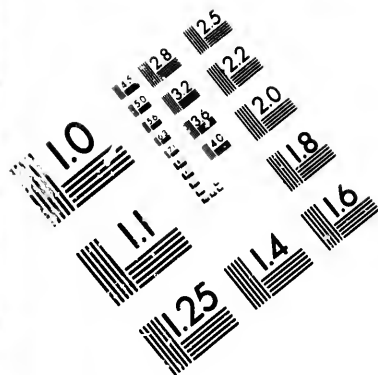
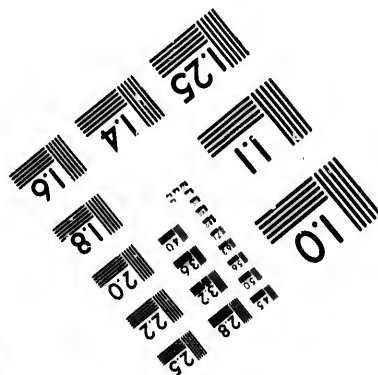
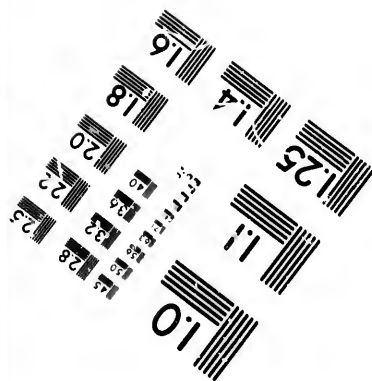
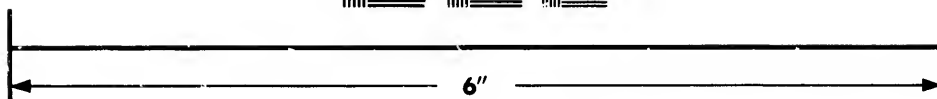
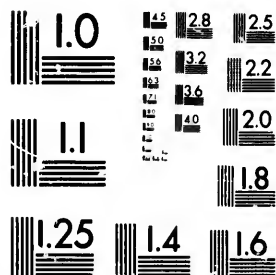


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years he has resided as an Emeritus Minister in Victoria. In 1870 he was succeeded by the Rev. J. Davidson, a son-in-law of the celebrated Hugh Miller, and on his appointment to the Professorship of English Language and Literature and Mental and Moral Philosophy in the University of Adelaide in 1874, the Rev. D. Paton, now Dr Paton, was sent out by the Colonial Committee of the Free Church to supply his place, which he has done with credit and efficiency to the present time.

The first Presbytery formed in South Australia, and the only one that existed prior to the union of the three Churches, was that of the Free Church constituted in 1854. It consisted of the Rev. John Gardner, of Chalmers Church, Adelaide; the Rev. John Anderson of Strathalbyn; the Rev. John Strachan Moir of Smith's Creek and Gawler Town; with Messrs Geo. Young and James Benny, elders. Mr Gardner, the first Moderator, after conducting divine service in presence of a very large and deeply interested audience, preaching from the words, "Behold the pattern of the altar of the Lord which our fathers made," submitted an elaborate "Draft of Constitution," which was adopted as the Fundamental Act of the Presbytery. In that Fundamental Act, besides declaring their acceptance of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as their supreme, and the Westminster Confession of Faith as their subordinate, standards, they testify emphatically to the sole Headship of Christ over His Church, and declare it to be unlawful for the civil magistrate to interfere in any way with the regulation of the affairs of Christ's House. In short, assuming the

name of the Free Presbyterian Church of South Australia, they declare in the most explicit way their full adherence to the principles of the Mother Church in Scotland. Among the various matters which occupied the attention of the Presbytery at its first meeting, one of the most interesting was the licensing of Mr James Benny, elder, who had been under Mr Gardner's ministry and had received private instructions from him for some time, and who underwent examinations in Latin, Greek, Logic, Moral Philosophy, Natural Philosophy, Theology and Church History, to the entire satisfaction of the Presbytery. Mr Benny was soon afterwards ordained at Morphett Vale, where he had already laboured with much acceptance as a missionary.

On the 3rd of January 1865 a still more interesting event took place. A meeting was held in Chalmers Church Schoolroom, "consisting of ministers, elders, and deacons connected with the Church of Scotland, the Free Presbyterian Church, and the United Presbyterian Church, with the view of ascertaining to what extent the various Churches were prepared for union. After a full and frank expression of opinion, it was found that a delightful measure of agreement existed, and that a general desire was felt that the previously separated Presbyterian Churches of South Australia should be gathered into one." At subsequent meetings a Basis of Union was drawn up and adopted, and such was the heartiness and unanimity of all concerned that in the same year, on the 10th of May, the union was consummated. Mr Gardner was chosen first Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of South

Australia. Mr Ralph Drummond preached to the assembled congregation; and Mr Robert Haining presided at the dispensation of the Lord's Supper to about 300 communicants which immediately followed. In the brief Basis of Union which was adopted it was declared among other things, "That by Christ's appointment the Church is spiritually independent, and is not subordinate in its own province and in the administration of its own affairs to the jurisdiction or authoritative interference of the civil power." It was at the same time provided that they would "receive ministers and probationers from other Presbyterian Churches applying for admission, on their affording satisfactory evidence of their qualifications and eligibility, and subscribing the formula in accordance with these articles." In this union, therefore, the principles of the Free Church were fully conserved. The Presbytery thus formed consisted of eight ministers and seven elders.

In 1886 the Church, having now considerably increased, was divided into the three Presbyteries of Adelaide, Belalie, and Onkaparinga, having a General Assembly as a court of supervision and appeal. A short but excellent code of rules, quite in the line of those of the home Churches, was drawn up for the guidance of the various ecclesiastical courts. In the year 1895 there were fourteen acting ministers and four vacant congregations, so that the Church has doubled the number of its charges in thirty years. Compared with the neighbouring Church of Victoria its growth has indeed been somewhat slow, and it cannot be said to have attained the important position in the eye of the

community which Presbyterianism holds in some of the other colonies of our empire. For this, various reasons may be given. The chief of these is the small proportion of the Scotch element in the population. In 1891 there were about 340,000 in South Australia exclusive of the rapidly diminishing handful of aborigines. Of these about 5 per cent were of Scottish origin, and being scattered over a wide area, some of them of necessity connected themselves with other denominations; while too many, finding themselves unable to keep up Presbyterian services, lapsed from all visible connection with the Church of Christ. Perhaps too this Church, though possessing an able, cultured, and faithful ministry, had no man fired with enthusiasm for Church extension, like Dr Lang in Sydney, Dr Cairns in Melbourne, and Dr Stuart in Dunedin, to rouse the parent Churches in Scotland to a sense of their duty, and to kindle in their own community a flame of evangelistic zeal. And it must be added that the home Churches have ever been too tardy and apathetic in sending ministers to those colonies where they are all the more needed, because they are less importunately demanded.

The ministry of the Presbyterian Church of South Australia, considering their scanty number, have held an influential place and done important work. Besides the appointment of Mr Davidson, the minister of Chalmers Church, to be the first Professor of English Literature and Philosophy in the University of Adelaide, two others, the late Mr Maclaren of Port Adelaide (previously of Lossiemouth and Brighton in this country) and Dr Paton, the present minister of

Chalmers Church, were chosen to act as tutors in a united College of four non-Episcopal denominations, their subjects being Hebrew, Theology, Old Testament History, and Biblical Criticism. Many of the elders of the Church have also distinguished themselves as public benefactors, but none more so than Sir Thomas Elder, who, besides importing 191 camels for exploring the waterless country in the interior, and carrying out several of these explorations at his own expense, gave the munificent donation of £20,000 for the establishment of the University of Adelaide. Since these words were written in May 1897, tidings have come of the death of Sir Thomas, and of his having left the large sum of £155,000 to religious, educational, and charitable objects. To the University he has bequeathed £65,000; to the Presbyterian Church of South Australia, £6000; and to Chalmers Church, of which he was a member, £2000.

The Free Church may not have done so much as she ought for South Australia, but she has contributed a larger number of ministers to that Colony than any other of the Home Churches. And there is one special benefaction she has been enabled to make to the Presbyterian Church there, with which we may conclude this brief sketch of her comparatively uneventful history. In 1853 Mrs Smith of Dunesk created a Trust in favour of the General Assembly of the Free Church, making over 460 acres of land in South Australia, the income from which was to be used towards promoting the cause of the Gospel in that Colony. For several years part of this income was used for Mission work among the aborigines. But in 1892 it was found that a surplus of over

£2300 had accrued which the Colonial Committee were advised that they were not entitled, in terms of the Trust, to accumulate, and it appeared to the Committee that the entire proceeds might be more usefully applied in aid of our spiritually destitute fellow-countrymen than in ministering to the aborigines, rapidly decreasing in number, and now sufficiently provided from other sources with the means of grace. Accordingly a plan was drawn up and approved of by the General Assemblies, both of the Free Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian Church of South Australia, by which, under certain conditions, the rental of the 460 acres, then amounting to about £140, and the accumulations amounting to a sum of £2316, were handed over to the South Australian Church, for the support of an ordained minister who was to devote his whole time to Mission work in a Church extension district, to be selected by the Assembly of that Church.

After a year or two of negotiation this proposed plan was cordially accepted, and the Rev. R. Mitchell of Port Augusta was released from his charge and appointed to this itinerating Mission. After experimenting for some months Mr Mitchell settled down in April 1895 at Beltana, about 150 miles to the north of Port Augusta. From that as a centre he did a great deal of excellent work, travelling within the year 1895-96, some 2500 miles, paying 1150 visits, and holding 180 services. He has been everywhere well received, and has had many opportunities for personal dealing with shearers and others, who were far removed from Christian ordinances, and little inclined to attend them. This Mission promises

to be a fruitful source of spiritual blessing in a district where work of this kind was greatly needed ; and it may encourage the South Australian Church to provide a similar agency for other fields, where the harvest is in danger of being lost, because there are no labourers to gather in the sheaves.¹

PRESBYTERIANISM IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA

This division of the continent of Australia is about 1500 miles long by 1000 broad, and its area is nearly ten times as great as that of England. It has a dry, healthy climate, with considerable extremes of heat and cold. The greater part of the soil is poor and stony, though there is good land to the West and North-East. It is rich in minerals, its recently discovered gold-fields being among the most productive in the world. The Colony was founded under the name of the Swan River Settlement by a private company in 1829. On their failure it was taken up by Government and made a Crown Colony and a penal settlement. Transportation to Western Australia ceased, however, in 1867, and the settlers succeeded in 1890 in obtaining a new constitution with responsible rule and a liberal franchise.

Amid the many claims upon the Free Church and the many urgent calls from other quarters, the spiritual wants of this Colony were for a long time overlooked. It was not until the year 1878 that an appeal for help reached the Colonial Committee, in response to which the Rev. David Shearer, formerly minister at Gateshead, was sent out to lay the foun-

¹ Mr Mitchell resigned in 1898, but it is hoped that a suitable successor will soon be found.

dations of a Presbyterian Church. It was an arduous task, for the number of Presbyterians in Perth, the Capital town, where he began his labours, was not great, and owing to the neglect of the home Churches many of them had lapsed into utter indifference or connected themselves with other Christian denominations. But Mr Shearer was the very man for the kind of work that had to be done. Besides being an earnest, evangelical, able preacher, he was a man of undaunted courage and great tenacity of purpose. Beginning his ministry in a public hall he soon gathered around him an intelligent and attached congregation. In due time a church and manse were built and paid for. A second minister, the Rev. R. Hanlin, was at his urgent request sent out to Freemantle at the mouth of the Swan River, about twelve miles from Perth; and when a third minister was settled, subsequently to Mr Shearer's lamented death after only twelve years' Colonial service, a Presbytery of Western Australia was formed in connection with the Church of Victoria.

The Rev. David Ross, formerly of Crathie, Aberdeenshire, who succeeded Mr Shearer as minister of St Andrew's Church, Perth, in 1892, has also been a faithful and successful pastor. His Church has been enlarged and is well filled, and he and his Session, being fully alive to the need of Church extension, have generously devoted to that object the grant of £100 which they have been accustomed to receive for congregational purposes from the Colonial Government. Mr Hanlin's Church at Freemantle is also fully organised and equipped with all the needful buildings, so that they are now self-sustaining, and

able to dispense with assistance from the Free Church Committee's funds.

As in Victoria and Otago, so in Western Australia, the discovery of rich and extensive goldfields has caused a great increase of the population, and that too of the very sort of persons for whom Gospel ministrations are urgently required. A minister sent out by the Free Church is now labouring in North Freemantle, one from Victoria at Geraldton, about 300 miles north of Perth, one from the Established Church in Albany, about 300 miles south of Perth ; and the Rev. D. A. Burns, late of Melbourne, was in 1896 inducted to the charge of a congregation in Coolgardie, the very centre of the gold-producing region. He has a comfortable wooden Church, well seated and well filled. The testimony of Mr Ross is that "God has blessed the people of Coolgardie with a splendid minister in Mr Burns, whom much and varied experience has peculiarly fitted for a difficult work. Certainly," he adds, "it is a sphere to call out the very best in a man. The congregation that I preached to on Sunday evening, consisting mostly of men, greatly impressed me."¹

The Presbytery of Western Australia, constituted in 1892, has now seven clerical members. Yet the first Presbyterian minister actually ordained in the Colony was the Rev. Alex. Sangster, B.D., who was appointed to the charge at Northam, in an agricultural district between Perth and the goldfields, in April 1898, nineteen years after Presbyterianism was introduced. The seven regular charges are—Perth, Freemantle, Albany, Geraldton, Coolgardie, Kalgoorlie, and Northam.

¹ Report of Free Church Colonial Committee, 1896.

"Besides regular charges there are many preaching stations under the Presbytery's supervision. Of these it is probable that two (if not three) within the city of Perth will be constituted regular charges in the course of the present year; also, that Cottesloe, between Freemantle and Perth, may likewise be erected into a charge, so that before the twentieth year of Western Australian Presbyterianism comes round, we may hope to see at least ten congregations represented in the Presbytery."¹

Thus this little Presbyterian Church, the latest formed in any of our Colonial possessions, has now fairly taken root, and gives good promise of growth and fruitfulness in the years that are to come. It was to the action of the Free Church in 1879 that her origin was due, and it is by that Church that the greater part of her ministry has been supplied. But the assistance rendered by the Established Church of Scotland, the Irish Presbyterian Church, and especially the Church of Victoria, is frankly and gratefully recognised. There have been no great events in the history of this Church, no painful disruptions, no elaborate re-unions. The recent date of her birth, after all these problems had been solved in the neighbouring Colonies, accounts for her exemption from an ordeal through which the sister Churches had to pass. Her great difficulties are of a thoroughly practical nature—how to deal with the multitudes at the gold-fields—to win them for Christ, to leaven them with the Gospel, to organise them into Christian congregations. To this work she is addressing herself with energy and hopefulness, in humble dependence on the grace of the Lord Jesus and the power of the Holy Ghost.

¹ Rev. Dr Milne Rae, in *F. C. Monthly*, August 1898. This anticipation has now been fully realised.

LECTURE VI

PRESBYTERIANISM IN NEW ZEALAND

I. PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF OTAGO AND SOUTHLAND

WE have had occasion more than once in these lectures to refer to the remarkable way in which, in the providence of God, large and important territories fell into the hands of Great Britain that seemed at one time destined to become the property of some other European Power. We have seen how narrowly Canada missed becoming a French Dependency ; and how Australia, though discovered by the Dutch, was neglected and forgotten, until it was rediscovered by Captain Cook and claimed for the British Crown. Curiously enough New Zealand, of which we are now to speak, escaped this double risk. About two hundred years ago Tasman, the Dutch navigator, anchored off its western coast, within sight of its wooded heights, but supposing it to be a part of a great Australian Continent he passed it by without further examination. In this case, too, it was Captain Cook who in 1769 practically discovered and annexed it, sailing round the islands and through the straits that still bear his name, landing at various points, and becoming acquainted with the

natives. It was at a much later period, however, in the year 1840, that the Middle Island, of which Otago is a part, was prevented from falling into the hands of the French by the promptitude of Captain Hobson, who was then negotiating a treaty with the Maori Chiefs of the North Island, by which the Queen's authority was established there. Hearing that a French man-of-war with a large number of emigrants on board was on its way to the Middle Island, he at once despatched a warship to the South, so that when the French arrived at the same place a few hours later, they found that the Queen's sovereignty had been proclaimed and had to be content with the position of Colonists under the British flag. When we think of what the French have made of New Caledonia, we may be profoundly thankful that they were anticipated and checkmated in their designs upon the southern part of New Zealand, where they would have been a constant menace to our fellow-countrymen in the Northern Island.

When Captain Cook returned to England he gave a very favourable account of the islands which he had discovered, as well he might. For New Zealand is a magnificent country. It contains about 100,000 square miles, and it is more than three times as large as Scotland. Its climate is more temperate and less variable than that of any other of the greater Colonies of the Empire. It is a land of lakes and rivers and magnificent mountains, of fertile plains, extensive pasturage, luxuriant vegetation. It has safe and commodious harbours and much mineral wealth, so that a great future may be confidently predicted for

this Britain of the southern seas. In the days of Captain Cook, however, it was a remote and obscure territory, of which little else was known but that it was inhabited by ferocious cannibals. All the efforts which he made to induce men of means and influence to colonise this new and valuable possession of the British Crown were futile. The paltry sum needed to float such an undertaking—£15,000—could not be raised, and the enterprise had to be abandoned.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century it was proposed to use New Zealand as a penal settlement, a fate which it happily escaped, principally on account of the reports which reached the mother country of the fierceness of the aborigines. In 1825 a Company was formed with a capital of £20,000 to colonise the Northern Island, but from various causes this effort came to nought. From the beginning of the present century an irregular settlement of the worst possible description had been gradually taking place at various points along the coast. The settlers were for the most part runaway sailors and escaped convicts, along with traders and adventurers from the neighbouring Colony of New South Wales. Communities composed of such elements were not likely to live at peace with one another, and were almost certain to come into fierce and dangerous collision with the surrounding tribes. It was high time for a systematic colonisation on sound principles to be set on foot, if this fair country was not to become a perfect pandemonium. Accordingly, after another abortive attempt, frustrated by the obstinacy of the Colonial Office, the New Zealand Land Company was formed, with the view

of acquiring lands by purchase from the natives and founding settlements on wise and equitable terms.

It was the experience gained by this Company in planting settlements along Cook's Straits that led them to adopt a somewhat different method in the case of Otago, to which our attention is now to be turned. At Wellington they had made no provision for the maintenance of either church or school, an omission of which the colonists grievously complained. At Nelson, accordingly, funds were provided for these purposes, but, being distributed among the various denominations, the portion allotted to each was so small as to be of very little use. Taught by these two blunders they resolved that in their next settlement one particular Church should be selected as the one to which the bulk of the colonists should belong, and to which the management of the fund for church and school should be entrusted. This resolution was formed by the New Zealand Company soon after the Disruption of the Scottish Church, and struck, as all the world were, by the heroism and self-sacrifice of the ministers of the Free Church, and the courage, enthusiasm, and energy of her people, they saw at once that these were the very qualities likely to ensure success amid the initial difficulties of a new Colony. To the Free Church accordingly the Company applied, requesting them to furnish the requisite number of able-bodied emigrants, of good character and standing, offering them land on reasonable terms, and providing at the very outset for church and school. It was first proposed that this

Colony should be planted at Port Cooper, in what is now the Province of Canterbury, an Episcopalian settlement, under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. But Mr Tuckett, who was appointed by the Company to take the preliminary steps, suggested the propriety of exploring the south-western and southern coasts in order to choose the most suitable site. The result was that the spot chosen for this experiment was Otago, the southern part of the Middle Island, where a block of 400,000 acres was purchased from the natives for £2400.¹ A few years later

¹ "This sum appears small nowadays for such a large block of land, but at the time it was considered a large price. Colonel Wakefield, the principal agent of the Company in New Zealand, in one of his letters to the Company to London, says: 'The purchase money of the block at Otago may appear large, but it must be borne in mind that the block contains about 400,000 acres, with 150,000 only of which the Company will be charged, the remaining portion being available for depasturing the flocks and herds of the settlers. It is probable that the natives would have consented to receive something less; but this sum having been fixed upon by Mr Tuckett before my arrival at Otago, I thought it better not to disturb his arrangement, and that every security against future dissatisfaction of the natives should be taken by a compliance with their expectations.' Colonel Wakefield adds: 'The affair was concluded during the forenoon, without any disagreeable occurrence, and I have never seen a more satisfactory termination of any New Zealand bargain.'" . . . "Out of the 400,000 acres thus purchased and decided upon as the site of the New Colony, 144,600 acres were selected and surveyed into 2400 properties, each consisting of three allotments, viz. ; 50 acres of rural, 10 acres of suburban, and a quarter of an acre of town land. The Company's title to the block was ultimately secured by the issuing in their favour of a Crown grant, dated at Wellington, 13th April 1846, signed by Sir George Grey, the then Governor and Commander-in-Chief. Thus the native title, and any title which the Crown possessed in the land, passed legally over to the N.Z. Company, and they were at liberty to deal with the land as they pleased."

the entire province passed into the hands of the Government by purchase, but suitable reserves were set apart for the maintenance of the remnants of the native tribes.

The Company were singularly fortunate in their choice of an agent to push the scheme, and recommend it to the Scottish people. Captain William Cargill, who undertook this work, was a retired officer of the 74th Regiment, who had served with distinction in the Peninsular wars. He was reputed to be a descendant of the famous covenanter, Donald Cargill, and he proved himself to be a wise, upright, Christian man. In response to the application from the Company a Society was formed, which was entitled, "The Lay Association of the Free Church of Scotland for promoting the Settlement of a Scotch Colony at Otago, New Zealand." This Association, after meeting with such difficulties as to become practically defunct, was revived at a meeting held in Glasgow in 1845, when the scheme was brought under the notice of the Colonial Committee of the Free Church. That Committee reported very favourably on the subject to the next General Assembly, which, without expressing any opinion regarding the secular advantages or prospects of the proposed undertaking, highly approved of the principles on which the settlement was proposed to be conducted, in so far as the religious and ecclesiastical interests of the colonists were concerned, and encouraged the Association in these respects.

If the Company were fortunate in the choice of their agent, the Colony was not less fortunate in their first minister. The Company selected for this

important and responsible position the Rev. Thomas Burns, son of Gilbert Burns, and nephew of Scotland's famous poet, Robert Burns. This choice is said to have been made on the recommendation of Mr Robert Chambers, the well-known publisher, who, though not himself a member of the Free Church, yet as a patriotic Scotchman took a warm interest in the proposed settlement. Mr Burns, though not a young man, having been born in 1796, and being now a minister of more than twenty years' standing, at once accepted the appointment, demitted his charge at Monkton, and visited many parts of Scotland to explain and promote this emigration scheme. After a good deal of vexatious delay, during which Mr Burns accepted a call to Portobello, where he ministered for eighteen months, a sufficient number of emigrants was obtained, and a sufficient number of sales of land effected to warrant the Company in proceeding with their undertaking. Accordingly two vessels set sail for Otago in December 1847, the *John Wycliffe* from London with 90 English emigrants, and the *Philip Laing* from the Clyde, with 236 Scotch emigrants. The great majority of the passengers by the latter vessel were connected with the Free Church, and every possible care was taken to secure that they should be of good character and unblemished life.

It was an interesting experiment, this Free Church settlement in New Zealand, reminding one of the little company of the Pilgrim Fathers that sailed for America in the *Mayflower* more than two hundred years before. The voyage was not without its incidents, one of which we may mention,

as showing that some black sheep will creep into the most carefully selected flock, and as throwing light upon the character of the man who had been chosen to lead the expedition. The story is told by one of the passengers, who was afterwards a member of the Provincial and Executive Councils of Otago. He says:—

“The most remarkable event that took place on board was connected with a young lad amongst the single men ; he was made the butt of one man in particular, who never ceased to domineer over the boy ; but the fellow played his joke once too often, for we were all horrified to hear that the boy suddenly sprang upon him, and stabbed him in the abdomen. The boy was instantly imprisoned, but it was found that the table-knife had doubled up, the broad point refused to penetrate the mole-skin, and most fortunately the man’s life was saved by the merest accident. A trial at once took place, Rev. Thomas Burns, judge, and a jury of twelve passengers. The sentence proposed by the jury was a severe reprimand, two days’ incarceration, and the head to be shaved. Before the sentence was pronounced, a vigorous defence was made by one of the jurymen, and a strong case made out for the defendant by showing that the lad had for weeks tried by various means to escape from his tormentor and failed ; that the rash act was the resistless impulse of a moment, which he now bitterly regretted. The judge summed up, pointing out to the prisoner the enormity of his crime, and the providential manner in which it had been frustrated, and condemned him to two days’ imprisonment, his hair to be cut quite off (not shaved) and his father to be the executioner ; the latter part of the sentence was the only request made by the parents.

“As soon as the prosecutor heard the sentence, he very impudently told the Court that he did not think it severe enough. Never shall I forget what followed. Dr Burns throughout the trial had exhibited a quiet, calm, dignified manner ; but no sooner had the bold swaggerer uttered the last word than the judge fixed upon the speaker a piercing look, and addressed him in a voice trembling with emotion, and for several minutes

he poured out such a storm of withering rebuke as made the fellow quail. He charged him in the most scathing language as the real author of the crime that had taken place, reproached him with ingratitude to God and man, and hinted pretty plainly that he, Mr Burns, possessed magisterial powers until we arrived in New Zealand; and that, if the complainant did not conduct himself better in future, he would find *that* power was one which he could not resist. I have known Dr Burns as a preacher for five-and-twenty years. I have heard splendid bursts of eloquence during that time, but never did I see rage in such a grand and dignified attitude—the grey locks, the eagle eye, the Roman profile, the right hand stretched forward, the clear voice, the trembling frame—the impassioned eloquence, and the profound silence of the onlookers, made up a picture which it is impossible to reproduce on canvas or paper. The boy afterwards became a respectable settler, but I never knew what became of his tormentor.”¹

The scene thus graphically depicted throws an interesting light on the character of him whom the emigrants were accustomed to call the Aaron, as they termed Captain Cargill the Moses, of their exodus. In some respects a very different man from his highly gifted uncle, Scotland's favourite bard, it is evident that there slumbered under a calm exterior, ready to burst forth on suitable occasions, the same noble indignation against cruelty and wrong.

The spot selected for the new settlement was a block of land at the head of an arm of the sea fourteen miles long. Here a town was to be built, which it was proposed to call New Edinburgh, though the name ultimately adopted, on the suggestion of Dr William Chambers, was Dunedin, the

¹ “Twenty-five Years of Emigrant Life in the South of New Zealand,” p. 9, by James Adam, late Member of the Provincial and Executive Councils, Otago.

ancient Celtic appellation of Edinburgh. On the 15th of April 1848 the *Philip Laing* cast anchor in Port Chalmers, the port of Dunedin, called after the renowned leader of the Disruption. It was with great delight that the emigrants looked upon the shores of the new country with their richly wooded slopes, and with not a little wonder that they saw the pilot boat coming alongside manned by dusky Maories, their chief himself with his elaborately tattooed face welcoming them on their arrival. Like the Pilgrim Fathers when they landed on Plymouth Rock, their first act was to engage in united public thanksgiving to God for having brought them in safety across the seas, and to implore his guidance and blessing in the work that lay before them. Another point in which their experience resembled that of the Puritans, was that immediately on landing they had to endure the rigours of a winter which was exceptionally severe. The settlers hastened to erect grass houses on the beach, unfortunately, as it turned out, within high water mark at spring tides. Materials for a small manse had been brought out in the *John Wycliffe*, and steps were speedily taken for erecting it on a site specially selected for the purpose. Meanwhile, timber was sawn from the bush which then thickly covered the site of Dunedin, for the church and for the dwelling-houses of the settlers. The church, a plain but neat structure of wood surmounted by belfry, was formally opened and occupied on Sabbath, September 3rd, 1848. Before that, divine service had been regularly held, for a time on board ship, afterwards in the Surveyor's Office, Dunedin,

in the forenoon, and in the evening in the immigrants' grass-houses, with the help of lighted candles held in the hands of the worshippers, as the houses had no windows.

The vigour and industry of the colonists was proved by the rapidity with which they settled down in comfort surrounded by all the institutions and appliances of civilised life. Towards the close of the year in which they landed at Port Chalmers the first newspaper appeared. By this time the population of Dunedin had nearly doubled. There were 110 houses and 760 inhabitants. With so small a reading public, cut off from the rest of the world, except for the arrival of an occasional sailing vessel, the marvel is not that this enterprise should have failed within two years for want of adequate support, but that it should ever have been started. One wonders what the editor could find to write about. It would appear that its pages were enlivened by a somewhat acrimonious discussion as to whether or in what sense Otago was a Free Church Colony—a question that might well have been left to solve itself by the logic of events.

The New Zealand Company, which had been organised, not with a view to profit, but for philanthropic purposes, was dissolved in 1850, when the Colony reverted to the Crown under the burden of existing obligations. The settlers were thus thrown upon their own resources for the maintenance of church and school. This statement, however, stands in need of explanation. The wilderness lands of Otago were offered for sale by the Company at 40s. per acre. Of this sum only one-fourth went

to the Company, the remainder being applied to public purposes for the benefit of the settlement. Of this remainder 5s. per acre was to be expended on religious and education uses. When the Company surrendered its rights to the Crown, the amount of land sold in the Otago block was upwards of 18,000 acres, for which the Company must have received at least £36,000. The trustees for religious and educational uses ought to have received the eighth part of this, £4500. In point of fact all they had received was £2651 with which they had purchased twenty-two properties of 60½ acres each. The value of this property has, of course, been enormously enhanced by the extension of Dunedin and the general advance of the Colony, insomuch that in 1894 the net revenue amounted to £3888, of which £2592 went to the ecclesiastical and £1296 to the educational Fund. The ecclesiastical revenue might have been used in terms of the original trust-deed for payment of stipends to ministers; but from the year 1855 none of it was applied to this purpose. Before this both the capital sum and the rents were partly used to supplement the stipend of the Rev. Thomas Burns, but he generously gave up his claim to this, for which he held a bond executed by the trustees in his favour, and cast himself, like his brethren, upon the voluntary liberality of the membership of the Church.

As to the appropriation of these funds to the two purposes for which they were destined, the provision made by the Provincial Council for the erection of schools and payment of teachers left them free, had they been so disposed, to use the money almost ex-

clusively for Church purposes, no definite proportion having been fixed by the trust-deed. But looking to the spirit rather than the letter of the deed, they resolved to apply one-third of the proceeds of the lands to the endowment of professorships in the University of Dunedin. Three such professorships—those of Mental and Moral Science, Physics and English Literature—have been set up with salaries of £600 attached to each. The remaining two-thirds of the revenue are applied to the erection or repair of churches and manses, and to assisting in the maintenance of the Theological Hall. A much smaller additional endowment came to the Church in the shape of three sites in Dunedin, gifted to Mr Burns and his congregation for church, manse, school and schoolmaster's house. The growth of the city, together with alterations of the streets, made it necessary for the Church to obtain power from the Provincial Council to lease a portion of these properties, and to make some change in the purposes to which the revenue thence accruing should be applied. A Bill was accordingly passed authorising the Church to use a portion of one of the properties as a site for church and manse, and to lease what remained, using the money for the erection of the said church and manse, for the erection and repair of any church or manse in connection with the Presbyterian Church of Otago, and for the erection of a college or other educational institution in Dunedin. Some have maintained that these lands are, like the clergy reserves in Canada, Crown lands, an endowment which the State has given, and which the State may at any time take away. This shows an entire ignorance of the way in

which the property was acquired. The three sites in Dunedin, and the eighth part of every acre sold previously to 1850, were a gift from the New Zealand Company to "the trustees for religious and educational uses in connection with the Free Church of Scotland"; and it is under their judicious management that the property has reached its present value.

In 1851 the population had increased so much that they numbered about 1600 of whom about 1100 were Presbyterians. The Church had to be enlarged to double its former capacity, and was no sooner opened than every sitting was taken. Till February 1854 Mr Burns was sole minister of Otago, having his headquarters in Dunedin, but extending his services to those residing at Port Chalmers, and in the district between Dunedin and Clutha, a distance of sixty miles. This entailed upon him great labour, as, in the absence of roads, these journeys had generally to be made on foot. It was therefore with a great sense of relief and gratitude that he welcomed as fellow-labourers Messrs Bannerman and Will, commissioned by the Colonial Committee of the Free Church in 1854, and Mr Johnstone, sent by the same Committee in 1856. The two former at once divided between themselves the settlements lying to the south between Dunedin and the Clutha, while the latter was inducted into the Church and congregation of Port Chalmers. These three men had arduous work to do, as pioneers in an extensive and thinly peopled country, and they did it admirably. Of Mr Will's services to the Colony we shall afterwards have to speak. Mr Bannerman has been equally loyal to the Church that sent him forth and

to the Church which he has been largely instrumental in building up. After thirty years of faithful labour, in the course of which he was selected for the honour of representing his Church at the General Presbyterian Council in Edinburgh, he was disabled by a serious accident from the active work of the ministry. He has, however, continued to take an important part in the councils of the Church. He is at present the Clerk of Synod, and the writer of these pages gladly embraces this opportunity of acknowledging the obligations under which he has laid him by supplying him with authentic and valuable information regarding the history and present condition of the Church. Mr Johnstone, though not in such robust health as Mr Will or Mr Bannerman, nor occupying such an extensive field of labour, did good service to the Church for a period of twenty-five years. He was clerk of his Presbytery, and took a keen interest in Church extension, missions and education. Shortly before his death he said to a brother minister who called to see him, "I can't tell you what I am suffering from weariness and want of breath. I am in a strait betwixt two. I do long to be filled with the Holy Ghost, that I may have more of the presence of Jesus. Oh, when you pray for me, pray that I may be filled with the Holy Ghost." Such men are the strength of the Churches and the glory of Christ.

Soon after the arrival of Messrs Bannerman and Will the Presbytery of the Church of Otago was constituted, those present being: Rev. T. Burns, Moderator, Rev. W. Will, Rev. W. Bannerman, with Capt. W. Cargill, and Mr John Allan, representative

elders from the Sessions of Dunedin and Taieri. Mr John M'Glashan was invited to sit and vote with the Presbytery as Procurator of the Church. Considering the fundamental and important nature of the subjects on which they were to deliberate, the Presbytery associated with them on that occasion office-bearers whether of the Church of Otago or of sister Churches in the mother country, probationers and students of divinity, the number of these amounting in all to twenty. As in duty bound they began their proceedings by preparing and adopting loyal and dutiful addresses to the Queen, the Governor, and the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland. With an enlightenment in advance of their times they appointed a Committee "to consider the subject of sacred music with reference to its being made an indispensable branch of education in elementary schools, and to improving congregational singing, and introducing the singing of psalms as a part of family worship." They adopted as their basis the constitution of the Free Church of Scotland in terms of the following resolution, "That the fundamental principles of this Church in doctrine, polity, and discipline are and shall be those laid down in the Standards of the Free Church of Scotland, which Standards shall be and are hereby adopted as the Standards of this Church."

When the Presbytery was constituted, it was resolved to institute a common Sustentation Fund for the maintenance of the ministry, on the model of that originated by Dr Chalmers in 1843. In anticipation of this steps had been already taken in the several

congregations, resulting in a sum being raised that allowed a dividend of £67 to be paid to each of the three ministers on the formation of the Presbytery, that is, for rather less than six months' service. The Committee which had been appointed in connection with this subject recommended that efforts should be made to provide a dividend of £300 per annum to every minister of the Church, but at the suggestion of the ministers themselves it was ultimately agreed to aim at a dividend of £200. It may be well here to indicate how this fund has prospered and what is its position at the present time. In June 1864, ten years after its origination, the number of ministers had increased to fifteen, each of whom in that month received a dividend for six months of £109, 14s. In 1874 the ministers numbered thirty-two, who each received a half-yearly dividend of £99, 4s. 5d. In 1884 there were fifty-one ministers. Five charges were vacant. The dividend for the year was £224, 4s. 3d. In 1894 there were sixty-seven ministers, including one Theological Professor and an ordained minister to the Chinese within the bounds. There were eight vacant charges, two of which have been filled up. The dividend for the year was £199, 16s. 3d., the lowest for many years. Most of the congregations give a supplement to their ministers, varying in amount from £20 to upwards of £400 per annum.

Such is the history of the Sustentation Fund of the Presbyterian Church of Otago and Southland, for this is the designation which the Church assumed on the rise of other denominations and the formation of Southland into a separate province. The fortunes

of the fund have been very similar to those of its prototype in the Mother Church. In both the wonderful thing has been, not that the dividend fluctuated from time to time, but that it maintained such a steady level from year to year, that it was so little affected by times of exceptional prosperity or by periods of depression and collapse. That the fund should have held its ground so well even in times of financial failure would seem to indicate that the Christian people regard their contributions to the support of the ministry as the very last thing in which they would desire to economise. That the fund should not have risen with a bound when the revenue of the Colony was more than doubled by the discovery of gold, may, in part at least, be accounted for by the unselfish spirit of the ministers who turned the increased stream of beneficence into the channel of Church extension instead of appropriating it to themselves. In one point, however, there is a marked difference between their experience and ours, and it is all in favour of the Colonial Church. We have been aiming at £200 a year as the dividend for our ministers during the last fifty years, but have never reached it. They have often far exceeded it, and speak ruefully of £199, 16s. 3d. as about the lowest point to which it has ever gone down.

In 1856 the Rev. Alex. Bethune, M.A., a licentiate of the Free Church, settled on a piece of land which he had purchased at Invercargill, the capital of the old Province of Southland. He regularly conducted Divine Service there under not very encouraging circumstances for four years, after which the Rev.

A. H. Stobo was ordained as minister of the congregation. At first they worshipped in a Hotel, then in an apartment in her Majesty's Gaol, then in a Store, and, on the completion of the Court-House, they assembled there, and afterwards in a School-house, till (1862) they obtained a Church of their own capable of holding four hundred people. In that congregation Mr Stobo laboured with zeal and ability till 1876, when he was compelled by ill-health to resign the active duties of the pastorate into other hands. He too, like the others already mentioned, was an admirable pioneering minister. Not only did he do full justice to his own congregation, he also took a leading part in the Courts of the Church, and laboured ungrudgingly in the work of preaching the Gospel in remote places, and organising new congregations wherever they could advantageously be formed.

The progress of Dunedin was for twelve or fourteen years comparatively slow. Yet in 1858 it had a population of about 2600. Most of these were Presbyterians, and as Mr Burns was now advanced in life some of his people became impressed with the conviction that the time had come for the formation of a second church. Arrangements were accordingly made, with the hearty concurrence of Mr Burns, for securing a suitable site and raising the necessary funds for the building of a church. The choice of a minister was put into the hands of Dr Bonar, the Convener of the Colonial Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, Dr Guthrie, and Professor Miller of the University of Edinburgh. It is said that at their first meeting Dr Guthrie expressed

himself as follows ; "Some years ago I felt much interested in a young man whom I met while attending the induction of the Rev. Thomas Duncan into Trinity Church, Newcastle. He had a strong flavour of the Grampians, and had the advantage of some travel. I would suggest that Dr Bonar make inquiries concerning his work and report." The result was that the appointment was offered to the young man referred to, the Rev. Donald M'Naughton Stuart, Minister of the Presbyterian Church, Falstone, Northumberland. Mr Stuart cordially accepted the position with all the labour and responsibility which it involved, for, while deeply attached to his people and his native land, he welcomed the prospect of the wider field and freer scope for his energies which the Colony presented.

It was a singularly happy choice that was thus made of a minister for Knox's Church, Dunedin. Mr Stuart was born in 1819 in a hamlet on the banks of the Tay, his parents being a godly couple of the best Scottish type. Having to depend on his own efforts for the means of educating himself for the ministry, he was early trained to a spirit of sturdy self-reliance. First as teacher of an adventure school in Leven, Fifeshire, and afterwards as Classical Master and Principal of a first-class school near Windsor, he acquired that aptitude for the instruction of the young which was so marked a feature of his subsequent ministry, besides procuring the funds needed for prosecuting his studies at St Andrews, New College, Edinburgh, and the Theological Hall of the English Presbyterian Church in London. Arriving at Dunedin in January 1860 he met with

a most cordial reception. A large congregation gathered round him and he was supported by a noble band of office-bearers. Conspicuous among these was Mr John Gillies, who was elected Session Clerk. He had previously held the same office in the Free Parish Church, Rothesay, in which town he also occupied the important position of Town Clerk. Emigrating to Otago for his family's sake rather than his own, he had the satisfaction of seeing several of them rise to distinction in various walks of life, ecclesiastical, commercial and legal. Capt. Cargill was also elected a member of Mr Stuart's first session, but died at the age of seventy-six before the day fixed for his induction. So great was the popularity of the new minister that the congregation had immediately to face the necessity for providing increased accommodation ; and within a year and a half after his arrival the enlarged church capable of holding nine hundred was formally opened.

In the same year, 1861, the Rev. Mr Burns, to the great gratification of all the Colonists, received the well-merited degree of D.D. from the University of St Andrews. But the great event of this year, which threw every other into the shade, and produced something like a social revolution, was the discovery of a gold-field of marvellous richness about sixty miles distant from Dunedin. The excitement produced by this announcement in what had hitherto been a quiet and staid and rather slow-going community was extraordinary. Just as it had happened ten years before in Melbourne so now in Dunedin offices and shops were closed, men

left their work and broke their contracts to hasten to the gold-fields and secure their share of the coveted prize. The land was neither ploughed nor sown, so that food had to be imported from abroad. Some of the surviving early settlers say that "it was hardly possible, at times, to find two men at church, the congregation consisting almost exclusively of women and children of tender age." The news of the discovery travelled fast and created a great excitement in neighbouring lands. The immediate result was a rush of population to the spot. Before many months had passed four thousand miners were at work at Tuapeka, where the gold was first found, representing a population of some twelve thousand people, among whom it was difficult for the officials of the province with their limited resources to maintain law and order. It was not wonderful that in these circumstances some of the miners had great hardships to endure, exposed with little shelter to the winter's wet and cold, and scarcely able to procure sufficient food, provisions having risen to famine prices.

There can be no doubt that the discovery of gold in Otago gave a great impulse to the Colony by the immense increase of the population and the development of agriculture and commerce. The miners were on the whole a respectable and industrious set of men. The Provincial Government took the wise precaution of engaging a few experienced members of the Victorian police who arrested some of the criminal classes on their arrival from the neighbouring colonies and sent them back to the places from which they had come. In this way the Otago gold-fields were less contaminated by pernicious

elements than those of Victoria had been. Still it is impossible to have vast masses of people eager in the quest for gold suddenly thrown into a country hitherto occupied by a somewhat select and sober-minded population without introducing a state of things in their opinion far from favourable to morality and religion. Certainly the way in which the Lord's Day was spent by many at the gold diggings could not fail to be a grief and offence to those who were accustomed to the quiet solemnity of a Scottish Sabbath. It was doubtless at this time that the feelings of mutual repulsion between the new-comers and the original settlers found expression in the pithy but not very complimentary epithets, "the old identity," and "the new iniquity."

It does not seem, however, to be the plan of the great Head of the Church to suffer His Church to settle on her lees. Doubtless this sudden incursion of incongruous and, to a large extent, ungodly elements, was very unwelcome to the Christian people of Otago. But it may have been the very thing they needed to rouse them from their lethargy, and to lead them to put forth greater efforts than before for the good of those around them. Certainly they rose to the occasion. All the ministers and many of the laymen laid themselves out for evangelistic work among the multitudes that were scattered over the face of the country seeking gold wherever it was likely to be found. The Rev. Mr Will was appointed to visit the home Churches and endeavour to procure a number of suitable ministers to meet the emergency that had arisen, and when the trustees of the Church declined to advance the sum of £400 to meet his personal ex-

penses, Mr Will generously went upon this mission at his own charges. It was a difficult task, but he discharged it with such prudence and perseverance that he succeeded in raising within four months the sum of £250 in aid of the fund for bringing out ministers, and in inducing no fewer than seven to come and cast in their lot with the overburdened brethren in Otago. One of these ministers, on his arrival at Dunedin, occupied the pulpit of Knox's Church for a time, thus enabling Mr Stuart to make a preaching tour through the northern districts, where the need was very great. His services both on this occasion and throughout his whole ministry as Convener of the Church Extension Committee were invaluable. They were rendered most willingly, but at the expense of much fatigue and exposure, which doubtless laid the foundation of those troubles which shortened his valuable life.

In 1864, on the motion of Mr Bannerman, a Committee was appointed to consider the question of completing the Presbyterian constitution of the Church by sub-dividing into several Presbyteries, and forming a higher Court of superintendence and appeal. On the report of this Committee it was agreed in 1866 to divide the Presbytery into the three Presbyteries of Dunedin, Clutha and Southland, to which there have since been added the Presbyteries of Oamaru, Dunstan and Mataura. It was further agreed that the Synod should meet annually in Dunedin, that it should have the direction of the Sustentation Fund, the power of sanctioning new charges, of sending to the home Churches for ministerial supply, and of receiving

and admitting any who might come to the Colony without being sent for. The first meeting of Synod was held on the 16th of January 1866, with a roll of twenty-one ministers, Dr Burns in the Chair.

The extraordinary efforts put forth about this time to follow up the rapidly increasing population with the ministrations of the Gospel, are very graphically described by the Rev. Charles Stuart Ross in his most interesting book, "The Story of the Otago Church and Settlement." It is indeed a little bewildering to one who has never been in New Zealand to follow the movements of the ministers as they go from place to place, bringing the glad tidings of the grace of God to those who have drifted far enough away from the religious habits of their youth. One cannot but be deeply impressed with the laborious and self-sacrificing nature of the work thus carried on, often in circumstances of great difficulty and discouragement. Yet it must have been very exhausting work both physically and spiritually, and this may help to account for the frequent translations from one sphere to another which seem to be one feature of ministerial life in New Zealand. It is very evident that for success in labours such as these it was pre-eminently needful for a man to have strong faith, buoyant hopefulness, and a power of adaptation to the very varied character of those with whom he was brought in contact. Take an illustration.

The Synod, after a discussion on the spiritual necessities of the gold-fields, resolved to send home for a minister who should itinerate among them. In due time a probationer arrived, a good and scholarly

man. He was located at Clyde, but the ways of the people there, especially the manner in which they spent the Lord's Day, so shocked him that he seemed to be completely paralysed. It is said that he never preached, though he resided in the place for several months. "He was really 'a good man,'" said an excellent member of the Church, "and used to go up to the top of the hill and wrestle with God." To which Dr Stuart, then the Convener of the Church Extension Committee, replied with characteristic energy, "He should have gone down among the people and wrestled with the devil too." Happily his successor, Mr C. S. Ross, was a man of a very different type. Bringing a remarkable certificate from Dr Dykes, under whom he had studied in the Theological Hall of Victoria, he was at once sent up to Clyde. Taking no notice of the ways of the diggers, he set himself to preach the Gospel, and the result was, that to a large extent the Sunday trading vanished like the mist of the morning. Mr Ross did admirable work at Clyde, Riverton, and Anderson's Bay, and he has done work not less important as the historian of Australasia, having found time amidst all his other labours to write "The Chronicles of the Otago Church and Settlement," "Education and Educationists in Otago," "Early Colonisation of Victoria," and "The Life of Dr Stuart."

It was very difficult for the Church in those days to keep pace with the rapid increase of the population, partly because probationers and ministers in the Home Church did not then look favourably on New Zealand as a field of labour, and partly because the

Colonists did not contribute with anything like sufficient liberality to the Ministers' Passage Fund, raised for the purpose of covering the expense of passage and outfit of those who could be induced to come. During fifteen years, from 1866 to 1881, some thirty commissioned ministers arrived in the Colony, besides those who came without any such appointment. But these were far too few to meet the existing destitution. Had a larger number of suitable men been sent from year to year, the religious condition of the community would have been better than it is, and the lives of the overtasked ministers would have been prolonged. The need that there was for a larger supply of ministers in the more remote districts appears from such a case as this, which doubtless represents many more. "We had occasion," says Mr Ross, "once to pass a night in the quiet hamlet of Kingston, and we asked our host to allow us to conduct a short service in his house before retiring. That, although he was a Roman Catholic, he readily allowed. In our little company there were two young men from Nevis. One of them, after four years' residence in those higher regions, was on his way to Dunedin to take ship for Scotland. He told me it was the first time he had been asked to worship God since he had come to Otago, and he had begun to think that, up-country at least, there was no religion!" The evils that have grown up in the larger centres, because the ministers were too few and their hands too fully occupied to allow of their giving due attention to the lapsing or the lapsed, will appear from the following picture of the condition of 1887 of one quarter, at least, in the

rich and prosperous and religious city of Dunedin. "One locality, full of fearful abominations, is fitly known as 'The Devil's Half-Acre.' There small and squalid huts are tenanted by forlorn-looking wretched beings, whose misery is burned into their hearts, and written in large letters upon all around them." "There are, in close proximity to our most prosperous and busy thoroughfares, haunts into which no respectable man, woman, or child would venture, unless impelled by absolute necessity or a sense of duty—these are the dens of the lowest class of actual criminals, and of those who are graduating to mastership in that school."

It was when this subject of spiritual destitution and how to meet it was under the consideration of the Presbytery of Dunedin in 1872 that the Rev. Dr Lang, of Sydney, who was present, gave an interesting address, in the course of which he urged the importance of training a native ministry. The seed thus sown by a passing stranger speedily took root. In the following year six scholarships were established to enable some of their young men, of the right spirit, but possessed of slender means, to study for the ministry of the Gospel. In 1874 the nucleus of a Theological Hall was formed by the appointment of Dr Stuart, for he had received the degree of D.D. from St Andrews University in 1872, to be tutor in Church History; and the Rev. M. Watt, M.A., to be tutor in Biblical Criticism and Sacred Languages. In 1876 the Rev. W. Salmond, who had been for seventeen years minister of the United Presbyterian Church in North Shields, was appointed Professor of Theology, an office which he continued to hold until

1886, when he accepted from the Church trustees, acting under the direction of the Synod, the Professorship of Moral and Mental Philosophy in the University of Otago. Dr Stuart, with the approval of the Committee, resigned his tutorship on the appointment of Mr Salmond, who received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Edinburgh. The staff of the Theological Faculty still remains at its original strength, Dr Salmond's place being ably supplied by the Rev. J. Dunlop, D.D., formerly minister of the Free Church in Dundee. The Students have never been very numerous, but they have been of good quality, and they have served the Church better probably than those who were not acquainted with colonial ways. And it is satisfactory to know that, although there has been a steady increase in the membership of the Church—from 6656 in 1876 to 13,011 in 1894—the increase of the ministry has been at least proportional, having risen from 3 in 1854, and 21 in 1866, to 72 in 1895. Indeed, the demand is now so far met by the local supply, that adventurers going to Otago of their own motion will not be received by the Synod, and the Colonial Committee of the Free Church have been informed that there are no openings at present even for duly accredited men.

On the 23rd of January 1871 Dr Burns, the ecclesiastical leader of the Free Church Settlement of Otago, was called away to his rest and his reward. He was a man of sterling integrity, sound judgment, deep piety, with a great love for evangelical doctrine, and a great power of applying it to the hearts and consciences of men. He was universally esteemed

and respected, and for nearly a quarter of a century exercised a commanding influence over the Colony, in the founding of which he played so conspicuous a part. In the judgment of some he may have been too averse to progress, too tenacious of the traditions of the fathers ; but there is need of the conservative element in a Colony like New Zealand, as there is need of sufficient ballast when a ship is under press of sail. Dr Burns was first and foremost an able minister of the New Testament, and a faithful pastor to his large and attached flock ; but he was also a public man, wise in council, energetic in action, intrepid in defence of truth and righteousness. His funeral was a solemn and impressive spectacle, the like of which Dunedin has seldom witnessed.

"It consisted of nearly two thousand people gathered from every grade and from every religious denomination in the community ; it numbered in its ranks the Corporation of the City of Dunedin, members of the Provincial Government, representatives of the General Government of New Zealand, the various public Societies, the ministers of all denominations, the office-bearers of the First Church, together with those of other congregations—all did honour to the memory of this venerable minister of the Gospel whose name had been, for over a score of years, a household word in Otago."¹

Notwithstanding the relief afforded by the opening of Knox's Church, and the successful ministry of Dr Stuart, it had been found necessary to build a new church for the congregation to which Dr Burns ministered. The foundation-stone was laid by Dr Burns in 1868, but he was not spared to see the building completed. On the 23rd November 1873, the new church was opened by the Rev. Dr Begg

¹ "The Story of the Otago Church and Settlement."

of Edinburgh, who was then in the Colony on a visit to some members of his family. It is a very fine building, constructed of beautifully white Oamaru stone, of the thirteenth century style of Gothic architecture, and having a graceful spire of 185 feet in height. With the gallery, subsequently added, it accommodates about a thousand worshippers.

The history of the Sabbath School has been very similar in Otago to what it was in Scotland. Each congregation, as it was planted, spontaneously set up its Sabbath School. After the lapse of sixteen years a union was formed of the various Sabbath Schools in and around Dunedin which tended to uniformity in the methods of teaching and the improvement of the teachers. Last of all, in 1873, the Sabbath School became a part of the regular Church organisation by the appointment of a Committee of Synod to attend to this matter, and, in particular, to provide suitable literature for the Sabbath School libraries. The interest of the Church in the religious instruction of the young in Sabbath Schools was doubtless quickened by the passing of an Education Act, prohibiting the teaching of religion, and even the reading of the Bible in Government schools, legislation against which the Church, under the leadership of Dr Stuart, never ceased to protest. In the matter of hymns and instrumental music, the course followed in the Church of Otago has also been similar to that in our home Churches. Both these innovations have been allowed, though not prescribed, and that in spite of the vehement opposition of the lovers of old paths.

The Presbyterian Church of Otago has not been

unmindful of the obligation laid upon her to preach the Gospel to the heathen. Her first efforts in that direction were naturally put forth on behalf of the Maoris, the aborigines of New Zealand. This work has been prosecuted amidst various vicissitudes with a tolerable measure of success, first upon the Middle Island, but latterly on Stewart Island, on which the greater number of the Maoris now reside. In the year 1868 a Mission was organised for the benefit of the Chinese, some thousands of whom, attracted by the fame of the gold-fields, were then scattered over the mining centres in the province. The great difficulty was to get a missionary. The English Presbyterian Church, to whom application was made, could not spare one of their native evangelists from their great and growing field. At last, however, a Chinese missionary from Victoria, Paul Ah Chin, arrived, and began to labour with great zeal and diligence among his fellow-countrymen at the gold-fields. After a brief ministry, however, in the course of which six Chinese were admitted by baptism to the Church, he resigned his appointment and returned to Victoria. At last, after various unsuccessful attempts to procure another missionary, the committee, acting on the suggestion of the Rev. H. L. Mackenzie of China, sent Mr Alexander Don to China that he might learn the Cantonese dialect, spoken by the Chinese miners, and make himself acquainted with the best methods of Mission work. This plan has worked well. After two years of preparation in China Mr Don entered on his work in 1881, and has continued to prosecute it faithfully for the past fifteen years, and although the Chinese

population is fluctuating, migratory, and widely scattered, his labours have been followed with considerable success.

In common with the other Australian Churches the Church of Otago has recognised the New Hebrides as a hopeful field of missionary labour lying so near that it was their obvious duty to endeavour to evangelise them. In 1869 the Rev. P. Milne, a licentiate of the Free Church, was appointed as their first missionary, the sphere assigned to him being Nguna and some of the more accessible neighbouring isles. In 1878 a second missionary was sent forth, Mr Oscar Michelsen, who had been first a colporteur and afterwards a missionary, in connection with the first Church of Dunedin. After some training in theology and fourteen months probation on Tongoa, he was ordained as missionary to that island. Both of these have been very happy appointments. Mr Milne has been greatly blessed in his work among the islands committed to his care, and Mr Michelsen has published a volume describing his experiences in Tongoa, which is almost as fascinating as that of Dr Paton himself. Besides undertaking the support of these two missionaries in the New Hebrides group, the Otago Church has taken a practical interest in the Presbyterian settlers in Fiji, and has contributed to the support of the Mission carried on by the Rev. James Chalmers in New Guinea.

In 1893 the Synod adopted the Declaratory Act of the Free Church of Scotand, which gives rather more latitude in accepting the Confession of Faith

than had been formally conceded before, though not more than had been actually taken and tacitly allowed. The Act was adopted with the following proviso, to which no one could seriously object, that in adopting it "the Synod declares that it regards the explanations contained in the Declaratory Act as consistent with the constitutional doctrine of the Church."

Negotiations for union with the sister Church in the North Island were begun at a very early period, repeatedly broken off, and repeatedly resumed. It will be better, however, to narrate the progress of this movement in connection with the history of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, in which connection also we shall consider the line of action pursued by the two Churches in reference to the legislation of the Colonial Government sanctioning marriage with a deceased wife's sister.

If it be thought that we have lingered too long and too fondly on the history of this Church, which is not yet fifty years old, let it be remembered that we of the Free Church planted it with our own hands, that its ministry has been almost entirely drawn from us, that it has continued true to the principles and traditions of its Scottish ancestry, and that it has nobly done its work amidst the chequered, and often very trying experiences through which the Colony has passed.

Before closing a few words may be added by way of recognition of the labours of two or three of the more outstanding ministers of this Church. The Rev. James Copland, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., was ordained to the charge of Lawrence, or Tuapeka,

in 1864. He was the first gold-fields minister, and his experiences were for a time somewhat unique. As the letters appended to his name attest, he was a man of wide and varied culture, but he did not on that account despise the hard and humble work of a pastor in a wide and thinly peopled district. On the contrary he threw himself into the work with great ardour, preaching regularly three times on Sabbath, and often travelling far beyond his own bounds, to bring to miners and others the services of religion. In 1867 he was made Convener of the Foreign Mission Committee. In 1871 he was translated to North Dunedin, was Moderator of Synod in 1879, and resigned his charge in 1881, to devote himself to medical practice. He did good service to the cause of truth by the books which he wrote in its defence, and by *The Evangelist*, a publication which he carried on for some years at his own risk.

The Church of Otago received no mean addition to its ministerial strength when in 1882 the Rev. James Macgregor, D.D., was settled in St Columba Church, Oamaru. Dr Macgregor had been a minister in Barry and in Paisley, and afterwards Professor of Systematic Theology in the New College, Edinburgh, when the health of some members of his family led him to emigrate to New Zealand. He was an amiable and accomplished man, a born theologian, with a keen sense of humour, a touch of real genius, and more than a spark of celtic fire. His gifts and acquirements would have given him a foremost place in any

Church, if they had not been associated with a strong tendency to the eccentric, or at least unconventional, both in speech and action. As it was, he enriched the literature of our country by valuable works in apologetics, theology and exegesis, and during his thirteen years' ministry at Oamaru he not only edified his own congregation by a style of preaching quite above the ordinary level, but took an important part in the discussion of those theological questions which the Synod had to deal with. He died somewhat suddenly in 1894.

But the most conspicuous figure in the Church, especially after the death of Dr Burns, was Dr Stuart, of Knox's Church, Dunedin. We have already referred to his early history and his arrival in the Colony in 1860. From that time onward to the day of his death he was a tower of strength to the Presbyterianism of Otago, in virtue of his preaching power, his administrative ability, his genial disposition, his attractive personality, and the enthusiasm with which he threw himself into every movement that was fitted to promote the welfare of his fellow-men. It is impossible to exaggerate the service which he rendered, as Convener of the Church Extension Committee, in providing the outlying districts, which might otherwise have drifted into heathenism, with the means of grace. But, while thoroughly loyal to Presbyterianism and to the evangelical faith, he was a man of broad and generous sympathies, who rejoiced in the good done by other Churches, and heartily cooperated with all who were seeking to promote the cause of philanthropy in any form. Indeed it is the testimony of those who knew him best, that, good as

his preaching was, and his power was proved by his gathering and keeping around him a congregation that grew from three hundred to one thousand members, making it, in point of numbers, the premier Church of Australasia, his immense influence was due rather to his high personal character, his untiring energy and his benevolent and self-sacrificing spirit.

Many anecdotes might be told illustrative of his kindly disposition. We can only find room for two or three. On one occasion, as he was returning home from the gold-field at Gabriel's Gully, he came upon a man well up the hill from Waitahuna, in a sitting posture, rocking himself as if in great pain, and groaning audibly. "I dismounted," he says, "and in reply to my inquiries he said he was in great agony and not able to walk. I asked him if he could ride; he said he thought he could. I mounted him on my horse, an arrangement being made that he was to follow the usual track, and if he reached Murray's before me, he was to hitch the horse to the fence, while I took the short track. In due course I got to Murray's, and found my horse covered with perspiration. As I mounted I took hold of my valise and was struck with its softness. On opening it I found that the man had carried off a dressing-case which I prized highly, and the notes of my sermons, stuffing their place with tussock grass. It was a mean recompense for my compassion, but I contented myself with a hope that a perusal of the sermons might lead him to change his ways."

"One day, in the usual course of visitation, he found a poor woman with scanty covering on her bed to protect her from the cold of the keen autumn

night, and he promised to do something for her. But in the multitude of his engagements the incident passed entirely out of mind until near the hour of midnight, after he himself had retired to rest. Then the circumstances of the bare and indigent home all flashed upon him, and filled him with dismay. In a few minutes he was dressed, and, with a bundle of his own bedding on his back, he was seen striding up the hill on his way to redeem the promise which he had made." It is said that on this occasion a policeman stopped him, very naturally supposing that he had caught a thief. But this may be an apocryphal addition to the story.

"Some years ago," one relates, "a very dreadful accident occurred, which resulted in the death of three children. It was my sad privilege to be with the parents and relations on that occasion. The awful shock had for the time being unhinged the minds of the father and several of the relatives; the mother was too stricken down even to move. In my extremity I ran to Dr Stuart for advice as to what should be done. I found him in his study, busy with the coming Sabbath's sermon. I told him my mission. 'Advice,' was his reply; 'my dear fellow, you need my help.' Immediately his boots and hat were on, his plaid over his shoulder, and with a big stick in his hand, we hurried to the house of mourning. When there we went about among the sufferers administering comfort. He did kind deeds so kindly. He stopped with me as long as he possibly could. On leaving he asked me to stay, even if it should be till morning; that he would come to see how we were getting on during the night. True to his promise he

was over several times during those dreadful night-watches. By three o'clock he found that the sufferers were quietly sleeping, and that he was not required further. The family was in very humble circumstances indeed, but what so especially struck me that night was his gracious bearing towards the sufferers. Had he been called to the Queen's palace he could not have been more gracious; no patronage in his words or deeds. It seemed as though he counted it an honour to be there. It was a lesson I trust I will never forget."¹

Dr Stuart was a great educationist, and was chosen Chancellor of the University, as Dr Burns had been before him. In 1876, to meet the demand for increased accommodation, a new and very handsome church was erected, capable of seating over twelve hundred persons at a cost of about £20,000. It is now entirely free of debt. As early as 1879 Dr Stuart's health gave indications of breaking down under the burden of heavy and miscellaneous work which he had to bear. His friends urged him to rest, or take a long holiday, or visit the Old Country, but he found it very difficult, with his temperament and the work that needed to be done, to act upon their kind suggestions. At last he was constrained to accept the assistance of a colleague, but his health was by this time completely broken, and after some weeks of great suffering he gently passed away, "to be with Christ," which is "far better." He said, when nearing the end, "The prayer that seems to suit me best is just the prayer of the publican, 'God be merciful to me, a sinner.' The text that keeps

¹ "Memoir of Dr Stuart," p. 245.

on repeating itself to my mind is this, 'Faithful is the saying and worthy of all acceptance, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief.' I am content now to take the lowest place in His Kingdom, and would fain creep in to kiss His feet."

The news of his death made a profound impression in the city and Colony which he had served so well. The funeral was the most remarkable that Dunedin had ever seen, for its population had greatly increased since the day on which Dr Burns was carried to his "long home." On this occasion from five to six thousand followed in the procession, and it was estimated that twenty thousand people looked on from the streets and hillsides. They buried him with military honours, as if he had been a Highland chieftain, six men of the Highland Rifles bearing his body to the grave, and six pipers and three drummers filling the air with a wailing lament, which deepened the impressive solemnity of the scene.

Men like these are a precious gift from the great Lord of the harvest. Happy is the Church, happy is the young and rising Colony, to which such men are given. It is hard to lose them, and harder still to find worthy successors to supply their place.

"The Rev. A. P. Davidson was inducted as colleague and successor to Dr Stuart in April 1890, and resigned after a useful ministry in 1894. With well-marked literary attainments and a fine Christian spirit he commended himself to a large circle by his quiet devotion to pastoral duty and his high standard of preparation for the pulpit. His resignation was greatly regretted. The traditions of the

Church are being worthily sustained by the present minister, the Rev. W. Hewitson. His sympathy and tact and administrative ability are very conspicuous, and indicate a reserve of consecrated manhood to which the whole Church looks with confidence and hope."¹ Mr Hewitson is a graduate of Melbourne University, who received his theological education at Ormond College. It is exceedingly gratifying to find that the Colonial Colleges are now producing scholars and preachers able to occupy with credit and distinction the very highest places of the field. When the Churches in the southern hemisphere reach this point, as the Church in Canada has long ago done, there is good reason to hope that they will then become not merely self-propagating and independent, but aggressive and missionary, to a degree which was impossible so long as they were entirely dependent on the Home Churches for ministerial supply.

This Church celebrated its Jubilee in March 1898. The Rev. W. Will, one of the oldest and most esteemed ministers of the Church, presided as Moderator on the occasion. Lord Ranfurly, Governor of New Zealand, and Lady Ranfurly, shewed their interest in the Presbyterian Church of Otago, and their appreciation of the value of its work, by their presence at the great meeting in Dunedin. The Free Church of Scotland, feeling that there was no colonial church to which it stood in a closer relation, deputed two of its most esteemed ministers, The Rev. Robert Duff, D.D., of St George's, Glasgow, Convener of their Colonial Com-

¹ "Fifty Years Syne, Jubilee Memorial of the Presbyterian Church of Otago," by the Rev. James Chisholm.

mittee, and the Rev. Robert M'Intosh, of Alva, to represent them on the occasion. With them was associated the Rev. Andrew Keay, of Stockbridge, Edinburgh, who happened to be in the Colony at the time. The addresses delivered by them were much appreciated, and their very presence was welcomed as a graceful act on the part of the Free Church, and one that was fitted to strengthen the bond between the Colony and the Mother Country. The progress made by this Church during the fifty years of its existence has indeed been wonderful. Beginning with one minister and one congregation, at the close of fifty years it has over eighty ministers, who exercise their ministry among more than twice that number of congregations, all having permanent Church buildings of their own. A corresponding increase has taken place in the membership and contributions of the Church. A Jubilee Memorial volume, entitled, "Fifty Years Syne," has been prepared by the Rev. James Chisholm. It is a bright and interesting book, well written, beautifully printed, copiously illustrated, full of historic detail, yet equally full of spirit and life.

LECTURE VII

II. THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF NEW ZEALAND, AND OF SOUTH AFRICA

THE Presbyterian Church of New Zealand is considerably larger than that of Otago and Southland, having upwards of one hundred sanctioned charges while the other has only about seventy. It is not, however, so compact, for it is spread over a far wider area, nor is it so strong in proportion to the other Churches by which it is surrounded. Still it has done good work and made very gratifying progress, though it has neither been nursed by endowment nor stimulated by a sudden influx of population. The Presbyterian Churches in all our Colonies hold themselves free to receive ministers from any of the sister Churches in Europe or America which adhere to the Westminster Confession of Faith, and would repudiate the idea of being exclusively connected with any one of them in particular. But it is an interesting circumstance, and very pertinent to the subject of these lectures, that the Free Church has, in point of fact, been the great colonising Church. This is pre-eminently the case in New Zealand. Not only has the Presbyterian Church of Otago drawn almost all its ministers from that source, but we have it on the testimony of the Rev. P. Barclay, formerly of Napier, that even to the Northern Church "four times as

many ministers have gone from the Free Church as from all the other Presbyterian Churches."¹

The Presbyterian Church of New Zealand does not, like that of Otago or Victoria, cluster round a single city. It rather resembles the Presbyterian Church of Canada in being spread over a number of provinces and having in each of them a central point of considerable importance. It will be convenient therefore to sketch the rise and progress of the Church in each of the provinces in detail, beginning with Auckland in the north, and ending with Timaru and Westland bordering upon Otago in the south.

In *Auckland* the first Presbyterian services were held in 1843 by the Rev. William Comrie, of the Established Church of Scotland, in the Court House, which was granted by the Chief Justice for the purpose. These services, however, were soon discontinued, and the Presbyterians had to worship in other Churches, principally the Episcopalian and Wesleyan. In 1847 they held a public meeting at which they pledged themselves to erect a church and endeavour to obtain a properly qualified pastor from Scotland. They further resolved in the first place to apply to the Colonial Committee of the Free Church of Scotland for a minister and for a grant in aid of his maintenance for two years, authorising that Committee, if unable to comply with their request, to lay their case before any other Presbyterian Church in Scotland likely to send them a well qualified pastor. In proof of their earnestness in the matter they subscribed a sum of £728 upon the spot, which

¹ "Church Work in New Zealand," by the Rev. Peter Barclay, M.A. Edinburgh, 1876. Corrected down to 1883.

was increased within a week to £1120. A Sabbath School was at once begun by Mr Matthew Whytlaw (of Edinburgh), and the Hon. Alex. Shepherd (Colonial Treasurer). Steps were taken for the erection of a church, which, it was hoped, would be ready for the minister's arrival. On the 15th of March 1848 the Colonial Committee of the Free Church appointed the Rev. G. A. Panton, on the recommendation of Mr M'Glashan, Secretary of New Zealand Company, to be the first Presbyterian minister of Auckland. Mr Panton, having been ordained by the Free Presbytery of Edinburgh, arrived on 15th January 1849, and began his labours in the Court House, as a variety of unforeseen difficulties had unfortunately arisen to retard the building of the church. He was very cordially welcomed by the congregation and began his work with every prospect of comfort and success. The church, which was opened on the 7th April 1850, and cost £3500, was the finest place of worship in the city.

Unhappily the ministry so auspiciously begun soon came to a dark and painful close. It is impossible, at this distance both of space and time, and without full materials for judgment, to say precisely who was to blame for the discord that soon arose. Mr Panton on the one hand, and his office-bearers on the other, seem to have been most estimable men. But Colonists who have had to push their way in the face of difficulties are apt to become more independent and outspoken than they would have been in the home Country; and Mr Panton, from his previous training as a teacher in Heriot's Hospital, may have been a little too imperious,

and somewhat deficient in the tact and forbearance needed for the circumstances in which he was placed. However this may have been, the relations between them became so strained that on the 25th of October 1850, six months after the opening of the church, Mr Panton and his family returned to Edinburgh.

This was rather a disastrous beginning of Presbyterianism in Auckland. But the congregation were not to be discouraged. The vacant pulpit was supplied, partly by the kindness of the Wesleyan ministers, and partly by the Rev. John Inglis, of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, whom they would fain have chosen as their pastor, but who, in obedience to the orders of his Church, proceeded, after a short stay in New Zealand, to the island of Aneiteum, the scene of his missionary labours. After an interval of fully two years, the Rev. David Bruce, brother of the distinguished Professor Bruce of the Free Church College, Glasgow, was appointed by the Colonial Committee of the Free Church, and ordained by the Free Presbytery of Aberdeen to the charge of Auckland. He arrived at his destination on the 9th of June 1853, and by his powerful preaching and his conciliatory bearing healed the old wounds, brought back those who had drifted away, and raised the Church to more than its original prosperity.

The arrival of Mr (now Dr) Bruce gave a great impulse to Presbyterianism in New Zealand. He not only took a leading place as a public man in Auckland, but began at once a work of evangelisation in the neighbourhood, so that several new charges were established during the next few years. As the fruit

of his labours the Auckland Presbytery was formed on 14th October 1856. Present: the Rev. John Macky, of Otahuhu, Moderator, an Irish Presbyterian, a vigorous man, and a good minister of Jesus Christ; D. Bruce, clerk; T. Norrie, an earnest hard-working minister who had three ordinary places of worship, and a great deal of riding and roughing to go through: during the war with the natives he was often in great danger, but bravely stuck to his post, attending to his own people, and acting as chaplain to the troops; R. M'Kinney, also an able man, who is still working in his original sphere. Along with these ministers there were Wm. Gorrie and James Wallace, elders.

In 1870 Mr Bruce visited Scotland, from which he returned and resumed his ministerial duties at Auckland in February 1872. He resigned his pastorate in 1877, in order to enter upon the work of general agent of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand. In this work he had not the success which he or his friends expected. Bad times came to the Colony, and it was found impossible to raise the funds for the agent's salary, so that the office had to be discontinued. Dr Bruce then turned his attention to literary work for a time, after which he left for New South Wales, where he is now the minister of a suburban Church at Sydney. Although his organising power has been of great service there, yet one cannot help feeling that, if he had found a suitable sphere in the New Zealand Church, where he might have resumed his pulpit labours with all his early fervour, he would have been a great power for good, and would have exercised a commanding

influence in the councils of the Church and in the community at large. His successor, Rev. A. Carrick, who resigned in 1895, was a good preacher, but neither he nor any other of the Presbyterian ministers has filled the place or done the work of Dr Bruce as a public man.

Dr Bruce did not confine his evangelistic labours to the province of Auckland. In 1856 he visited the new province of Hawke Bay, on the east coast, with the view of forming a congregation in the town of Napier. The first minister settled there was the Rev. Peter Barclay. He continued there for eight years, and did admirable pioneering work. For ten months he was alone. After that an English clergyman joined him. Their services were held in the same building, and they had the same Sunday school to manage. For about three years he did not see the face of a brother Presbyterian clergyman, except once, when one looked in upon him when sailing along the coast. He was attached to the Presbytery of Auckland, four hundred miles off, and he had few in Napier to consult with whose opinions were worth much in ecclesiastical matters.¹ At the close of eight years, not being able in so new a Colony to get proper care for his children after their mother's death, being himself in doubtful health, and having the conviction that a change of ministry might be beneficial to the congregation, he resigned his charge and returned to Scotland. He left Napier a flourishing charge, and two others at some distance in a hopeful condition. But his departure, just at the time when his influence was telling upon the whole region, was a great loss

¹ "Church Work in New Zealand."

to the Church. After the brief ministry of the Rev. G. Morice, the Rev. David Sydey was inducted at Napier in 1872, and for twelve years maintained and advanced the cause of Presbyterianism both in town and country, recovering and settling six or eight charges. Ill-health then compelled him to resign, but he still continues in various ways to render good service to the Church as clerk of General Assembly, treasurer of the Church, and convener of some of her Committees. Much of the information contained in this lecture has been kindly supplied by Dr Sydey, on whom the University of Edinburgh, his *Alma Mater*, conferred in 1895 the well-deserved honour of Doctor of Divinity. His report is that the congregations in the province, in spite of bad times, are in a fairly prosperous condition.

The first Presbyterian minister in the Colony was the Rev. John Macfarlane, who was sent out by the Church of Scotland with the first immigrants, and landed at *Wellington* in January 1840. The congregation then founded is now represented by St Andrew's Church, over which the Rev. C. S. Ogg very worthily presides. It does not appear, however, that the cause made much progress in its earlier days. After Mr Macfarlane resigned and returned home the congregation was for some time without a minister. When at length a successor to Mr Macfarlane arrived, a considerable number of the people were dissatisfied, and applied to the Free Church of Scotland for a minister. In response to this application the Rev. J. Moir was sent out, and arrived in 1854. On the 3rd of November 1857 the Wellington Presbytery was formed, consisting of the Rev. John Moir of

Wellington, Moderator ; Wm. Dron of Hutt, Rev. John Thom of Turakina, ministers ; with Mr Michael Quin, Commissioner from Kirk Session, Wellington ; and Mr Alex. Yule, Commissioner from Kirk Session, Hutt. Mr James Mitchell and Mr James Blyth, elders, being present, were invited to assist the Presbytery in their deliberations at this their first meeting.

"The Presbytery then judged it important and necessary to make a substantial declaration of the principles of the Church thus formed ; and bearing in mind the fact that all the ministers were licentiates of the Free Church of Scotland, who had subscribed to the standards of the said Church, and did still, *ex animo*, adhere to the same, as also did the Commissioners from Kirk Sessions and office-bearers acting as advisers, and that the respective congregations had applied for pastors from the Free Church, and obtained them from the same, resolved and declared unanimously :—

"That the fundamental principles of this Church in doctrine, polity and discipline, are, and shall be, those laid down in the authorised standards of the Free Church of Scotland, which standards were adopted as the standards of this Church."

The Moderator was then appointed to correspond by letters with the Moderator of the Presbytery of Otago, the Moderator of the Presbytery of Auckland, and the ministers of other Presbyterian Churches in various parts of New Zealand, informing them of the erection and constitution of the Wellington Presbytery, expressing the deep and brotherly feelings which the office-bearers and members of the Church thus formed cherish towards the other Presbyterian Churches in this land, praying always that grace, mercy and peace, may be multiplied unto them ; also their earnest desire for present intercourse and communion with those Churches as far as practicable,

and their eager hope that the time may soon arrive when they shall all be embraced in one visible fellowship, and directed by a common ecclesiastical superintendence.

Addresses to the Free Church of Scotland, Her Majesty the Queen, and His Excellency the Governor of New Zealand, were then adopted ; and resolutions anent Church property, the support of the ministry and missions, passed. Committees were appointed to prepare a pastoral address, to provide for Presbyterian expenses, and on Sabbath Schools and education.¹

The Presbytery was afterwards enlarged by the addition of the congregation of Wanganui, and by its extension so far as to include Foxton and newly formed congregations in Rangitikei and Wairarapa. In 1873 or 1874 the Rev. C. S. Ogg with the congregation of St Andrew's joined the Presbytery with the full consent of the Established Church of Scotland. Ultimately it was divided into two Presbyteries, Wellington and Wanganui.

Among the members of this Presbytery of Wanganui Rev. J. Doull and Rev. J. Treadwell may be specially mentioned as able and scholarly men. Mr Treadwell, after a comparatively brief ministry first in Victoria and then in Scotland, accepted a call to Wanganui, where he laboured for twenty years. His last illness was long and painful. He wrote to his people a solemn and touching farewell letter from his dying bed. He passed away peacefully on Sabbath, 24th January 1897, just as the children in the ad-

¹ *Precis* of Minutes of Wellington Presbytery, kindly furnished by Rev. J. Paterson, Wellington.

joining Sunday school were singing the well-known hymn :—

“ Here we suffer grief and pain,
Here we meet to part again.
In heaven we part no more.”

But the man of greatest power and influence in the whole province, and indeed in the Church generally, is the Rev. J. Paterson of Wellington, who is carrying on a great work there. His congregation built a new church, which was burnt down. They raised another, and large Sabbath school premises, said to be the finest ecclesiastical structure belonging to the denomination in the North Island. His church is full, although two other congregations have been formed out of it. This congregation gives the largest contributions to Home and Foreign Missions of any in the Church, and exerts a fine influence on all the rest.

The *Nelson* settlement dates from 1842. Its first Presbyterian minister was the Rev. Thomas D. Nicholson, sent out by the Free Church. He arrived on 18th June 1848, and the foundation-stone of his church was laid on the 22nd of February 1849. Mr Nicholson having resigned Nelson and gone to Renwicktown, one hundred miles distant, the Rev. P. Calder was sent out by the Free Church to be his successor. He arrived at Nelson on 6th October 1857, and ministered there till 3rd March 1890, when he resigned. He died in July 1892. Mr Calder was an able man, but somehow did not succeed. The church went down during his ministry, so that from being the best in New Zealand, it became the lowest. His successor, the Rev. James H. M'Kenzie, who was previously in Southland

and Canterbury, is evidently rallying the cause in Nelson, and bringing back many who had left the Church. He has a Communion Roll of 106, and an attendance of 300. In Nelson, Blenheim and Picton, new churches have been built, and throughout the Presbytery good progress has been made.

Canterbury was originally a Church of England settlement, just as Otago was a settlement of the Free Church of Scotland. And yet it is remarkable that for many years it has been the garden of Presbyterianism. That Church is stronger there than in any other part of New Zealand, except Otago. At an early period in the history of the settlement a few Presbyterians, finding that the Provincial Government were granting free sites for churches and schools, secured a site of three acres in a suitable locality in Christchurch for church, manse, and school. They then made application for a minister to the Colonial Committee of the Free Church of Scotland. The terms of this application were somewhat unique. Among other qualifications which they desiderated in their minister they mentioned the following: "He must be a really clever minister, fluent in speech, and a good extempore preacher; but capable, if it should seem desirable, of giving an occasional week evening lecture on Astronomy, Geology, Natural History, or other secular subject of popular and instructive interest." The Committee, as may be supposed, had some difficulty in finding a man, willing to go to New Zealand, in whom all these requisites were combined. They were able, however, to say that many of them were possessed by the Rev. Charles Fraser whom accordingly they sent out in October

1855 armed with the apparatus necessary for the illustration of the subjects on which he was prepared to lecture. Mr Fraser arrived early in 1856, and preached in the Wesleyan chapels in Lyttleton and Christchurch till February 1857, when his own church was opened in the latter of these towns. This congregation has always drawn a considerable number of its members from the surrounding country. Mr Fraser laboured assiduously in the province. Besides raising a good congregation of his own he planted churches in Akaroa, Lyttleton, Kaiapoi, Prebbleton, and other places, and secured ministers for them. He kept continually knocking at the door of the provincial treasury for assistance in building churches and schools. It was chiefly through his exertions that a High School in connection with the Presbyterian Church was founded and successfully maintained for many years, in which the sons of many of the early settlers received their education. Mr Fraser was an able and energetic man, but there were a good many in St Andrew's Church by whom his preaching was not relished. These withdrew and formed the congregation of St Paul's. The circumstances under which Mr Fraser's ministry came to a close in 1883 were such as could not but be painful to his people and hurtful to the cause of Presbyterianism in New Zealand.

The first minister of St Paul's Church was the Rev. Mr Grant, who had been recently sent to Akaroa by the Free Church Colonial Committee. Owing to his feeble health the congregation rather declined, and Mr Grant took ship with his family for Scotland. From the time that the vessel left the New Zealand

shore she was never heard of. The congregation, failing to find a suitable minister in the Colony, appointed a commission consisting of Mr A. Murray Dunlop, Mr Patrick Dalmahoy, and Mr Alexander Storrie, an elder at Partick, to select a minister for them. Their choice fell upon the Rev. A. F. Douglas, minister of St James's Church, Alnwick. He reached the Colony in 1871. He found the Church in the province generally in rather a depressed condition; and was able to persuade the office-bearers of the three churches of Christchurch and Lyttleton to form a Church Extension Association, which for some years did a most successful work in stimulating church extension. The congregation of St Paul's grew so steadily that the church had to be enlarged and eventually rebuilt. Before its erection, however, Mr Douglas was induced to remove to the West Coast, where, in St John's Church, Greymouth, he carried on a most successful ministry, and itinerated much through the scattered townships of the Westland province. After labouring there happily for some years, his wife's failing health compelled him to return to England.

St Paul's Church has for its present minister the Rev. Dr Elmslie. Before going to Christchurch he had done excellent work at Wanganui. He is warmly evangelistic, and has succeeded in gathering around him a large and attached congregation, in which there is a good deal of spiritual life. Unfortunately he and his people have handicapped themselves by building too ambitious and costly a church. Encumbered with a heavy debt their energies are somewhat crippled, and their contributions to Mission work have been

considerably diminished. Still the congregation is in a vigorous and healthy state, and may be expected ere long to throw off this incubus, which in the meantime presses rather heavily upon them.

The Pulpit of St Andrew's Church, formerly occupied by Mr Fraser, is now ably filled by the Rev. Gordon Webster, late of Girvan Free Church. Settled in 1887 he has carried on the work of the congregation most efficiently. The manse has been enlarged and the old church reconstructed at a moderate expense. It is now one of the finest in the country, and its acoustics are good. The congregation is more prosperous than it has been for many years. Mr Gordon Webster also promises to be a great power in the community for good in connection with religious and semi-religious questions, and the cause of education both lower and higher. He has also come to the front in the courts of the Church, and may be expected to take a leading place in any future ecclesiastical movements. He was Moderator of the Assembly in 1898.

The leading man in the Presbytery of *Timaru* is the Rev. William Gillies, son of the late Mr John Gillies, already referred to as having been Town Clerk of Rothesay in the old country, and Session Clerk in Knox's Church, Dunedin. Mr Gillies was previously minister of West Taieri in Otago, but was translated to the congregation of Timaru about 1875. Like Dr Elmslie he rather over-weighted the cause for a time by the debt incurred in the building of a new church and manse. In spite of this, however, his church is in a thoroughly healthy state, and Mr Gillies is in point of spiritual power, missionary

zeal, sound judgment, and acquaintance with Church law and practice, one of the most influential ministers of the New Zealand Church. The writer of these lectures has a very pleasing recollection of his intercourse with him in Rothesay, when he was studying for the ministry at one of our Divinity Halls, and he has to thank him for valuable material of which he has been glad to make use.

Westland is chiefly a gold-field, and has had frequent changes of pastors, with all the ups and downs of a floating population. The Rev. W. Douglas, formerly of Akaroa, has been for years in Hokitika, and is a superior man in spirit and work. Rev. John Hall, an Irishman, is doing good work in Westport. There is a large and destitute population within the bounds of this Presbytery, but it is not easily reached.

We must now consider the question of union between these two New Zealand Churches so nearly equal in strength, and so identical in doctrine, government and worship. No sooner had the Presbytery of Otago been constituted than they resolved to inform the ministers of the congregation in the Church of New Zealand of the step which they had taken, to invite their co-operation in the advancement of pure and undefiled religion throughout the land, and to give expression to the hope and prayer that "in His own good time, and at no distant period, through the favour of the great Head of the Church, a closer union of those Churches and this Church may be consummated." This was in 1854, and although two-and-forty years have passed, and the reasons for union are as strong as ever, the

Churches are still separate, in spite of earnest and repeated efforts to unite them, the history of which must now be briefly related.

Seven years after this expression of desire on the part of the Presbytery of Otago, the movement towards union began to take practical shape, the rapid increase of the population forcing upon the attention of the leading men in both the Churches the urgent importance of having a united Church to grapple with the new difficulties of the situation. The Rev. D. Bruce was particularly zealous in this matter, and his correspondence with the Rev. T. Burns issued in the appointment of a Committee of which the Rev. D. M. Stuart was made Convener. A conference was held in the First Church, Dunedin, on 20th November 1861, at which a resolution was unanimously adopted declaring that a union of the different branches of the Presbyterian Church was desirable and practicable, and agreeing to proceed to consider the basis on which it might be effected. Practical difficulties were suggested, chiefly in connection with the geographical configuration of the country; but these were got over by the proposal that the Presbyteries should be ranged under three Synods, with large powers, which should meet annually, and that the General Assembly should meet not oftener than once in two years.

The following day a Basis of Union was unanimously agreed to, and the above arrangement as to three annual Synod meetings and a biennial meeting of Assembly was adopted. A General Home Mission and Church Extension Fund was originated. The New Hebrides were selected as a Foreign Mission

field. It was further resolved to adopt measures for promoting the religious and educational improvement of the natives of New Zealand, and for training young men for the Christian ministry. It was further agreed to send down the proposed Basis of Union to Presbyteries and Kirk Sessions for their concurrence. Finally a Convocation was to be held at Auckland in November 1862, Presbyteries and Kirk Sessions to appoint representatives who should give in their respective deliverances on the Basis of Union with power to constitute themselves into a General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand. Hitherto all had gone smoothly and well, and it seemed as if the good ship of a United Presbyterianism were about to glide into the desired haven in full sail and amid universal plaudits.

But at this point a single step was unfortunately taken which arrested a movement so auspiciously begun, and prevented a union which seemed to be on the very eve of its accomplishment. At the Convocation held in Auckland on 21st November 1862, it was resolved, with the full consent of the two commissioners from Otago, to alter the basis previously agreed on to this extent : "The Directory of Public Worship, the Form of Presbyterian Church Government, and the Second Book of Discipline, are to be the standards of the Church *'only in so far as they are applicable to the circumstances of the Church.'*" No doubt this alteration was honestly made, as was afterwards explained, simply "to obviate the inconsistency between the actual usages of the Church and the usages recommended in some of the formulas

referred to." Still the language was susceptible of a much wider application, and was regarded by some of the members of the Otago Presbytery with suspicion and alarm. Nor was this altogether unreasonable, for the Convocation, having made this alteration of the basis, and having constituted themselves the first General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, proceeded to approve of the report of their own Committee on Psalmody and Aids to Devotion which recommended the adoption of a hymn-book and the introduction of two manuals of divine service, and, without positively recommending instrumental music in aid of public praise, left each congregation to act in this matter according to their own views and circumstances.

An influential party in the Presbytery of Otago were seriously apprehensive that under cover of this new clause in the Basis of Union any number of novelties in public worship might be introduced, and they succeeded in inducing the Presbytery to repudiate the action of their Commissioners in consenting to this change without again referring the matter to Presbyteries and Kirk Sessions. The fullest explanations were made by the Northern Church, and every effort was made to allay the suspicions that had been unhappily awakened, but in vain. The Presbytery of Otago, by a formal and official act, withdrew from integral union with the Church in the North, and could not be persuaded to retrace that step. Perhaps the practical illustration thus given of the difficulty of having their views adequately represented in a General Assembly convened at a place so distant as Auckland may have had some-

thing to do with their resolution to rest satisfied meanwhile with a union of co-operation.

In 1870 the desire for closer relations with the Church of Otago was again expressed by the northern Church, and in 1871 the Synod of Otago and Southland responded to these overtures by appointing a Committee to confer with the Union Committee already appointed by the Assembly of the Church of New Zealand. The Synod approved generally of the basis recommended by the Committee which the Assembly of the sister Church had accepted, though feeling it to be meagre, and it was remitted to Kirk Sessions through Presbyteries for their consideration. In September 1876 the Synod held a special meeting to receive returns, that the Assembly might consummate the union in January 1877, should the decision of the southern Church be favourable. It was found that twenty-five Kirk Sessions were in favour of the union and eleven against it. This seemed to the majority to justify them in going forward. But the opposition of a considerable and highly respectable minority had now evidently hardened into a fixed and inflexible determination to prevent this union from taking place. That this language is not too strong is evident from the fact that their objections were purely formal, not material. They had nothing to say against the proposed basis, but took their stand upon the more technical ground, that the decision of the Presbyteries was not in favour of union, the fact being that it was not *to* them, but *through* them to the Sessions that the appeal was made. Yet so vehement was their opposition that they actually protested against the discussion going

forward, declaring their intention to retire, and threatening legal proceedings. In these circumstances the majority felt that they had no alternative but to find that it was inexpedient to proceed further in the matter of union on the proposed basis at the present time. Thus ended the second attempt at the union of the Churches.

Three years after this the subject was made prominent in the speeches of the deputies from the north to the Synod of Otago, the addresses of the Rev. D. Sydney being a specially powerful plea for union.

In the following year, 1881, after a vigorous debate, the Synod again appointed a Committee to confer with a corresponding Committee of the other Church. That Church made every possible concession, even to the extent of agreeing that Dunedin should be the headquarters of the united body. At the meeting of Synod in 1885 it was found that, while twenty-two Kirk Sessions and three Presbyteries approved of the union on the proposed basis, fourteen Sessions and two Presbyteries were adverse to it, and again the project had to be reluctantly abandoned.

At last, in 1893, for the fourth time these negotiations were resumed, on this occasion at the instance of the Synod of Otago. Taught by former experience of hopeful commencement and disappointing collapse there was no attempt to rush the matter to a settlement, but a careful consideration of every step, and a patient removal, one by one, of the various hindrances in the way of the desired consummation. These hindrances were of a peculiar nature, quite different from those which delayed the union of

Presbyterianism in other colonies. For in New Zealand it was not a question of an incorporating union of three distinct denominations with different traditions, occupying the same territory. It was a question of uniting into one two Churches in adjacent territories, each of them containing the three shades of Presbyterianism which in the Australian Colonies had been separately organised. There could not, therefore, be any difficulty here on the subject of spiritual independence, or the relation of the civil magistrate to religion and the Church.

The obstacles to union in the case of the two New Zealand Churches were threefold. In the first place the Church of Otago, having originated in connection with a distinctively Free Church settlement, had certain lands bestowed upon it for religious and educational purposes, which are now of considerable value. The members of that Church were apprehensive lest, in the event of a union, this property should be claimed by the united Church, and should be, to some extent, diverted from the purposes to which it had hitherto been applied. In the second place some of the brethren in the South were dissatisfied with the attitude of the Northern Church in relation to the question of marriage with a deceased wife's sister. Some years ago this marriage, which is still illegal in Great Britain and Ireland, was legalised in New Zealand. The question immediately arose in the Churches: Were they, or were they not, to discipline any of their members who contracted such marriages, permitted by the law of the land, but

forbidden by the Confession of Faith? The Northern Church came very early to the conclusion that they would treat the subject as a matter of forbearance, in connection with which they would not put any of their members under discipline. Many in the Southern Church were so strongly opposed to this line of procedure that they were unwilling to unite with a Church which they regarded as having unduly relaxed the terms of Christian communion. In the third place it was objected that, owing to the extent of territory that will be covered by the united Church, it would be impossible for ministers and elders to attend in sufficient numbers the meetings of the General Assembly.

All these objections to union have now been completely removed. A Basis of Union has been drawn up, adopted by the supreme courts of both the Churches, and sent down to Presbyteries and sessions for their approval. In that basis it is provided that "inasmuch as the Synod of Otago and Southland owns and administers trust properties and funds, these shall remain its own exclusive property, and it shall continue in full possession of all the rights pertaining to it in this respect with power to meet from time to time for the due administration of its trusts." Thus the first difficulty has been removed. But to make assurance doubly sure, and prevent the possibility of a dissentient minority of the Southern Church claiming this property, it has been determined to seek the sanction of the legislature to the proposals for union.

In the next place there has grown up a feeling in the Southern Church that the marriage, to which they formerly felt so great a repugnance, is perhaps not so clearly unscriptural as they once supposed it to be. The result has been that the Synod of Otago and Southland resolved to grant the same liberty to their members as the Northern Church has done in the matter of marriage with a deceased wife's sister. Whatever may be thought of this step in other respects it has certainly removed one serious obstacle to the union of the Churches.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand has not been slow to reciprocate this action by taking a step fitted still further to facilitate the object which both Churches have in view. In 1893 the Synod of Otago and Southland adopted the Declaratory Act of the Free Church of Scotland, declaring that they regarded its explanations as consistent with the doctrinal constitution of their Church. The Northern Church did not need to adopt that Act because they had already granted to their office-bearers at least as great liberty in accepting the Confession of Faith by an alteration of the formula, requiring them only to "accept the *system of doctrine* contained in the Confession of Faith." Nevertheless, to bring themselves more thoroughly into line with their brethren in the South, and to facilitate the union by taking the same standards with the same qualification, at the meeting of their General Assembly in February 1896, they cordially approved of the following recommendation of their Committee on union: "That inasmuch as the Church of Otago and Southland has definitely decided to grant the liberty allowed

in this Church, in the matter of marriage with a deceased wife's sister, this Church should now take the steps necessary for the adoption of the Declaratory Act of the Synod as an exhibition of the sense in which the office-bearers may interpret their Confession of Faith."

As to the third objection to union it is very difficult to take it seriously. It should have been brought forward, not at the present stage of the negotiations, but as a preliminary bar to the consideration of the question. The physical configuration of the country, its division into two large islands by Cook's Strait, and the distance between Dunedin and Wellington, Auckland and Christchurch, were perfectly well known by the members of the Southern Church in 1893, when they approached their brethren in the North with proposals for union. It is preposterous, therefore, to break off these negotiations on the ground of the difficulty of attending the Supreme Court of the united Church. This difficulty has, however, been minimised by the Church of New Zealand agreeing that ordinarily the Assembly shall meet alternately in Dunedin and in Wellington; and that, to secure a satisfactory attendance, each Presbytery of the united Church shall appoint one-half of the number of their ministers, and as many elders, whose travelling expenses to and from the General Assembly shall be paid from the Assembly Expenses Fund.

It has also been agreed that Dunedin shall be the seat of the Theological Hall, and that the appointment and removal of theological professors shall remain with the Synod of Otago and Southland in terms of the Act, 1886, although it is stipulated

that, as the whole Church has a deep interest in this matter, the Assembly and Synod should act harmoniously. Accordingly, before any such appointment or removal is made, the mind of the General Assembly shall be ascertained.

At the meeting of the Synod of Otago and Southland, held in October 1898, the party opposed to union on the present basis was rather stronger than before. In addition to the points already indicated, they insisted, as a condition of union, that the General Assembly of the united Church should be representative and not cumulative, and that the Synod of Otago should continue to be an ecclesiastical court, with distinct functions of its own, though subordinate to the Supreme Court, or General Assembly. It would seem from the number of those who voted in favour of this proposal that, unless it be conceded by the Northern Church, the union will be indefinitely postponed. And we must say that it has a good deal to recommend it, provided the functions of the Synods—for there must be one, if not two, in the North, if there is to be one in the South—be carefully limited and defined.

Let us hope that both Churches will manifest a spirit of conciliation and concession, so that the day may not be far distant when the two, like Northern Israel and Southern Judah, shall become "one stick" in the hand of the Lord, and the Mother Churches in this land shall have another illustration among their own daughters of "how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity," and another reproof for their tardiness in following their good example. But especially for the sake of the

Churches themselves, and the cause of Christ in New Zealand, is this union greatly to be desired. For, as Mr Ross in his interesting narrative truly says: "Under the beneficent influences of union we believe the Churches in New Zealand would rapidly pass into a new condition of coherence, strength, and maturity. Without sacrificing any principle, or surrendering any historic quality, they would assume a new position, and enter upon a grander career, in which they would be in living touch with the great social, educational, and political questions of the day."

PRESBYTERIANISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

To venture even on the merest outline of the strangely chequered history of the Cape Colony—its discovery by the Portuguese, its appropriation by the Dutch; how it fell into the hands of our countrymen; how we managed or mismanaged its affairs; how it has extended to the North and East and attracted the attention of the civilised world—would detain us too long, and divert us too far, from our present purpose. We may not even attempt to describe the constitution or narrate the history of the Dutch Reformed Church, though it is by far the largest Presbyterian body in Southern Africa, for we must confine ourselves to the case of our own fellow-countrymen in the Colonial field. At one point, however, the two spheres touched one another, and here our narrative may begin.

"When Cape Colony was taken by the British from the Dutch they found that their predecessors had set up a Presbyterian establishment there which could not easily be displaced.

It was, however, deemed politic to supply vacancies in its ministry, as they arose, from Scotland instead of from Holland ; and about 1820 the Rev. Dr Thom, one of the leading men in the Cape establishment, was despatched to Scotland for a supply of ministers."

Such is the account given of the matter by the Rev. Robert Hunter, M.A., in his "History of the Missions of the Free Church of Scotland in India and Africa." The Rev. Dr Dalzell, of the Gordon Memorial Mission, in a paper kindly supplied to the writer, assigns another motive for this Mission. He says that "owing to the ever increasing 'Liberalism' in doctrine of the Dutch Reformed Church in Holland, from among whom the vacancies of the Cape Church were filled, the fear was great that evangelical doctrine would be completely submerged. Earnest men therefore looked to Scotland for young ministers, inasmuch as the Scotch Church was at one with themselves in doctrine and Church government, and the tide of evangelicalism was then rising." These views are not incompatible, and it is probable that both are true. Eleven ministers were then obtained from Scotland, and the number was afterwards increased. Conspicuous among these was the Rev. Dr Robertson, of Cape Town, who for many years was a tower of strength to evangelicalism in the Cape Colony, and the Rev. Andrew Murray, the father of a family that counts among its members the late Professor John Murray, of the Cape Theological College, Stellenbosch, the well-known Andrew Murray, William Murray, of Wellington, founder of an institution for deaf and dumb mutes, Worcester, and Charles Murray, the active promoter of the Midlands High

School for girls in Graafrinet. The influence of these ministers from Scotland made itself felt in the increase of religious life, the perfecting of the Church's organisation by the revival of meetings of Synod, and the vindication of its spiritual independence.

Prior even to this infusion of a Scottish element into the ministry of the Dutch Reformed Church what may be regarded as the first British Presbyterian congregation in the Colony was constituted in a somewhat remarkable way. The Sutherland Fencibles, raised in 1793, and enrolled as the 93rd Regiment in 1800, were stationed at the Cape about the beginning of this century. Anxious to enjoy religious privileges in the form to which they had been accustomed they formed themselves into a congregation, elected elders of their own number, engaged the Rev. Mr Thom to be their minister, paying him a stipend collected among themselves, and had divine service performed according to the ritual of the Church of Scotland. Their conduct, says General Stewart of Garth, was so exemplary that "disgraceful punishment was as unnecessary as it would have been pernicious. Indeed, so remote was the idea of such a measure in regard to them, that when punishments were to be inflicted on others, and the troops in camp, garrison, or quarters assembled to witness the execution, the presence of the Sutherland Highlanders was dispensed with; the effect of terror, as a check to crime, being in their case uncalled for, as *examples of that nature were not necessary for such honourable soldiers.*"¹

¹ "Sutherland as it was and is," p. 402 of Volume of "Leading Articles on Various Subjects," by Hugh Miller.

Hear what the minister says of this remarkable congregation :—

“When the 93rd Highlanders left Cape Town last month there were among them 156 members of the Church (including 3 elders and 3 deacons) all of whom, so far as man can know the heart from the life, were pious persons. The regiment was certainly a pattern for morality and good behaviour to every other corps. They read their Bibles; they observed the Sabbath; they saved their money in order to do good; 7000 rix dollars (£1400 currency) the non-commissioned officers and privates gave for books, societies, and the support of the Gospel, a sum perhaps unparalleled in any other corps in the world, given in the short space of seventeen or eighteen months. Their example had a general good effect on both the colonists and heathen. How they may act as to religion in other parts is known to God; but if ever apostolic days were revived in modern times on earth, I certainly believe some of these to have been granted to us in Africa.”¹

The first Presbytery in South Africa, outside of the Dutch Reformed Church, was constituted in Kaffraria in 1824 by missionaries sent out by the Glasgow Missionary Society. As its members belonged to different sections of the Scottish Church it took up an independent position unconnected with any of the Church Courts in Scotland. The primary work of these missionaries was the conversion of the natives to the Christian faith, but they could not see the gradual increase of a European population without doing what in them lay to organise them into congregations and supply them with the means of grace. In 1837 the voluntary controversy in Scotland led to the division of the Missionary Society into two parts,

¹ Letter from Rev. Mr, afterwards Dr Thom, in *Christian Herald* of October 1814.

and to a corresponding division of the Presbytery in the Mission Field.

"The oldest Presbyterian Church for Europeans now existing is St Andrew's Church, Cape Town, which was opened in 1828."¹ In 1838 it originated a mission among the liberated slaves, the fruit of which is the coloured congregation of St Stephen's, Riebeck Square. Since 1882 the increase of the population has led to the formation of three other congregations, which, with the parent Church of St Andrew's, now constitute the Presbytery of Cape Town. St Andrew's Church has for its ministers the Rev. John M. Russell, B.D., and the Rev. David Russell, both excellent and able men.

The Presbyterian Church in Port Elizabeth had for its first minister the Rev. George Renny of the Free Church, Aberlemno, afterwards of Wick, who was followed in 1869 by the Rev. D. Walker. After his return to Scotland in 1872 the congregation was served by ministers connected with the Established and United Presbyterian Churches till the close of 1897, when the Rev. James M'Robert, of Levenside Free Church, Renton, was appointed to the charge. It has now been added to the Presbytery of Cape Town. In Kaffraria the Free Church has been instrumental in setting up the congregations of Fort Beaufort and Alice in the neighbourhood of Lovedale, of King William's Town, of which the Rev. J. D. Don, formerly a missionary in India, is now the able and accomplished minister ;

¹ Extracted from a paper by the Rev. J. D. Don in the *Christian Express*, Lovedale, April 1, 1896, to which the author is indebted for valuable information.

of East London East, and East London West, the former under the ministry of the Rev. J. T. Ferguson, the latter under that of the Rev. Wm. Struthers, M.A.

The first Scottish Presbyterian minister in Natal was the Rev. Wm. Campbell, formerly of Alexandria Free Church, who arrived in the Colony in 1850, and entered on his work at Pietermaritzburg in March 1851. With the help of the Rev. Daniel Lindley, American missionary, and Rev. Dr Faure, Dutch Reformed Church, the Presbytery of Natal was formed in 1852. "In May 1863 a congregation was formed at Durban by the Rev. John Buchanan, formerly of Bothwell, Scotland, who had come to Natal for the sake of his health."¹ In 1865 the Rev. Jas. Patton, Free Church probationer, was associated with him in Durban and Addington, and the Rev. John Smith with Mr Campbell in the charge at Maritzburg. Since that time new congregations have been formed in Maritzburg, Durban, Richmond, Umgeni, and elsewhere, so that there are now ten congregations in the Presbytery, each with its minister, session, and Board of Managers. The total number of members is over 1100; they support a native mission, and have Sabbath schools, Bands of Hope, and all the other organisations with which we are familiar at home. By far the greater number of the ministers in these South African Churches have been supplied through the agency of the Colonial Committee of

¹ Extracted from a paper by the Rev. John Smith, M.A., Pietermaritzburg, in the *Christian Express*, to which the author is glad to acknowledge his obligations.

the Free Church. Nor has that Committee turned a deaf ear to the appeals addressed to them for help in more distant regions. In the Orange Free State they are represented by the Rev. J. T. Porteous and the Rev. Mr Guthrie at Harrismith and Bloemfontein respectively, and they have co-operated with the Irish Presbyterian Church in sending the Rev. Mr Warrack to a new charge at Kronstadt. In the Transvaal they have done still more. Presbyterianism is there ably represented at Pretoria by the Rev. James Gray, who is on the most friendly terms with the ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church; at Johannesburg by the Rev. Mr Lloyd, the Rev. R. B. Douglas, and the Rev. A. Brown; at Germiston by the Rev. W. Mackintosh; at Boksburg by the Rev. Mr Greenfield; and by the Rev. Mr Hamilton at a new charge upon the Rand. With the exception of three or four all these ministers hail from the Free Church. That Church has usually paid the travelling expenses of those whom she has sent forth, and has in many cases added a grant or a guarantee for a certain number of years, to secure to the minister a sufficient income until the charge is strong enough to be self-sustaining. She has always acted in full concurrence with the local Presbytery. The Transvaal Presbytery has set up a Church in Buluwayo, the Rhodesian capital, where it has secured one of the best sites on the market square, and it has now obtained as its minister the Rev. J. T. Jones, M.A., formerly of Addiewell.

It has long been felt that the cause of Presbyterianism in South Africa has suffered from its

scattered and disunited condition. Hence there has arisen a very general desire for a visible and comprehensive union. A considerable impulse was given to this movement by the visit of the Rev. G. D. Mathews, D.D., Secretary to the Alliance of Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System at King William's Town. On the fourth day of July 1894 a proposed Basis of Union was drawn up, consisting of four Articles, defining—1. The name to be given to the United Church; 2. Its Doctrinal Standards; 3. Its Government; 4. Its Membership. These Articles were revised in July 1896, and sent down to congregations and Presbyteries for approval. They are judiciously brief, being as follows:—

1. The name of the United Church is "The Presbyterian Church of South Africa."

2. The Word of God as contained in the Old and New Testaments is the Supreme Rule of Faith and Practice in this Church. Adhering to the system of Doctrine contained in the Westminster and other Confessions of the Reformed Church, we accept and hold as our Subordinate Standard the Twenty-four "Articles of the Faith" of the Presbyterian Church of England as a statement of the leading doctrines taught in Scripture.

3. The Presbyterian form of Church Government is held to be founded on, and agreeable to the Word of God.

4. Membership in this Church is based upon an intelligent profession of faith in Christ, sustained by a life consistent therewith.

5. The Formulas used by this Church in the Ordination and Induction of Ministers, Elders, etc.,

shall refer to the "Appendix" to the "Articles of the Faith," as expressing the general opinion and belief entertained on the matters to which they refer.

It will be noted that there is no explicit reference here to the thorny question of the relation of the Civil Magistrate to the Church, whether in the way of repudiating his interference in spiritual things, or disclaiming intolerant or persecuting principles, alleged by some to be embodied in the Confession of Faith. The reason for this is obvious. There is no civil establishment of religion among the English-speaking inhabitants of South Africa, each religious denomination being left to depend on its own resources, and no favour being shown to one more than another.¹ In these circumstances there was no call upon the Church to assert an independence which was not disputed, or to disclaim principles which no one suspected her of holding. It is, however, a curious and interesting circumstance that the 4th Article as drafted in 1894, ran thus :—"Membership in this Church is based on an intelligent profession of faith in Christ, a life consistent therewith, and *an active interest in the Church's well-being and prosperity.*" This last clause was dropped from the Article when put into its final form. Perhaps it was felt that it was somewhat hazardous at this time of day to adopt an entirely new term of communion, and that it was safer to say in general terms that a profession of faith in Christ, besides being intelligent, must be sustained by a life con-

¹ Concurrent endowment of the various Churches prevails to a very limited extent, but is being gradually withdrawn, and will soon cease.

sistent therewith. Still, one cannot help sympathising with the feeling that dictated the addition of the clause which has now been suppressed. It showed a keen sense of the importance of every member of the Church being in full sympathy with the Church's work, and doing his part to make that work successful. May we not augur well for a union prosecuted in such a spirit and with such an aim? The constitution further provided that, besides a General Assembly meeting on such dates and at such places as may be agreed upon from time to time, there shall be four Synods, which shall meet, if possible, at least once a year. The Synod of the north to include the Presbyteries of Natal and Transvaal; the Synod of Transkei, the two Presbyteries of Transkei, Free Church and United Presbyterian; the Synod of the east, the Presbyteries of Kaffraria and Adelaide; the Synod of the west, the Presbytery of Cape Town and the congregation of Port Elizabeth. The aggregate strength of the Churches contemplating union is about thirty colonial congregations, and twenty-five congregations with a native membership.

As usually happens in arranging ecclesiastical unions, difficulties arose which it required all the wisdom and patience of the negotiating parties to surmount. These were not of a doctrinal, but entirely of a practical nature. It is unnecessary to say more about them, for things have latterly moved so fast that they bid fair to become mere long matters of ancient history. At the meeting of the Federal Council of the Presbyterian Churches of South Africa, held at Durban on 17th September

1897, four congregations of Cape Town, eight of the Transvaal, nine of Kaffraria, eleven of Natal, and one of Port Elizabeth agreed to unite. This was a large instalment of the desired union, though it was a matter of sincere regret that the Adelaide, Kaffraria and Transkei Presbyteries had for the time to be left out. This union, however, partial and imperfect as it was, put fresh life into the uniting Churches, and inspired them with a firm determination to care for the little groups of Presbyterians scattered over the vast territory for which they have made themselves responsible. In proof of this, it may be mentioned that they at once pledged themselves to raise within two years not less than £10,000 for Church Extension in South Africa, and released their Moderator, the Rev. John Smith, M.A., from congregational duty for three months, that he might visit the various churches throughout the land.

The second General Assembly of this Church was held at Cape Town on Thursday, the 8th of September 1898, under the Moderatorship of the Rev. J. M. Russell, B.D. The proceedings were of a very gratifying nature. Three Presbyteries and two congregations joined the union—the Presbytery of Adelaide, the European congregations in the Presbytery of Kaffraria, who were formed into the Presbytery of Kingwilliamstown, the new Presbytery of Orange Free State, and the congregations of Elizabeth and Buluwayo, these being added to the Presbyteries of Adelaide and Natal. The Rev. T. B. Porteous gave in a most encouraging report on behalf of the Church Extension Committee, of which he is the energetic Convener, showing that ground

had been broken at a number of new points, services either stated or occasional being held, and that he had had correspondence with ten young ordained ministers and six probationers during the year, nearly all of whom offered their services to the Church.

Let us hope that the comparatively small number of congregations that still stand aloof will soon see their way to join the united Church, and aid their brethren in overtaking the great spiritual destitution that still prevails. And let us further indulge the hope, that at no distant day the Dutch Reformed Church, which is so large and powerful that it may be regarded as the National Church of the Colony, will see its way, notwithstanding the barrier of language, to coalesce with the more scattered Churches of Scottish origin now gathered into one, so that that great country, so often torn with dissension, and deluged with blood, may be covered with a strong Missionary Presbyterian Church, under whose shadow men of every clime and colour will dwell together in unity and peace.

LECTURE VIII

PRESBYTERIANISM IN BERMUDA, BELIZE, TRINIDAD, GIBRALTAR AND MALTA

BESIDES the Presbyterian Churches organised in the larger Colonies, there are sundry isolated stations where our countrymen have had the means of grace provided for them in the form to which they have been accustomed, chiefly by the Free Church of Scotland. It would be ungracious to pass them over. Though small, they are by no means unimportant, and a word of kindly recognition from the Church at home is peculiarly needed by labourers in remote and lonely spots. Of these scattered Presbyterian congregations the following may be mentioned : Bermuda, Belize, Trinidad, Gibraltar, Malta, Odessa, Bombay, Calcutta, Rangoon, Singapore, and Penang. For various reasons we must restrict our attention to the first five.

I. BERMUDA.

This island in mid-Atlantic is one of the smallest, yet one of the oldest, of our Colonial possessions. The shipwreck of Sir George Somers there in 1609 was the occasion of its being colonised from Virginia in the following year. The church in which the congregation at Warwick still worships was erected in 1719, and is therefore the oldest Presbyterian

Church building in the British Colonies. But the congregation itself is much older than the church, dating as far back as 1612. An attempt was indeed made by the late General Lefroy, in his "History of Bermuda," to prove that the Church in Bermuda was from the beginning a part of the Episcopal Church of England. But the futility of this attempt has been clearly evinced in an article in *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review* of October 1896, written by the Rev. W. Robson Notman, M.A., who was for several years the minister of our congregation there. The facts of the case are briefly these: The only ministers in Bermuda from 1612 to 1620 were Mr Keith, who was a Scotchman, and Mr Lewis Hughes, who was either Scotch or Welsh. The Church was governed by elders. Neither of these ministers would subscribe the Book of Common Prayer, or use the Liturgy of the Church of England. To meet their scruples, the Governor proposed the adoption of the Liturgy of Jersey and Guernsey, which was that of Calvin and Knox. To this they heartily agreed, and accordingly this Presbyterian Liturgy was used during Governor Butler's residence, and probably for some time afterwards. The precise date of its withdrawal is unknown. In 1644 the three ministers of Bermuda, having declared for Independency, retired from their parochial charges. Their followers, not being many, were organised into a single congregation, of which the Rev. Nathaniel White was chosen pastor, the other two ministers consenting to act as deacons. The non-seceders sent to England for ministers who were prepared to conduct the services in accordance with the forthcoming "Directory of the Westminster

Divines." Hence, during the Commonwealth the incumbents of the Parish Churches were of a pronounced Presbyterian type. After the Restoration, and during the remainder of the seventeenth century, Presbyterian and Independent ministers, being Calvinists seem to have been appointed indiscriminately. It is not quite certain when the Presbyterians, under constraint of conscience, withdrew from the Parish Churches, but it must have been some time between 1704 and 1719.

"The site on which the Warwick Presbyterian Church stands was the gift of a member of the congregation, who 'was moved thereto in gratitude to God who had given him an estate, and from love to the Presbyterian people who were destitute of a tabernacle or meeting-house.'" ¹ The Rev. James Paull ministered in this church from 1720 to 1750. During his incumbency the Rev. George Whitfield visited Bermuda, and preached in the Presbyterian Church on eight successive Sabbaths. The ministers who succeeded Mr Paull came from different quarters, some from America and some from Scotland. At the date of the Disruption the minister at Bermuda was the Rev. James Morrison. He was a Scotchman by birth, but in 1838 was translated from Laurencetown, Nova Scotia. In 1843 the congregation cast in its lot with the Free Church of Scotland, and obtained from that Church in 1849 the Rev. James Adam as its next pastor. On his leaving for Glasgow they were so fortunate as to secure the services of the Rev. Walter Thorburn, who had previously laboured

¹ Statement by the Rev. Walter Thorburn, *Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record*, May 1880, p. 3.

for some years in Falmouth, Jamaica, but had been obliged to resign and go to the United States to recruit his health. His ministry lasted for about thirty years, and is still very fondly and gratefully remembered. He was a man of a gentle, loving spirit, who endeared himself to all with whom he had to do. Yet he was firm as a rock where truth or duty was involved. He laboured faithfully and with much success, so that he could say shortly before he resigned his charge: "The congregation, being till lately the only one of our denomination in the Colony, was composed of Presbyterians from all parts thereof. And though from its insulation and other causes it has not been without its trials, yet it has, by the blessing of God, come safely out of them all, and never was perhaps at any former period more prosperous and promising."

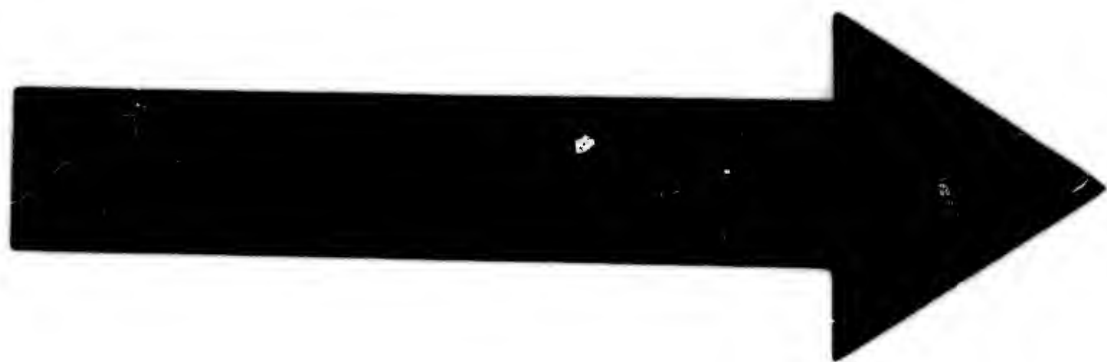
When Mr Thorburn retired from Bermuda the congregation was left free to decide whether they should look to Scotland, or to Nova Scotia, which is much nearer, for a successor. But so strong was their attachment to the Free Church of Scotland, that they declined to sever their connection with it, and applied to the Colonial Committee for a minister to fill the vacant pulpit. The Rev. A. B. Thomson was accordingly sent out, but after a ministry of two and a half years he had to resign on account of health. He was succeeded by the Rev. W. Robson Notman, who laboured there with great acceptance from 1889 to 1893. He is now settled in Boulder, Colorado, U.S.A. The present minister, the Rev. Alexander Christie, formerly of Mordington, Scotland, is proving himself a worthy successor of such men as Mr

Thorburn and Mr Notman, and a creditable representative of the Church that sent him out. The attendance on Sabbath and on Thursday evening is very encouraging. There is a good Sunday School, taught by twenty-three teachers, a Christian Endeavour Society, a Temperance Society, a Band of Hope, and a Foreign Missionary Society. Altogether there seem to be no symptoms of decay, but every sign of vitality and vigour about this the oldest of our Colonial Churches.

II. BELIZE, HONDURAS¹

British Honduras, of which Belize is the chief town, is situated on the mainland of Central America, between Yucatan and Guatemala. Along the whole coast there are numerous coral islands, only some of which are under cultivation. The country lying along the coast is for the most part low and swampy, but in the interior it is greatly diversified, and towards the south mountainous. The climate, even on the coast, is by no means so bad as one would naturally imagine, the water in most of the swamps being salt. For those who do not require to labour in the sun, such, for example, as clerks in offices or stores, there could hardly be a better climate. Americans from the Southern States speak of it as splendid, having neither the excessive heat nor the excessive cold of their country. The thermometer rarely reaches 95°, and rarely goes below 56°. The principal trade of Honduras since it became a Colony has been in

¹ For the information contained in this short paper the author is chiefly indebted to the Rev. John Muckersie, minister of the Free Church at Belize.



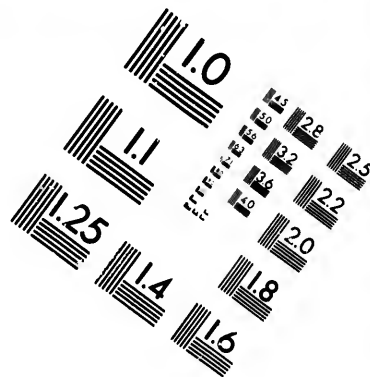
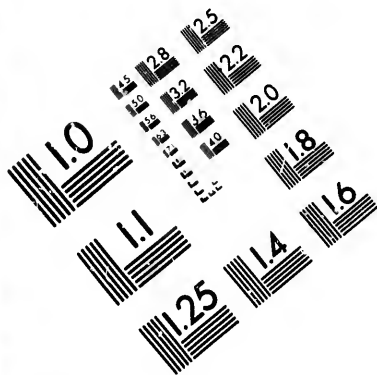
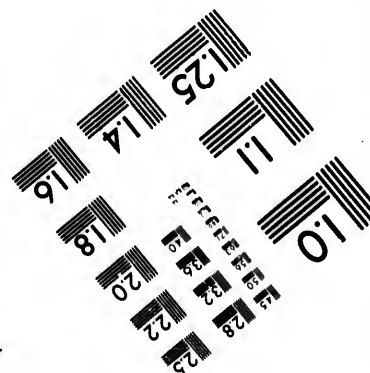
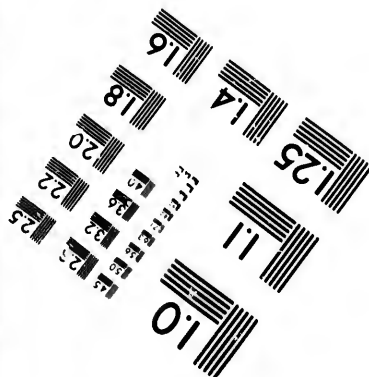
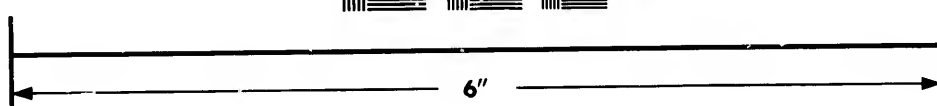
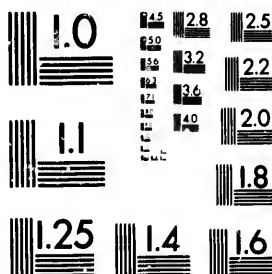


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mahogany and logwood, in which a good deal of money was once made. Of late, however, it has been less profitable, owing to the rise in wages, the fall in the price of wood, and the greater distance from the coast at which it has to be got. Fruit-growing for the New Orleans market, and coffee-planting, have since been tried with more or less success. Indeed, any tropical product will grow well in the Colony. The great want is, to have the country opened up, and a sufficient population introduced. The formation of a railway has long been talked of, and a survey of the land to the frontier at Guatemala was made in 1896. But the expense of the line, at least along the route proposed, was found to be such as to render its construction impracticable.

Belize, the chief town of the Colony, situated at the mouth of a river of the same name, has a population of about seven thousand, varying with the seasons. A large number of the people live in the Bush most of the year, and come to town at Christmas to spend a few weeks, and to hire for the following year. There is a good deal of intemperance about that time, but it is believed that in this respect there has of late been some improvement. The people are more likely to take care of their money, now that they are paid in gold. They do not go so readily into a public-house with a sovereign as they did with a few silver dollars of a depreciated currency. There is still, unhappily, a good deal of concubinage and illegitimacy, but in this respect also the habits of the people seem to be improving.

About forty-five years ago a number of the in-

habitants of Belize, chiefly Scotchmen, raised subscriptions with the view of having a Church conducted on Presbyterian lines. The Legislative Assembly voted a sum to assist in procuring a site and building a Church, and set aside £300 annually as a stipend for a minister. The Colonial Committee of the Free Church was approached with a request that they would send them a minister, and assist in providing for his support. This request was complied with, and the Rev. David Arthur of Stewarton, was sent out in the beginning of 1852. Mr Arthur did excellent pioneering work. When he organised the congregation it was indeed "the day of small things." At the close of the first year there were only nine communicants, but in five years they had increased to fifty, with an average attendance of four times that number. The school which he opened was sometimes taught by himself, sometimes by teachers from Scotland. Some of the leading members of other Churches as well as of the Free Church are proud to say that they received their education from Mr Arthur. He preached not only in the church, but in the open air. Not restricting his labours to Belize, he visited the country districts and preached the gospel there. On several occasions he came to Scotland to plead the cause of his people with the Home Church. After twenty-five years of labour in Honduras, he retired to spend the evening of his days in London.

He was succeeded by the Rev. John Jackson, formerly Reformed Presbyterian minister at Girvan, Scotland. Arriving in Belize about 1876 he continued the work of his predecessor, and worthily

represented the Free Church for a period of twelve years. The school was at times kept up and at times discontinued, probably from want of funds. The Government grant of £300 given to Mr Arthur lapsed on his retirement. The school was finally wound up in 1888. This arose from a misunderstanding about the teacher's salary, leading to a law-plea which was decided adversely to the Church Committee, and involved them in considerable expense. Mr Jackson was, during the greater part of his ministry, Government Inspector of Schools, and in that capacity rendered important service to the cause of education in the Colony. A man highly esteemed for his work's sake, he was very suddenly removed in December 1888.

The Rev. John Muckersie was sent out as his successor in March 1889. The membership of the Church was then 160, with about 60 adherents. For a time it continued to increase, but latterly an unusual number of deaths and removals has reduced it very much to what it was at the beginning of the present ministry. It is encouraging, however, to know that there has been a considerable increase of young people in the congregation, and a greater interest manifested in the work and welfare of the Church. The Colony has passed through very trying times since 1889. First, an epidemic of Yellow Fever, a thing previously unknown, at least for a generation, broke out in September 1889, and swept away almost all the lately imported Scotch people. Then they had a depreciating currency, the dollar falling in value from 72 cents in 1889 to 50 cents in 1894. The Church funds suffered in the same

proportion, and that too at a time when the congregation had to face a large expenditure in connection with the restoration of church and manse. This has left them somewhat in debt, notwithstanding the receipt of one or two legacies, and the raising of £200 by sales of work and special efforts of various kinds. One thing more which this Church needed to complete its equipment was a hall for meetings which could not well be held in the Church. For this the modest sum of £150 was required. Those who know from their own experience the advantage, nay, the absolute necessity, of some such accommodation for the efficient working of a congregation in these days, will heartily congratulate Mr Muckersie on having now put this finishing touch to his ecclesiastical arrangements.

III. TRINIDAD

The Free Church of Scotland at an early period of its history had congregations in several of the West Indian Islands, at Falmouth in Jamaica, at Antigua, and at San Fernando in Trinidad. All these, however, have either ceased to exist, or have been transferred to the United Presbyterian Church which has always cultivated this as one of its chief mission fields, having now five Presbyteries in Jamaica. One congregation in Trinidad, that of St Ann's Road, Port of Spain, is still connected with the Free Church, and the circumstances which led to its formation constitute one of the most interesting chapters in the history of modern missions. In the year 1839, Dr Kalley, a Christian physician of great benevolence and evangelical zeal, was, in the course of

his practice in Madeira, brought into contact with many of the Roman Catholic inhabitants. Finding them profoundly ignorant on the subject of religion, he spoke to them seriously and lovingly about sin and salvation, with the result that many of them became deeply interested and gave every evidence of having passed from death to life.

"In 1842 people came in large numbers to hear the Scriptures read and explained. Many walked ten or twelve miles, and climbed over mountains 3000 feet high, in coming and returning to their homes. The meetings were solemn—the hearers listened with unwearied attention—a hand was observed stealing up to remove a tear—and sometimes there was a general audible expression of wonder. This was especially the case when the subject of remark was the love of God in not sparing His own Son, but giving Him up to die for the sins of a whole world, or the love of Christ in voluntarily taking upon Himself the wrath and curse which we deserved. For several months not fewer than one thousand persons were present each Sabbath; generally they exceeded two thousand, and once were reckoned at five thousand."¹

This movement of course attracted the attention of the ecclesiastical authorities—at whose instigation an order was issued by the police for the suppression of the evening schools for adults set up by Dr Kalley, in which upwards of a thousand persons between the ages of fifteen and thirty had within a few years learned to read the Scriptures intelligently, and thus to search them for themselves. The next step taken was the solemn ex-communication of two Madeiran Portuguese, who had renounced Romanism and received the communion in the Presbyterian Church at Funchal. In that awful document the

¹ "Memoir of the Rev. W. H. Hewitson." Fourth Edition, p. 148.

faithful were forbidden on pain of the highest ecclesiastical censure to give them "fire, water, bread, or any other thing that may be necessary to them for their support. They were not to pay them their debts, or support them in any case which they might bring judicially."

A prosecution was now instituted against Dr Kalley himself, and although the judge, after examining forty witnesses, found that he had violated no existing law of Portugal, and dismissed the case, yet another, who had had no jurisdiction at all in criminal cases, was allowed, three months after, to reverse that sentence and order his arrest. Accordingly, in July 1843, Dr Kalley was imprisoned, bail being refused on the plea that the crimes laid to his charge were punishable with death! He was released after an imprisonment of six months, and immediately resumed his former labours, as the only competent judge who had yet pronounced a sentence had declared that he had not violated the law or constitution of Portugal. But now a fierce and bitter persecution broke out against the converts to the Protestant faith, partly under forms of law, and partly by acts of brutal violence. Mrs Maria Joaquina Alves, a devout and blameless woman, was snatched from the bosom of her family and shut up for months in Funchal jail, in the hope of compelling her to recant. At last she was tried and sentenced to death for the crime of refusing to worship the consecrated wafer, or to believe that it was the real body and blood and soul and Divinity of Jesus Christ. Fifty soldiers were quartered for three days on a portion of the parish of Antonio da Serra, and allowed to plunder

and perpetrate every cruelty, as if in the land of a vanquished enemy. Twenty-two of the most peaceful and well-behaved men and women in the island were cast into prison among the most depraved and degraded, where they were detained for twenty months.

At this stage Dr Kalley, knowing that another prosecution was in contemplation, and having reason to apprehend that it would be successful, resigned the privilege of conducting the work which he had so hopefully begun into the hands of the Rev. W. H. Hewitson, a man of great gifts and accomplishments, as well as great zeal and fervour, who had been sent to Madeira by the Colonial Committee of the Free Church. Mr Hewitson, though in very feeble health, threw himself into the work with great ardour, preaching in Portuguese, conversing with converts and inquirers, teaching them to read, training some of them in theology, dispensing the Communion under cover of night, and ordaining elders and deacons to watch over the interests of the flock, in case he and Dr Kalley should have to leave. In May 1846 it was deemed advisable that he should withdraw for a season, partly on account of his own health, and partly in the hope that in his absence the fury of the adversaries might abate. Instead of that, however, the persecution broke out with greater ferocity than ever. Dr Kalley had to flee in disguise, narrowly escaping with his life. On the 22nd of August two hundred of the converts sailed for Trinidad, leaving home and friends and everything for Christ's sake and the Gospel's. Soon after three hundred and fifty followed. Ultimately, the number of the exiles sent to Trinidad and to the other West India Islands rose to about

eight hundred, of whom Mr Hewitson, when he visited them in their new home, was able to say that "three hundred or four hundred might in the judgment of charity be regarded as true believers in Jesus."

The first pastor of this congregation was M. Arsenio da Silva, who had once been a man of wealth in Madeira, and had made great sacrifices for the faith. He was one of those whom Mr Hewitson had ordained to the eldership, and was now himself a refugee in Lisbon. Appointed by the Free Church to be missionary to the exiles in Trinidad, he joyfully accepted the office, and arrived at Port of Spain on April 20, 1847. He was afterwards ordained as minister to the congregation, and laboured faithfully among them till his death, which took place in January 1849. He was succeeded by Mr Henry Vieira, whom Mr Hewitson describes as his own "son in the faith." Appointed as catechist in 1850, after having completed his College training for the ministry, he was in 1854 ordained as pastor by the Free Presbytery of Glasgow. About the beginning of his ministry half of the refugees in Trinidad, finding it difficult to obtain suitable employment there, emigrated to Illinois, where they enjoyed the same religious liberty, and were otherwise in better circumstances than before. Mr Vieira continued his labours in Trinidad for about eighteen years, during which period the present church at St Ann's Road was built. In 1872 he received and accepted a call from the portion of the congregation that was settled in Illinois, which had previously been under the ministry of the Rev. Antonio de Mattos.

After his departure it was not found practicable to

appoint any of his fellow-countrymen to succeed him in the charge of the Trinidad congregation. The Colonial Committee was able, however, to secure the services of the Rev. D. M. Walker, formerly of Port Elizabeth, South Africa, who was inducted in 1873. During his ministry an important change took place in the nature of the services and in the constitution of the congregation. Hitherto it had consisted exclusively of the Madeira refugees, and the services were conducted in the Portuguese language. Mr Walker acquired that language, and used it for a time in one of the Sabbath services. But it soon became apparent that the necessity for this existed no longer. The older refugees had passed away, and a new generation had arisen, to whom English was quite as familiar as Portuguese, and who did not wish any longer to be treated as a separate class. It was the same difficulty that has from time to time arisen on the borderland between the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland, when the Gaelic has practically died out, and services in that tongue are no longer needed. The question was referred to the Colonial Committee, and, though not without some reluctance, and with considerable sympathy for some of the older people, they authorised Mr Walker to give effect to the desire of the great majority, and to conduct the services in English. This, of course, enlarged the field from which the membership of the congregation was drawn, any who understood English and wished to be connected with the Free Church congregation being now free to join it, no matter what their nationality or race might be. Mr Walker proved a faithful and an acceptable pastor, but his ministry in Trinidad was

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brief. After a visit paid to Scotland in 1880, with a view to recruit his failing health, he returned to Port of Spain, only to die in the latter end of that year.

He was succeeded in 1881 by the Rev. Alick M. Ramsay, the present minister. Pursuing the line marked out for his predecessor, he has now as members of his congregation Portuguese, Scotch, English, Irish, Germans, Americans, Creoles, and coloured people, so that no other language than English would be of any use. The church occupies a splendid situation close to the tramway car line in St Ann's Road, but it is low in the roof and not comfortable, especially at the evening service, when the attendance is largest. The minister and his people were very desirous of making such changes on the building as would render it more comfortable and commodious, and more worthy of the Free Church of Scotland to which it belongs. This has now been done at a cost of about £600, a portion of which, however, still remains unpaid. In the evening the attendance varies from two hundred to two hundred and fifty. In the forenoon it is much smaller. There are about seventy-five communicants upon the roll. In the Sabbath School there are about seventy scholars, and the young men show considerable interest in the Church's work.

The ecclesiastical situation in Trinidad is somewhat peculiar. Previous to the general union of Presbyterianism in Canada in 1875, a Presbytery of Trinidad had been organised, consisting of all the Presbyterian ministers in the island. In 1890 its status was recognised by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and representa-

tion given to it in proportion to the number of its members belonging to that Church. At present the Presbytery consists of five Canadian ministers, two ministers of the United Presbyterian Church, and the Free Church minister at Port of Spain. This is, of course, an anomalous arrangement, but it gives the Scotch ministers on the island the benefit of Presbyterial superintendence and support, and it may pave the way to a comprehensive Presbyterian union not merely in Trinidad, but in the West Indian Islands.

IV. GIBRALTAR

In a communication received by the author from the Rev. T. Murray containing valuable information regarding the history of the Free Church congregation at Gibraltar, the following words occur: "On the frontispiece of a large Bible, bequeathed to me by a lady who died recently in Gibraltar, there is the following inscription: 'The gift of John Annandale, Esq., presented by the Rev. James Pringle of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, to the Presbyterian congregation in Gibraltar, 10th January 1823.' This is the earliest record I have of the existence of a Presbyterian congregation in this famous fortress. How long before 1823 it had existed, where it met, who ministered to it, and by what means ordinances were maintained, I have not been able to discover. A goodly Colony of Scottish merchants resided at that time in the town, and we must suppose that they had combined to establish and support the ordinances of religion according to the customs of their Fatherland."

The inscription thus accidentally brought to light gives an interesting glimpse into the early history of

Presbyterianism on the rock. Yet the glimpse is rather tantalising, like that afforded by a sudden flash of lightning in a dark night; for while it unexpectedly reveals the fact that there was a congregation of Presbyterians there in 1823, it tells us nothing of its origin or of its subsequent history for a period of thirteen years. At the end of that time we find them worshipping in the Wesleyan Chapel, for the use of which they paid a rent, and which they continued to occupy from 1836 to 1849. During that period, and ever since, the Presbyterian soldiers stationed on the rock have attended these services. As far as can be ascertained, it was in 1841 that the first minister was sent out by the Church of Scotland to Gibraltar, and that chiefly with the view of ministering to the troops. In 1843 the Rev. W. Strauchan was there alone, struggling manfully to discharge the two-fold function of preacher and teacher, which he continued to do till 1849. The Presbyterian Church in Gibraltar owes much to the zealous and faithful labours of that worthy man.

In February 1843 the congregation resolved to collect funds for the purpose of building a Presbyterian Church. Little progress, however, was made in this direction for a time, the money obtained being apparently all needed to pay the rent of a place of worship, and to aid in the support of the minister. It may be worth while to cite the minute of the Presbyterian Committee, recording the quiet and unhesitating way in which, almost as a matter of course, the Gibraltar Presbyterians threw in their lot with the Free Church at the crisis of the Disruption. The minute is dated 14th June 1843, and

runs thus :—"The Rev. Preses (*i.e.* the Rev. W. Strauchan) stated, with reference to the secession which had taken place of the ministers of the Church of Scotland at the opening of the General Assembly in May last, that, under the whole circumstances of the case, he thought the funds collected in Gibraltar should be applied to erect a place of worship in connection with the Free Church of Scotland, to which the meeting unanimously agreed, and requested the Rev. the President to act in other respects in this matter as to him might seem meet."

Before the Disruption the congregation had appealed to the Church of Scotland for more hearty support, but the reply to that appeal had always been delayed. After the Disruption the congregation showed its adherence to the Free Church by making collections in aid of her schemes. But it was not till March 1849 that it was formally recognised as a Free Church station. From this date a new era may be said to have commenced in the history of the Gibraltar Church. A number of ministers were sent out from Scotland in succession to re-organise the congregation and conduct the services. Their names are worthy of being recorded.

Rev. A. Cairns, Cupar, Fife.
 „ W. Tasker, West Port,
 Edinburgh.
 „ Andrew Smellie, Orkney.
 „ Joseph Thorburn, Inver-
 ness.
 „ John Mathieson, Eccle-
 fechan.
 „ S. Maclachlan, Cawdor.
 „ J. Bonar, Larbert.

Rev. Hugh Martin, Panbride.
 „ Dr Landsborough,
 Stevenston.
 „ L. H. Irving, Falkirk.
 „ A. T. Patterson, Glasgow.
 „ James Smith, Greenock.
 „ J. Drummond, Forgan-
 denny.
 „ Peter Hope, Wamphray.

These good and able men laboured faithfully, in the face of great difficulties to plant the Presbyterian Church firmly at this isolated station. For these were troublous times for the Presbyterians in Gibraltar. Again and again did our ministers ask from the authorities a site on which to build a church; but, though that church was to be largely for behoof of the Scottish soldiers in the garrison, some pretext was always found for setting the request aside. At last they took the matter into their own hands, purchased a site at great cost, and built a handsome church according to the plans of Mr Elliot, architect, in one of the most central parts of the town, at an expense of about £5000.¹

The Church was opened on 28th May 1854, and in 1855 the Rev. Andrew Sutherland of Dunfermline was settled as permanent pastor. Besides ministering to the civilian congregation he acted as Chaplain to the Presbyterian soldiers in garrison. When a Highland regiment was quartered on the rock the Sabbath services were usually three in number. One night was set apart as an occasion when they might find him at home, and his son remembers that on entering his father's study he has sometimes found the room full of kneeling soldiers whom the minister was leading in prayer. He regularly visited the Military Prison and Naval Hospital. At that time Gibraltar was a convict station where fully five hundred men were employed, chiefly in the quarries. With them

¹ Dr John Bonar, Convener and Secretary of the Colonial Committee, did great service to the Church at Gibraltar, becoming personally responsible for the debt, a burden which caused him considerable anxiety, till with the help of the Rev. L. H. Irving it was finally cleared off.

he held a Sabbath afternoon service and a week-night service, in addition to his own congregational prayer-meeting. He frequently visited the convict prison where he exercised a most salutary influence over some of the most desperate characters. In the convict hospital too he was a constant visitor, and during an epidemic of cholera he bravely stood amid the dying and preached Christ to them.

Mr Sutherland took a deep interest in work among Spaniards, visiting Matamoros, the Spanish Reformer, and his companions in prison, and keeping his house ever open to refugees from the tyranny of the priests. He also came in contact with the Jews, of whom some twelve hundred were then in Gibraltar. Being an excellent Hebrew scholar he visited their synagogues and joined with them in chanting the Psalms of David, besides conversing with them in private, and bringing before them the claims of Jesus Christ. After his death two aged Jews visited his widow, who still survives, as a deputation from the Jewish community, expressing their sympathy, and saying, "When we heard that Mr Sutherland was dead, we felt that we had lost a father." Before leaving, one of the deputation, a venerable patriarch with long, flowing, white hair, lifted up his hand and invoked the blessing of the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob on the widow and her seed for evermore.

Mr Sutherland, after a remarkable ministry in Gibraltar of thirteen years, may be said to have fallen a victim to his abundant labours, carried on single-handed in a climate which is sometimes very trying. After visiting Malta to recruit his health, he returned to Gibraltar to work with renewed

ardour, but being seized with serious illness in October 1867, he passed away at the comparatively early age of fifty-six. He was accorded a military funeral, which was attended by a great gathering of the inhabitants, for they all respected and loved him. A handsome tablet with an appropriate inscription was erected in the church to his memory. His name is still lovingly remembered in Gibraltar.¹

In 1869 the Rev. J. Coventry of Yetholm, succeeded to the charge. A devout and earnest man, he carried on the work in the spirit and on the lines of his predecessor till his death, which took place in Scotland in 1884.

The Rev. T. Murray of Maryton was the next minister, and he too left a good record behind him. Indeed it was his success in Gibraltar that led to his being nominated as the first Free Church Chaplain to the Forces in Malta.

Since his transference to that sphere of labour in 1896, his place has been ably supplied by the Rev. H. K. Lawrie. Unfortunately he has been constrained on grounds of health to resign, and the Colonial Committee are at present in quest of a suitable minister to occupy this interesting and important station.

V. MALTA ²

The first Presbyterian minister who ever officiated in Malta was the Rev. J. Julius Wood, then of New Grey-

¹ For the information here given regarding Mr Sutherland's ministry the author is indebted to his son, the Rev. A. N. Sutherland, M.A., Rothesay.

² The author desires to acknowledge his deep obligations for information on this subject to his old friend and fellow-student, the Rev. George Wisely, D.D.

friars' Church, Edinburgh, afterwards known as Dr Julius Wood of Dumfries ; or rather, as he himself used to put it, he was the second. "St Paul," he said, "was the first, and," he added, "there had been rather a long vacancy." Mr Wood was sent to Malta in 1841, chiefly on the representations of the late Sheriff Jameson and the Rev. R. W. Stewart of Erskine, afterwards so well known as Dr Stewart of Leghorn. They were both grieved to see our Scotch soldiers in Malta as sheep without a shepherd. Mr Wood made a most favourable impression, and was spoken of with great respect and affection long after he had left the island. He was followed by the Rev. John M'Kail, who was ordained as the first Free Church minister of Malta. He laboured there for three years, and then went on to Calcutta. After this Malta was supplied by a succession of ministers from home, chiefly invalids, among whom the most notable were the Rev. James Fairbairn of Newhaven, and the Rev. Dr Clason of Edinburgh. It was felt, however, that it was in every way desirable that so important a station should have a permanent minister of its own. Accordingly, in 1853 the appointment was offered to the Rev. George Wisely, who was then acting as Dr Stewart's *locum tenens* at Leghorn, and accepted by him, though the absence of Dr Stewart in Palestine delayed his ordination till the 16th of May 1854. Since that date Dr Wisely has ably represented our Church, and done admirable service at Malta, for a period of over forty years.

At the time of his arrival on the island we were drifting into the Crimean war, and troops were continually passing eastwards, so that his chief work

was among the soldiers. In these early years of his ministry he had also very interesting work among the Oriental students who attended the Malta Protestant College. At one communion there were present members of sixteen different Churches—Copts, Abyssinians, Greeks, Armenians, and others. One of these Abyssinians became scribe to the Emperor Theodore. Dr Wisely took much interest in the Jewish students, several of whom subsequently became English clergymen. One became a Presbyterian minister, and so did one of the Greek students. Some of his earliest baptisms were those of Turks. Two were sons of a former cup-bearer of the Sultan, and one a captain in the Turkish army. In the course of his ministry he also baptised a considerable number of Jews.

At this time the congregation was worshipping in the old Wesleyan chapel which had been built at a time when none but the Roman Catholics were allowed to have buildings for worship made like churches. One of the first things to be done was to have a suitable church erected. But it was very difficult even to obtain a site. After several ineffectual attempts Dr Clason, with the help of the Governor, Sir William Reid, himself a Scotch minister's son, succeeded in getting a ninety-nine years' lease of the house and garden occupied by the Rev. George Wilson, formerly a parish schoolmaster, and then our teacher in Malta. But it was burdened with several onerous conditions. After some years, however, in the good providence of God, Dr Wisely succeeded in getting an Act passed through the Council which enabled him to purchase the site in perpetuity by paying a sum of about £1250. The

burden was now laid upon him of raising the money for the building of the church. This he did partly on the spot, but chiefly in this country, at the close of the Crimean war, when he was much in need of rest, and when the irksome work of soliciting subscriptions told very seriously on his health. After he had been eight years in Malta the building of a manse also was accomplished. In addition to this, rooms were built for his assistant, and the old church was converted into a schoolroom and lecture-room.

When Dr Wisely came to Malta there was no Scripture reader there, and no missionary visiting the ships in harbour. Through his representations the Soldiers' Friend Society sent readers, and the British and Foreign Sailors' Society a sailors' missionary. The Church of England has now also a Royal Navy Scripture reader, and one to visit the merchant shipping. For thirteen years after his arrival the Presbyterian seamen and marines were obliged, even in harbour, to attend Church of England service, and were not allowed to come on shore to attend their own Church. In 1867 this was changed, and ever since Presbyterians in harbour have been allowed to attend the Presbyterian Church. When Dr Wisely began his work he found that there was not a single soldiers' or sailors' home in the island, and that there were no reading rooms nor recreation rooms in the barracks. The poor soldiers when they left the barracks, and the sailors when they went ashore, found no place open to receive them but the grog-shops and houses even worse than these. No wonder that the streets were often crowded with drunken soldiers and sailors. In the

summer of 1855, however, a Scripture reader sent out by the Soldiers' Friend Society, with the assistance of Mr Wisely and Mr Tait, opened rooms for soldiers and sailors, to which they might go in the evenings, and where they might hold religious meetings. When this came to the ears of the General commanding, he sent orders to the Scripture reader to close his rooms, and not to allow the men to meet together for prayer. He did not see his way to do this, and was dismissed. Mr Wisely stood by him, and for some months supported him out of his own pocket. The result was that the work went on, that there has always been an open door outside the barracks for our soldiers and sailors and that reading and recreation rooms have since been established in the barracks, which have proved a great boon to the men, so that good has come out of the threatened evil.

During the worst part of the Crimean war Dr Wisely was instrumental in obtaining proper clothing for the wounded men that were sent to Malta with scarcely a rag on their backs. When at a later period the 71st Highland Light Infantry were sent on to India to quell the mutiny, Dr Wisely, seeing the women left behind starving, raised £70 for them, and got the authorities to take up the case so effectually that such a thing can never occur again. While not neglecting the duty which he owed to the civilian congregation, he proved himself in many ways and on many occasions the true friend of the soldiers and sailors. It is pleasant to find that he is able to testify to the greatly improved condition of the men in both branches of the service during

the last forty years. A drunk soldier or sailor is now scarcely ever seen in the streets. But the change has been most marked in the soldiers' wives. They were a disreputable class forty years ago. They are anything but that now. This is to be accounted for in great measure by their now being better treated, and not herded together like animals, as they used to be. Our seamen and marines are a very superior class of men, and there are in the army and navy as earnest Christians as are to be found in any class at home.

Within the last few years our arrangements at Malta have undergone an important change. The late Government, and in particular Sir H. Campbell Bannerman, the Secretary at War, was approached with a request for the appointment of one or more Free Church chaplains, in consideration of the number of soldiers of that persuasion serving throughout the world. The reasonableness of the request was admitted, and the Government agreed to appoint one chaplain, to be nominated by the Free Church; and to be stationed in the first instance at Malta. The Rev. T. Murray, who had already done good service in Gibraltar, was appointed, and at the same time the Rev. G. A. Sim, previously assistant to Dr Wisely, was ordained to the charge which Dr Wisely now vacated, having earned an honourable retirement. Soon after Mr Murray's appointment troubles arose in Crete, and the Highland regiment in Malta was despatched to that island with Mr Murray as their chaplain. He has now been appointed to the Chaplaincy at Dover, and another has been commissioned to be Military Chaplain at

Malta. Meanwhile, however, the cause of Presbyterianism in Malta is creditably represented by Mr Sim. It is true that the number of the British residents there is diminishing, the native population, who are bigotted Roman Catholics, gradually absorbing all the commerce and even the Government posts in the island. Still there is sufficient scope for the energies of Mr Sim, in attending to the civilian congregation, to the sailors in the fleet and hospital, and even to the military, when the number of Scotch soldiers stationed at Malta is so great, and the points at which they are quartered so far apart, as to make it impossible for one chaplain to minister to them all.

Our task is done. Whatever these lectures may be to the reader, the preparation of them has been to the writer a study of deep interest—a true labour of love. The field we have attempted to survey is a vast and varied one, extending from the snows of Manitoba in the north to the torrid heat of Queensland in the south, from the wide territories of Canada and Australia to those isolated stations which are held by our country mainly on account of their strategic value. The remarkable way in which, one after another, by far the largest share of the open spaces of the world has fallen to the people of Great Britain, has trained us in the art of colonising, and made our Colonies the envy of all the other nations. The growth of these young communities has been so rapid, and their population is spread over so wide an area, as to tax the resources of the Churches adequately to provide them with the means of grace.

Where this has been attempted in a resolute spirit, as in Canada, Otago and Victoria, there we find a strong, healthy Presbyterian Church. When a Colony has been neglected by the mother Churches in the earliest stages of its history, it is apt to bear the marks of that neglect in a feeble, sickly constitution ever after. One cannot read the early records of our Colonial Churches without admiring the heroism of many of the ministers in wide and thinly peopled districts, and the quiet conscientiousness with which others have laboured on in obscure and solitary stations, without any of that stimulus which is derived from large audiences or fellowship with Christian brethren.

Two things are very manifest from the history of these Churches. One is, the adaptation of the Presbyterian form of worship and government to the most varied conditions of human society. But then it must be a Presbyterianism, not stiff and unbending, hide-bound by the traditions of the fathers, but one that is full of life and activity, fertile in expedient, ready to adapt itself to the changing exigencies of the times. And another is, the immensely greater influence in the community, the enhanced power for doing her Master's work, which the Church acquires, when the various sections that had been standing aloof, separated by some comparatively unimportant point of difference, are able to coalesce, on the ground of their unity in the great essentials of the faith. These Colonial Churches are all off-shoots of our own Scottish Presbyterian Church. Among them the three-fold division with which we are familiar here exists no longer. Union is with them not merely an

accomplished fact, but an accredited and approved success. The tidings of these unions have been cordially welcomed by all the branches of Scottish Presbyterianism. How long are we to hesitate to follow their example? How long are we to say, "*Video meliora proboque, Deteriora sequor*"? With so many object-lessons on the way in which union may be accomplished, and the happy consequences to which it leads, before our eyes, let us resolve that Judah shall no longer vex Ephraim nor Ephraim envy Judah—that the ecclesiastical condition of Scotland shall no longer be a scandal and a reproach—but that, God helping us, we shall do what in us lies to hasten on the day when our Lord's own prayer shall be fulfilled:—"That they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee; that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me."

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