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THE SCOTTISH CONTRIBUTION TO THE RECEPTION OF CALVINISM IN ENGLAND

Cecil J. Kirk

The startling ease with which the English Church broke away from the jurisdiction of Rome may, in general, be attributed to two factors. One was the development of nationalism which took place during the 14th and 15th centuries and which was as apparent in England as it was on the Continent. As a result, when Henry VIII took the decisive step of having himself appointed "the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England" there was no general outcry over this act of political expediency. The other factor was that the idea of reformation was not a new thing in England. The teaching of John Wycliffe and the Lollards continued to influence opinion in England until about 1430 and, while persecution then confined it to small groups within the unlearned, lower classes of society, it still survived in parts of the country. Furthermore, within a few years of the beginning of the Reformation in Germany, and long before the break with Rome in 1534, a group of young men met together regularly at the White Horse Inn in Cambridge to encourage one another in the evangelical faith. The political decisions of the time only served to give greater impetus to the theological movement that was already afoot.

Although these events took place while John Calvin was still a boy growing up in France, it is an interesting phenomenon that, when he espoused the Reformed faith and eventually became its leading exponent, his teaching became the generally accepted

theological view in England, even among those who differed with one another on such matters as church polity. Calvinism did not take the shortest route on its journey from Geneva to England nor did it arrive unadulterated. One route ran through Scotland where it was adopted and adapted by a reform movement which itself had to pass through a period of tumult and struggle before it emerged in the form of the Church of Scotland. The Scottish Reformation had a considerable influence on the theological change taking place in England and the Calvinism it passed on was one which, though it still retained a core of Genevan doctrine and practice, nevertheless carried marks of its Scottish environment.

I. John Knox's Early Career

Long before Reformed ideas took firm hold in Scotland those who had already begun to embrace Protestantism took refuge in England. One of these was George Wishart who was later to become responsible for the conversion of John Knox to the Reformed faith. A graduate of Louvain, his teaching and preaching in Scotland aroused the opposition of the church authorities and in 1538 or 1539 he left for England. In Bristol he preached against various practices of the Roman church and after being convicted of heresy he secured his release by recanting. Wishart then went to the Continent where he spent time in Germany and Switzerland. It is possible that during this period he became a believer in the Swiss form of Protestantism for while there he translated the "First Helvetic Confession" into English.[1] In 1543 Wishart was back in

England again where he became a member of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Shortly afterwards he returned to Scotland where, for a time, Knox acted as his bodyguard. Probably his greatest worth, as far as the Scottish Reformation is concerned, is that in the final analysis he faced Knox with the responsibility of taking a militant public stand for the Evangel".[2]

Following Wishart's martyrdom, Knox cast in his lot with the Protestant party only to be captured a short time afterwards and spend the next nineteen months labouring over an oar in one of the King of France's galleys. In 1549 he was released, probably through the good offices of the English government; on April 7th of that year the Privy Council ordered the sum of five pounds to be paid to him by way of reward and soon afterwards he was appointed minister at Berwick.[3] The appointment was an important one both for Knox and for England. For Knox it was his first experience as the pastor of a settled congregation and he found himself faced with new situations which led to his mental and spiritual growth. His preaching and writings during the two years at Berwick and the following two years spent at Newcastle show evidence of Calvin's influence on his thinking.

During this period the border counties were exempted from the obligations of conformity to the authorized liturgy of the English Church and Knox used this freedom to devise his own form of public worship centring around the sermon which he regarded as the focal point of the service. Knox's "Epistle to the Congregation of Berwick" makes it clear that it was in that city that the first Calvinistic liturgical service was employed in

England and it was in the church there that the first Calvinistic administration of the Lord's Supper was observed.

On April 4th, 1550, Knox was called before the Council of the North in Newcastle charged with public attacks on the doctrine of the Mass. He set forth his arguments in the "Vindication of the Doctrine that the Sacrifice of the Mass is Idolatry":

> "All worshipping, honouring or service invented by the brain of man in the religion of God, without his own express commandment is Idolatry; the Mass is invented by the brain of man without any commandment of God: Therefore it is Idolatry. . . . Disobedience to God's voice is not only when man does wickedly contrary to the precepts of God, but also when of good zeal, or good intent, as we commonly speak, man does anything to the honour or service of God not commanded by the express Word of God . . ."[4]

This bold and dramatic attack on the Mass gained Knox considerable reputation and a year later he was moved from Berwick to the larger town of Newcastle. While there he became more involved in English public affairs but his forthright manner of speech did not prevent him from receiving further honours for, in December, 1551, he was appointed one of the six royal chaplains to Edward VI, a distinction indicating that he was one of the most prominent figures in the movement for religious reform.

When he moved south to take up his appointment, Knox discovered that a great change had taken place in ecclesiastical circles. The slow movement to reform, adopted by Cranmer and supported by Somerset, was being questioned by a more radical group led by Hooper. While in the north Knox had been out of touch with these matters but now he found himself in the very centre of

things. He soon found that he was more and more at odds with the political manoeuverings of Northumberland and, just as quickly, he came to regard Cranmer and the others who agreed with his policy of "hastening slowly" as compromisers who were not really prepared to go the whole way in reforming the church.

By this time Calvin and Bullinger had reached an agreement on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper and Knox took his stand alongside those who wished to bring in similar reforms in England. The matter came to a head over the question of the new Prayer Book. One of the requirements in the book was that of kneeling at the Eucharist. Knox preached a sermon before the King and Council in which he vigorously attacked this addition on the grounds that it would be taken as an act of adoration which could be used by the unreformed clergy to continue the idolatrous use of the sacrament. The new Prayer Book had already been approved by Parliament and was being printed but the Council was so impressed by Knox's argument that, over the objections of Cranmer, they ordered the insertion of a statement in which it was explained that kneeling at the Lord's Supper was not a superstitious adoration of the sacrament but simply a means of showing reverence while partaking. "The Black Rubric", as it became known to its opponents, thus rejected both the Roman Catholic and Lutheran doctrines of the Lord's Supper and brought the English definition into line with the views of the Swiss reformers - and for this Knox was largely responsible.[5]

II. Knox's Exile on the Continent

The hope of a progressively more thorough reformation in England was doomed to disappointment. Edward VI, "the English Josiah", succumbed to tuberculosis in the Spring of 1553 and, after Northumberland's abortive attempt to divert the crown from the Catholic heiress, Mary Tudor ascended the throne. From that moment Protestantism became identified with treason and Catholicism with loyalty. Four courses lay open to the Protestant "heretics". First, they could acquiesce in the new regime if they were dishonest enough to do so. Secondly, they could go underground, but the risk of discovery was great. Thirdly, they could openly confess their views and suffer martyrdom. Or, lastly, they could take refuge outside England and live to fight another day. Some eight hundred followed this final course in what has, somewhat anachronistically, been called "one of the most astute manoeuvres that has ever carried a defeated political party to ultimate power".[6] It is interesting that more than a quarter of those who chose exile eventually settled in Geneva.[7]

Among those who fled to the Continent to escape the ensuing persecution was Knox. From Dieppe he addressed "A Godly Letter of Warning or Admonition to the Faithful in London, Newcastle and Berwick" in which he told his congregations that they must not have any fellowship with "idolators in their idolatry" and pointed out that it is the duty of every Christian magistrate to slay idolators.[8] In his letter Knox set his face against all compromise, whatever the consequences,[9] a point on which Calvin did not always insist.

Knox's enforced residence on the Continent gave him the opportunity to confer with the leading European reformers. In March of 1554 he travelled to Geneva where he took up several questions with Calvin; they dealt mainly with whether a woman can rule a kingdom by divine right and transfer the sovereignty to her husband and also what obligations there were on subjects to obey their rulers. Calvin gave verbal answer to the questions and suggested he take up the matter with Bullinger in Zurich. Bullinger asserted that, according to divine law, women were to be subject to men, but he cautioned Knox that women who rule in compliance with the laws of a realm and hereditary rights did not lack Biblical sanction. However, if the monarch was not a Deborah but an ungodly and tyrranical ruler, Christians were to take note of the example of Athaliah (2 Kings 11). Knox also enquired whether obedience should be given to a magistrate who enforced idolatry. Bullinger answered that Christians must not obey commands opposed to God but that it was dangerous to make a rule about the right of resistance to authority.[10]

The situation in England, and more particularly in Scotland, was forcing these questions on Knox. In all probability he saw that the success of the Protestant cause in both countries would require a kind of resistance to its enemies which Bullinger and Calvin had never been forced to apply. Knox himself was still undecided on the matter as his letters to his friends in England indicate. Having received little satisfaction from either of the Swiss reformers, Knox returned to Dieppe in search of news from England. That news was not encouraging. Many of the Edwardian

bishops were under detention awaiting trial; large numbers of the laity, and particularly the nobles, were conforming enthusiastically to the old religion. Knox was constrained to write "Two Comfortable Epistles to his Afflicted Brethren in England" exhorting them to look forward to the ultimate triumph of God's cause in their land. Two months later a much more vigorous pamphlet was written entitled "A Faithful Admonition to the Professors of God's Truth in England".[11] The difference between the two documents shows the radical change that had taken place in Knox's thinking in the short period between them.

The latter contains a clear presentation of the Calvinist doctrine of reprobation and election but its real importance was due to the bitter tirade directed agaist Mary Tudor. She has been referred to as "the blessed Virgin" by the English Catholics but she has handed the kingdom over to Philip of Spain and the Pope. However, the Protestants should leave their cause in the hands of God and do nothing that might divide them from the fellowship of Christ.

In the belief that there was nothing more he could do for England, Knox decided to return to Geneva but his stay there was shortlived for in November, at the urging of Calvin, he accepted an invitation to become the minister of the congregation of English exiles in Frankfort. Almost immediately he was plunged into controversy over the use of the second "Book of Common Prayer" which he had already criticized in England. One of the conditions laid down by the city authorities when the congregation was founded was that they should share a building with the French congregation,

led by Poulain, which had been at Glastonbury in England during the reign of Edward VI, and that they should use a form of service like that used by the French Calvinists, or at least one which the French would allow.[12] Accordingly, Whittingham, the leader of the group, drew up a form of service which differed greatly from the Second Prayer Book. In addition to the creed and form of service, provision was made for the exercise of church discipline, including the use of the catechism by the young, the election of ministers and elders, admonition and excommunication for offenders and other basic elements of the Calvinist system.

The peace of the congregation was shatterd by the arrival, in March, 1555, of a new group of exiles headed by the redoubtable Dr. Richard Cox, the former Dean of Christ Church, Oxford. Cox and his followers lost no time in challenging Knox and Whittingham on the issue of the Prayer Book which, they contended, was still the official form of service of the English Protestant church. Both parties appealed, in writing, to Calvin, and Knox and Whittingham drew up a summary of the English Prayer Book and sent it to him. Calvin counselled moderation but agreed that when true doctrine was challenged resistance was justified:

> "This indeed grievously afflicts me and is highly absurd, that discord is springing up among brethren who are for the same faith exiles and fugitives from their country; and for a cause indeed which in your dispersion should like a sacred bond have held you closely united . . . Nor do I blame the firmness of those who, even to fight in a just cause, are unwillingly dragged into the contest, but I condemn, and with justice, that stubbornness which clogs and retards holy efforts to form a church. Though in indifferent matters, such as external rites, I show myself indulgent and pliable, at the same time I do not

> deem it expedient always to comply with the foolish captiousness of those who will not give up a single point of their usual routine."[13]

In the Edwardian Prayer Book Calvin said he saw "many tolerable things" but he condemned it on the grounds that it contained impurities which might be "endured for a time".[14]

The Coxian faction next wrote an obsequious letter to Calvin explaining that they had used legal means to get control of the Frankfort congregation and that they were only defending the official, established forms of the Church of England. Calvin's reply, while it aimed at moderation, made clear his opposition to anything in the church which resembled Popish display and extravagance and he further suggested that Knox had been "neither piously nor fraternally dealt with".[15] The Coxians remained adamant; Knox was accused of treason, on the basis of some things he had written in the Admonition of the previous year, and the magistrates requested that he leave Frankfort. He set out for Geneva where he was joined shortly by Whittingham and Christopher Goodman.

The significance of this whole dispute lies in the fact that it was a preview of what was to happen in England after the return of the exiles at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. Then the church split into two groups both of which professed extreme respect for Calvin and his views, but the one insisted that its first allegiance was to the forms of the official church while the other maintained that God, through the Holy Scriptures, had indicated the manner in which worship was to be conducted and the church organized and that God's will, as they interpreted it, was more important than the decrees of the English government.[16]

III. Knox and the Geneva Congregation

In Geneva Calvin was now the undoubted leader; the city government was largely composed of his followers and refugees from the persecutions in France and elsewhere were welcomed.[17] Knox, and those of the English congregation in Frankfort who followed him there, found an atmosphere that suited them and they set about establishing a congregation along true Calvinist lines. This was probably the most formative period in Knox's life. He had time to study, to increase his knowledge of theology and his understanding of the Scriptures, and he also had opportunity to meet with Calvin and the other Protestant leaders who visited the city.

Seldom has there been found such a unique group of people as those who made up the congregation of English exiles in Geneva. Among them were at least eight ordained ministers: Knox, Goodman, Gilby, Poulain, Sampson, the former Dean of Chichester, Humphrey, Pilkington, later to become Bishop of Durham, Lever and, in addition, Miles Coverdale, the Bishop of Exeter, and John Scory, the Bishop of Rochester.[18] The congregation, which was to have such an influence on the later Protestantism of England and Scotland, was constituted on November 1, 1555, becoming the first English-speaking congregation that was purely Presbyterian in its worship and discipline. Ministers, elders and deacons were elected annually by the entire congregation. The ministers were appointed to preach and administer the sacraments, the elders to supervise spiritual matters, and the deacons to be in charge of material affairs. Probably on account of the amount of preaching involved, they decided to elect two ministers and Knox and Christopher Goodman

were selected but, since Knox was at this time absent in Scotland, Anthony Gilby was appointed in his place.

By the beginning of 1556 the exiles had become a settled congregation and they now set about composing their order of worship. The form that had been rejected at Frankfort now seemed ideal for their purposes since there were no Prayer Book enthusiasts among them. This order had been based on Calvin's "Form of Prayers"; to it was added a preface, a collection of some fifty metrical psalms in English[19] and an English translation of Calvin's Catechism. The preface was really a confession of faith. The doctrine of the Trinity is set forth as the basis of belief and the marks of the true church are stated to be its obedience to the word of God contained in the Old and New Testaments, observance of the two sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and the administration of ecclesiastical discipline.[20] Discipline was designed to bring about the repentance of the sinner. If private admonition failed then public accusation might be used. Excommunication could only be carried out by the whole congregation and not by the consistory alone. The confession also stated that the civil magistrate had the right to root out all forms of idolatry and heresy with a view to the greater purity of the church.[21] This form of ecclesiastical organization was to be used later as the foundation for the "classical" or Presbyterian movement in England during the reign of Elizabeth.

A year after the order of worship was settled in the Genevan congregation there appeared a translation of the New Testament. Although no name is attached to it, the use of the

personal pronoun in the preface suggests the work of one man and it is generally accepted by scholars that the translator was Whittingham. The success of the translation led to a desire to have the whole Bible in the English language and the work was quickly set in motion. This time Whittingham had the assistance of a number of other experienced translators in the work[22] but when the task was not finished at the end of the exile Whittingham remained on in Geneva to complete it. The cost of the printing was borne by the members of the congregation. The finished work was to become the household Bible for the English-speaking people for a considerable period of time. Originally published in 1560, the last edition appeared in 1644, some thirty-three years after the appearance of the Authorized Version.

One cannot deal with the activities of the English exiles in Geneva without reference to two other publications by members of the congregation, works which conditioned the attitude of Elizabeth I against all Calvinists. These books were Knox's "First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women" and Goodman's "How Superior Powers ought to be Obeyed". Although Goodman was an Englishman[23] his work is mentioned here because of the fact that it was written at a time when he was Knox's associate as minister in Geneva and because, as a result of it, he found himself 'persona non grata' in England for some time thereafter and was forced to return, not to his native land, but to Scotland where he remained until 1565. Even then he did not return directly to England but spent some time in Ireland before being made rector of Aldford, near Chester, in England in 1567.[24]

During the year 1558 Goodman preached a sermon on Acts 4. 19: "Whether it is right in the sight of God to listen to you rather than to God, you must judge". The sermon was so well received that he was asked to publish it for the benefit of the people in England. He agreed, and expanded it into a small book under the title "How the Superior Powers ought to be obeyed of the subjects: and wherein they may lawfully by God's Word be disobeyed and resisted". He contends that just as Peter and John disobeyed the magistrates in order to obey God so the people of England must disobey their Queen for the same reasons. He reminds his readers that Mary is a Papist and that the authority of the Church of Rome rests on a human foundation and not on the true revelation of God in His Word. He calls the Papists "cruel butchers" and "insatiable bloodsuckers" and describes the crucifix as a "conjured idol hanging by a cord over the altar". He speaks of their "round cake" lying in a box, subject to moulding and worms, and yet worshipped as their God. He can find no Scriptural ground for female sovereignty; from the beginning of time woman was subject to man and so England has disobeyed God in crowning a woman as Queen. If Mary has been crowned contrary to God's laws then her decrees are also contrary to God's will and, therefore, her rule must be defied and she herself removed. Many examples are give from Scripture to show that ungodly rulers ought to be resisted and Goodman ends with an impassioned plea to the people of England to rise in revolt.

Knox's "First Blast" also dealt with the elective nature of the monarchy and the right of the people to replace an unjust ruler. Knox was later to express the same opinion in one pungent

sentence flung in the face of another Mary, this one the young Queen of Scots:

> "The blind zeal of princes is nothing but a mad frenzy, and therefore to take the sword from them, to bind their hands, and to cast them into prison till they be brought to a more sober mind . . . is agreeable with the Word of God."[25]

Knox was in agreement with Goodman. Right religion took neither its origin nor its authority from worldly princes but from the eternal God alone.

Both works are prime examples of the influence of circumstance on thought. Knox and Goodman thundered against the rule of women because they were touched so closely by what they considered the ungodly rule of Queen Mary in England and the equally ungodly regency of Mary of Lorraine in Scotland. Would they have been so outspoken had there been a godly "Deborah" on the throne? One hesitates to answer such a hypothetical question but certainly their opinions were somewhat modified with the accession of Elizabeth. Allowing for the extreme provocation to which he was subjected, it must be admitted that Knox was somewhat shortsighted in not considering the alternatives. If Queen Mary was deposed who was next in line for the throne? Was Elizabeth also to be passed over because of her sex? Any realistic politician would have considered these questions. Had Knox stopped to think of them he might have been led to a different interpretation of the Scriptures. One wonders whether the future history of the English church might have been easier and smoother.

We must also ask whether there was any Calvinist content in these writings. Certainly they were denied by Calvin. The fact

that both books were published in Geneva rebounded unfavourably on Calvin since it was assumed that they had his approval and Calvin hastened to explain to William Cecil that he had not known about their printing and that in his opinion "it would not be lawful to unsettle governments which are ordained by the particular providence of God".[26] Nevertheless they do contain a basic tenet of Calvinist thought even though it may be phrased in a particular way to meet a peculiar situation. Both writers base their works on the fundamental principle that the supreme law of both church and state is the word of God set down in the Scriptures and this theocratic conception of the state is Calvinistic.

Knox and Goodman, however, went much farther than the position adopted by Calvin in the last chapter of the "Institutes"; they had pushed Calvin's principles to their logical conclusions and arrived at a monarchomach position. It was this that made these books anathema to Queen Elizabeth, a monarch who was determined to rule as well as reign over every department of her nation's life. The prejudice thus created against the Calvinists was to have important repercussions for the future development of English Calvinism. As important is the fact that most Calvinists did not wish to carry their theocratic principles too far when dealing with a ruler like Elizabeth who promised some tolerance for their form of the faith.

IV. The Elizabethan Church

On November 17, 1558, Mary Tudor died, unloved and unmourned. The day was to be celebrated every year by English

Protestants for more than a century as Queen Elizabeth's Accession Day. News of Mary's death brought the quick return of many of those who had gone into exile during her reign. Unfortunately, in their enthusiasm to return the exiles did not think it necessary to take precautions against the possibility of finding a reactionary Protestant on the throne. Elizabeth's private religious opinions were of the mongrel variety - no one form of religious orthodoxy seems to have appealed to her independent way of thinking.[27] She preferred a celibate clergy, and although she enjoyed the pomp and circumstance of the Roman Church, to be a Catholic would have weakened her claim to legitimacy, and so to the throne. For practical purposes, then, she was a Protestant, but at the same time she was determined to avoid any theological stance which might alienate possible political support. A thorough reformation along Genevan lines would certainly work to this end and it would also give other countries which embraced the faith of Rome an opportunity to challenge her supremacy. The resulting settlement of the Elizabethan church was the "via media", an attempt to steer between the Scylla of Rome and the Charybdis of Geneva.

Only Knox was prescient enough to consider laying down terms to the new queen.[28] The Genevan congregation decided that, in view of the dissent among English Protestants on matters of doctrine and ceremonies, the best advantage could be taken of the new opportunity in England only if they presented a united front. Accordingly, William Kethe was sent with a plea to their fellow exiles that past differences be mutually forgiven and forgotten and that all strive together to "reach and practice the true

knowledge of God's word, which we have learned in this our banishment and by God's merciful providence seen in the best reformed churches".[29] Lever, and those who were with him at Aarau, wholeheartedly accepted the Genevan proposal, but, as might have been expected, the Frankfort congregation replied in the negative, stating that it was not up to individual congregations to decide on the ceremonies of the English church but that this should be handled in England by the proper authorities appointed by Parliament for that purpose. Once again the attitudes of the two groups were prophetic of the differences that were to exercise the members of the Church of England. The Frankfort conformist group held that the English church could be formed only under the direction of the state. The Geneva congregation's letter pointed to their belief that representatives of congregations could decide what form the English church should have and that they could and should do that independently of the state.

The Genevan plan broke down for lack of co-operation. Collective bargaining gave way to a series of private contracts with each man making what terms he could on his return - and in this they were at the mercy of a strong-minded ruler. The game quickly degenerated into an individual scramble for preferment. The Genevan refugees could either stand aloof from this scene and continue their exile indefinitely, or participate in it, in the hope of salvaging something of their plans. The former position was considered but Calvin urged the exiles to hurry home and accomplish what good they could.

The failure of the Genevan exiles to persuade the other

English-speaking congregations on the Continent to confer on the future form of the English church before returning to their homeland suggests that they were a special minority and that the majority of Englishmen were content to look to the state to take the lead in the re-organization of the church after Mary's death. However, Calvin's influence on England made itself felt after Elizabeth's accession through the activities of former members of the Genevan congregation and through his own writings. The final edition of the "Institutes" was published in 1559 and an English translation followed two years later. Calvin's writings were frequently published in England and proved to be an important source of influence in the theological field.

With a Protestant monarch on the throne, Knox wanted to return to England to resume his work there, but the damage had been done. His "First Blast" had so incensed Elizabeth that he could not persuade the authorities to permit his return. Despite repeated supplications, including a letter to the Queen herself, Knox soon realized that there was no hope of him ministering in England again, but even when he accepted the hopelessness of his position and that his future now lay in Scotland, he did not give up his interest in England. He wrote to Cecil in June, 1559, pointing out the necessity of union between the two countries in order to present a united front against the dangers which threatened from France and Spain.[30] Knox continued to show a keen interest in English affairs to the end of his life and to write words of admonition to the leaders of the country reminding them of their responsibility to uphold the true faith and of their obligations

as God's servants.

The acceptance of Calvinism by the Church of Scotland in 1560 acted as a continuing influence on some parts of the English church. There were many in England who felt that the reforms introduced by Elizabeth did not go far enough; the result was that the differences of opinion which had appeared in Frankfort began to be reproduced in the English church. There could be little sympathy for Knox and the Church of Scotland among those churchmen who formulated religious policy in England but it was natural that Knox would retain his close links with those who had been with him in Geneva.

In 1566 the Vestiarian Controversy broke out again in England when the Queen instructed the bishops that she wished to have uniformity of clerical dress enforced.[31] Many of the nonconformist ministers in England were unwilling to go along with the Queen's decision and appealed to the Continental reformers for support. Knox did what he could on their behalf, persuading his colleagues in Scotland to send a request for leniency with the Puritans to the bishops in England. Aware that his own personal influence with the party against whom he had fought at Frankfort would produce the opposite of the desired result, he did not sign the letter himself, though it was signed by all the other leaders of the Scottish church.

The leaders of the nonconformist party in England tried to follow Calvin's teaching and use methods of obedience, non-resistance and conciliation; they wished to remain within the church even though they were often at odds with the church leaders.

There were those, however, who advocated separation and Knox was appealed to by one of this group. His reply must have been disappointing in the extreme because he made it clear that he was opposed to separation, pointing out that "it condemneth the public ministry of England".[32] In this Knox was in agreement with the older followers of Calvin and also with the new generation that was rising in the English church and which had not had the experience of exile in Frankfort or Geneva. That group of second generation English Presbyterians, among them such leaders as Cartwright, Travers, Field and Wilcox, were in agreement in opposing separation and proposed bringing about the reformation of the church from within and were even willing to use the political process to this end.[33] When Knox died in 1572, Field borrowed some of his papers from Mrs. Anne Prouze, who as Mrs. Anne Locke had been a close friend of the Scottish reformer,[34] and published them. In his preface he wrote of Knox:

> "If ever God shall vouchsafe the Church so great a benefit, when his infinite letters and sundry other treatises shall be gathered together, it shall appear what an excellent man he was, and what a wonderful loss that Church of Scotland sustained when that worthy man was taken from them".[35]

Knox's successor in Scotland was Andrew Melville who had studied and taught in Geneva and who was closely associated with Beza, Calvin's own successor. In 1584 he was forced to flee to England as a result of the, so called, "Black Acts" which were passed during the reaction that followed the failure of the Gowrie plot of that year. In England Melville, and those who had found it necessary to leave with him, were received at Oxford and

Cambridge and they conferred with the leading Puritans.[36] Among those whom Melville met was Thomas Cartwright who, together with Walter Travers, was one of those whose writings supplied the intellectual stimulus for the Elizabethan Presbyterian movement. Of them it has been said: "Allowing Mr. Cartwright for the head, Mr. Walter Travers might be termed the neck of the Presbyterian party".[37]

Cartwright's views on the relationship between church and state closely paralleled those of his Scottish friend, Melville. On one occasion Melville had quite bluntly reminded James VI that there were two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland and that in the kingdom of Christ Jesus he was merely a subject. Cartwright held an equally high view of the church and this led him to point out that the ruler's function in relation to the church is chiefly that of a servant of God. This, of course, ran contrary to the Queen's own view of her position, a view expounded by Archbishop Whitgift, who maintained that the ruler delegated his authority in ecclesiastical matters just as he did in civil matters to lawyers and judges, yet without forfeiting his own supreme authority.

Traver's position was similar to that of Cartwright but his worth to the Presbyterian movement of Elizabeth's reign lies in the fact that he can claim to be the first to have systematized the tenets of Presbyterian discipline in England in an orderly and persuasive form. Following the expulsion of both men from Cambridge in 1571 they fled to Geneva where Travers wrote his 'magnum opus' on Presbyterianism, the "Explicatio", a work that appeared in 1574. The object of Travers' book is to uphold the necessity of discipline

in the church and he starts from the premise that the only authority for true and proper church discipline is the Bible which is, literally, the Word of God. While he agrees basically with both Calvin and Cartwright, Travers shows one point of departure when he divides the office of deacon into "deacon proper" and "ruling elder" while the other two held that the deacon had a separate office from the elder.

By 1585 the movement for reform of the English church was not progressing as had been hoped. There were still those who looked for a moderate reformation within the church and so Travers was encouraged to edit a draft Book of Discipline which could be used as the basis of the church's polity and discipline. The book appeared in 1587 and for the most part was an abbreviated edition of his earlier work. The first part begins with the bold assertion that Christ has fixed the proper form of church government for all time and this form is to be found in the Bible. As he explains it, Travers sees that form as Presbyterian. The second part of the book gives in detail the ecclesiastical discipline outlined in the first part. There is an important alteration in the Book of Discipline from what he had written in the "Explicatio" - the eldership is now seen as a separate office from that of the deacon.

There is really nothing new in the Book of Discipline; it is merely a reiteration of the statement that government by elders is the only right and proper form of church government and it is marked by a dogged determination to find in Scripture a justification for the Presbyterianism advocated by Calvin. But, unlike Calvin, Travers identified the discipline so closely with

the Gospel that he is forced into the position of seeing every other form of church government as anti-Christian (a trap Calvin did not fall into). This only served to inject English Presbyterianism with a stubbornness and a sense of divine rightness which brought it more and more into opposition with the Church of England and forced the Queen to take sewere measure against it.

One other Scottish theologian must be mentioned. In 1579, George Buchanan published his famous treatise "De jure regni apud Scotos" and this marked the beginning of a conflict which would eventually tear his country apart and lead to the overthrow of the House of Stuart by the middle of the next century. Buchanan's views on a restricted monarchy were held by him long before he published his book, indeed they occur in another work published as early as 1541.[38] Briefly, Buchanan taught that kings are chosen and continued in office by the people, and that they are subject to both human and divine laws, and that the people of Scotland had always claimed and exercised the right to call wicked rulers to account. He insists that there exists a mutual compact between prince and people; a tyrant who does not observe the duties of a ruler and breaks his compact is an enemy of the people who creates a state of war so that not only the body of the people, but individuals, are justified in killing the enemy.

Buchanan's book is really a work of political theory but it is important in that it did much to oppose the idea of an absolute monarchy. Certainly it goes far beyond the position defended by Calvin and the fact that it reflected the spirit and practice of the Scottish church is of significance. This doctrine

of insurrection was not championed by many English Protestants during the sixteenth century, but it was to have important implications for both England and Scotland during the reign of Charles I.

We gain some indication of the importance of the Scottish influence in disseminating Calvinistic views among the English theologians when we read the writings of the strongly partisan Bishop Bancroft. Richard Bancroft was to succeed John Whitgift as Archbishop of Canterbury, but while Whitgift held that See, Bancroft was his Bishop of London and his close associate in the fight against Puritanism in the Elizabethan church. Bancroft's first attack on them came in a sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross for the opening of Parliament in 1589 in which he upheld the bishops as being of a higher order than presbyters and described John Knox as being a man of too contentious a nature.[39] In 1593, Bancroft published his "Dangerous Positions and Proceedings" in which he developed his denunciation of Puritanism. The Puritans were likened to seminary priests; they regarded Geneva and Scotland as guides to be followed and if the rulers refuse to reform religion then the magistrates or even the common people may, on the advice of the ministers, feel free to use force of arms to reform it themselves. Bancroft refers to the writings of both Knox and Buchanan as examples which the Puritans seek to emulate.

There is little doubt that Bancroft's views are prejudiced and exaggerated but they do point to a considerable obligation which English Calvinism owed to Scotland. Bancroft was misguided in his fears; they were based on his knowledge of

what had taken place in Scotland and France. English Calvinism was not an imitation of the Scottish variety during its revolutionary phase. The Scots had been forced to adapt their thought to the immediate situation in their own country and English Calvinism was as much a product of the conditions that pertained in England as it was of the teaching of Calvin or the influence of Scotland. A study of English Calvinism makes it clear that though many in England were receptive to the theology and discipline of Calvinism the political and ecclesiastical situation in England led them to reject the doctrine of rebellion which had proved so important to the Scots in acheiving their reformation

FOOTNOTES

1. Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 21, pp. 719-721.
2. W. Stanford Reid: Trumpeter of God, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1974, p. 27.
3. Lord Eustace Percy: John Knox, John Knox Press, Richmond, Virginia, 1966, p. 102.
4. John Knox: Works of John Knox, Thomas Nelson and Sons, Edinburgh, 1846-1864, vol. 3, p. 37.
5. Reid, op. cit., p. 91.
6. C. H. Garrett: The Marian Exiles, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1938, p. 1. Miss Garrett was right to insist that the exile was deliberately chosen in order that what had been lost might be recovered at a later date but, as Collinson points out, it is wrong to assume that political calculation took precedence over conscience and religious persuasion in their decision cf. P. Collinson: Archbishop Grindal, 1519-1583, The Struggle for a Reformed Church, Jonathan Cape, London, 1979, p. 67.
7. S. J. Knox: "John Knox's Genevan Congregation", a lecture delivered to the Presbyterian Historical Society of England, London, 1955, p. 3.

8. Knox: Works III, p. 194.

9. Ibid., p. 198.

10. Ibid., pp. 221-226.

11. Ibid., pp. 253-330.

12. M. M. Knappen: Tudor Puritanism, Peter Smith, Gloucester, Mass., 1963, p. 119.

13. John Calvin: Letters of John Calvin, selected from the Bonnet Edition, The Banner of Truth Trust, Edinburgh, 1980, pp. 163-164.

14. Ibid., p. 164.

15. Ibid., p. 174.

16. P. Collinson: The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, Jonathan Cape, London, 1967, p. 72.

17. For a description of Calvin's work in Geneva see E. W. Monter: Calvin's Geneva, Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, Huntington, New York, 1975, especially chapters 4 and 7.

18. S. J. Knox, op. cit., p. 5; Knappen, op. cit., p. 143. Among the laymen in the congregation was John Bodleigh, the father of Thomas Bodleigh, the founder of the Bodleian Library in Oxford. Thomas was twelve years old when he arrived in Geneva with his father and family.

19. The version of the "Old Hundreth" by William Kethe, one of the Genevan exiles, is still used today.

20. It is interesting that, important as it was to him, Calvin did not include discipline among the marks of the true church. "Wherever we see the Word of God purely preached and heard, and the sacraments administered according to Christ's institution, there, it is not to be doubted, a church of God exists." John Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion, edited by J. T. McNeill, translated by F. L. Battles, The Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1960, Book IV, Chapter 1, Section 9.

21. S. J. Knox, op. cit., pp. 8-9; Reid, op. cit., pp. 136-138.

22. Gilby, Cole, Goodman, Sampson, Coverdale and Knox are generally regarded as being his assistants in the work.

23. S. J. Knox: "Christopher Goodman - A Forgotten Presbyterian", Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Vol. 28, No. 4, December, 1950, pp. 221-232.

24. Ibid., p. 231.

25. Quoted in J. D. Douglas: Light in the North, Wm. B. Eerdman's Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1964, p. 15.

26. Calvin: Letters, pp. 211-213. See also P. E. Hughes: "Calvin and the Church of England" in John Calvin: His Influence in the Western World, edited by W. Stanford Reid, Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1982, pp. 173-196, especially pp. 190-194.

27. Claire Cross: The Royal Supremacy in the Elizabethan Church, Geo. Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1969, p. 71. See also Knappen, op. cit., pp. 167-169.

28. Knappen, op. cit., p. 164.

29. Ibid., p. 165.

30. Knox: Works, VI, pp. 31-32.

31. Knappen, op. cit., pp. 187-216; Collinson: Puritan Movement, pp. 71-83.

32. Quoted in Collinson: Puritan Movement, p. 91.

33. See P. Collinson: "John Field and Elizabethan Puritanism" in Elizabethan Government and Society, edited by S. T. Bindoff, J. Hurstfield and C. H. Williams, The Athlone Press, London, 1961, pp. 127-162.

34. Anne Locke's second husband had been Edward Dering, a leading Elizabethan Puritan. Dering was a popular preacher and was much sought after as a spiritual advisor. He died in 1576 of tuberculosis while at the height of his fame. See P. Collinson: "A Mirror of Elizabethan Puritanism: The Life and Letters of 'Godly Master Dering'", Dr. Williams's Lectures, Dr. Williams's Trust, London, 1964.

35. Knox: Works, VI, pp. 87-94.

36. A. F. Scott Pearson: Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism, 1535-1603, Peter Smith, Gloucester, Mass., 1966, p. 250.

37. Quoted in S. J. Knox: Walter Travers: Paragon of Elizabethan Puritanism, Methuen and Co. Ltd., London, 1962, p. 11.

38. A. F. Scott Pearson: Church and State, Political Aspects of Sixteenth Century Puritanism, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1928, p. 83.

39. S. B. Babbage: Puritanism and Richard Bancroft, SPCK, London, 1962, pp. 27-29.

CONSERVATISM IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN CANADA IN 1925 AND BEYOND: AN INTRODUCTORY EXPLORATION

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Conservatism is a word that many people would readily associate with historic Presbyterianism, and certainly with the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1925 and beyond. This conservatism would perhaps first be thought of theologically, and John Moir would validate this outlook in his history of Canadian Presbyterianism by affirming that as late as 1908 'the bulk of church members, both lay and ministerial, were still essentially conservative in doctrine.'[1] At the same time, it must be kept in mind that the next decade and a half or so was going to experience such a shift that D. C. Masters could comment that 'the Christian liberals exercised a tremendous influence upon Protestant thinking in Canada ... Their ideas constituted a new orthodoxy of the generation which went to college in the nineteen-twenties.'[2] Liberalism was so potent that even many of those who remained Presbyterian in 1925 accommodated themselves to it in some degree or other. As a result, the late Principal A. L. Farris in his article, 'The Fathers of 1925', attempted to show that the reasons for people remaining Presbyterian were more complex than simple conservative adherence to Reformed theological orthodoxy.[3]

In his article, Farris outlined four major strands in the maintenance of Canadian Presbyterianism, or perhaps better six, for he divided the fourth or theological category into three. The thing that Professor Farris did not overtly do was indicate how

conservative all the four or six strands were, although their conservatism in each case had a somewhat different focus. All were concerned to preserve what they considered the best of Canadian Presbyterianism, and they were agreed that this could best be done by preserving the Presbyterian Church in Canada as intact as possible. Beyond that there were the differences. Thus continuing Presbyterianism appeared conservative and even defensive, although there were distinctly varied shades in the conservative hue.

The first strand was called the Anti-Unionists by Farris, and they believed that Presbyterianism was superior to all other forms of Christianity. And thus the Presbyterian Church in Canada was superior to any other denomination in the Dominion, including the new one into which many were proposing that Canadian Presbyterianism should enter. These Anti-Unionists were conservatives of heritage - the tradition should be maintained so that nothing would be lost.

The second strand was the Federalists who wanted cooperation between denominations but not organic union at the present time. They were quite happy to modify Presbyterian teaching, polity, and practice in some ways, but they believed that the Presbyterian Church in Canada, as an organized entity, was far too valuable a force in the land to allow it to be threatened with disruption over the Church Union issue. Participation in a United Church of Canada at a future date - most certainly; but not as long as it would be at the cost of Presbyterian division. This was pragmatic, institutional conservatism. In 1925 the Federalists might look akin to the

Anti-Unionists, but their reasons for maintaining the Presbyterian Church, although conservative, were significantly different.

Next were the Ethical Critics who believed that the Unionists in their crusading spirit were denying religious liberty and the rights of conscience for minorities. This was a moral conservatism which refused to acknowledge that because many believed the proposed United Church to be the will of God, and anticipated almost quasi-messianic expectations to accompany its birth, they had any right to depart from the path of decency and probity and ride roughshod over fellow Presbyterians who did not see the same vision. Here was the ethical conservatism that would never allow the charismatic to challenge the moral. Such a view could well comport with a philosophical idealism which would challenge traditional Calvinistic theology, but retain, at least for a time, traditional Calvinistic ethics.

The fourth strand included those called the Theological Objectors. The first subdivision represented those who resisted Church Union because it appeared to threaten orthodox theology. They were not as totally enamoured of all things Presbyterian as the Anti-Unionists, but when it came to theology, they were staunchly conservative. Institutional forms and structures might change to some extent, but theology was the great given, and Presbyterian theology was second to none. In order to preserve its theology, the Presbyterian Church in Canada must be retained.

The second subdivision of the fourth strand, or the fifth point of view, if we wish so to consider it, was expressed by Principal Fraser of Presbyterian College, Montreal. He argued that the proposed Basis of Faith for the United Church was too conservative. At first sight, Fraser might appear to be out of synchronization with the rest of the defenders of the Presbyterian Church in Canada with their obvious though varied conservatisms. But on reflection, Fraser appeared as one who wished to conserve what he considered to be the standard of intellectual rigor and excellence of Presbyterianism. He feared that union with Methodism, with its stress on the experiential and the practical, would only lead to intellectual embarrassment. The Presbyterian Church must be maintained as the best hope of Christian intellectual respectability in Canada.

Finally there was the view of Principal W. W. Bryden of Knox College, that in theology both liberalism and traditional conservatism were inadequate. Although this may sound fairly radical, and may have been intended to sound so, Bryden's views were actually fairly conservative. When he attacked traditional conservatism, he meant the very conservative theologies of the nineteenth century with their roots in the Protestant Orthodoxy of the seventeenth century. This he wished to distinguish - usually far too sharply - from the theology of the great Reformers of the sixteenth century. Here he saw the root and direction for the theology of the present and the future. In spite of certain presuppositions that he may have brought to the study of the

Reformation, any theologian that takes the Reformers with the seriousness that Bryden did is fairly conservative. So Bryden wished to retain the Presbyterian Church in Canada because it had direct links with the Reformers which Congregationalism and Methodism did not have. Church Union with such people would only decrease attention on the early Reformers, thus hindering the desperately needed revitalization of theology in the Presbyterian Church in Canada and in all the Churches.

Thus those who chose to remain Presbyterian in 1925 and beyond stood together. The things they supremely valued about Presbyterianism may have been somewhat different, but they were all conservatives in insisting that they be retained, and that they could best be retained in a continuing Presbyterian Church in Canada. Since all continuing Presbyterians were conservative, the title of this paper might then suggest that we are going to discuss all Presbyterians. Although it might be profitable to examine Canadian Presbyterianism in 1925 and beyond in terms of the interrelation of various types of conservatism, such an attempt is far beyond the scope of a paper such as this. Thus the concern here is only with those who would be considered theological conservatives in a fairly traditional sense. As a result, those who do not fit readily into this category will be omitted at this time, which includes the Federalists, the Ethical Critics, and those who shared the views of Principals Fraser and Bryden. Thus the field of inquiry is narrowed to the Anti-Unionists and the first category of the Theological Objectors, who wished to

maintain orthodox theology in the traditional sense. But in order to begin to understand these two groupings, we will be helped by coming at the subject more historically, by which is meant that we must look at the historic forms of conservative Presbyterianism which have significantly impinged on the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

The two schools of Presbyterian conservatism that have most directly influenced the Presbyterian Church in Canada may be called the Auld Kirk and the Free Kirk. The difference between these schools of Presbyterianism, for our purpose, is that the former was an establishment conservatism, while the latter was an evangelical conservatism. Auld Kirk conservatism expressed the Scottish and Scots-Irish version of European Christendom.[4] Virtually all inhabitants of a nation were members of both State and Church, with each supporting and strengthening the other. Church and State were two sides of the same coin, and the Christian civilization which resulted was the supreme work and glory of God on earth. And for Auld Kirkers of Scottish and Scots-Irish origin, the Presbyterian culture of Scotland and Ulster was beyond compare. For such people it was the whole heritage that was important. At the same time, continuity of structure and form was a matter of supreme importance for it was in this way that the excellencies of the tradition were transmitted. With the structures preserved, the Auld Kirk Christendom viewpoint could then allow a measure of flexibility as far as the internal components were concerned.

Doctrine had to be expressed in terms of the Westminister Confession, but the emphasis in terms of the content could vary considerably from one epoch to another and there could even be significant theological differences among Auld Kirk people at a given time. If we think of the Auld Kirk ethos as having emerged significantly during the reign of Moderatism in the Scottish and Irish Churches in the eighteenth century, then it is quite obvious that the soteriological aspects of theology did not receive major stress. As Presbyterians, however, it was absolutely necessary to stress the sovereignty of God in Westminister Confession language, but among the Auld Kirk Moderates there were those who emphasized sovereignty working through divine election while there were others who expressed it largely in terms of divine providence. During the nineteenth century the Auld Kirk became somewhat more uniformly conservative in theological content, although the soteriological in many cases still did not occupy the proportion which it did in the Confession of Faith. And the irruption of divine grace in conscious conversion was still to many Auld Kirk folk at best an ill-mannered thing and at worst a virtual act of treason for implicitly questioning whether all baptised Scots and Ulstermen were necessarily in a state of grace. In the twentieth century, as anti-supernaturalism once again brought tremendous pressure to bear on Anglo-Saxon and Presbyterian theology, it would be quite natural to expect that the Auld Kirk tradition would accommodate itself in various ways, while all the while waving the flags of the

Presbyterian heritage and the Westminster Confession of Faith.

In Canada the Auld Kirk people were a large segment of what Farris has described as the Anti-Unionists; in fact, as Moir has suggested, they were a very influential element in continuing Presbyterianism in Canada.[5] Yet because of the tendency to stress form in relation to content, and thus make theological accommodation possible, they are not what many people mean today when they refer to theological conservatism in the Presbyterian Church in Canada. So a large section of the Anti-Unionists are removed from our purview as well.

This now brings us to the evangelical conservatives or conservative evangelicals of the Free Kirk type who stood within the heritage of the Reformation as resuscitated and interpreted by the evangelical movement of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[6] The positive relation of state and church as embodied in Christendom was accepted, but within that, great stress was laid upon doctrine and the conscious experience of grace. The national and the ethnic were valued, but supremely because in them Scriptural truth of the Westminster Confession variety had been taught, which in turn brought about repentance, faith, justification, union with Christ, and new obedience. The truth of the Bible in the power of the Holy Spirit brought forth life. This was Free Kirk evangelical conservatism, and there was a fair measure of it in the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1925 and afterwards.

At the same time, we are up against a certain difficulty at this

point, for there are those in Canada who seem to find it difficult to acknowledge the presence of conservative evangelicalism in mainstream Canadian Protestantism. The same people may recognize the Evangelical party in the Church of England, and similar groupings in American Protestantism, but when it comes to Canada, the situation seems to be viewed somewhat differently. The reason may be sought in the writings of S. D. Clark, with his tendency to equate evangelicalism in Canada with sectarianism, the reputation for monochrome liberalism of the United Church, the weakness of Canadian Evangelical Anglicanism, and the exit from the Baptist Convention of T. T. Shields and his associates. But conservatism in the Presbyterian Church in Canada will not be understood unless the ongoing presence of evangelical conservatives is recognized. Once again, however, the historical approach must be taken, for only in this way will the nature of what is usually considered conservatism in the Presbyterian Church be understood.

There have been two main types of conservative evangelical Presbyterianism in this century, and they both go back to developments in the evangelical world of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These were the Confessional and Fundamentalist movements. During the first two generations of the evangelical movement, known increasingly by historians as the First and Second Evangelical Awakenings, and running from the mid-eighteenth century to about 1830, evangelicalism was the most dynamic and widespread movement in most of Anglo-American Protestantism, Presbyterianism

included. But by about 1830 some evangelicals were becoming concerned that evangelicalism in its expansive, optimistic mood might be losing some of its Reformation theological moorings. With their critical faculties at work, they were more ready to discern that the great days of the Evangelical Awakenings were passing and that the future would not likely be a period of ever-increasing evangelical triumph. In this context the threat of Continental Protestant Liberalism was very foreboding, and thus these critical and fearful evangelicals began to raise their ramparts of defense. Profoundly influenced by the Romantic Movement, with its distaste for the nineteenth century and its veneration for a golden age of the past, they sought the answers to the present in the golden age of their past. This meant the Protestantism of the seventeenth century, often called the Age of Confessions, and from which the term Confessionalism emerged. In few places was Confessionalism the numerically dominant form of Protestantism, but as it separated itself from its existant ecclesiastical affiliation in search of its ideal, as it almost invariably did, it was everywhere a powerfully conservative force. This was true of the section of German Lutheranism which in North America is known as the Missouri Synod, and those from the Dutch Reformed heritage who formed the core of the Christian Reformed Churches. In Presbyterianism the Old School movement in the United States, centering in Princeton Seminary, reflected the Confessional impulse, as did the Free Kirk in Scotland although these Presbyterian Confessionalists also

retained much of the dynamism that was characteristic of nineteenth century Anglo-Saxon Protestantism.

Among the Confessionalists there was a serious attempt to repristinate the heritage of the seventeenth century according to the respective denominational traditions. The theology of the Confessions was retained intact, while the Bible was presented as infallibly true because it was the product of a verbal inspiration which had its special locus in the very words of Scripture.[9] Pan-evangelical cooperation was eschewed and denominational distinctives in seventeenth century form were underscored. Social reform was feared as the entering wedge of liberalism, and the overspill of Methodist methodology and life-style was not appreciated. If only the church were faithful to the seventeenth-century pattern then all would be well. A more tradition-conscious, theological, denominational, sombre, defensive, and combative form of evangelicalism had emerged. The Free Kirk in mid-nineteenth century Canada represented this point of view, although the pressures of other forms of Anglo-Saxon Christianity and the North American ethos were constantly at work upon it, in a way that was not true of its Continental counterparts. Nonetheless, there were still representatives of Confessionalism among Canadian Presbyterians in 1925 and after, and they are to be found in the Anti-Unionist category of Farris. This is probably the correct place to put them, for they did hold inviolate the whole Presbyterian tradition in the form which they understood and to which they were committed. So there were Auld Kirk and Confessional evangelical Anti-Unionists, the Confessionalists

being the much the smaller of the two components.

Confessionalism was well represented by Ephraim Scott, long-time editor of the Record. Although in his editorial position, Scott exercised a measure of restraint in the expression of his own views, they nonetheless came through clearly enough. This was true of a series of articles in the Record in 1924, which included, 'What Presbyterians Stand For' in February, and 'The Confession of Faith' in June. Quotations from such well-known American conservative Presbyterians as Clarence Macartney of Philadelphia, Maitland Alexander of Pittsburgh, and O. T. Allis of Princeton also attested to his commitments.[10] So did a lengthy article against Harry Emerson Fosdick, portraying him as something of a reincarnation of William Ellery Channing, the New England Unitarian of the previous century.[11] But in his 1928 volume 'Church Union' and the Presbyterian Church in Canada, there was the full expression of Scott's Confessionalism. He conceived the Church Union battle as another phase of the controversy engendered by liberalism, and as a Confessionalist, the answer to a watered-down Christianity was the complete Presbyterian heritage as he envisioned it.[12]

At the same time, as part of the Anglo-Saxon evangelical world, Scott's Confessionalism was inevitably, if at times uncomfortably, in touch with the wider forms of evangelicalism, Presbyterian and otherwise. As a result, there were constant references in the Record under Scott's editorship to evangelistic services and accounts of conversion ranging from C. H. Spurgeon to John McNeill,

the Scottish evangelist who had been minister of Cooke's Church, Toronto, for a couple of years around the beginning of World War I.[13] Visits to Canada of prominent evangelical conservative preachers of various communions were continually alluded to; such as G. Campbell Morgan, S. D. Gordon, and F. B. Meyer.[14] And in the battle against liberalism, and by implication Church Union, Scott regularly drew on material from this wider circle. C. H. Spurgeon provided an excerpt entitled 'No Compromise', the Bible Union of China - perhaps with an assist from W. H. Griffith Thomas who had until recently been at Wycliffe College, Toronto - supplied 'Modernism and Its Fruits',[16] while A. Z. Conrad of Park Street Congregational Church, Boston, gave 'Modernism's Mistakes'.[17] The significant fact, however, was that in spite of Scott's prominence, the Canadian Presbyterian Confessionalists were few in number, aged, and on their way to oblivion.

The supreme difficulty with Confessionalism in Canada was that its fundamentally backward-looking vision had little appeal to the coming generation, with its leaders enshrining an ambience of the past. Professor N. Keith Clifford of U.B.C., in research which will be included in his much anticipated history of the United Church of Canada, has discovered that many Presbyterian ministers who opposed Church Union from early in the twentieth century had taken at least some of their theological training at Princeton Theological Seminary. On the other hand, those who supported the United Church concept and had studied abroad had usually gone to Edinburgh or one of the German Universities where, to say the least, a somewhat different

theological approach was taken, at least after the 1870's. And those who had attended what came to be known as the Old Princeton, or wished they had and were one with it in spirit, were usually of the older generation. So that in 1925 Confessionalism appeared to have little future as a force for conservatism in the Presbyterian Church in Canada. In spite, however, of its weakened condition, Confessionalism was regarded as an essential component of continuing Presbyterianism in 1925, and efforts were made to draw on the resources of this tradition.

On the one hand, the search for additional ministers which Church Union necessitated among the Presbyterians caused approaches to be made to the Confessional Highlanders of the Continuing Free Church of Scotland. This body was known accurately and affectionately as the Wee Frees since 1901, when a tiny minority refused to follow the rapidly moderating majority of Free Kirkers into the union with the United Presbyterians which formed the United Frees. When the commissioners of the Presbyterian Church in Canada arrived in Scotland in 1925 seeking ministerial recruits, they officially visited the Free Church College as well as the other Presbyterian Theological institutions of Edinburgh, and preached in leading Free Church pulpits.[18] This continuing openness to the Confessional tradition has meant that there have always been a few ministers in the Presbyterian Church in Canada who have received their upbringing and training in the Free Church in Scotland, some of whom have occupied positions of some influence in Canada. Young immigrants of Free Church stock who were already working in Canada were also

attracted by this approach, the most outstanding perhaps being George Murray of the Highland mining community in Trail, B.C. Upon graduation from Presbyterian College, Montreal, he served with great acceptability in both Cape Breton and Scotstown, Quebec, where fluency in Gaelic was highly prized along with other ministerial gifts. But Murray soon faced the almost overpowering attractiveness of segments of American Presbyterianism for Confessionalists in Canada. As a result, he ministered in the old United Presbyterian Church in Newton, Massachusetts, for almost thirty years.

In addition, approaches were also made to representatives of the Princeton Confessional tradition in the United States in the hope of securing ministers. Although by 1925, the officials at Princeton Seminary, represented by President Stevenson, were already seeking to break with Confessionalism,[19] it is interesting that it was to Professor J. Gresham Machen, the spokesman for the Confessionalists, that Canadian Presbyterians turned, requesting him to supply fifty graduates.[20] And Machen was also being sounded out as a candidate for the principalship of Knox College by at least one Presbyterian minister.[21] Machen never reached his quota, but a steady if small stream of American Confessionalists continued to arrive in Canada, and when Machen left Princeton in 1929 and founded Westminister Seminary, Philadelphia, the supply continued from the new source. One representative of this group was Quincy McDowell, who began his ministry on P.E.I., but spent the thirties in Sydney Mines, where he left an impact that remains until today

and which was well explained by one of the historians of Cape Breton Presbyterianism: 'Dr. McDowell contributed much to the work of the Presbytery ... His message as a preacher was strongly evangelical. He was a diligent pastor. Above all, he was interested in the spiritual welfare of the youth.'[22] However, after spending the forties and early fifties at Maissoneuve Church, Montreal, McDowell returned to the U.S., undoubtedly seeking a more congenial Confessional climate. Although it is true that not all Machen's recruits were Princeton men, it would seem that most shared a conservative theology, as expressed by John H. MacGillivray who came to Springville, Nova Scotia via San Anselino, the Presbyterian seminary in California. 'I am growing more convinced that the disruption will prove a blessing, for modernistic teachers and preachers can now go to their own place; and the old Gospel of Grace have free course in the Presbyterian Church in Canada.'[23]

Machen not only sent Americans to Canada, but he also attracted some young Canadians to study in the U. S., whence they returned with firm Confessional commitments. The most conspicous group was from Montreal and included Stanford Reid who returned to found the Town of Mount Royal Church in Montreal, before proceeding to McGill and the University of Guelph; Lyall Detlor, who pastored at Parry Sound and Trail before going to the U.S., and Ronald Rowat who interspersed his Canadian ministry with an American interlude, concluding as Superintendant of Missions of the Synod of Montreal and Ottawa in the fifties and sixties. And somewhere in this category should be included George W. MacKay from far-off Formosa,

not so young as the others, but bearing the imprint of his father, the famous missionary, and also of his earnest father-in-law, John Ross of Brucefield, who in his sturdy Confessionalism stood almost alone on the Free Kirk side in rejecting the Canadian Presbyterian Union of 1875. During the forties and fifties a trickle of young Canadian Presbyterians continued to attend Westminister Seminary, which sought to perpetuate Machen's memory and outlook, while they increased significantly in the sixties and seventies, although a number subsequently left the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

One other distinct source of Confessional recruitment after 1925 was the McDonaldites of Prince Edward Island.[24] Followers of a Church of Scotland minister who had a remarkable ministry on the Island for four decades before Confederation, this movement is still one of the few indigenous Canadian Christian developments. Numbering at least 5,000 adherents in the later nineteenth century, the McDonaldites did not enter the Presbyterian union of 1875, but continued on their own way. This way almost led to oblivion, until they linked up with the Free Church of Scotland earlier in this century. The Presbyterian Church in Canada has received several congregations of McDonaldites on P.E.I. since 1925, and in many Presbyterian congregations on the Island, there are leading members with McDonaldite roots. At least one former McDonaldite clergyman has also served in the ministry of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Remembering that the Presbyterian Church in Canada forms a larger percentage of the population of P.E.I. than anywhere else in Canada, and that this position is at least in some measure due to

McDonaldite transfers, these people, with their Confessional faith, cannot be dismissed as altogether inconsequential for Canadian Presbyterianism.

And so Confessionalists have continued in the Presbyterian Church in Canada until today. Usually having had significant experience in other parts of the world, and feeling the power of centrifugal attraction, they nonetheless have maintained their noble and romantic view of the Presbyterian heritage - more frequently described as the Reformed heritage - into our day. Among them will be found some of the most loyal and most frustrated members of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

Now it is necessary to turn to that other body of theologically conservative Presbyterians, whom Farris has described as those who simply wanted undiluted, orthodox theology in its Presbyterian form. Although he did not tell us exactly who these people were, references to John Gibson Inkster and Jonathan Goforth in this category lead one to assume that in large measure he had in mind those who were called Fundamentalists. Anglo-Saxon evangelicalism was profoundly influenced by the Awakening of 1857-60 and its aftermath. Sometimes called the Shop-Keepers' Revival, or the Prayer-Meeting Revival, its first characteristic was lay-led, interdenominational prayer meetings. These initial manifestations were followed by a great movement of the laicization and democratization of Anglo-Saxon Christianity. With D. L. Moody, the lay evangelist, as its most prominent individual figure, the movement

expressed itself in manifold outreach activities at home and overseas with social concern seen as an inevitable accompaniment. Participation or even exposure to such a vital form of evangelicalism frequently had an impact on Confessionalism, weaning it away from some of its distinctives, and bringing much of it back into closer contact with mainstream evangelicalism. But by 1880 evangelicalism was beginning to feel the pressure of liberalism. Not only was it an external threat this time, but many of the ablest of the younger generation, who had been raised in the evangelical milieu, were finding aspects of liberalism alluring. As a result, those who wished to retain evangelicalism had to mount their defenses. Strict Confessionalism did not appear to be the answer, so a new response to liberalism emerged which reflected the era from which it came to birth and which came to be known as Fundamentalism.

Fundamentalism existed in most Presbyterian denominations, including the Presbyterian Church in Canada. It valued the basic orthodoxy of the Westminister Confession of Faith and tended to think of the Bible in terms of verbal inspiration. The Fundamentalists were not stridently denominational - in fact, they often felt very much at home in the interdenominational world of evangelistic campaigns and Faith Missions - an ecumenicalism which they saw as a major opponent of liberalism. There was, however, one area of newness in the arsenal of the Fundamentalists, and that was premillennialism. Almost to a man, whether Presbyterian or not, they believed that a good deal of the lack of resistance to liberalism in evangelicalism

stemmed from such an optimistic, postmillenarian eschatology, with its attendant triumphalistic philosophy of history, that people could not even see danger when it stared them in the face, and thus they were overcome before they knew what had hit them. Premillennialism, on the other hand, developed a very literalistic hermeneutic which flowed naturally if not necessarily out of verbal inspiration. It posited a somber philosophy of history flowing on to the consummation, in which Christians ought to be prepared for the worst before Christ would return personally and manifest His victory in subduing all His enemies and theirs, and which explained the difficult days that evangelicalism was encountering.[25] By the 1880s the Age of Romanticism was largely gone, so the past was not seen as holding the pattern for the present. The hope lay in the future, which was more in keeping with mainstream evangelicalism, but in a future once removed, for it was only after the Second Advent that the victory of Christ would in any major way be manifested. There was very little 'now' in connection with the Kingdom of Christ; it was almost entirely 'not yet'. At the same time, the prospect of the near return of Jesus Christ bred apocalyptic hope which anticipated a pouring out of the Holy Spirit before the Second Coming.

Perhaps as good a place as any to start in considering this group of evangelical conservatives, who in the Presbyterian Church in Canada may best be described as proto-Fundamentalists, since they did not usually proceed to some of the more extreme positions with

which the substantive term is frequently associated, is Knox Church, Toronto. After all, Henry Martyn Parsons, surely one of the first premillenarians in Canadian Presbyterian history, came as minister to Knox in 1880, and among many emphases, may particularly be remembered for the way in which he drew the congregation into his concern for worldwide missions.[26] Then he was followed at the turn of this century by A. B. Winchester, a Chinese missionary working under the Presbyterian Church in Canada in Victoria, B.C., whose ministry was long remembered for its spiritual power. Although it may not be valid to draw too strict a division between Confessional and proto-Fundamentalist evangelical Presbyterians, it is instructive that while the former would be pinning their hopes on the Old Princeton, and later Westminister, Winchester was busily engaged in the years just prior to 1925 in participating in the establishment of a theological seminary in which premillennialism would be an article of faith, in Dallas, Texas.[27]

To realize that this proto-Fundamentalist viewpoint was considered an authentic strand of Canadian Presbyterianism in 1925, it is only necessary to remind ourselves that on the fateful evening of June 9, the 'Rump' Assembly met at midnight in Knox, where for two hours the minister, the Orcadian Scot, John Gibson Inkster, commonly referred to as 'Jock', had been in his element leading a prayer meeting.[28] Knox's commitment to conservative theology in its Calvinistic expression was also evidenced when Inkster, seconded by the great missionary, Jonathan Goforth, who also had strong

Knox Church ties, moved that 'this assembly desires publicly to reaffirm its faith in our ancient and historic standards - The Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, the Westminister Confession of Faith, and the Longer and Shorter Catechism.'[29] At the same time, to make its position unequivocal, Knox Session under Inkster had a Platform of Principles printed at the beginning of the Annual Report, sharpening up their commitment to certain beliefs which were the objects of contemporary theological debate.[30]

Closely associated with Knox Church was Toronto Bible College, a type of educational institution which Fundamentalists saw as invaluable for the maintenance and propagation of orthodox Christianity and which had a special place in training candidates for the last, great, missionary thrust. John McNicol was principal of TBC from 1906 - 1946, and he continued to have a major influence for the remaining decade of his life, at least in part because of the serious ill health of his successor and fellow-Presbyterian, J. B. Rhodes. McNicol, a native of Ottawa, and graduate of the University of Toronto and Knox College, closely identified himself and his school with Knox Church, although he was always unquestionably his own man.[31] He was assistant to A. B. Winchester until Winchester became Minister Extra Muros in 1920, and thereafter was a lifelong elder of Knox, virtually bringing TBC into its parish when it was moved to Spadina Avenue in 1928. McNicol was a Council Member of the China Inland Mission and the Sudan Interior Mission, two large Faith Missions, as well. Where he particularly showed his own mind

was in the way in which he rejected some of the more extreme forms of premillenarianism, expressed in his booklet, Fundamental But Not Dispensational, and perhaps most of all in his particular stress on the Holy Spirit. In this area McNicol insisted that all corporate decisions of student committees and the Board be arrived at by a consensus given by the Holy Spirit and that student conduct be governed not so much by comprehensive rules but sensitivity to the Spirit. In this way, McNicol was probably saying what Pentecostalism was emphisizing in another manner at the same time; namely, that error can best be defeated and truth maintained when there is a charismatic dimension to the witness. While the one stressed the power of the Spirit, the other emphasized the organic community produced and maintained by the same Spirit - both containing a reality which was seen as self-authenticating.

During the Inter-War period, with McNicol in full charge, Toronto Bible College rose to a full-time enrollment of 380. Over 200 students during McNicol's principalship proceeded to ordination, fulfilling the requirements for their respective communions, many of these being Presbyterians. So it is impossible to travel very far in Ontario Presbyterianism without meeting lay persons and ministers and their wives who did not have some training at TBC or OBC as it now is.[32] And the same people very often express appreciation for Knox Church and identify themselves with its approach.

Another constituent in this proto-Fundamentalist conservatism was a contingent of Irish Presbyterians. Although a significant section of Irish Presbyterianism, particularly west of the Ban river, never seems to have been too enthusiastically evangelical, in the eastern part of the province of Ulster, conservative evangelicalism was preponderant from the 1840's to the earlier twentieth century. Gradually shifting from a form of Confessionalism to a more mainstream evangelical position in the later nineteenth century, the inroads of liberalism were evident even in eastern Ulster early in the twentieth century. Fundamentalism was present among some of the ministers of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, but the movement came into its own during the upheavals in Ireland associated with partition. A significant Christian Awakening developed among lay people in the early twenties led by P.W. Nicholson.[33] Many of these young converts migrated to Canada to escape the 'troubles' of their day, and in Toronto Cooke's Church became the spiritual home of many. In Vancouver, Dr. Esler, who had once been at Cooke's, drew many of these fellow-countrymen of his around him in Robertson Church. And in his report to the Record after Union, as he reported on virtually the only congregation to remain Presbyterian in Vancouver, he appropriately expressed his own and the congregation's sentiments: 'Our people feel that they must set themselves to Gospel Evangelism as never before.'[34] So it is not inappropriate that his daughter Pauline should have been deaconess at Knox, Toronto, for many years. On the east coast the same emphasis was represented in Nova Scotia by another Irishman, Joseph Cathcart, of whom it was said that 'he was a devout man.

As a pastor, he was faithful, and as a preacher, he was highly evangelical.'[35] And in maintaining the succession, his daughters are married to Neil J. McLean, for many years minister of Sydney Mines, and to Wallace Whyte of West Hill, Toronto.

This same type of evangelical conservatism appeared at places on the Prairies as well, and with strong Bible School links. The district of Coleville in western Saskatchewan, which produced the Farris family and others of note in Canadian Presbyterianism, was largely maintained after Union by a lay preacher named Joseph Brent, who was a graduate of Moody Bible Institute. He was so highly regarded that in his old age he was ordained and appointed principal of the largely abortive Presbyterian Leadership Training School in Medicine Hat. Parkview Church, Saskatoon, was closely associated with the Saskatoon Bible Institute, with Mr. Nixon, the principal, being an active member of the congregation. And in the dust-bowl of south-western Saskatchewan, in the hamlet of Pambrun, an Irish Presbyterian farmer named Dickson gave a building and land for what became known as the Millar Memorial Bible Institute.[36] One of the local families active in the Presbyterian congregation and the Bible Institute were the Theobalds, and when Clare McGill, the future missionary to Taiwan, arrived one year as a summer missionary, he met his future wife, Grace Theobald. And when the Dicksons began to move from Pambrun, as almost everyone would do, it was quite natural that they would be found worshipping in Bridlewood Church, Toronto, and Fairview Church, Vancouver.

A study such as this would have no claim to anything like completeness without some reference to the above-mentioned Fairview. A number of Presbyterians had been converted and revitalized in their faith by the evangelistic campaign conducted by French Oliver of Moody Bible Institute in Vancouver in 1917. Among the minorities that coalesced to form Fairview in 1925 were a number who had been caught up in the Oliver movement, and when they began to search for a minister they thought of a man they had come to know well. Walter Ellis was an Englishman who had graduated from Wycliffe, Toronto. He proceeded to graduate studies at the University of Toronto in Semitics where J. F. McCurdy invited him to become an associate at the School of Archaeology in Cairo.[37] An invitation, however, to teach at Latimer House, Vancouver, an Anglican theological college, claimed his interest. He taught for five years but was out of a job when Latimer House and St. Jude's College united to form the Anglican Theological College. This event transpired not long before the Oliver campaign, and when one of the outgrowths was the Vancouver Bible School, Ellis was asked to become principal. His Thursday night lectures on the International Sunday School Lesson were particularly famous, with Christian workers form across Vancouver in attendance, including many of the founders of Fairview. So they asked him to become a Presbyterian and become their minister, to which he consented, on condition that he could remain principal of VBS as well, thus holding both positions until his death in 1944. And the Church and the Bible School had an even closer relation than Knox, Toronto, and TBC.

Walter Ellis and John McNicol maintained very close ties. The Vancouver School followed the TBC curriculum and organizational structure, and Ellis was invited on one occasion to join the TBC faculty. Although a premillenarian, Ellis like McNicol opposed its dispensational form. He also found great satisfaction in close links with the China Inland Mission. Although many of the VBS graduates became missionaries, and particularly with the C.I.M., Ted McPhee was one who became a Presbyterian minister. And Mr. Ellis' son Ted, although not a VBS graduate, became an ordained Presbyterian minister and a missionary in Taiwan.

Just as evangelical Confessionalism had constant difficulty in maintaining itself in the Presbyterian Church in Canada, so did the proto-Fundamentalists, although they had no major links with other countries which would allow them to retreat at will. But when it dawned on them that whatever the maintenance of the Presbyterian Church in Canada had meant, it did not mean victory for proto-Fundamentalism, then they were a chastened and sorry lot indeed. In fact, after World War II, there were signs that this strand of Canadian Presbyterianism might be coming to the end of its days. Although the more intensely Fundamentalist Bible institutes were experiencing unprecedented growth in the post-War era, the quiet conservatism of McNicol, Ellis and Nixon seemed doomed. The Saskatoon Bible Institute went out of existence in the early fifties, Vancouver Bible School ceased to operate in 1956 - only to be resuscitated a couple of years later by the Swedish Baptists - and Toronto Bible College began a lengthy slide in enrollment. Some congregations began to have obvious

difficulty, notably Cooke's in Toronto and Robertson in Vancouver, which may at least in part indicate how difficult it was for staunchly conservative Irish Presbyterianism to turn cultural corners in a new land. The shift of many young potential leaders from this attachment to Bryden's almost charismatic neo-orthodoxy was also a severe blow. But the end was not yet, for in the 1950s and early 1960s, a new group of young conservatives began to emerge, most graduating from Knox. Canadian born, raised and educated, not unduly concerned about millenarianism, some of them have turned out to be among the most effective pastors in the Presbyterian Church in Canada. So the conservative tradition has continued.

In recent years, the two strands of conservative evangelicalism in the Presbyterian Church in Canada have been joined by a very small Charismatic presence. Although conservatism may appear relatively homogeneous, there are strains and stresses between the various conservative strands. One instance of this occurred in Fairview Church, Vancouver, in the 1970s, when a Confessional minister, through emphasizing his distinctives, quickly reduced the congregation to a fraction of its former self. Although the congregation is now decimated, it is much happier with a minister from the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, much closer to its own brand of conservatism. At the same time, there are signs of a growing together among conservatives. Decline in millenarian interest on the part of some, a moderate and intelligent charismatic emphasis on the part of others, and a greater amount of ministerial

training in Canada, with the inevitable accompaniment of commitment to Canada and the Presbyterian Church in Canada, all point in this direction. Events at Cote des Neiges Church, Montreal, have pointed in this direction, until this quiet, conservative congregation in recent months has been thrust unexpectedly and uncharacteristically into the headlines of Canadian Presbyterianism. After the ministry of a Westminister Seminary man, and another from the Free Church of Scotland, a minister who had grown up in Fairview Church, Vancouver, was there for fifteen years. Now a young minister with his roots in the congregation of St. Andrew's Sherbrooke, has been called. As a graduate of Presbyterian College, Montreal, he might be thought of as one who would lead the congregation further and healthily in the direction of an indigenous Canadian conservative Presbyterianism. But this depends on the Presbytery of Montreal and the Judicial Commission of the General Assembly.

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13. Record, 1923, pp. 91f, 344; 1924, p. 91.

14. Ibid., 1923, p. 7; 1925, p. 11; 1926, p. 16.

15. Ibid., 1925, p. 135.

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26. W. Fitch, Knox Church, Toronto: Avant-Garde, Evangelical, Advancing, pp. 33-43.

27. Ibid., pp. 44-56.

28. Record, 1925, p. 224.

29. Farris, op. cit.

30. Fitch, op. cit., p. 61

31. W. Charlton, 'Dr. John McNicol and Toronto Bible College', The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers, 1977, 38-57.

32. At present fifty-one Presbyterian ministers have received some training at OBC.

33. S. W. Murray, W. P. Nicholson: Flame for God in Ulster.

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Catherine Winkworth:
An Intellectual Evangelical

Robert Wilson

Considering the volume of her hymns translated from the German, the quality of her scholarship, the durability of her reputation for over a century, Catherine Winkworth must be regarded as having had extraordinary talent. When we include other facets of her wide ranging interests--schemes to aid the poor, higher education for women, her distinction as a writer in fields other than hymn translation--the appraisal of extraordinary talent must be raised to one of creative distinction. When with these varied abilities we consider the excellence of her intellectual capacity suffused with a devoutness of faith, tempered by reason and tolerance we recognize that Miss Winkworth was remarkable not only in accomplishment but in character. Even today, when the resurgence of evangelical Christianity is so frequently marred by an excessive and rigid conservatism marked by anti-intellectualism, Catherine Winkworth is an appealing personality. The purpose of this paper is to examine the career of Catherine Winkworth, briefly to assess her contribution to English hymnody and to look at some of the persons who shaped the outlook of this truly remarkable woman.

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Catherine Winkworth was and has remained accepted as the

foremost translator of the German hymn. John Wesley's translations are frequently more poetic but Winkworth's are closer to the original. Certainly she outstripped Wesley in volume; she translated at least three hundred and eighty-four. Even today her hymns are widely used. The Book of Praise of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, for example, includes eleven of her translations. The most popular are probably "Praise to the Lord the Almighty"(Neander) "Now Thank We All Our God"(Rinkart), "Deck Thyself My Soul With Gladness"(Franck), "Now All the Woods Are Sleeping"(Gerhardt).

"Now Thank We All Our God" is so established as part of our heritage that no occasion of national thanksgiving in the English speaking world would be complete without the singing of this magnificent hymn. All of these hymns are so felicitous in their expression as to be among the greatest in our language. Erik Routley, a distinguished hymnologist, has described them as "...great irreplaceable hymns"[1]

Secondly, Winkworth's interest and work for higher education for women is reflected not only in her translation of The Life of Miss Sieveking but resulted in the founding of University College, Bristol University. On her death her friends endowed a scholarship in her name. This achievement is mentioned on her memorial in Bristol Cathedral.[2]

Thirdly, her generosity of spirit to others working in her field, her tolerance for those with whom she disagreed in theology, her devotion to social causes and her intellectual discipline make her a uniquely likeable mid-Victorian. She remained a devout member of the Church of England, even when other members of her family embraced Unitarianism. Yet when she wrote on matters of faith her views, although clearly evangelical, reveal a profound respect for the intellectual integrity of others —an attitude profoundly differing from the inflexibility of contemporaries who would have been considered "liberal".

The persons who influenced her development and thought whom we shall consider in this paper are: James Martineau, William and Elizabeth Gaskell, and Chevalier Bunsen. In his day James Martineau was a distinguished theologian and a significant philosopher. His challenge to the concept that Scripture must be the sole basis of our knowledge of divine Truth was shocking even to his Unitarian colleagues.

William Gaskell, a scholarly Unitarian minister whose sense of style in English prose was so strong that he did not hesitate to correct the letters of his more distinguished wife, the novelist Elizabeth Gaskell. His lessons in English composition and translation from German poetry undoubtably enhanced Catherine's skill as a translator.

Mrs Gaskell proved a good friend to Catherine, providing the support of a kind-hearted, intelligent and mature companion. One can hardly imagine a more stable person than Elizabeth Gaskell. On first meeting the Winkworth sisters were overawed by her reputation and her intellectual attainments. In the end "Lily" (Mrs Gaskell's

nickname) charmed them by the astuteness and humour of her observations of human nature. Her contact with the literary world led to their presentation to this society. Charlotte Bronte, Mrs Carlyle, James and Harriet Martineau and the Chevalier Bunsen were all introduced to Catherine by the Gaskells.

Gaskell and Martineau, Winkworth's teachers, were responsible for forming her sensiblity to the niceties of German and English and, above all, for giving the young Victorian a breadth of outlook sharply in contrast with our stereotype of the mid-nineteenth century woman.

In the field of her specialization, the German hymn, Catherine was advised by an illustrious scholar the Chevalier Bunsen. Forgotten today, he was in the first sixty years of the nineteenth century regarded as one of the most astute and skilled diplomatists in Europe because of his role in the development of Prussian/Papal relations. A man of great talent as lawyer, historian and philologist, he was a true cosmopolitan, equally at home in Berlin, Rome or London. As a lay theologian his respect for tradition and faith was always counterposed to the new rationalistic approach. At heart he was a humanist in the tradition of Schiller and Goethe.

Matthew Arnold said of him:

> I have seen men as holy, as amiable, as able, but I never knew one who was all three in so extraordinary a degree, and combined with a knowledge of all things, new and old sacred and profane, so rich, so accurate, so profound that I never knew it equalled or approached by any man.[5]

With such credentials it is little wonder that he was Queen Victoria's personal choice as Prussian ambassador to the Court of St. James. Would that his equal should arise to lead diplomatic iniatives today.

Catherine Winkworth's social concerns seem substanially to have been influenced by the practical work of Frederic Denis Maurice and to a lesser degree by Charles Kingsley. Both were vigorous supporters of social justice for whom the gospel had to have application as well as theology.

Perhaps the most profound influence on Catherine Winkworth's life, next to her mother, was that of her gifted sister Susanna. They worked together as collaborators at first but later, as they developed separate areas of interest, they grew independent. Nevertheless throughout their lives they were always in touch and their correspondence deals not only with their literary and social interests but is frequently a searching exchange of their spiritual concerns.

Susanna had a brilliant and inquiring mind but lacked the independence of thought that was her sister's. She worshipped those whose intellect she admired and seems to have been less able objectively to evaluate them in terms of her own intellectual analysis than was Catherine.

Catherine, the fourth daughter of Henry Winkworth was born on September 13, 1827 in London. Her father was a substantial though not wealthy silk manufacturer and an ardent evangelical member of the Church of England. His father, the Reverend William Winkworth as incumbent of St. Saviour's (Southwark) had been a close friend of the great leaders of the Evangelical movement:

William Romaine, Richard Cecil, John Newton and Roland. It is interesting that all of these were hymn writers and indeed hymns seemed to have had a special place in the Winkworth household.

Her maternal grandfather Stephen Dickenson was a staunch adherent to Evangelical doctrine as a strongly Calvinistic dissenter. He had been turned out of his father's home for his theological views and with his brother became a disciple of George Whitefield and later joined the chapel of the Countess of Huntington at Tunbridge Wells. The brothers were pillars of the chapel. Susanna describes them as "men of ardent piety and consistent lives" and recalls their concern for family worship. Hymn singing was their constant recreation when the work of the day was over.[6]

Catherine's mother shared husband's zeal and instructed her children in the catechism and the hymns of Isaac Watts. Her time was devoted to developing both the spiritual life and intellectual capacity of her children. Susanna recounts:

> Thus it will be seen that our childhood was passed in the warmest atmosphere of Evangelical devotion and our earliest heroes were all the great missionaries or preachers. While still quite children we were sometimes taken to three services on Sunday besides teaching in the Sunday School and a missionary meeting at Exeter Hall was the greatest delight of our lives.[8]

As a child Catherine was delicate and indeed poor health plagued her throughout her life. She was precocious and had learned to read by the age of three.

Mr and Mrs Winkworth moved to Manchester taking Catherine and the other children except Susanna with them. The transfer to Manchester was to be of great significance. While physically, at a slightly earlier period, it may have been depressing if Mrs Gaskell's description in North and South is to be taken literally, at the time of the Winkworth's stay there it had become a city of manufacturers who were certainly affluent and were willing and financially able to support culture and a stimulating intellectual milieu.

It boasted as residents James and Harriet Martineau —two of the most incisive minds in England. It was the home of Elizabeth Gaskell who had already achieved fame as a novelist and writer of short stories. It was graced by Sir Charles Halle founder of the orchestra which still bears his name.

The society of Manchester was typical of Victorian England. Frequently religious beliefs lead to social alienation. The Evangelicals did not mix with the Unitarians and the exponents of the High Church. The Winkworth sisters tended to move in Unitarian circles due partially to the influence of Gaskell and Martineau but essentially because they found the Unitarians more stimulating. Individuals of the Established Church might have had a higher level of intellect, but Unitarians were more perceptive.[9]

Many German merchants who had established themselves in the cloth industry of Manchester, although not Unitarian in doctrine, attended the Unitarian Chapels because of the superior preaching.

This distain for the intellectual capacity of members of the Established Church and especially its High Church branch

was not limited to Manchester society. Charlotte Bronte confided to her close friends Catherine Winkworth and Elizabeth Gaskell that Mr Nicholls, her fiance, was certainly her intellectual inferior "...he is a Puseyite and very stiff. I fear that it will stand in the way of my intercourse with some of my friends."[9] There is more than a suggestion that the theology of Pusey was antithetical to intellectual vigour. In the first month of their stay in Manchester Catherine became "...a companion to her mother, almost from babyhood a relation which certainly stimulated at once the natural precocity of the child and also the natural goodness of ther disposition."[10]

As her daughter's first governess Mrs Winkworth was an important influence. Susanna recounts "The doctrines taught were those of the Calvinistic Evangelical School of Newton, Romaine, Toplady."[11] This austere interpretation of the Gospel was tempered by the mother's emphasis on the love of God. "In fact she was not altogether so strict and logical a Calvinist as many of her religious friends thought she should be and sometimes she got into disgrace as a consequence."[12]

By 1841 the family was united in Manchester. Susanna writes "Emily and I too were greatly rejoicing that our sadly interrupted education was to be resumed in the most delightful manner possible by lessons by Mr Gaskell."[13] The choice of a Unitarian minister to educate the daughters of an evangelical family is strange. Perhaps with the death of his wife Winkworth could not say "no" to his daughters. He certainly had grave reservation not only about the teacher but also about the subject matter of the instruction.

> He was apt to think the more solid studies on which we were bent rather superfluous, fearing in his heart I believe, both that they should lead lead us into unsafe regions of speculation and that they should put us out of sympathy with the society in which we found ourselves. Both fears were by no means groundless.[14]

Indeed Catherine alone of the Winkworth daughters retained her allegiance to the Church of England. The others became closely identified with Unitarianism.

When Catherine was fourteen she and her sisters Susanna, Selina and Emily attended a series of lectures on astronomy given by a Mr Wallis. He was a sympathetic teacher who offered to review the girls' notes to ensure that they had understood the subject matter. So brilliant were those of Catherine that Wallis felt she had copied from her sisters. On one occasion she was alone at the lecture. The notes were precise and correct. Convinced of their originality he spoke to her: "My dear child, do you know that God has given you very remarkable abilities? Proceeding with a solemn little lecture on her responsibilities to the talent thus committed to her charge; a lecture she never forgot."[15]

The death of her mother must have been a severe loss to this brilliant and sensitive child who learned so much of love and tolerance in the example of her mother's life and held a firmly founded faith based on her teaching.

In 1845 Winkworth remarried. Eliza Leyburn was a warm, understanding woman who felt an almost child-like pleasure in

marrying into a family with literary promise. Although she lacked the intellectual rigour of Catherine's mother she warmly supported the work of her brilliant step-children who returned her affection although Catherine was drawn very close to her father in later years. We may safely assume that Eliza Winkworth supported the liberalizing attitudes instilled by the first Mrs Winkworth.

Shortly after her father's remarriage Catherine went on an extended visit to an aunt in Dresden. The period was important as it gave opportunity to widen her interest in music and art. It also was important because she was exposed to German rationalism.

On her return to England she found her early beliefs had been rudely shattered by her exposure to the works of Goethe and had left her "much inclined to replace them by the worship of art and culture."[16] James Martineau helped Catherine to re-establish her faith. Probably with reluctance her father allowed his daughters to enroll in classes in philosophy and logic woth Martineau. It was he who lead her from a "Sturm und Drang Periode" into an incisive system of logic. She remained grateful to him throughout her life.[17] (Today James Martineau's reputation has been overshadowed by that of his brilliant although erratic sister Harriet. She appears to have had little influence on the sisters who found her overbearing and harsh, a view shared by Elizabeth Gaskell who resented her niggling interference in the writing of the biography of Charlotte Bronte.)[18]

Throughout a long and intimate friendship Martineau was kind and understanding, and always supportive of the literary efforts

of both his brilliant pupils. While he did not provide guidance or direct criticism his enthusiastic reception of The Lyra Germanica must, for example, have given satisfaction to Catherine.

Despite her respect for Martineau not only as a philosopher but as a true Christian her sister assessed his influence as follows:

> ...Nevertheless, I do not think she at anytime adopted Mr Martineau's view with regard to Christian doctrine or teaching of Scripture and certainly when by degrees her notions of theology grew clearer, and firmer into forms of thought more or less resembling those held by such men as Maurice, Hare, Kingsley or Baldwin.[19]

Susanna seems rather to have overlooked the profound differences between her sister's theology and that of either Maurice or Kingsley. It was their love for God translated into social action that drew her rather than any doctrinal considerations.

On the other had the rigours of Martineau's logic always attracted even if it did not always convince. The respect of the sisters was expressed by Susanna in a letter to Catherine dated March 16, 1857. "...What is new that cannot be traced to other sources than Christianity. If only one could do it! But Mr Martineau can."[20]

From Gaskell and Martineau Catherine had received an excellent grounding: the one gave her discipline of thought; the other refinement of literary skills. It is interesting that Gaskell assigned his students German poems to translate into English. Both girls developed great competency in his classroom.

Susanna reports "...she Catherine had always succeeded well with the translation of German poetry which Mr Gaskell required of his pupils."[21] Catherine was fully aware of her and Susanna's ability. In a letter of April 9, 1851 to Susanna she writes "I am reading Oxenford's translation of Eckermann's Conversations with Goethe an extraordinarily interesting book, but the translation not a bit better nor so good as we could do...It has rather encouraged me."[22]

Gaskell, the schoolmaster/critic continued his interest and proposed improvements and corrections to The Lyra Germanica. "Mr Gaskell has found no end of faults for me..."[23] Catherine showed her gratitude by including his translation of Luther's "Ein feste Burg" in the second edition of The Lyra. Catherine had always felt ill at ease with the rougher metres of Luther's hymns. Her forte was the hymnody of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Dr Martineau, writing to Catherine on October 6, 1853, makes an interesting comment on what is the essential excellence of her translations.

> It is easy to see at once that your translation introduces them [German hymns] to the English reader with the least possible drawback from passing out of their own language. The difficulty of naturalizing them arises, I think, less from the mere interposition of a foreign medium than from a fundamental difference of national feeling in regards to religion. The extreme inwardness of the German Christian sentiment appears to the English a little sickly and unreal. The more descriptive

> or historical hymns of our own country seem to Germans painfully anthropomorphic and usually deficient in a close personal appropriation of the life and death of the Redeemer. A better service cannot be rendered than such a mediation between the two, as your volume tends to effect.[24]

Her comprehension of the German spirit was recognized by Bunsen, himself at ease in both cultures. Acknowledging Catherine's dedication of The Lyra Germanica to him he wrote:

> Mein Liebes Fräulein Winkworth,-Das Herz treibt mich Ihnen Deutsch zu reden, da sie mir meine deutschen Lieblingslieder, die heiligen Gesänge meines Volkes so herrlich verstanden und wiedergegeben haben. Ich danke Ihnen also doppelt fur Ihre freundliche Zueingnung: es ist mir eine wahre Ehre und Freude meinen Namen mit einem so gelungenen Werke verbunden zu sehn. Meine Frau und Tochter theilen meine Bewunderung dafür, und grüssen Sie herzlich. Ich habe auch andere Beweise, wie sehr fromme englische Christenseelen sich daran erbauen, als an einem Nationalwerke. Das Buch wird seinen Weg machen. Ihre Vorerinnerungen sind sehr zweckmässig und klar...
>
> Da haben Sie mein Angebinde fur eine zweite oder vierte oder zehnte Ausgabe!
>
> * * *
>
> BUNSEN.[25]

Bunsen's feeling that these hymns would become regarded as national works was extremely prescient. Certainly "Now Thank We All Our God" is clearly as much a part of the English religious patrimony as of the German. That many of the hymns have become a part of a joint Christian heritage is certainly an important aspect of their significance.

In the mid nineteenth century tolerance was rare, ecumenicity unheard of. The evangelicals did not mingle with the high church. The dissenting chapels went their own way. Roman Catholics were universally distrusted if not disliked by all protestant groups. Even a man with the tolerance of Bunsen could argue about the uniqueness of German theology. Responding to Susanna's interest in the Deutsche Theologie he wrote: "Only dear friend go forward on this path and a greater light will arise for you upon Christ and Christianity than is contained in any English formularies whatever."[26] Maurice indicates the same nationalistic attitude. Writing to Susanna and having commended her for not attempting to "un-Germanize" the Zeichen der Zeiten he continues:

> In spite of Mr Bunsen's long residence in England, of his English life, and of all the relations into which has entered with Englishmen, I do not know of anyone who is so little capable of placing himself in our points of view, or of seeing things not only as we do see them, but as, by the laws which God has imposed upon us, we must see them.[27]

Evidently man was made in the image of God, but the casting of an Englishman was less flawed than others.

> ...and you have therefore done a good to Germany and England, as well as an honour to your author, in exhibiting him strictly as a German patriot; strong when he has his foot upon his own soil, very weak, as I venture to think when he tries to lay down laws for others.[28]

We are not emphasizing Maurice because he was more biased than the rest. The opposite is true. This was a man regarded as tolerant and liberal, a model of broad-mindedness. Again in 1856, writing to Susanna he says

> Because I see this tendency dualism so prevalent among us, because I see how the nature of the Father and the Son are set in direct contradiction, therefore I feel the assertion of their essential and eternal unity in one spirit to be the business of my life. There is nothing else I have to maintain it, in God's strength and by his spirit we must be at war with all sects and we may be instruments of bringing about the true peace which shall come when they are extinguished.[29]

Such intolerance was repugnant to both sisters. Susanna seems to have espoused a kind of Unitarianism which is always coloured by memories of her Evangelical childhood. Catherine, except for the the one adolescent lapse from orthodoxy in Dresden, stayed close to her church and the teaching of her parents. Yet she appreciated and admired many aspects of the thought of those whose theology she rejected. With Maurice she could not agree when he insisted that only those baptized in the Anglican rite could be saved. For her salvation rested in the love of God and the redemptive work of Christ. Yet she admired Maurice's

work as founder of the Working Men's College and his efforts to raise the level of the poor. His work was the model for her own efforts in the field of education for women.

Her respect for the social views of Kingsley is expressed in a letter of November 1850 to Susanna:

> But reading Alton Locke makes one almost dissatisfied with oneself and plunges one into doubts which so often rise up whether it can be right to devote money and time to anything else than striving to raise up the poor and ignorant while their condition is so wretched.[30]

Kingsely was sincerely respected by the sisters. Catherine would certainly have subscribed to the tribute Susanna paid him:

> ...He has been working himself almost to death, what with preaching, visiting the sick and holding Bible classes for the young, teaching the old men of his parish to read and giving the young men of his parish English History. He must be a glorious man.[31]

This description of Kinglsey could almost be of Catherine in her later life. She seems to have dropped her literary activities and immersed herself in social and educational work. Catherine was always a supporter of women seeking a place in society but was never a feminist. Writing to Richard Massie in 1864:

> Many of those who make so much noise about "Women's Work" nowadays might learn...how much may be accomplished by quietly embracing any

> opportunity of usefulness opened to the mind and making no necessary stir about it.[32]

Her formal work was as a governor of the Red Maids School for underpriveleged women and on the Council of Chettenham Ladies College, but her most important work was visiting and encouraging people. In 1874 she wrote to her sister Emma expressing her satisfaction woth her accomplishment and her frustration with the fact that she has so little time left for literary work.

> ... My sort of visiting...is among young ladies who tell me their love affairs and their religious doubts and difficulties and lonely middle-aged women who tell me their sicknesses and troubles ...But I am often tossed in my mind whether a life in which I neither write books nor visit the poor is rightly arranged for a woman who is not married nor an invalid...However I can't do more I think than I do.

She continues about her formal educational work:

> As to my educational work. I can well see that that is likely to take new forms before long, which may require much less of my personal work. If the new College of Science and Literature is founded at Bristol by next year, our lectures and classes may be absorbed into that...[33]

One of the most enthusiastic testimonies to her success as a visitor came from an old man: "Why you could not find a single thing in the newspapers that she did not know all about

it. I'd liefer listen to her than go to the public house."[34]

Moderate in her thought and action it was her tact and patience that brought success to her efforts in education. She avoided engendering opposition. The idea of educating girls was so revolutionary that any failure or public criticism might have endangered the whole project. That she succeeded is demonstrated by the invitation she received to be one of a delegation of three from England to a Congress of Women Workers convoked by H. R. H. the Grand Duchess of Hesse in 1872. That her prestige was recognized is clear. "She [the Grand Duchess] has commissioned me to send her all mannner or higher Educational material for the benefit of Germany so I must collect them when I get home."[35] Despite this international reputation she was angered by a reporter in the Daily Telegraph who suggested that the delegates had gone in for "Women's Rights" and insisted that "Princess Alice is no more a 'Woman's Rights' woman than I am!"[36]

The whole group was singularly unaffected by the contemporary scientific upheaval that arose from the work of Darwin. Martineau and Bunsen were really eighteenth century philosophers indeed Bunsen was the epitome of an encyclopedist. That certainly why they have dropped from memory. They were in many anachronisms and the new science made their work invalid or at best of antiqarian interest. Maurice's work with the uneducated poor is of mildly historical interest. Kingsley's novels are rarely read outside of the universities. Winkworth's work alone has remained valid and still influential. Her durability is based on the profound and timeless significance of the works she translated. But quality of thought alone could not have

ensured her continuing popularity. It was the brillance of her scholarship, the sensibility of her insight into German and English and the broad intuitive search for truth that made it possible for her to create an idiom true to the original and yet harmonious to English thought.

Winkworth's hymn translations appeared in three separate volumes: The Lyra Germanica: Hymns for the Sundays, and Chief Festivals of Christian Year; the second volume was Lyra Germanica: Second Series, The Christian Life. Both of these were essentially devotional handbooks for the personal edification of the Christian rather than for use in public worship. In 1862 following Bunsen's further urging The Chorale Book for England was published. Charles Hallé, unable to aid in the project himself, recommended Sterndale Bennet and later Otto Goldschmidt, husband of Jenny Lind, worked on the selection and adaptation of the great chorale tunes. Many of the hymns had to be re-worked so that the metre and rhythms of original and translation would accord. It was this effort that launched these hymns into the realm of congregational use. The chorale book never became generally accepted as did Hymns Ancient and Modern, the first true hymnary for congregational use. Nevertheless it is from this source that Winkworth's translations have been picked up by all denominations. Most critics would acknowledge that Wesley's translations may have been poetically more outstanding, but Winkworth especially with The Chorale Book was able to tranplant the spirit of German protestantism, evangelical, reformed or pietistic and make of it a significant element of the English tradition.

We are grateful for her work, but it is in the context of her intellect, of her theological tolerance and sensitivity that we recognize the importance of this hymnist. This gifted woman by the variety of her interests in the service of God and man has much to teach us a hundred and twenty five years later. Those who feel that the search for truth is a matter of integrity of mind and of devout faith must be grateful to the intellectual evangelical who demonstrated the possibility of combining with these attributes a tolerance that allows us to discern truth even from those with whom we have no absolute agreement and "...to protest in the Church against that spirit of exclusiveness and uncharitableness which is too common among the orthodox of all kinds."[36]

End Notes

1 Robin A. Leaver, Catherine Winkworth: The Influence of Her Translations on English Hymnody, (St Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1978)

2 M. J. Shaen, Memorials of Two Sisters: Susanna and Catherine Winkworth, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1908) p. 330 f.

In Memory of
CATHERINE WINKWORTH
Who, in her Lyra Germanica,
The treasures of German sacred poetry,
Opened a new source of light, consolation, and strength
In many thousand homes.

Her works reveal a clear harmonious intellect
A gift of true poetic insight and expression,
And the firm Christian faith
Which was the mainspring of a life
Rich in tender and affectionate ministration
And fruitful in various fields of active service.

Her loss is mourned by all who shared her labour,
And by the many friends whom death has bereft
O her rare sympathy, her wise counsel,
Her bright companionship, and her unfailing help
In every time of need.

To commemorate her work, and to perpetuate
Her efforts for the better education of women,
A scholarship, bearing her name,
Has been founded in University College, Bristol
By friends who now dedicate this tablet

Born in London, September 13th, 1827
Died in Monnetier, Savoy, July 1st, 1878

"The child has now its Father seen,
And feels what kindling love may be,
And knoweth what those words may mean,
'Himself, the Father, loveth thee'."
LYRA GERMANICA

3 Elizabeth Gaskell, The Letters of Elizabeth Gaskell, J.A.V. Chapple and Arthur Pollard (editors), (Manchester: University Press, 1966) p. 34
In a letter to her sister-in-law, Elizabeth Laled, dated August 19, 1938 Mrs Gaskell writes, "When I had finished my last letter William looked at it and said it was 'slip-shod'—and seemed to wish me not to send it, but though I felt it was not a particularly nice letter I thought I would send it, or you would wonder why I did not write."

4 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters p. 71, p. 135
5 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters p. 51
6 M.J. Shaen, Memoiral to Two Sisters p. 5
7 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters p. 6
8 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters p. 25
9 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters p. 111
10 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters p. 7
11 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters p. 8
12 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters p. 9
13 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters p. 11
14 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters p. 15
15 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters p. 11
16 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters p. 15
17 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters p. 20
18 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters p.17
19 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters p.18
20 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters p.89
21 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters p. 119

22 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters, p.71

23 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters, p.133

24 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters, p.131

25 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters, p. 130

26 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters, p.94

27 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters, p.140

28 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters, p.141

29 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters, p.153

30 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters, p. 60-61

31 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters, p. 66

32 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters, p.236

33 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters, p. 308-309

34 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters, p.96

35 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters, p.288

36 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters, p.292

37 M.J. Shaen, Memorial to Two Sisters, p. 197

HENRY MILTON PARSONS

OF KNOX CHURCH, TORONTO

(1828-1913)

by Ronald Sawatsky

I. Introduction

Several years ago, while reading through the late Ernest Sandeen's landmark study, The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930, my attention was caught by the following two sentences:

> One of the long-time leaders of the Niagara conference was Henry M. Parsons (1828-1913), who served a Presbyterian church in Buffalo, New York, during the 1870s and moved to Knox Presbyterian Church in Toronto in the 1890s. Parsons, who participated in almost all of the Niagara conferences and in many other conferences which stemmed from Niagara, was only one of many Canadian Presbyterian, Baptist, and Anglican clergymen active in the conference.[1]

In a footnote which followed, my curiosity was piqued even further.

> Other Canadian participants in the Niagara conferences were the Reverend Thomas Hardrope, one-time moderator of the Canadian Presbyterian church; the Reverend

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William Stewart, principal of the Toronto Bible Training School; the Reverend Maurice S. Baldwin, bishop of Huron; the Reverend Elmore Harris, and quite a number of laymen.[2]

A number of intriguing questions immediately came to mind. Who were these men and where did they come from? What was the nature of their involvement in the Niagara conferences and what was their involvement, in general, in the greater world around them. What was the nature of their teaching; what, if anything was unique in terms of each man's contribution to the development of millenarianism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries? Finally, was there a uniquely "Canadian" contribution to the Fundamentalist movement in North America? This essay on Henry Parsons is an attempt to begin the process of answering some of these questions.

II. THE EARLY YEARS

Henry Martyn Parsons was born November 13, 1828 as the second youngest of six children of the Rev. Isaac Parsons (BA Yale 1811) and Sarah Budd (Lyon) Parsons.[1] Isaac Parsons, a prominent Congregational minister, was at that

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[2]Ibid., p. 143.

[1]Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale, deceased during year ending June 1, 1913, p. 357. See also The Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-Ninth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, Toronto, 1913, p. 587.

point just beginning his twelfth year of a forty year pastorate at the First Congregational Church at East Haddam, Connecticut.[2] There is very little information available about Henry's childhood but it seems that Henry was deeply influenced by his father. In 1870 a biographer of Isaac Parsons described him as one of a class of New England ministers who

> . . . were men of rare qualifications for their times, being thoroughly educated, imbued with a strong sense of the value of sound learning, devout, and strictly Christian in sentiment, patient of labor, difficulties and the hardships of their work and life.[3]

Henry's education, like his father's, was also excellent. During 1842-44 he was "fitted for college" at Williston Seminary, Easthampton, Massachusetts.[4] The next year he entered Yale College and graduated with the class of 1844-48.[5] The years at Yale meant that he received a

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[2]East Haddam, Connecticut is a small town in Middlesex County; it lies on the east side of the Connecticut River, about 25 miles south of Hartford and about 15 miles from the Atlantic coast. Isaac Parsons became a prominent Congregational minister in New England. The year 1828 was important as the year in which a new constitution was accepted in which the Congregational churches were removed from State support. I. Parsons went on to become a founder in 1883 of the Pastoral Union and he also served on the Board of Trustees of the Theological Institute of Connecticut (later Hartford Seminary) from 1837 to 1853. David S. Brainerd, "Isaac Parsons" The Congregational Quarterly, Whole No. XLVIII, Vol. XII, No. 4, October 1870, pp. 477-483.

[3]Ibid., p. 477.

[4]The following information on Parsons' education is taken from the Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale. . . p. 357 and The Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-Ninth General Assembly. . . 1913, p. 587.

thorcughly classical education as was usual for those times. There appears to be no information regarding where he was ranked in his class. After graduation he taught at a select school in Lyme, Connecticut for two years (1848-50). During the school year 1850/51 Parsons taught at the Richmond Academy in Richmond, Virginia.[6] While in Richmond, he was "born from above", and joined the Grace Street Presbyterian Church in Richmond on May 8, 1851.[7] He was at that point twenty-two years of age.

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[5]The Yale College Annual Catalogue, 1844-45 contains a detailed description of the course of study for incoming freshmen in 1844-45. The terms of admission are interesting: "Candidates for admission to the Freshman Class, are examined in Cicero's Select Orations, the whole of Virgil, Sallust, Jacob's, Colton's or Felton's Greek Reader, the first three books of Xenophon's Anabasis, Andrews and Stoddard's Greek Grammar, Goodrich's or Sophocles' Greek Grammar, Andrews' Latin Exercises, Latin Prosody, Arithmetic, English Grammar and Geography." The catalogue notes that since most candidates are deficient in the "Latin and Greek Grammar, Latin Prosody and Composition, Geography, and the theoretical part of Arithmetic", it is necessary that the examinations in these subjects be "strict and comprehensive". (P. 27) The education is a classical one with a stress on the proper balance between literature and science. (P. 31) The tuition for the first year amounted to $54.00!

[6]The academy was run by J.C.P. Bennett. One of Parsons' long-time friends also taught here at the same time, the Rev. Luther Hart Cone (1829-1906). Cone graduated from Union Theological Seminary in 1854. His third pastorate, begun in 1867, was at Olivet Church in Springfield, Massachusetts. Parsons was connected with this church for a short time. Cone officiated at the funerals of Parsons' first two wives, Mary Elizabeth and Sarah Johnson Parsons. See newspaper clippings filed in the "T" section of the members list of a journal at Knox Church, Toronto entitled: "Dr. Parsons, Records Dec. 1, 1870, Baptisms, Marriages, Deaths up to 1912."

[7]This reference to Parsons' conversion in 1850 or 1851 is found in the 1913 Acts and Proceedings. . . and is the only reference to this event that this researcher has been able to find.

In the fall of 1851 Henry entered the Connecticut Theological Institute (now Hartford Seminary) and graduated from there in 1854. In February of 1854 he was licensed by the Hartford South Association and then assumed his first pastorate as the associate pastor of the First Church of Christ (Congregational) in Springfield, Massachusetts on November 14 of the same year. For the next eight years he worked with the pastor of the church, the Rev. Samuel Osgood,DD (BA Dartmouth 1805); this continued until 1862 when Parsons succeeded him upon his death.[8] He stayed in the Springfield church for fifteen years, declining several calls from other churches. Evidently his fame as a minister was spreading, and these years appear to be a period of personal growth and consolidation for the young minister.

III. FROM BOSTON TO BUFFALO

In 1870, after fifteen years in Springfield, Parsons accepted a call to become the associate pastor with the the Rev. Nehemiah Adams, DD (BA Harvard 1826) at the Union Church in Boston.[1] This period of his ministry appears to have been largely uneventful except that his work in the

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[8]Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale. . . 1913, p. 357.

[1]Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale.. . . 1913, p. 357.

church was marked by a special concern for the growth of the Sunday School. In 1874, he was invited to deliver an address to the Ninth Connecticut Sunday School Convention; the address was subsequently published at the request of the convention.

In the address Parsons makes a careful case for the introduction of the Sunday School as a separate afternoon service of the church rather than simply having a Sabbath School for a half hour between the morning and afternoon services. He presents nine reasons why he believes the Sunday School is an appropriate place of religious learning especially for adults; he also stresses that the pastor should be the leader.

> Let the pastor be the leader and a teacher in this service [the Bible Service or the Sunday School], as he is from the pulpit, in one of the services. Only vary the form. Instead of one text, use the uniform lesson. Instead of one teacher, adopt the system and classification of the Sabbath School. Introduce as teachers for adult classes, the best minds of the church. Give the pastor, in his class, all the members of the church and congregation, not enlisted elsewhere, and let the teaching in all the classes be catechetical. Question and answer from the individual are what we need to revive an interest in God's Word [sic], and make it a power on the conscience.[2]

Of further interest is Parsons' comment in the course of the address that this system was introduced in the First

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[2]Henry M. Parsons, An Address delivered by the Rev. Henry M. Parsons of Boston at the Ninth Connecticut Sunday School Convention, held at Meriden, May 19, 20, & 21, 1874, and published at the request of the Convention, p. 3. (Copy in the Congregational Library, Boston.)

Church of Christ in Springfield in 1858 (during Parsons' fourth year as associate pastor). He also notes that the system has now been operative there for twelve years and that the church which was ranked as seventeenth in the State of Massachusetts in 1858 is now ranked as second. "And in the corresponding fruits of benevolence, Christian work, care of the poor, use of the church services, it stands to-day [sic] in the first rank of the churches in the State."[3] Clearly for Parsons, bigger was better, and his interest in the Sunday School was one which continued throughout the rest of his life. For example, his "Day Book" of extra meetings during his twenty years of active ministry in Toronto includes a number of references to the meetings of Sunday School associations at which he was a speaker.

After four years at the Union Church in Boston, Parsons resigned, and from the beginning of 1875 through October of 1877 Parsons tried his hand at a variety of tasks. He preached at the Springfield Street Presbyterian Church in Boston for eight months, and he also taught the International Lessons for two years to large classes of Sunday School teachers in Boston, Cambridge and Charlestown.[4]

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[3]Ibid., p. 8.

[4]Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale, . . . 1913,

In December of 1875, Parsons was involved in the organization of a new Congregational church in Boston, and in February of 1876 he became the pastor of the Olivet Congregational Church in that city. Within nine months (November 1877) he had already been installed as the pastor of the Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church in Buffalo, New York.[5] According to one source Parsons' pastorate in Buffalo followed on the heels of the church's first pastor, Dr. Grosvenor W. Heacock. Heacock's ministry was apparently "a hard act to follow".[6] The Session minutes of the church hint that all was not well at the church in November of 1879.

> . . . that we hereby pledge ourselves to work cordially with our pastor during the rest of his pastorate for the peace and welfare of this church and the glory of Christ and refrain from all acts and words that tend to sow discord. . .[7]

By March of 1880 Parsons resigned from the church in Buffalo in order to accept a call to serve as pastor of Knox Presbyterian Church in Toronto, Ontario. The Session of the Lafayette Avenue Church accepted the resignation after paying high tribute to Parsons and the benefits of his ministry.[8]

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p. 357-358.

[5]Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale, . . . 1913, p. 358 and also from a letter to the author from Daniel A. Borchard, Elder (Emeritus), Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church, July 23, 1982.

[6]Letter from Daniel A. Borchard.

[7]Ibid, the meeting was held on November 17, 1879.

IV. THE TORONTO YEARS

At a congregational meeting of Knox Church in January 1880 at which the members were discussing the three candidates on their short list for a new pastor, one of the prominent church members, the senior elder, the Hon. John McMurrich, claimed responsibility for bringing Henry Parsons to Toronto to preach for a call.[1] McMurrich went on to state the reasons why he thought Parsons was the right person to replace the Rev. Alexander Topp, DD, who had died "in the saddle" on October 6, 1879. McMurrich described Parsons as a "great pulpit power, good platform speaker and at home at the sickbed and deathbed."[2] On April 15, 1880 Henry

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[8]Ibid, the meeting of the Session was held on March 15, 1880.

[1]Knox Church, Minutes of Congregation and Trustees, Mar. 10, 1858 - Jan. 11, 1899. See January 28, 1880. For a detailed account of the history of Knox Church see William Fitch, Knox Church, Toronto: Avant-garde, Evangelical, Advancing (Published by William Fitch, Toronto, printed and bound by John Deyell Ltd., 1971.) Also at a jubilee celebration of Parsons ministry in 1904, the Rev. John Potts of Victoria College noted that McMurrich "spoke to me of Dr. Parsons coming to Knox Church and Dr. Parsons wrote me from Buffalo on the same subject." This from a packet in the Knox Church Archives entitled, "Letters re: Rev. Dr. Parsons[sic] Jubilee, Tuesday, Nov. 15th '04."

[2]Knox Church, Minutes of Congregation and Trustees. . ., January 28, 1880. There were three candidates for the position: Parsons, the Rev. P. McLeod of Stratford and the Rev. Stuart Campbell (son of a Presbyterian missionary to India), a member of Knox Church. Two votes were taken on January 28. (1) Parsons 86, McLeod 43 and Campbell 10. (2)

Parsons was inducted into the pastorate at Knox Church, Toronto.

The twenty years of active ministry of Henry Parsons at Knox Church were in most respects good years for the church. One way to measure this is through the carefully compiled statistics which Parsons kept. When he took over as pastor in 1880 there were 535 members. By 1888 there were 1002 members (almost a 100 per cent increase in eight short years). Unfortunately, since the church was located downtown, on Queen Street between Yonge and Bay, the tendency of members toward moving to the newly developing suburbs, like the Annex, in the late 1880s and throughout the 1890s had caused a slow depletion of the ranks of the membership to such an extent that in January, 1901 when Parsons' successor, the Rev. A.B. Winchester, was ordained, there were only 473 members.[3]

Parsons 81, McLeod 54. At the close of the meeting, on a vote regarding "moderating a call" to Parsons, 119 were in favor and 6 were against. Professor McLaren of Knox College announced that he had abstained from voting because he only knew one of the candidates. Two weeks later, February 11, they held another congregational meeting. This time Parsons received 94 votes and McLeod had 63. The question of the call was again put to the vote and this time 112 were for and none against. The salary was set st $4000 per annum and by March 11, 1880 a group of five commissioners from the Toronto Presbytery had interviewed Parsons in Hamilton and the Presbytery had approved Parsons' invitation to Knox Church.

[3]This move of the members to suburbia provided the primary impetus for the Church's relocation to the present site on Spadina Road after 1905.

In spite of this loss in membership the internal vitality of the church throughout this period seems to have been undiminished.

As in his previous pastorates, Parsons' period of tenure was relatively uneventful. There were few overt signs within the church administration that gave an indication of the growing North American status of the pastor. (See Section V.) A few events should, however, be mentioned in order to get a bit of the flavour of Parsons' ministry at Knox.

In July of 1880, three months after his arrival, Parsons inaugurated an interesting position in the church. At a meeting of the Session of Knox Church:

> The moderator (Parsons) suggested that the services of a godly intelligent woman should be obtained to act as a bible reader. Whose duties should be to visit from house to house and assist in seeking out children for the Sabbath School, visiting the sick and bringing under the notice of the congregation at the prayer meetings information regarding cases requiring spiritual and pecuniary assistance.[4]

The Session approved the proposal unanimously and it was successfully implemented. Not only does the proposal demonstrate Parsons' continued concern for the vitality of the Surday School, but it also leaves the impression that

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[4]Minutes of Session of Knox Church, Sept. 13, 1875 to Dec. 26, 1893, July 26, 1880, p. 110.

both Parsons and the Session tended to have a fairly relaxed attitude regarding the role of women in the work of the church.

In 1881 and 1882 one of the main recurring issues that the Session had to deal with was that of what should be done during the collection in the service. The question was not focussed on the order of service but rather on what activity was appropriate for the collection time. The first solution, probably suggested by Parsons himself, was to read scriptures and psalms interspersed with brief organ interludes. This was tried for some time but was found to be unsatisfactory.[5] In April of 1882 it was moved that the organist should play throughout the collection "using only such Psalms and Hymns [sic] tunes as are sanctioned by this session [sic]."[6] The opinion of the Session was not, however, unanimously in favour and so the decision was deferred for a time. The minutes do not indicate any further discussion of the issue until May 11,1885, (almost three years later) when Henry Parsons recommended the reading of Scripture during the collection. This was approved with little discussion and it was decided that the reasons for the change would be explained to the congregation by the pastor.[7]

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[5]Ibid., p. 164.
[6]Ibid., p. 165.

A somewhat more important, problem appeared in May of 1884. The issue in this case was the use of fermented wine at communion. With almost no discussion it was resolved and passed that the Church would henceforth use unfermented wine when celebrating the Lord's Supper. Three reasons were given:

> 1. Ordinary wine was not the same as the wine that Jesus used, Matthew 26-29. (The reasoning here is unclear since the minutes only state that Jesus referred to the "fruit of the vine".)
> 2. Wine is the occasion of stumbling of some, of some temptation to others and objectionable and obnoxious to many.
> 3. Many churches in the Old Country [sic] and on this continent use only unfermented wine.[8]

It took until June 30 (one month later) for further action to be taken on the matter. In this instance it was William Mortimer Clark, presiding elder and well-known lawyer, who responded forcefully. He objected to the resolution originating from William Galbraith and John Kerr, and was unhappy with the suggestion that modern wine was different.

> We have no authority for such a statement but on the other hand in all Scripture wine is spoken of as of a stimulating character and we have no right to depart from the type which Christ took.

Clark then made another motion:

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[7]Ibid., p. 252. The reasons for the change are not recorded in the minutes.

[8]Ibid., p. 224. The reasons as recorded here are in condensed form.

> Whereas--it was agreed to use unfermented wine. . . and whereas the resolution was adopted hurriedly and contains statements by way of recital which the Session do [sic] not assent to while fully appreciating the motives of the mover and seconder and agreeing with the proposal of using wine of a light quality at such seasons--the Session after fuller consideration resolve to rescind the resolution in question and agree that in the future the wine used at the celebration of the Lord's Supper be of a lighter quality than that used in former years and as pure as can be obtained.[9]

The result is not recorded directly in the minutes but the

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[9]Ibid., p. 228. June 30, 1884. The context of the 1884 debate on wine is also interesting. Only two months earlier, in March, the Session met to answer questions contained in a General Assembly Temperance Committee Circular. The questions and answers are worth repeating here:

> 1- What proportion of your office bearers and members practice total abstinence? Cannot say.
> 2- Has anything been done within your bounds regarding the establishment of coffee houses or Temperance Hotels? There is a Coffee House Association doing that work.
> 3- Was the subject of temperance brought before the congregation during the year in the manner recommended? Yes.
> 4- Do [sic] the Session and the congregation engage in any special temperance work and what? No special temperance work but give it continual attention.
> 5- Is anything done in your neighborhood to secure the introduction of textbooks on Temperance [sic] into Secular [sic] Schools? Not to our knowledge unless by the Women's Temperance Association.
> 6- Is the Session of the opinion that the time has come for the people to demand a total prohibition liquor law and if so, what methods would it recommend for the securing of such a result? Believe it has--but not prepared to recommend methods.

The answers to the questions are sufficiently ambiguous to suggest that the Session is not fully behind the anti-liquor campaign. Is temperance, rather than prohibition, more acceptable, possibly because members of the Session themselves are unwilling to maintain total abstinence? Probably the social pressure for temperate use

resolution apparently passed and the church continued its use of fermented wine at communion. The matter was not mentioned again until seven years later, September 22, 1891. The notice is short and unexplained. "Motion--unfermented wine will be used at Communion--carried.[10]

Thus, to judge by the minutes of the various boards and of the Session and the Congregation, Henry Parsons' hand on the helm of the church administration was a light hand. Although he was usually present at meetings where he was expected to be moderator, his name appears rarely in the minutes as one who was trying to impose his ideas on the group. There is no doubt that he had a good number of very capable administrators like William Mortimer Clark and John McMurrich in the church and as such he may have left this sort of concern to these persons. Another possibility, as we will see later, is that he may have simply been too preoccupied with his many other activities to spend a lot of time in church administration.

There were at least two areas in the church, however, where Parsons used his influence more directly. The one was

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of alcohol would be rather heavy, especially for prominent citizens such as Clark or McMurrich who were expected to fulfill certain social obligations. It is also not clear what is meant by wine of a "lighter quality. . .and as pure as can be obtained."

[10]Ibid., Sept. 22, 1891. p. 435.

in the realm of missions and the other was in theological education. Missions, foreign and home, but especially foreign, was one of Parsons' most prominent concerns throughout his time at Knox Church. Anyone who takes the time to read through the Annual Reports of Knox Church during the period 1880 to 1900, will be struck by the great emphasis on missions. The mission work in China with the Goforths, Jonathan and Rosalind, was the centrepiece of a strong missions campaign almost from the start of Parsons' tenure.[11]

In 1887, for example, Parsons appealed to the church members for $10,000 to allow the Foreign Missionary Committee of the Presbyterian church to open a new mission in Honan. Jonathan Goforth was ready to "go forth" and Parsons already had $3000 in hand from nine persons.[12] In 1889, 1892, 1893 and especially 1894, the Annual Reports prominently listed members of Knox Church who were involved in home and foreign missions.[13]

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[11] See, for example, the Annual Report of Knox Church for 1881.

[12] Annual Report, 1887.

[13] The Annual Reports also list persons who have been members of Knox Church who went into pastoral work. In 1895 the list includes 38 names of pastors; the close connection of the church to Knox College is likely one factor in this large number.

The fact that the Goforths were sent primarily by Knox Church is certainly more than a coincidence of their membership. Parsons officiated at their wedding; he was in charge of two great commissioning services held at Knox Church for the Honan missionaries on January 19, 1888 and August 11, 1895.[14] Also, the relationship between Parsons and the Goforths was clearly strong and mutually supportive.

It should be noted that Knox Church regularly contributed substantial amounts of money to a variety of missionary causes. In 1890 the church gave $2500 to foreign missions and $2000 to home missions.[15] Sudan Interior Mission (founded in Toronto in 1898 by the Canadian Baptist, Toland V. Bingham) and China Inland Mission were favorite causes for Parsons. Parsons himself was a member of the Canadian Council of the China Inland Mission which met regularly to help interview new missionary candidates and

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[14]William Fitch in his Knox Church, Toronto (p. 36) refers to the marriage of the Goforths by "our beloved Pastor, the Rev. H.M. Parsons" and he also describes a farewell service held on January 19, 1888 in Knox Church. This was the first time that the Goforths left for China. The speakers on the platform included William H. Howland, then mayor of Toronto, Principal Caven and Professor McLaren of Knox College and the Rev. William Patterson (a close friend of Jonathan Goforth and a frequent speaker at Knox Church.) See also "Record of Attendance at Church Services on Lord's Day and Week Day Services" signed by H.M. Parsons (1880-1900) in the Knox Church Archives. A second farewell service for the Honan missionaries is listed there as taking place on Aug. 11, 1895. The farewell address was given by C.I. Scofield; a Dr. Mr. Harris (Elmore?) prayed; also F.P. MacKay and Mrs. Rosalind Goforth prayed.

[15]Annual Report, Knox Church, Toronto, 1890.

provide support for those already on the field.[16] While it is well-known that this period was a time of extensive missionary endeavour for the Christian church, Parsons and Knox Church clearly carried on an extraordinarily strong missions program.

A second area of missions which was of more than passing interest to Parsons can only be briefly noted here. Probably his most frequent participation in home missions was with the Mission to the Jews in Toronto. As will be seen in the next section, Parsons was an ardent premillennialist/dispensationalist and his passion for the conversion of the Jews, God's chosen people, is characteristic of persons of this theological persuasion.[17]

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[16]Parsons' "Day Book" of "Extra Meetings" records his attendance at the regular meetings of the China Inland Mission Council after Nov. 22, 1888. J. Hudson Taylor spoke in Knox Church on Sept. 23, 1888 and also on Aug. 4, 1889 while on visits to Toronto on behalf of the Mission. Furthermore, Rev. and Mrs. Henry W. Frost, founders of the North American Branch of the China Inland Mission (see Ernest Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism, p. 199) were members of Knox Church in 1889 and 1890. They are listed as foreign missionaries although they lived in Toronto as the directors of the China Inland Mission Receiving and Training Home, on 30 Shuter St. (See Annual Report, 1889 and 1890.)

[17]See Annual Report for 1913, p. 5 for a comment on Parsons' interest in Jewish evangelism. David A. Rausch, Zionism Within Early American Fundamentalism, 1878-1918, Texts and Studies in Religion, Volume Four. (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1979) refers specifically to Parsons.

After missions, Parsons' other chief interest was theological education. This area of his ministry occupied as much of his attention as the missions emphasis. For Parsons the two were inextricably linked; a strong missions program was based on a strong program of Christian training. In this respect he devoted his energies to two institutions: Knox College and the Toronto Bible Training School (later Toronto Bible College). Parsons' involvement at Knox College was extensive. For a number of years he was on the Board of Management and also on the Senate.[18] In 1888 the College even honored him with a Doctor of Divinity degree.[19] He was a regular speaker to the student body and his "Day Book" records his regular attendance at all the required meetings which his positions necessitated.[20] It is clear from the sources that he had close, genial relations with Principal Caven and Professor MacLaren. Both men appeared numerous times in the pulpit of Knox Church;

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[18]The exact dates of his participation in the Board of Management and the Senate still need to be established. Also a proper assessment of his role at the College needs to be undertaken.

[19]Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-Ninth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, Toronto, 1913, p. 587. April 1888 was the date Parsons received the DD.

[20]See "Record of Attendance at Church Services. . . ." Note that the section on "Extra Meetings" includes numerous references to attendance at Knox College meetings. For example, p. 301: Parsons records meetings in 1885 as follows: April 1--Knox College closing exercises, April 2--Knox College Senate Pres. (Presidential or Presiding?) Review Committee, May 13--Meeting of Knox College Senate.

as a prominent member of Knox Church MacLaren seems to have assumed the role of backup whenever Parsons was unable to preach.[21] There is no doubt that there was a close relationship between Knox College and Knox Church in those years.

Parsons' and Knox Church' relationship with the Toronto Bible Training School (T.B.T.S.) was certainly as close, if not closer, than to Knox College. Parsons and the founder of T.B.T.S., the Rev. Elmore Harris (also the founder of the geographically nearby Walmer Road Baptist Church), were intimate friends. Even though the Training School was only founded in 1894, the relationship went back even more years. For example, Parsons spoke at the anniversary service of the Bloor Street Baptist Church on November 8, 1885; Harris was the minister there at the time.[22]

Parsons was vitally involved in the T.B.T.S. from the outset. To this day the church still supports a substantial lectureship at Ontario Bible College, "The Henry Parsons Memorial Lectureship".[23]

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[21]Ibid., see section on speakers at church services. Prof. McLaren appears on numerous occasions throughout the twenty-year list.

[22]See Parsons' "Day Book" of "Extra Meetings" p. 304.

[23]Oral information from both the Knox Church and Ontario Bible College.

He was a member of the interdenominational General Council which helped to guide the school.[24] Together with Elmore Harris, the Rev. Henry W. Frost (China Inland Mission), the Rev. T.C. DesBarres (Anglican), and the Rev. T.B. Hyde (a close friend and student of D.L. Moody), Parsons taught "Dispensational Truth" for the first few years of the School's existence.[25]

In connection with his interest in dispensationalism, Parsons had extensive contacts with a group of Americans involved in the Niagara conferences, each of whom made frequent visits to Toronto. Many of these persons were guest lecturers at T.B.T.S. in the early years and also appeared in the pulpit at Knox Church.[26]

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[24]Bible Training School Recorder, December 1895, p. 1.

[25]Douglas Percy in the second in a series of four "Historical Sketches of the Toronto Bible College's Sixtieth Anniversary", Toronto Bible College Recorder, 1954, p. 11. The Rev. T.C. DesBarres was closely connected with Wycliffe College and S.H. Blake. The Rev. T.B. Hyde (listed in Morgan's Canadian Men and Women of the Time, 1912, p. 654) was born in Ireland, was a graduate from the Moody schools in Northfield and the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago. After four years as pastor of the Moody Memorial Church in Chicago he came to Toronto in 1893 as pastor of the Northern Congregational Church. He resigned in 1907 because of ill health. He was a member of the Committee on Church Union in 1906 and also was President of the Congregational Foreign Missionary Society for several years.

[26]See "Record of Attendance at Church Services. . . ." A comparison of the names of many of the guest speakers shows a significant correlation with their visits to T.B.T.S.

One of the most interesting archival "finds" in the course of the research for this paper involved discovery of a handwritten journal kept by Henry Parsons from 1880 to 1900.[27] It is a record of all the Sunday church services, morning, afternoon and evening, noting especially the name of the speaker and the attendance; Parsons also recorded his pastoral visits from 1885 to 1901. Of equal, if not greater, interest in the same journal is a record that Parsons kept of all his "Extra Meetings" from 1885 to 1900. To read through those forty-two pages is fascinating. The extra (outside of Knox Church) meetings reveal a man who is occupied with a wide variety of civic and religious causes. Only a few of the most frequently recurring ones can be mentioned here. The monthly meeting of the Toronto Home For Incurables appears the most frequently. (This researcher's efforts have not as yet been able to shed any light on the organization.)

The Toronto Willard Tract Depository, founded and managed by S.R. Briggs in 1873, is also high on the list of meetings.[28] It was an institution which was committed to the publication and circulation of "Gospel literature" and it boasted a variety of prominent clergy and laymen on its

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[27]"Record of Attendance at Church Services. . . ."

[28]See obituary and funeral reports in the Toronto Globe, Monday, Sept. 5, 1887; also Tuesday and Wednesday, September 6 and 7 of 1887.

Board of Directors and also as shareholders.[29] The list included Mayor W.H. Howland (President of the Depository), John Harvie (Secretary of the Upper Canada Bible Society), William McCulloch (Secretary of the Y.M.C.A.), T.J. Wilkie and Alfred Sandham (ex Secretaries of the Y.M.C.A.), the Hon. S.H. Blake, the Rev. R.P. MacKay (Presbyterian Secretary for Foreign Missions), William Gooderham and others. Parsons was a shareholder and a member of the Board. Another organization which appears frequently on the "Extra Meetings" list is the Upper Canada Bible Society. The exact nature of Parsons' involvement in this important society is not yet clear.

Parsons' continuing relationship with a variety of prominent Canadians is also noteworthy. For example, the record reveals that Parsons frequently spoke at the Saturday evening adult Bible Class conducted by the Hon. S.H. Blake. Also, Parsons' contacts with Elias Rogers, an important Toronto coal merchant and a Quaker, resulted in him speaking to the Quaker assembly in Toronto on several occasions. One could cite the names of other persons in Toronto with whom Parsons participated in a variety of endeavours but the list would be too long for the scope of

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[29]The following abbreviated list is taken from the Toronto Globe, September 7, 1887 which reported on the Briggs funeral. Henry Parsons lead in prayer and Mayor Howland "spoke with feeling of the high Christian character of the deceased."

this paper. It will probably be sufficient at this point to simply state that the extremely wide network of religious, political, business and social relations that Henry Parsons participated in in Toronto provides ample justification for stressing that this facet of Canadian life still needs to be studied in much greater depth.

V. THE NIAGARA GROUP AND PREMILLENNIALISM

As already indicated, Henry Parsons achieved his real prominence on the North American religious scene through his involvement with what came to be known as the Niagara Bible and Prophecy Conferences. Anyone who is familiar with the names of the large group of persons involved in the American portion of the movement will be struck by the continual recurrence of these names in the records kept by Henry Parsons.[1] Parsons' record of his meetings shows that he attended all of the annual international summer conferences on prophecy held at Niagara-on-the-Lake, Chicago or Clifton Springs, New York.

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[1] A search of the list of guest speakers at Knox Church from 1880 to 1900 reveals more than a dozen persons from the Niagara group. See "Record of Attendance at Church Services on Lord's Day and Week Day Services. . . ."

While mere asscciation with a certain group of persons may indicate a certain level of participation and commitmert, there are numerous other examples of Parsons' deep persoral invclvement in the debate over biblical and prophetic interpretation in the late nineteenth century. All of the major writers on the roots of fundamentalism refer to him as an important contributor to the discussion.[2] A recent PhD thesis by Walter Unger analyses the "Role of the Niagara Bible Conference In the Emergence of American Fundamentalism".[3] Unger mentions Parsons at several points in his study. For example:

> Henry Parsons was a prominent Niagara proponent of a Darbyite dispensational approach to the Scriptures, as was William Blackstone and C.I. Scofield. Parsons' lecture at the Prophetic Conference of 1878 was entitled "The Present Age and Development of the Antichrist." He spoke of at least five dispensations. In a lecture at Niagara in 1886, Parsons mentioned eight dispensations. In 1889 he gave a lecture entitled "The Dispensational Progress of Redemption."[4]

Unger also states:

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[2]See Ernest Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1978 (1970)), or George W. Dollar, A History of Fundamentalism in America (Greenville, South Carolina: Bob Jones University Press, 1973; or George M. Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism 1875-1925 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.)

[3]Walter Unger, "'Earnestly Contending For The Faith': The Role of the Niagara Bible Conferences in the Emergence of American Fundamentalism, 1875-1900", PhD Thesis in History at Simon Fraser University, August 1981. The thesis looks only at the American part of the movement; the Canadian portion still awaits serious scholarly analysis.

> Perhaps the most notable of the early Niagara dispensationalists was Henry M. Parsons, who in the 1880s was pastor of Knox Presbyterian Church, Toronto. In an 1885 Niagara lecture, Parsons charted out eight dispensations.[5]

C. Norman Kraus in his classic volume, Dispensationalism in America, also refers to Parsons' 1885 address and he summarizes Parsons' eight dispensations as follows:

> 1. Holiness. This was as indefinite period of time during which Adam lived in the Garden of Eden in perfect righteousness.
> 2. Antediluvian. This age lasted 1650 years and marked "the introduction of sin and man's condemnation, and also the revelation of the redemption plan."
> 3. The Postdiluvian age lasted 450 years and covers the years from Noah to Abraham.
> 4. The Patriarchal age also lasted 450 years covering the time from Abraham to Moses.
> 5. The Jewish dispensation includes the period from Moses to Christ, which he figures at 1450 years.
> 6. The Christian age is reckoned as 2000 years beginning with Christ's ascension and ending with His second coming.
> 7. The Millennial dispensation of 1000 years follows and ends in the final victory of Christ.
> 8. Age eight is also labelled Holiness. It is described as a return to the pristine state which existed before the fall.[6]

Kraus notes that Parsons was really the first of the Niagara dispensationalists to formulate such extensive schemes;

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[4]Ibid., p. 70.

[5]Ibid., p. 116.

[6]C. Norman Kraus, Dispensationalism in America: Its Rise and Development (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1958), p. 32-33. Note also Kraus' comment on the varying use of the terms "age" and "dispensation".

Parsons himself changes from a five-fold to an eight-fold dispensational formulation.

For students of the fundamentalist movement in Canada an event of extraordinary interest took place on July 14 to 17, 1885 at Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario. That event was a special Canadian-sponsored conference on the "Second Coming of Our Lord." A volume containing all the papers read at the conference as well as a brief history of the reason for the convening of the meeting and a list of the members of the planning committee was subsequently published by S.R. Briggs' Toronto Willard Tract Depository.

The arrangements prior to the conference are important enough to merit our attention here.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

> At a meeting held at the residence of the Rev. E.M. Parsons, Toronto, April 6th to consider a proposal of a Conference, by the friends who believe the "Coming of the Lord" to be imminent, it was resolved to invite such a Conference to meet at Niagara, Ont [sic], in July, and the following Committee was appointed to perfect the arrangements for this purpose.
>
> MR. W.H. HOWLAND, Chairman.
> MR. S.R. BRIGGS, Treasurer.
> MR. ALF. SANDHAM, Secretary.
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> |---|---|
> | Rev. J. Denovan | Dr. J. Robinson |
> | " T.C. DesBarres | Judge MacDonald |
> | " E.M. Parsons | Mr. W.M. Clark |
> | " J. Alexander | " Robert Kilgour |
> | " S.J. Hunter | " H.B. Gordon |
> | " John Mutch | " J.L. Blaikie |
> | " John Salmon | " F. Fenton |

"	Wm. Frizzell	"	J.J. Garthshore
"	Robt. Rodgers	"	Henry O'Brien
"	Walter Amos	"	W.A. Parlane
"	W. Henry Barnes	"	E.J. Reynolds
Hon.	S.H. Blake	"	Elias Rogers [7]

The committee met for several sessions and invited the following speakers to give papers at the conference: the Rev. John Mutch, MA, Toronto, "History Of The Doctrine Of Pre-Millennialism"; the Rev. J.H. Brookes, DD, St. Louis, Missouri (editor of The Truth), "The Coming Of Christ: Personal And Pre-Millennial"; the Rev. H.M. Parsons, "The Second Coming Of Christ The Everpresent Hope Of The Church"; the Rev. W.J. Erdman (originally from St. Catherines, Ont., one of the editors of the Scofield Bible, father of Charles R. Erdman), "The Practical Power Of This Hope In The Formation Of Christian Character"; the Rev. T.C. DesBarres, Toronto, "The Second Coming Of Christ As Related To The First Resurrection And The End Of This Age"; Pastor Joshua Denovan, Toronto (Baptist), "The Second Coming Of Christ Related To The Establishment Of The Coming Kingdom"; the Rev. S.H. Kellogg, DD (American, Presbyterian, about to become pastor of St. James Presbyterian Church, Toronto), "The Second Coming Of Christ As Related To Israel"; and Maurice Baldwin, DD, the Bishop

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[7]"The Second Coming of Our Lord" Being Papers Read At A Conference Held At Niagara, Ont. July 14th to 17th, 1885. (Toronto, Canada: S.R. Briggs, Toronto Willard Tract Depository, nd.), p. 3.

of Huron (Anglican), "The Power Of This Truth To Encourage And Stimulate The Church In And To The Work Of Evangelization".

Parsons' paper on "The Everpresent Hope Of The Church" tends to be somewhat devotional in character with little evidence of a strict dispensational framework. He clearly stresses the premillennial return of Christ and especially notes that the return is imminent--liable to occur at any moment. Parsons goes on to deplore date setting and the "unscriptural fixing of the exact order of the 'last things'".[8] His emphasis throughout rests primarily on the premise that the everpresent hope is a prime motivation for Christian faithfulness, watchfulness and evangelism.

There is nothing in the materials on Parsons to suggest that he ever dropped his interest in dispensationalism or that he radically changed his views. In fact, he continued as the chairman of the Local Committee for the Niagara Bible Conference until at least 1896. From his diary it is clear that he attended almost all of the prophetic conferences that were held in Ontario and the eastern United States through 1900. He continued teaching on prophecy in the Adult Sunday School class at Knox Church until his retirement.

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[8]Ibid., p. 67.

It is obvious, then, from the foregoing discussion that Henry Parsons was an important figure in the development of fundamentalism in Canada and also in the United States.[9] It is this interrelated group of persons, both clergy and laity, who form the backbone of the fundamentalist movement in Canada. Parsons, although prominent, is, of course, not the only leader in this talented, powerful and moneyed group. Further in-depth investigation is sorely needed in order to establish more clearly the parameters of the development and influence of the Canadian portion of the fundamentalist movement more clearly.

VI. CONCLUSION

As has been stated several times earlier in this paper, Henry Parsons was a man of considerable importance on the North American religious scene. Since significance is always hard to measure and is usually skewed because of

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[9]Unfortunately space does not permit more than a passing reference to other themes taken up by Parsons. He had considerable contact with the Keswick movement. He lectured extensively on the Holy Spirit at T.B.T.S. He was frequently involved in "Bible Readings"--a Plymouth Brethren inspired method of Bible teaching which was extremely popular with the Niagara group. (A Bible Reading is "a string of related texts or passages briefly commented upon. . . . ." (Ernest Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism, p. 136-139.

personal perspectives, it is difficult to truly assess the very fruitful career of this most energetic minister.

It is clear that he came to his work well prepared; his education was anything but mediocre. His ability to work as a pastor in the church and build the church both in numbers and in spirit also seems to be proven. The Toronto years seem to be the halcyon years of his ministry. It was in Toronto that he was able to promote many of the causes that had become so dear to him. Evidently his passion for Christian missions and his strong support of theological education on several levels were given almost free reign while he was pastor of Knox Church. There is little doubt that he made considerable impact through his participation in the China Inland Mission, the Toronto Home For Incurables, or the Toronto Willard Tract Depository. Obviously his wide religious, political, social and business contacts in Toronto and even in the United States gave him numerous opportunities to serve in a variety of ways. If the nineteenth century was truly the era of causes, he certainly epitomized the person who became widely involved in doing good.

It is, however, the absence of strident rhetoric, the lack of evidence of censoriousness in his dealings with others who espoused different theological positions than his own which is fascinating and yet, enigmatic. To place his

life alongside a T.T. Shields is to find a person whose life appears positively peaceful. The stereotypical image of the fundamentalist finds affirmation in Shields but not in Parsons.

Perhaps the problem of understanding the major figures of the late nineteenth century has been exacerbated by historical double vision. Frequently the tensions of the 1920s and 30s have been transferred to the earlier period. Parsons appears to be an excellent case study of the fallacy of this sort of analysis; one example in the life of Henry Parsons may, perhaps, be the best way to illustrate the point. Henry Parsons' records show that he had a certain, even intimate, friendship with the minister of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, the Rev. D.J. Macdonnell. Macdonnell had been tried for heresy before the Toronto Presbytery in 1876 regarding his doubts about the existence of eternal punishment. Parsons' predecessor at Knox, Dr. Alexander Topp, was the moderator of Toronto Presbytery at the time and led the attack on Macdonnell. Parsons and Macdonnell carried on correspondence with each other in the latter half of the 1880s.[1] D.J. Macdonnell spoke at Knox Church on a Sunday evening, July 18, 1880.[2] Henry Parsons delivered the preparatory lecture for communion at St. Andrew's

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[1]See Journal Book--"Attendance at Church Services. . ." in the section "Letters Received and Sent" during 1886, pp. 275-280.

[2]Ibid., July 18, 1880 (list of speakers).

Church on October 23, 1885.[3] Incidentally, James F. McCurdy, the father of Biblical studies in Canada and a well known liberal thinker, was a close friend and later biographer of D.J. Macdonnell; he spoke at Knox Church on April 18, 1886 at both the morning and evening services.[4] Parsons' diary notes that he had lunch at the Macdonnell house together with a Dr. Walker in November, 1890.[5] Finally, Parsons attended Macdonnell's funeral on February 24, 1896.[6]

Yet there is no doubt that Parsons was an avid supporter and practitioner of premillennialism/ dispersationalism. It was in this arena, in the development of a dispensationalist interpretation of scripture, where he received the widest acclaim. Thus, not only was he a part of the fundamentalist movement, he was indeed one of its strong leaders.

When Parsons retired from the active ministry in 1900 (at age 72), he was appointed Minister Emeritus in honour of his twenty years of service to Knox Church. His successor at Knox Church was the Rev. A.B. Winchester, who also became an important figure in the fundamentalist movement in

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[3]Ibid., October 23, 1885, p. 303 ("Extra Meetings").
[4]Ibid., April 18, 1886 (list of speakers).
[5]Ibid., November 1890, p. 322 ("Extra Meetings").
[6]Ibid., February 24, 1896, p. 289 ("Extra Meetings").

the 20th century. (Winchester, together with W. Griffith Thomas of Wycliffe College and an American, Lewis Sperry Chafer, founded Dallas Theolgical Seminary.)

Perhaps the assessment of Henry Parsons should ultimately come from those who knew him best, the congregation at Knox Church. One day after his death on January 14, 1913 they described him with these words:

> He was possessed in a singular degree of that charity which "hopeth and believeth all things". He was forbearing and gentle at all times and never answered any unkind words hastily. His genial and courteous presence favourably impressed all who met him. His generous, loving heart will be missed from among us and we all feel that in losing him we have lost a friend.[7]

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[7] _Knox Presbyterian Church, Toronto, Annual Report, 1913_, p. 6.

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