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THE CANADIAN SOCIETY OF PRESBYTERIAN HISTORY

PAPERS 1986

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

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150 YEARS OF PRESBYTERIAN HYMNODY IN CANADA

by

Hugh D. McKellar

Even yet, the ancestral roots of most Canadian Presbyterians lie in the Church of Scotland, although many of their families have taken a roundabout route, whose detours were more apt to be geographical or political than doctrinal. For all of them, the only standard of faith short of, and subordinate to, the Scriptures has remained the Westminster Confession of 1647, as mediated by its accompanying Larger and Shorter Catechisms and Directory of Worship. Two principles derived through these documents from the thought of John Calvin long governed the musical part of their public worship, as distinct from what individuals or families might do in their private devotions. First, only the Psalms of David, preferably as versified in the Scottish Psalter of 1650, were quite good enough for the praise of God; secondly, the offering of praise was the duty of every believer, who was not free to delegate it to a choir, nor to take refuge behind the tone of a powerful organ, even if s/he could not sing very well. In a country regularly racked by war, and desperately poor even in times of peace, the 1650 Psalter earned esteem not through its poetic merit, but for its faithful adherence to the content of the Psalms as translated in the 1611 Authorized Version of the Bible; and some of the customary practices attached to its use gained, within a few generations, the force of immutable law.

Although the idea of "lining out" metrical psalms for the sake of unschooled worshippers originated with the English Puritans, the Scots borrowed it, and retained it well after rising levels of literacy would have allowed them to lay it aside. One man, termed the "precentor" or "up-taker of the psalms" would intone a line of verse to a melodic formula, and then pause while the congregation very slowly repeated the words, but not the notes, which he had sung. This allowed them first to hear, and then to meditate upon, the sacred words; meditation, they felt, might be assisted by interpolating various decorations between the notes forming the basic outline of the tune selected. This kind of impromptu enhancement, known as "gracing the tune", presumably often fell short of its well-meant aim; yet it would hardly have been preserved so tenaciously for so long had it not offered the singers some sort of emotional reward. In a small, stable neighbourhood, where people might move out but seldom moved in, agreement could develop about what musical beauty involved, and what ground rules should govern the insertion of ornaments, to the point where each person's contribution would complement, rather than clash with, what the others were doing. The "gracing" of each such community would thus be unique, and doubtless deeply meaningful, to its residents, but inaccessible to outsiders who lacked their shared communal experience.

At the very least, "gracing" prevented Scottish congregations from growing bored with the limited stock of tunes they deemed suitable for public worship: the twelve melodies of British or Genevan origin included in the first collection issued for use with the 1650 Psalter, put out by an Aberdeen printer in 1666. By 1700 many Scots, in all seriousness, regarded these dozen airs as the work of that accomplished harpist King David, and would accept no substitutes; even so, few congregations used all twelve. Normally they remained seated to sing four or five stanzas at the opening, and again at the end, of each service, working their way through the psalter from wherever they had last left off. They made no attempt to choose psalms which would emphasize the sermon theme, or correlate with the other scripture readings, believing that each service ought to contain as many different ideas as possible, since not all worshippers would be receptive to any single one on that occasion.

Scots whose families had reached Canada by way of the Thirteen Colonies had usually been introduced by their Congregationalist neighbours to the metrical psalms of Isaac Watts, and to a different if not larger selection of tunes, still sung unaccompanied, although the mobility of the colonial population limited the number of places where a satisfying communal pattern of "gracing" could develop. Meanwhile, in Scotland itself, a succession of groups broke away from the Established Kirk, usually over infringements by landowners or government of some right reserved to congregations. Ministers willing to tolerate such interference, however, had often managed by 1800 to secure by their acquiescence much more comfortable working conditions than any missionary in the colonies could expect. Accordingly, appeals from Canada for ministers were heeded only by the splinter groups, whose clergy were less receptive to innovations than even the Kirk, from which they could justify their continued separation on few grounds except greater purity of worship and witness. The consequent problem in Canadian congregations was graphically outlined on Dec. 22, 1825 by William Lyon Mackenzie, Toronto's first newspaperman, first mayor, and -- eventually -- first armed rebel:

> We could wish as this is the only Presbyterian Church in or near [Toronto], that the Scots version of the Psalms and Paraphrases were used during one part of the day and the Psalms of Dr. Watts on the other. The Americans and English prefer the latter; the Scotch, and perhaps the Protestants from the north of Ireland, the former. As we are met here from various parts of the globe we respectfully submit to our elders whether it would not be advisable to introduce not only the versions but also the tunes which the Presbyterians in America as well as in Scotland and Ireland are best accustomed to.

Whatever forays into tolerance and accommodation the spirit of Christmas

(which few Scots as yet deigned to celebrate) might prompt, within two years Mackenzie was expressing an attitude more characteristic of Presbyterians who had, like himself, come straight from Scotland:

> If they would now and then substitute Dundee, Elgin, Martyrs, St. Davids, Irish, Portugal, Stroudwater, the Old Hundred, or any other plaintive or solemn air in place of the jig and strathspey measures with which they regale the fancy, one very considerable portion of the congregation would feel greatly obliged.

Obviously he sought the replacement, however peaceable, of American usages by those of Scotland (though he specifies only four of the Twelve Tunes!) -- an aim pursued just as steadfastly in the Presbyterian churches of other key centres like Montreal and Halifax. But even as Mackenzie published his complaint, Donald McDonald, an ordinand of the Kirk, was arriving in Prince Edward Island, whose Gaelic-speaking immigrants had cause to accept his ministrations with reluctance. Many of them had been evicted from the Highland estates of their clan chieftains, who wished to lease their property for pasturing sheep -- which were all too apt to be stolen by their chronically hungry inherited tenants; and ministers of the Kirk, who often owed their positions to the landowners, had done their best to persuade their poorer parishioners that resistance to the Highland Clearances would contravene the will of God. To reach and help these demoralized evacuees, McDonald played down his own Kirk connection while building up a loose network of congregations, scattered across the Island, which became known as "Mr. McDonald's Unattached Church". Since he could preach only periodically to each congregation, discipline had to be left to its elders, along with ongoing instruction. This McDonald sought to undergird by composing in Gaelic a series of lengthy hymns, each dealing with a different point of doctrine, and first printed at Charlottetown in 1835. One such hymn was to be sung, and commented upon by an elder, before or after each Sunday service, within which singing was strictly limited to Gaelic metrical psalms.

Congregations in full communion with the Church of Scotland gradually took shape, attracting chiefly the more prosperous or ambitious Scottish residents of larger towns, who realized that the Kirk's established status in Britain would place its Canadian outposts on an equal basis with their Anglican counterparts for whatever government help might be available. Congregations originally fostered by a minister from a splinter group, which were usually less affluent, meanwhile organized themselves into the Canada Presbyterian Church or (in the Maritimes) the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces.

But soon congregations in all three alliances were rocked by shock waves from the "Disruption" which in 1843 split the Church of Scotland; although the points of contention there applied hardly at all to conditions in

Canada, people still felt obliged to follow the lead of the congregation from which they had emigrated. If it had chosen to enter the "Free Church", whose activities were to be entirely financed by its members' voluntary contributions so that no one else could claim to have bought the right to tell them what to do, then its ex-members overseas would withdraw even from Canadian congregations with no source of support except free-will offerings, and enlist whatever kindred spirits they could find in organizing a local Free Church.

Compared with the people who simply stayed where they already were, those who withdrew tended to be at once more conservative and more activist. While Free Church members clung firmly to the Scottish Psalter, perhaps relieved occasionally by the Scottish Paraphrases which the Kirk had decided in 1781 to tolerate, they also valued Sunday schools, definitely not as a substitute for home training, but as a means of outreach to unchurched families nearby; and these might be attracted by more sprightly songs, supported by a recent and virtually indestructible invention -- the reed organ. But if a church boasted a basement or a back room, that was where the newcomer had to stay, since the "spiritual worship" of the sanctuary proper could not be compromised by a "carnal instrument".

Predictably, then, the Free Church produced no counterpart to the adventurous and remarkably well-printed tune-book issued at Montreal in 1851 by the Canada Kirk, or an earlier collection, The Harmonicon, reprinted several times in the Scottish settlement of Pictou, Nova Scotia, thanks to an admirably enterprising teen-ager. His father, who was none too efficient at printing or anything else, wished to bring out a tune-book, but had no idea how to cast or set music-type; so the boy volunteered to go to Boston, master the process, and bring his knowledge back to Pictou, where he guided the book's first edition (1836) through the father's press. Church music remained one of his many interests until at least 1874, when he led a group of supporters out of Montreal's prestigious Erskine Church in protest over its acquisition of an organ; and his action made headlines, for by then he was Sir William Dawson, a geologist of international renown, and Canada's most respected academic.

The Disruption diverted Presbyterians' attention only temporarily from what they saw as their main home mission challenge: not the Indians, whose evangelization they left almost entirely to Anglicans, Methodists, and the Oblate Fathers, but the French Canadians, whose internalization of the Calvinist work ethic appeared lamentably incomplete. While none too anxious to mix personally with the Quebecois, the Scots gladly financed the labours of French-speaking Calvinists from Switzerland, who issued at Quebec in 1844 a collection of sacred lyrics from their own heritage for use by their anticipated converts -- who nevertheless failed to materialize in appreciable numbers. This disappointment contributed to the growing realization among

members of the four Presbyterian bodies that only by joint effort could they counterbalance the intractable Catholicism of Quebec, and help to create a British and Protestant ambience for the new country which the government in London appeared bent on creating through the Confederation of 1867. Accordingly, after considerable negotiation, they coalesced in 1875 into The Presbyterian Church in Canada.

The newly reunited family soon began behaving like one: some ex-Free Churchmen, deeming that the brilliant minister of a prominent ex-Kirk underrated hell, gave him what foretaste of it they could by charging him with heresy. Although he weathered the storm, it underlined the need for removing such potentially divisive factors as the use of varying hymnbooks by congregations still disposed to follow the lead of what they regarded as their parent bodies in Scotland. All of these, while maintaining the primacy of the Psalter and the Pararaphrases, were by mid-century tolerating the use of hymns -- a trend strengthened by the 1873 evangelistic campaign in Scotland of Moody and Sankey, whose meetings convinced the clergy that gospel songs, even when accompanied on a reed organ, might exert a salutary influence -- on at least the lower classes. Petitions from several presbyteries for a hymnbook acceptable to all Canadian Presbyterians were duly considered by the General Assembly of 1878, which named a committee including not only the vindicated heretic, D. J. Macdonnell, but a Toronto lawyer, W. B. McMurrich, who considerately published, on his retirement in 1905, a detailed account of the Hymnal Committee's actions during his time as its secretary-treasurer.

Each of the committee's members drew up a list of hymns he considered indispensable; 43 hymns, only four of which have since fallen out of regular use, appeared on all ten lists, thus providing the projected book with a solid backbone. The committee then proceeded to hymns figuring in nine lists, eight, and so on, until they considered the number large enough for submission of a draft index to the local presbyteries, from which they invited suggestions, even while emphasizing that practically all their choices were taken from Scottish collections. They did include six hymns by Canadian residents: one by Ottawa minister Charles Cameron, four by Nova Scotia editor Robert Murray (whose contributions, lest he be thought so presumptuous as to claim equality with poets of the homeland, were signed only "M."), and one, destined to the widest use of all, by the serving governor-general, the Marquis of Lorne, whose undeniable gift for writing singable verse perhaps meant less than his being future head of the Clan Campbell, and meanwhile son-in-law of Queen Victoria. Imitating exactly the metre of her favourite hymn, "Lead, kindly light," his paraphrase of Psalm 121, "Unto the hills around," has ever since been a fixture in Canadian Protestant hymnbooks, but has made little headway in any other country.

By engaging to take seriously any criticisms sent them in writing, the Hymnal Committee safely guided their work past challenges at the 1879 Assembly, but took no further chances. In February 1880 they copyrighted the words-only edition and arranged for its printing by a Toronto firm, so that the Assembly which met in June could only "approve and commend" it, endorse the committee's wish to entrust preparation of the music edition to Edward J. Hopkins, organist of London's Temple Church (whose recent completion of a similar assignment for the Church of Scotland had put his eminence beyond dispute), demand the speedy compilation of a children's hymnal -- and perhaps peruse "Our Hymn Writers," a booklet of biographical sketches prepared by the committee.

Anxious that future generations of Presbyterians should be able to read music, the committee issued the Children's Hymnal of 1884 in music and melody editions, resisting pressures for extra ones with words only, and tonic sol-fa. On the latter they eventually gave in, but later had the pleasure of informing General Assembly that its sales were poor, whereas profits from the other editions were rendering the church's Fund for Aged and Infirm Ministers actuarially sound. Consideration of a revised, enlarged hymnal had barely begun when, in 1892, General Assembly was invited to participate in a far more ambitious project: that of a common hymnbook, edited of course in Scotland, for all Presbyterian churches in the British Empire.

Consultation with the Scottish editors was deputed to Macdonnell and a recent emigrant from Edinburgh, Alexander MacMillan, whose co-optation onto the Hymnal Committee in 1893 coincided with the birth of his son Ernest, a child prodigy who grew up into arguably the ablest musician yet born in Canada. Meanwhile, the committee drafted a revised hymnal on which they might fall back if the Scots proved unresponsive to Canadian concerns. This long seemed improbable; after a visit to Scotland in 1895 for face-to-face negotiations, Macdonnell and MacMillan advised that year's Assembly to endorse Canada's continuation in the joint venture, since the remaining differences in emphasis appeared capable of resolution. By the following spring, however, attitudes on both sides had hardened: the Scots could not see their way to including nearly as many Paraphrases, or American gospel songs, as the Canadians considered essential for their needs. Just how far Canadians' tastes had by then diverged from those current elsewhere may be inferred from the fact that, when a conference was arranged in Belfast in August 1902 for English-speaking Presbyterians who preferred to use only metrical psalms in worship, a paper by Professor John Scrimger of Montreal, outlining the thinking behind Canadians' acceptance of hymns, was scheduled for the final session, but "time did not permit" it to be read, according to the editors of the published conference proceedings. (They go on to say that they had to be pressured into printing his paper at all, and append to it a rebuttal of each point he made.)

In June 1896, Assembly withdrew Canada from participation in the common hymnal; in July, tenders were called for publication of a separate Canadian book; and when Oxford University Press offered the best bid, provided that the actual printing were done in England, MacMillan sailed for London in December, to see through the press the draft hymnal on which the committee had fortunately kept working. (They had sidestepped the problems stemming from the 1884 Children's Hymnal by including in the new book some 90 "Hymns for the Young".) He did most of the proof-correcting at his mother's home in Edinburgh, aided by his brilliant sister Margaret, for one of whose tunes he found room. Thus advance copies of The Presbyterian Book of Praise were ready for the 1897 Assembly to approve and commend. Once Oxford Press had contracted to keep it in print till 1915 at least, the committee began to press for MacMillan's exemption from pastoral duties, that he might show congregations across Canada, and especially theological students, how to make full use of it; and to this the Assembly eventually agreed.

He was thus too busy to accept the invitation which the United Presbyterian Church of the United States had issued in 1893 to all North American denominations with Calvinistic roots to join in preparing an English-language metrical psalter, as faithful to the Psalms' content as the Scottish Psalter but with more variety in verse-patterns, which should on completion be acceptable and available to all the participating churches. Nine acceptances were eventually received, but so slowly that only in 1900 could actual work be started by a committee which included three Canadians: Murray, Scrimger, and W.J. Dey of Toronto. Two of its meetings were held in Canada before it circulated in 1905 a draft version on which it invited comments; receiving few, it published a final version in 1909. This the United Presbyterian Church adopted in toto, as did the Christian Reformed Church -- one of whose delegates informed his brethren that many passages would read more smoothly had the Scots on the committee been less stubborn! Perhaps he had a point, for only four of the joint committee's renderings, including one credited to Scrimger personally, ever displaced versions from the Scottish Psalter in the Canadian repertoire. The three Canadians, however, left their mark on the 1909 psalter by securing

-- perhaps at the Montreal meeting of September 1902, where 121 was the last Psalm scheduled for consideration -- the inclusion of "Unto the hills" as an alternative rendering, but very few Americans ever did learn it.

By 1912, when proposals for revising the hymnbook again surfaced at Assembly, in view of the impending expiry of the publishing contract, union with the Methodist and Congregational Churches appeared far more imminent than the outbreak of a major war. Since the Methodists were known to be in the process of revising the hymnal which had served them since 1880, MacMillan and

his colleagues were directed to explore the possibility of easing the way into union by preparing a hymnbook satisfactory to both churches. The Methodist committee, while most cordial, explained that altering the mandate of their General Conference which had set them to work was beyond their power; also, they wanted far more hymns by Charles Wesley, and far fewer metrical psalms, than the Presbyterians deemed tolerable. However, they intended to include over 300 hymns which were already familiar to Presbyterians; such a substantial shared repertoire must enhance the prospects of a union which was then considered more desirable than inevitable.

Editorial problems proved more tractable than physical ones caused by the war: German submarines menaced Oxford Press's paper supply, and inflation jeopardized its price structure. The new book was little larger than its predecessor -- 816 selections as against 744 -- and only mildly innovative. Metrical psalms and hymns now formed one continuous number sequence instead of two independent ones; reliance on the Scottish Psalter was diluted by selections from the versified psalter adopted in 1912 by American Presbyterians; more work by Victorian Anglicans was admitted. Because the copyright on a British collection edited by Roundell, Lord Selborne and entitled The Book of Praise had expired, that title was available, as it had not been in 1897. Although some members of the 1918 Assembly urged delay of publication till the war should end, copies of the new book were available in Canada before the armistice of November 11; and so began the longest sway thus far of any one hymnbook in a major Canadian denomination.

MacMillan, who had again done the lion's share of the editorial work, not only continued his attempts to make Canadians comfortable with, and knowledgeable about, hymns, but engaged in a labour of love whose results never justified the effort he put into it. From 1896 onward, many Ukrainians from the Austrian province of Galicia had settled on the Canadian prairies, little realizing how their unfamiliarity with British ways unnerved their new neighbours. Neither could the churches which they had attended in Galicia easily find missionary priests to send them. Both Presbyterians and Methodists soon felt responsible for giving what help they could to these apparently untended sheep -- whose exposure to Protestantism might, furthermore, show them how they were expected to behave. Observing that music played a large role in Ukrainian worship, Presbyterians in the west began translating selections from The Book of Praise into the newcomers' language, although by the time their work appeared in print, with tunes, in 1922, very few Ukrainians had indicated that they wanted to be Protestants; Canadians unfamiliar with the complex religious history of Eastern Europe had increasing trouble fathoming what they did want, if indeed they knew. But within three years few Presbyterians could be bothered to notice whether the Ukrainians were singing hymns or savaging

each other.

Whereas at the dawn of the century organic union with the Methodists and the much less numerous Congregationalists had seemed to many Presbyterians quite as logical a development as their own union of 1875, the delay in negotiations during the war years gave time for the initial impetus to weaken, and for misgivings to set in on both sides. Although the Methodists decided against allowing individual congregations to vote on the proposed plan of union, Presbyterians did take this step, only to find that opposition to union was unexpectedly widespread and deep-rooted. Nevertheless, the denomination's leaders felt that the dissidents, once assured that their voice had been heard, would in the end come round. Accordingly, negotiations went forward; an Act of Parliament setting up the United Church of Canada was passed; and a great service was scheduled for Toronto's largest arena on June 10, 1925, into which the governing bodies of the three denominations, having voted themselves out of legal existence, were to parade and witness to their new-found unity.

The service in the arena indeed took place, but with many seats reserved for Presbyterians conspiciously vacant. Rather than take part in the final vote, a substantial contingent of ministers and elders had marched out and betaken themselves to a former bastion of the Church of Scotland, where they announced that they were still the General Assembly, from which their erstwhile brethren had seen fit to withdraw. Before long, although some communities entered upon the enjoyment of the benefits anticipated from union, many others (and lamentably many families) from coast to coast were lastingly split by bitter wrangling, mostly over church buildings, whose rancour waned only as the original combatants aged and died. As first the Depression, and then World War II, gripped the land, the continuing Presbyterians were too concerned with mere survival as a denomination to worry about updating The Book of Praise; it became for many of them a symbol of the faith and practice which they had made undeniable sacrifices to preserve despite what they regarded as betrayal on all sides.

Not until 1964 did a General Assembly composed mostly of people too young to remember 1925 even entertain a suggestion that a new hymnbook might be desirable; and its referral of the idea to a committee chaired by a formidable Scot, William Fitch, may have been in part a reaction to an invitation from the United Church to share in the revision of the book which it had used since 1930. Fitch's committee proposed a somewhat shorter book, with space for new hymns to be secured by the excision of Victoriana; with children's hymns placed under their topics rather than in a special section; and with words set, so far as possible, directly below or above the notes to which they were to be sung, instead of being laid out like poems. Pointing out that the half-century-old type-plates of the 1918 book were starting to blur, they managed to reject

suggestions that a supplement would suffice; that they include a section of hymns in French; that paperback or loose-leaf format would be wise, given its potential for weakening the sense of fellowship among congregations; and that recent hymns should receive preference, though they promised to include any which met their standards of quality. The 1972 Assembly, after adopting and commending their work, provided for a committee under the chairmanship of Wilfred Moncrieff to publish a supplement of hymns for use in gatherings especially of young people; for this, as for the hymnbook proper, Alan Cowle agreed to act as manuscript editor. Thus emerged in 1975 Praise Ways, a spiral-bound paperback of songs better suited to a small group with a guitarist than to an ordinary congregation.

As the stock of copies of Praise Ways dwindled, discussions began on whether it should be reprinted, or supplanted; the result was the preparation of Celebrate, another spiral-bound paperback issued late in 1983 by an independent publisher. All members of the editorial committee, and most of the contributors, were Canadian Presbyterians, who chose to go considerably farther along the path marked out by Praise Ways. Hardly any of their work was carried over into Songs of Faith, which the Canadian church's Board of World Mission produced in 1985 for the Guyana Presbyterian Church, whose foundations had been laid by Canadian missionaries exactly a century earlier. While this off-printed, words-only, spiral-bound paperback draws principally on the 1972 Book of Praise, it also includes material from American and West Indian collections.

If Canadian Presbyterians are unaware of more recent contributions to hymnody, they cannot blame James Ross Dickey, editor since 1977 of the denominational monthly Presbyterian Record, who assiduously secures and carries reviews of every new hymnbook which might furnish his readers with suitable material for their worship. Congregations no more venturesome than their Scottish forbears in the heyday of the Twelve Tunes two centuries ago sing what they do by deliberate choice, not because they are deprived of alternatives.

PRESBYTERIAN HYMNBOOKS

McDonald, Donald. Laoidhean spioradail. Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, 1835. Words in Gaelic; 8 tunes
[No copy of the 1835 ed. is extant, but copies of later reprints, notably that of 1895, remain.]

Alexander, Thomas. Prayers for the Young. Toronto: printed by James Cleland, 1840. 33 p. words only
[includes a few hymns at the end]

The Harmonicon: a collection of sacred music, consisting of psalm and hymn tunes, anthems, &c., selected from the best authors; with a copious introduction to vocal music. 2d ed., improved and enlarged. Pictou, Nova Scotia: James Dawson, 1841. 248+ p.
[No copy of the first ed. (1836) is known to exist. A 3d ed. appeared in 1855.]

Choix de Cantiques à l'usage du culte de l'Église presbytérienne française du Canada. Québec: imprimé par William Neilson, 1844. 108 p. words only
[From the 1830s on, missionary efforts among the French Canadians were largely financed by Scottish congregations and manned by French-speaking Swiss Protestants. They were also largely unavailing.]

Presbyterian Church in Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland. The Presbyterian Psalmody, being a selection of tunes for the use of Presbyterian churches, families, and schools, throughout Canada. Montreal: printed by John C. Becket, 1851. 118 p. music

Anderson, George, ed. The Psalmist, being a choice selection of sacred music. Adapted to the use of churches and schools in British North America with initiatory lessons on the art of singing. Edited and published by George Anderson, precentor, St. Andrew's Church, Montreal; printed by J.C. Becket, 185? 68 p.
[This book must antedate 1863, when St. Andrew's bought a pipe organ for $5000.]

Songs of Praise for Sabbath Schools and Families. Montreal: John Lovell, 1861.

Hymns for the use of Sabbath Schools in Connection with the Canada Presbyterian Church. Toronto: James Campbell (printed by Lovell and Gibson), 1862. 48 p. words only

Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland. Synod. Hymns for the Worship of God, selected and arranged for the use of congregations connected with the Church of Scotland. Montreal: John Lovell, 1863. 192 p.

The Choir: a collection of sacred vocal music for the use of the congregations and families of the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces, British North America. Prepared by a committee appointed by Synod. Halifax: A. & W. Mackinlay, 1879?, 1885. 238 p. music
[This book must first have been planned, if not issued, between 1860 and 1875, for only then were Nova Scotia Presbyterians known by the name given.]

McDonald, Donald. Hymns for Practice, not to be used in the Solemn Worship of the Sanctuary, by Rev. Donald McDonald and the elders. For the Church of Scotland in connection with the Presbytery of Prince Edward Island. Charlottetown, P.E.I.: Excelsior Printing Office, 1870. 83 p.

The St. John's Church Sunday School hymn book; compiled for the use, chiefly, of the Sunday School of St. John's Church (Church of Scotland), Cornwall, Ontario. By the Superintendent. Montreal: John Lovell, 1870. 122 p. words only

Hymnal of the Presbyterian Church in Canada; prepared by a committee of the General Assembly. Approved and commended by the General Assembly. Toronto: C. Blackett Robinson; Montreal: W. Drysdale, 1880. Words only. Music ed., with the harmonies revised by E.J. Hopkins, 1881. 349 hymns.
[The Committee held the type-plates, and retained various printers to strike off more copies as needed.]

Children's Hymnal of the Presbyterian Church in Canada for use in Sabbath Schools, with accompanying tunes. Prepared by a committee of the General Assembly. Toronto: Assembly's Hymnal Committee, 1884.
[Music, melody, and words-only eds., including one in tonic sol-fa, whose sales disappointed its proponents.]

The Presbyterian Book of Praise. Approved and commended by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Oxford University Press, 1897. 621 hymns; music and words-only editions
[Musical editor: Alexander MacMillan]

The Book of Praise, authorized by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Toronto: Humphrey Milford (Oxford University Press), 1918. Words-only and music eds. 816 hymns
[So far, this hymnbook holds the Canadian record for longevity. It continued in use among Presbyterians who chose not to enter the United Church in 1925; they were too busy surviving to revise it for nearly half a century.]

Knyha Khvaly [Ukrainian Book of Praise. Toronto: Home Missions Boards of the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches], 1922.
[Music and words-only eds.; translations into Ukrainian of selections from the 1918 Book of Praise which prairie clergymen thought immigrants would do well to learn.]

Old choir selections. Published by the Synod of the Maritime Provinces of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1942. 61 pieces, SATB.

The Book of Praise, revised 1972. Authorized by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Don Mills, Ont.: The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1972. 800 p. music

Praise Ways. Don Mills, Ont.: Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1975. 200 p. music

Celebrate. Waterloo, Ont.: Waterloo Music Company, 1983. 160 p. music
[When copies of Praise Ways were exhausted, its reprinting appeared less attractive than the issue of a new book, "commissioned by the Presbyterian Church in Canada and produced by a committee appointed to the task", with Ted Creen as convenor, Lois Klempa as secretary, and John Greenwood as

manuscript editor.]

Songs of faith; prepared for the Guyana Presbyterian Church. Don Mills, Ont.: Presbyterian Church in Canada, Board of World Mission, 1985. 133 p. words only

[Most hymns are from The Book of Praise 1972, but some come from Hymns of the Living Church (Hope Publishing Company), and some from Sing a New Song #3 (Caribbean Conference of Churches).]

Historical and critical works:

Our hymn writers, being biographical notices of the authors of the hymns selected by the Hymn Book Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Toronto: James Campbell & son, 1880. 40 p.

MacMillan, Alexander. Helps to the use of the Presbyterian Book of Praise, prepared under the Music Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Toronto, 1899.

McMurrich, William Barclay. Historical sketch of the Hymnal Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. London: Henry Frowde, 1905.

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[This general history, prepared for the centenary of the 1875 union by the denomination's archivist, supplies the background against which developments in church music took place, as well as providing guidance to many smaller-scale specialized articles, theses, and documents.]

REPORT FROM THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH ARCHIVES

Acquisitions arrive regularly at the Archive's doorstep, and this year, three are particularly noteworthy. Fifty document boxes were needed to contain the late Allan L. Farris papers. These cover notes on Knox College students, Dr. John Brent's papers, sermons, addresses, writings on Calvin and the Reformation, opinions on social matters, as well as W.G. Brown's papers. Dr. Stewart D. Gill presented the Archives with his thesis, A Scottish Divine on the Frontier of Upper Canada: The Rev. William Proudfoot and the U.P. Mission. The third major accession consisted of the minutes from the Synod of Montreal-Ottawa, 1918-1972.

We issued a newsletter from the Archives entitled, Step Into Your Archives to all ministers across Canada in the Board of Congregational Life mailing. Aside from its main function to update ministers on the Archive's activities, we stress the need to have church records microfilmed, with a copy sent to the Presbyterian Archives for preservation and use. This campaign has been quite successful, having filmed 18 congregations' records in the past couple of months, and we hope to increase this figure in the coming year.

A student hired with the aid of a federal grant has organized and produced a finding aid for the papers of Dr. E.H. Johnson, focussing primarily on his efforts during the Nigerian/Biafran conflict of the 1960's and with his term as moderator. Moreover, it is expected that a finding aid for the Home Mission records (1960-1980) will be completed by the end of January 1987.

T.M. Bailey

TICKET TO HEAVEN: THE RISE AND FALL OF THE COMMUNION TOKEN

by John Alexander Johnston

COMMUNION TOKEN

With the word *communion*, Presbyterians generally have no difficulty in interpretation although my research would conclude that for virtually the entire life of the Reformed Church, *Sacramental Token*, or *Token*, not *Communion Token* was the phrase used.

But what of the word *Token*? It is the equivalent of the Saxon *tacn* or *tacen*, and of the Gothic *taikns*. The word token means a *sign* or a proof-mark of some sure word of promise to be kept, or a privilege to be enjoyed, or a record of a transaction or a sign of what would take place.[1]

BIBLE

Recall the Rainbow token of Genesis 9:12, or the blood token of the Passover. In the Apocryphal Book of Tobit is seen the use of tokens in daily life. (Tobit 5:2). Tobias repays his father's debt on receipt of his *mark* or *token* from Gabael.

Interestingly, every time a token is mentioned in Scripture, it is a token for good, except when referring to Judas, *he that betrayed him had given them a token.*

GREECE

Basilides, (circa 110 AD), a gnostic, is known to have prepared a special token, carried by his devotees and marked with the particular code of this order, which allowed the bearer entrance into the secret rites and ceremonies. Greeks used numeral letters on amulets, talismans, scarabaei, phylacteries, etc., and no doubt is referred to in The Revelation of John, chapter 13, vs. 18: *The number represents a man's name, and the numerical value of its letters is six hundred and sixty-six.*

ROME

The Roman token or *Tessera* was used to identify a person who had been initiated into a mystery religion. Some were known as *contorniates* and the possessor was able to attend some entertainment or game, and served as a "pass." Other *tesserae* were given to victors in a race or game, and could later be redeemed for the prize. Sometimes they were given to poor people and the token could be exchanged for grain (1st Century food voucher). Others, *tesserae convivales* served in a way similar to invitations to a party, and were given over to the doorkeeper who guarded the entrance to the house or hall.

Of special importance to us were the *tesserae hospitales* which were exchanged by families, and possession of such a token meant protection under all circumstances, and the expectation that every want would be supplied.

In the Roman army, tokens were used instead of passwords by the duty guards, who passed the token of the day from watch to watch. In the end, following its passage through legion to legion, it was returned to headquarters at each period of the night, informing the Tribunes that everything was well.

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[1] Rev. W.A. Whitelaw, *Communion Tokens*, Dumfries, 1911, p.9.

EARLY CHURCH

In the New Testament one reads how outsiders sought to enter into the rites of the church and spy on the Christians. Circumcision was seen by Paul as a protection against *sham-Christians, interlopers who had stolen in to spy upon the liberty we enjoy.* (Gal. 2:4). When Apollos was desirous of entering into Achaia, his friends wrote him a letter of introduction so he would be accepted by the disciples there. This document, over the years, became known as the *Koinonikon*, a letter given to a Christian traveller so he would receive hospitality and support from the Christian community in every place.

MEDIAEVAL

After eleven hundred, the word *mereau* is used in Gaul and various parts of present-day France. It was not a piece of money but rather had the usage of allowing the bearer to pass, or in the church, was given for services rendered (e.g. attendance at the hours of worship) and which could later be enchanged for cash. Some historians propose that the *mereau* are as old as the Greek and Roman *tesserae.*[2] Both types of tokens were made of similar materials (ivory, leather, terracotta, inferior metals etc.) but the *mereau* had the connotation of "shouting" or "permission to sell of carry comodities."

In the church, the *mereau* or *marreau* is sometimes known as the *marque*. In 1936, a royal order speaks of *clerks of The Mereaux of The Alms* and in the year 1401, Charles VI wrote regarding Sainte Chapelle in Paris,

> *We wish that the singers, chaplains and clerics of our chapel would make their entrance at the first 'Gloria Patri' and would remain until the end: and moreover that the distributor, who, to do this, will have each year 30 sols, will give out the mereaux only at the end of the hours at Notre Dame when they will tell them by note to the choir.*

Tokens were also given to the poor after they had been present at catechism, tokens which could be exchanged for food. Also at the King's Court, tokens were used for entrance to balls and other government events.

Thus can be concluded that the use of the "Token" in the church of the Reformation was merely an extension of the use of the token in many spheres of society, including the pre-Reformation church. The token is not a product of Protestantism, but Protestantism gave new meaning to its use. From the very beginnings of the Reformation in France and Switzerland, discipline around the Lord's Table was central to the thinking of the Reformers and in 1560, John Calvin, at the Council of Geneva proposed the introduction of lead tokens in the following terms,

> *To prevent the profanation of the Table it would be well if each took lead tokens for each of the eligible ones of their households. Strangers giving witness of their faith could also take these, but those not provided with tokens would not be admitted to the Table.*

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[2] Henri Gelin, *Le Mereau,* St. Maixent, 1981, p. 5

This did not receive the approval of the Council who felt that a warning was sufficient. The matter was not dropped, however, and the following year Calvin again advocated the use of the token and the withholding of it for the encouragement of repentance. John Calvin wrote, *When someone is forbidden communion, he is not excluded forever nor is it to make him desperate, but to humiliate him, and to instruct others.*

Probably the first congregation to use the token was the Reformed Church at Nimes (1562). Henri Gelin lists thirty-four congregations documented as using tokens in France over the next century. It would appear that discipline in France was more sternly exercised than in Switzerland, and hence an earlier adoption of the token as a ticket of admission to the Lord's Table.

Calvin, in an undated letter, encouraged the church in France to adopt the token, and the result was as above. The material was usually lead, but sometimes mixed with tin. In 1561, it was reported by the church at Nimes that the different quarters of the city were catechised prior to the Lord's Supper, and that tokens were given to the faithful. In 1562 a deacon was fined for not coming in time for the catechising and gave as his excuse that he had been detained distributing seventeen tokens (mereau) which the minister had given him for that purpose.[3]

SCOTLAND

While the earliest record of the use of the token in Switzerland is dated 1605, one finds that the token was part of the sacramental act in Scotland as early as 1560. The Session of St. Andrew's records that year the plea of Walter Adie, *"will ye give me ane techet?"* In 1572, the same church recorded that *"nane sal present thair selves to the communion wythout tikat resavit fra the clark of the quarter quhair they dwel or minister"*. Within the year, the Session was recording problems of people coming without a ticket, or with a forged ticket. It would appear that both metal and paper tokens were used in this congregation, probably the one at the first service, and the other at the second. One could almost see people breaking down the church doors in order to partake of the elements, keeping their seats in order to have a second opportunity to share the bread and wine, and even forging a token, as did John Hwniman, who got it from David Robertson.

TOKENS

Paper tickets and metal tokens thus were used side by side in the Church of Scotland, and the two terms gradually referred to the same thing, especially as paper was replaced by metal. In 1593, the Glasgow Session allocated fifty shillings for metal tokens (to be paid for out of the "Penitent's silver" in 1588) while in 1603 a new stamping was authorized. The 1593 tokens were made of lead, while the 1603 were of tin. Probably the change of metal was authorized to prevent the wrongful use of the tokens which had disappeared or gotten into the wrong hands. Records tell us that not every token was returned.

Often the mold was made by the local blacksmith, although in urban areas, the token could be very ornate works of art. Often, as part of the communion preparations, several elders were chosen to "strike off

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[3]Rev. Thomas Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate* R. & R. Clark, Edinburgh, 1892, p.446

the tickets." At other times the local pewterer or blacksmith would be commissioned to produce the metal tokens. Hence many of the tokens are rough and rudimentary. As each parish was careful to maintain discipline, it explains why adjoining parishes would have such contrasting tokens.

Tokens originally were very small, and usually contained the initial of the congregation. Often the imprint was only on one side. Most were more or less a square, although a few were in the shape of a rectangle or a circle. Later, dates appeared in the seventeenth century. This was followed by the initials of the minister in the charge-a situation which on occasion meant that the incumbant took the tokens with him when called to a new parish.

Holiness unto the Lord. A sacredness was appropriated even to the token itself, and when a minister was inducted into a charge, it was not uncommon to present him with the mold as part of the paraphenalia of his office. At the same time, when a minister was translated to another pastoral charge, the tokens themselves might go with him, or might be melted down or even buried, and there is on record the burying of tokens after they fell into disuse in a congregation, so that no secular collector of tokens would be *sacriligiously guilty of laying hold of the ark of the covenant with unhallowed hands.*[4]

The communion season was a time of great solemnity and spiritual activity. It was held less frequently than in twentieth century congregations. In Glasgow, for instance, the elements were distributed only twice in the period between the Restoration and the Revolution--a span of twenty-eight years.

In order to receive a token, our forebears needed first to prove proficiency in the Scriptures and be recognized by the Session as persons of faith and Christian example. Self-examination, confession of sin and profession of faith were prerequisites for worthily sharing the sacrament. One early Session demanded that *nane get tickets but those that has bidden tryall and are fund weill intructict in the Belief, Lord's Prayer and Ten Commands.*

Preparatory Services often extended over five or six days. Ministers and members from near and far gathered for the services. A highlight of the week was the sacrament *fast.* On the Friday or Saturday prior to The Lord's Supper, tokens were distributed by the clergy to those individuals considered *worthy* of such a great privilege. The bread and wine would be laid out on the linen-covered trestle tables erected in the centre aisle or at the front of the sanctuary or in a suitable outdoor area.

Documents from Cape Breton record the English-language communion service being held inside the church while those persons of the gaelic tongue gathered outside for the sacrament. In 1891, the church at Boularderie purchased a new *tent* for $28.00 to be utilized at the outdoor service. It was a portable pulpit enclosure, twelve feet square with doors at each end for ventilation. A roof provided shelter from the elements. Officiating ministers were provided with a bench in the *tent* while the precentor sat outside in front of the pulpit.

A wooden paling usually surrounded the communion area. Closest scrutiny was exercised as to who was allowed to pass the barrier and join in the sacramental feast. Greatest store was placed upon attendance

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[4]Robert Sheills, *The Story of the Token,* Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, Ediburgh, 1902, p. 25.

and the Session of Knox Church, Hamilton, Ontario, recorded the discovery of counterfeit tokens being proffered in order to gain admission to the Table.

Communion tokens were cast in various metals--copper, tin, pewter, gun-metal, brass or silver. The vast majority of the tokens, however, which were in use in Canada, were made of lead. As this metal is particularly soft, these slugs were easily disfigured and were readily recast. When a new minister was inducted in a pastoral charge, the old tokens were often melted down and a new die designed. Some disks were crudely struck in a hand-held mold, made by the local blacksmith, and deposited at the Manse. Some tokens are works of art, designed in various oval and octagonal shapes. Many congregations in Canada used *stock* designs purchased from a central supplier and indistinguishable from those used by a myriad of churches from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Earliest tokens were marked with the initial of the minister or of the congregation, and sometimes with a date. Later tokens were embellished with Scriptural quotations, the most popular being *till He come* or *this do in remembrance of Me*.

THE MCKAY-BROWN COLLECTION

In 1984-85, members of MacNab Street Presbyterian Church, Hamilton, met weekly to assemble four accumulations of tokens into The McKay-Brown Memorial Communion Token Collection. These four thousand and thirty-one (4031) tokens are the result of many years of avid interest and diligent research by the late Donald Brown, a former Clerk of the Presbytery of Paris and an Elder of Central Presbyterian Church, Brantford, Ontario. Through the generosity of his family these tokens were presented, gratis, to The Presbyterian Church in Canada. How indebted is the denomination for this magnificent gift, for our church now holds in its national Archives what is believed to be one of the largest collections of communion tokens in the world.

Tribute is paid to Elder Lyle Dalgleish, a retired school principal and past president of the Hamilton branch of the Ontario Geneological Society, and to Elder George Winton, a retired engineering technician recognized for his research into Scottish clans and tartans. Together with numerous assistants, these men volunteered hundreds of hours in the calaloguing and the mounting of the disks in glassine pages.

The four thousand-plus tokens in the McKay-Brown collection are listed according to countries--Australia, Canada, France, Ireland, Scotland and the U.S.A. Scottish tokens, for example begin with Abbotshall, Abdie and Abercorn, followed by one hundred and two tokens used in Aberdeen. These are listed, congregation by congregation, together with dates and that branch of Presbyterianism to which each church belonged.

Many of the Scottish tokens were acquired by Mr. Brown from the widow of a former Clerk of The General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland. Others were traded or purchased over the years from dealers in various parts of the world. What stories each could relate! Turbulent times between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism would be no stranger to the Ardelach token (1691) while the Chalmers, Edinburgh, disk (1844), shared the internecene struggles within the Reformed family.

THE GEORGE A. MACLENNAN COLLECTION

During the first quarter of the twentieth century, The Rev. G.A.

MacLennan of Montreal amassed two hundred and forty-one (241) token specimens found in Canadian congregations. These were deposited in The Presbyterian College, Montreal, to *preserve a record of this old factor in the communion worship of our fathers.*

In 1924, Mr. MacLennan printed an illustrated volume depicting each token available to him. The collection is now in the Archives of The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 59 St. George St., Toronto, complementing the McKay-Brown coins which are largely non-Canadian, and thus providing a special link with the nineteenth century sacramental life of our church.

In 1975, the Centennial Committee of The Presbyterian Church in Canada printed a forty-four page volume entitled *Presbyterian Communion Tokens,* illustrating many of the tokens in our denominational collection. In 1924, The Rev. George A. MacLennan published a sixty-six page booklet with detailed listings of more than 241 Canadian Presbyterian tokens.

Presbyterians have never been credited with the inventing of religious tokens. Their use can be traced back to the Greek and Roman mystery religions when disks were carried by devotees of the various oath-bound societies. Sixteenth century Roman Catholicism used communion tokens on occasion. The Episcopal Church of Scotland engraved a cross or the letters *I.H.S.* on their tokens. The Church of England, especially around Durham and the North, and later the Methodists, both used tokens. Yet credit must be given to the Reformed churches for recognizing and preserving over the centuries the place of the communion token or card within the framework of preparing for, and participation in, The Lord's Supper.

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CALVIN, THE JEWS, AND THE JUDAIC LEGACY

by Calvin Augustine Pater

Introduction

Most Protestant Reformers lived in isolation from Jews as a consequence of the medieval history of expulsions. England had expelled all Jews in 1290, France in 1394, and the Jews of Geneva had fled by 1490. In the sixteenth century, German Jews were tolerated in only a diminishing number of imperial cities. Thus Calvin could have met Jews in Strassburg, but they spoke German and Calvin did not. However, the dialogue Answer to the Questions and Objection of a Certain Jew, which Calvin never published, may have been written, following correspondence.<1>

Christians relate to Judaism differently from the way Jews relate to Christians, quite apart from the problem of direct relations, for it is incontestable that Christian origins and the biblical canon are derived from Judaism in a way that Judaism is not dependent on Christianity. Another factor is that Christian anti-Jewish polemic or Jewish anti-Christian polemic was intended for home-consumption and not to convince one's opponents. Modern Jewish concern centres on concrete historical relations between Jews and Christians, but most Christians have never really known Jews. Thus Christians have tended to view Jews in terms of dogma (as in the Middle Ages) or in terms of how they relate to their own Judaic scriptural legacy (as in the Reformation). In view of this our topic centres on the Judaic Legacy, but even then it is too complex to be treated here fully.

In considering the Judaic legacy, Calvin's covenantal theology is crucial. First, however, Calvin appropriated, within Christian limits, the Law of Israel,

a concern that is already evident in 1536, whereas covenantal theology emerges in 1539. Ultimately, Calvin's view of covenant embraces Law, for the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai is then seen as a ratification of the single covenant struck between God and Abraham, the Father of All Believers, that is both ancient Jews and Christians. But for Calvin the Law came first. To illustrate Calvin's growing acceptance of Mosaic Law, his characteristic prohibition of images and observance of the Sabbath are here chosen.

Jews and the Early Reformation

Following a long and bitter history of strife, the Reformation brought hope to some Jews, but just as Christians tend to make theological constructs out of Jews they do not know, Jews may do the same to Christians. In Jerusalem, the kabbalist R. Abraham ben Eliezer Halevi did not know the real Luther, and, as Carl Cohen has shown, Luther merely filled a gap in Ben Eliezer Halevi's own theology. Thus Luther was seen as an iconoclast who inspired Christians to follow the Law of Moses, and who planned to lead his proselytes to Judaism before the coming of the Messiah. More accurate (but he was closer to the scene) was David Gans when he asserted:

> Luther broke the laws of the pope, destroyed the unity of Christians, and prepared to destroy and burn their statues. He believed one should not pray to Mary, the mother of their Messiah, nor to the twelve apostles.<2>

Gans tended to confuse Luther and Karlstadt. Indeed, Luther had adopted Karlstadt's opposition to the intercession of the saints.<3> And although Luther was not an iconoclast, Gans rightly noted that Luther had favoured the removal of some images. Luther also had cast the canon law into a bonfire. Unintentially, Luther had fragmented western Christendom, and in denying churchly infallibility, he sealed this accomplishment, which was also beneficial for Jewry.

Late-medieval Christian interest in the study of Hebrew had also stimulated Jewish hopes, often in vain. For example in 1505, the Hebraist Reuchlin published a missive Why the Jews have Suffered For So Long. Reuchlin used a catena of rabbinical argument to establish that grievous suffering is punishment for grievous sin. Accepting this, Reuchlin then regarded Jewry's fifteen hundred years of exile as unprecedented suffering that requited unprecedented sin. Now the greatest sin, according to the Rabbis, is blasphemy, and since Jewry was dispersed after the crucifixion of Jesus, Reuchlin concluded that even by rabbinic standards, the Jewish dispersion was God's punishment for blasphemy against Christ.<4>

Similarly, although Luther devoted himself especially to the study of the Old Testament, it did not profit contemporary Jews that Luther upheld tradition in drawing a stark line between 'the ancient, true Jews' (die alten rechten Juden) and the 'modern, strange Jews' (die newen frembden Juden). Likewise Martin Bucer applied Old Testament promises to Christians ('the Jews of election and blessing'), rather than contemporary Jews ('the Jews of the flesh').<5>

A new obstacle between some Protestants and Jews was the fact that Luther's discovery of salvation by grace rather than 'monkish' works could create a lasting aversion towards law. Monks, rather than Jews, had provoked this feeling, but Luther and some of his followers, like Martin Bucer, could turn it against the Jews as well:

> The Jews, wrote Bucer, as enemies of Christ, were to be equated with the Turks and Romans. Apart from the Roman veneration of images and verbal profession of Christ, 'the faith and religion of Papists and Jews is one and the same,' namely a religion of law, characterized by self-justification and ceremonies.<6>

Protestants, therefore, might transfer to the Jews the Reformers' critique of medieval legalism, but the Reformers' attacks on so-called Jewish ceremonies should not be taken literally. Luther had introduced and defined this notion:

> Of such a sort are our ceremonies under the rule of the pope, dreamed up after the Mosaic ones. Since they lack the commanding word of God, by which they would become serious and meaningful, they are nothing but cheap and laughable apings of the Jews.<7>

Christ's final sacrifice had abrogated temple ritual; Paul repealed the requirement of circumcision; Dietary laws had been dismissed in Acts. Thus the primitive church expunged much ritual. Now the principle of equity required for Calvin and his predecessors in the Reformed faith, that if Jews should not retain old ceremonies, no longer sanctioned by God, neither should Christians.

Despite the rhetoric against 'Jewish ceremonies' Protestants were closer to the Jews here than was the medieval church. Neither Jews nor Protestants perpetuated temple ritual; nor did Protestants claim for themselves a right denied the Jews with regard to unbiblical ceremonies. Thus the attacks on 'Jewish ritual' obscure what Protestants and Jews had in common. In fact, Jews would have agreed with Luther that anachronistic appeals to precedents in temple ritual for the rituals of the Mass, were 'laughable apings.' It was those 'apings' that had provoked the polemic against 'Jewish ceremonies,' not an attack against the Jews. Calvin once connected monasticism to Jewish ceremonial and legalism.<8> Here 'Jewish' does not refer to a historical connection, but is a simple way of referring to the legalism that can be found among certain Jews and Christians alike.

In retrospect the terminology 'Jewish ceremonies' is unfortunate, but it well illustrates how Jews often lived in the fallout from inter-Christian strife. Polish Jews recognized this phenomenon with the proverb 'Wies christelt, judelts sich,' or 'As Christians go achristianing, so Jews go ajewing.'

Having been liberated from the indefectible magisterium of the church, Protestants had more room for disagreement, also over the treatment of Jews.

Such controversial Lutherans as Andreas Osiander and Johannes Agricola, sympathized with the Jews. In the case of Agricola, this is remarkable, in view of his reputation for antinomianism. Osiander also rebuked Luther in a private letter, for having published On the Jews And Their Lies.<9>

There was also Thomas Müntzer who in 1523 erected in his church the Tablets of the Law upon what was formerly the high altar. This symbolized Müntzer's own rejection of what he called Luther's 'honey-sweet Christ,' in favour of the Law. Invoking the Law to defend the oppressed, he organized his fellow covenanters to smite the 'ungodly Moabites,' and joined the Peasant Revolt. When the 'ungodly Moabites' beheaded him, Müntzer's career was foreshortened. This event confirmed Luther's suspicions of legalism.

Luther would not compromise with legalism, since the Law never lost its sting for him, and was semper accusans. Moses' Laws as such are worthless. The Ten Commandments are not Moses' Laws, but mix natural law with Mosaic ceremonial chaff that should be sifted out. Among the chaff in the Ten Commandments, Luther found the prohibition of images as well as Sabbath observance. According to Luther, even the moral, natural law, though observed by decent people simply as a civic duty, had nothing to do with salvation and eternal life.<10>

Luther's colleague Karlstadt, however, held a dual doctorate in canon and civil law from Rome, as well as a theological doctorate from Wittenberg. Luther defamed Karlstadt as a legalist and 'Jewish saint.'<11> Indeed, Karlstadt felt provoked by his colleagues, 'who sit in the chair of Moses [i.e. they teach] but work against Moses' Laws.'<12> Still, Karlstadt retained Luther's emphasis on salvation by grace rather than merit, but in harmony with the Law.

Karlstadt valued the Mosaic Law even in political matters, especially its underlying principle of equity. He held up Mosaic political legislation as a model for Christians, rather than the Sachsenspiegel, the contemporary law-code

of Saxony, whenever Moses was more progressive in dealing with the oppressed. The Ten Commandments remained in force as divine law, binding on all believers, not to obtain merit, but to thank God for salvation freely offered in Christ, and appropriated by faith rooted in love. Thus, unlike Luther, Karlstadt tied the religious (faith) dimension to the moral (love) dimension. Even Israel's ancient ceremonies are not simply dated, but, though their outward observance has ceased, the original reason for their observance remains a valid expression of God's will:

> For, as with all commandments, the reason and meaning must be appropriated and nothing else; that is, only God who commands is to be taken to heart, and his will sought in the commandment.<13>

Karlstadt's sympathy for Law also influenced his view of the Jews. His work On the Removal of Images contained three references to Jews. One dealt with a biblical verse in which prophetic self-criticism of Israel occurs. Without implicating Jews, Karlstadt applied this to 'pretended Christians.'<14> Israel also had better rulers than Christendom:

> Would to God that our rulers were like the worldly pious kings of Jewry who are praised by the Holy Spirit.<15>

Finally, Karlstadt worried about what impressions sincere Christians and Jews would receive from Christian idolatry:

> I would very much like to see how we can respond to true Christians, or Jews who understand the Bible, or God who gave this doctrine to us through the Holy Spirit.<16>

Thus Karlstadt showed that respect for the Judaic scriptural legacy could improve one's attitudes towards one's Jewish contemporaries. Even Martin Bucer's advice that one can keep the Jews on Christian territory out of gratitude towards their forebears, or one can expel them to keep Christians from contamination, was relatively progressive, even though there was ancient precedent for it in the writings of Augustine and the law codes of Justinian.<17> This view illustrates how the first generation of Reformers could

be caught between tradition and new insight. There was nothing new in expelling Jews to keep Christians from contamination, but Bucer had another option.

Here love of Ancient Israel can benefit one's Jewish contemporaries. That Bucer considered toleration of Jews as an alternative is remarkable, for compared to Matthew and Katherine Zell's or Wolfgang Capito's attitudes towards the 'Anabaptists' for example, Bucer was the most intolerant of the Strassburg Reformers.

Calvin and his Lutheran Background

Although what Calvin did is very similar to what Karlstadt had proposed to do with the Mosaic Law, there are few direct links between them. Calvin, too, had been trained in law, however, and Luther's abrogation of the Mosaic Law left him dissatisfied.

Gradually, Calvin's growing respect for the Judaic legal legacy was integrated with his theology, and thus the gap between him and Luther widened. But it was already there in 1536, when Calvin published the first edition of his Institutes. Luther's Latin lectures on Deuteronomy (1525) contained only excerpts, and did not even cover the Ten Commandments. Opposing Karlstadt, Luther had already excised the commandments prohibiting images and enjoining the hallowing of the Sabbath, as dated ceremonial:

> Such [invalid] laws are in the Ten Commandments, depend on it and belong there. And to indicate this, God himself has expressly introduced two ceremonial laws, namely concerning images and the Sabbath [Col 2:16-17; Gal 4:10-11].<18>

Luther claimed that there was only one commandment, the First, that retained religious validity. Then, characteristically and consistently, Luther chose as the First commandment only the preface in which no commandment occurred, for he cited 'I am the Lord your God' as the First commandment, noting its identity

with the Shemah, 'Hear O Israel, the Lord our God is one God.' Then he subsumed all 'Thou shalts,' under it, and implicitly denied the need for the Ten Commandments by arguing that with the First Commandment in place, the rest would naturally follow.<19>

One may, of course, object that Luther did treat the Ten Commandments in his catechisms, but that was several years later, and one should assume that Luther treated them there because the Ten Commandments formed an integral part of the traditional chatechisms. In his Larger Catechism Luther retained his claim that the other Commandments depend on the First, though he now chose 'Thou shalt not have any gods before me,' as was traditionally done.<20>

However, because Luther later reiterated the position that he had first staked out in Deuteronomy, his embrace of the traditional First Commandment in the Larger Catechism is best ascribed to public posturing. Luther also followed tradition in dividing the Ten Commandments into two tables of three and seven commandments each, abrogating the commandment prohibiting images, and dividing the tenth commandment into two. He also spiritualized the Sabbath, and abolished it according to its outward 'Jewish' observance.

Calvin on Images

Calvin is determined to save the Ten Commandments. He began to divide the commandments differently, assigning four rather than three to the first table, and six, rather than seven to the second. As precedent Calvin cited Origen of Alexandria, who 'in a purer age set forth this division of ours.'<21>If Calvin had emulated Origen as a pure model, this argument would be persuasive, but Calvin appealed to Origen because his different tables of the Law involved more than simple rearrangement. For thus Calvin restored the prohibition of images as well as the Tenth Commandment which tradition had cut in two.

To support the prohibition of images, Calvin cited the crucial principle of Reformed worship, John 4:24: 'Adore God who is a spirit, in spirit and in truth.' This principle had an earlier history. It had first been enunciated by Karlstadt in his 1522 Disputation on Gregorian Chant, and, as Garside showed, had been adopted by Zwingli.<22> Next Calvin considered the worship of the Golden Calf. Unlike Calvin, Karlstadt had interpreted the worship of the Calf as a reversion to crass idolatry:

> Learn from this example. God had led the Jews out of Egypt and redeemed them from the prison-hole of servitude. This goodness they now wanted to confer on an alien god. They fashioned a Golden Calf and spoke: 'These are the gods of Israel, that led you out of Egypt' (Exo 32). The calf was a strange god, which had not redeemed the Jews, and yet they said that it had led them out of Egypt. Thus all nations fashion alien gods, whenever they attribute received mercy to something other than the true God.'<23>

Note how a parallel is drawn from 'the Jews' to 'all nations,' so Karlstadt took the sting out of the sins of Israel. Calvin also made a parallel, but it was artificial and intended to deflect the excuse that, unlike the Jews or pagans, Christians can worship images without falling into idolatry. Calvin therefore credited the ancient Jews and pagans with knowing that images are not gods, so he can equally implicate Christians:

> 'Images,' [idolatrous Christians] assert, 'are not to be taken for gods.' Not so utterly unthinking were the Jews as to forget it was God by whose hand they had been led out of Egypt, before they fashioned the Calf! Not so senseless are we to deem the gentiles as not to have understood God to be something else than wood and stones!

But then, by process of inevitable devolution, 'all nations, having fixed their minds on statues, began to grow more brutish and to be overwhelmed with admiration for them, as if something of divinity inhered there.'<24>

Calvin rejected Pope Gregory's authoritative approval of images as 'books of the unlearned.'<25> The argumentation is reminiscent of Karlstadt, who had already influenced Zwingli here.<26> Images are used as 'books' only when the people have not been properly instructed.<27>

One original argument should not be overlooked. Calvin charges the 'anthropomorphites' with immodesty:

> Indeed, brothels show harlots clad more virtuously and modestly than the churches show those objects that they wish to be seen as images of virgins.<28>

From which Church Father Calvin learned about the relatively virtuous attire of harlots, I do not know, but Calvin's feelings were not peculiar. His contemporary, Pope Paul IV (Gian Pietro Carafa) ordered that Michelangelo's naked figures on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel be painted over to be clad with loin cloths. At any rate, a Hebraic sense of modesty that humans be clothed after the Fall, triumphs here over the Renaissance.

Having set out to save the Ten Commandments, Calvin in 1536 still reveals his originally more Lutheran phase, in regarding the Ten Commandments as a clarification of natural law:

> Properly speaking, this very written Law is but a witness of natural law, a witness that quite often arouses our memory, and instills in us the things we had not sufficiently learned, when natural law was teaching within.<29>

But Calvin also progressed beyond Luther, for he regarded the whole Ten Commandments as clarifying natural law, including the prohibition of images and the observance of the Sabbath, which for Luther were merely Mosaic, hence outdated, appendages to the natural law that were abrogated in the New Testament.<30>

However, as long as it was but a witness, the Mosaic Law was serving natural law, and this apparently embarrassed Calvin later, for he struck this passage from the Institutes in 1541. Calvin finally stated:

> Thus the public worship of God that God once prescribed is still in force... Now the inward law ... written, even engraved upon the hearts of all, in a sense asserts the very same things that are to be learned from the Two Tables. For our conscience does not allow us to sleep in perpetual insensible sleep.<31>

Thus in 1541 Calvin had not repudiated the notion of natural law, but by 1559 he had moved from natural law that is clarified by the Ten Commandments to a basic emphasis on God's Ten Commandments that 'in a sense' correspond to natural law, which merely arouses the conscience. For Luther all law is semper accusans, but Calvin now confined this threat to natural law, rather than the divine law that prescribes Christian no less than Jewish worship. Therefore believers are not free to invent patterns of worship that have not been sanctioned in God's word:

> Scripture's exclusive definition of God annihilates all the divinity that humans fashion for themselves out of their own opinion, for God himself is the sole and proper witness of himself.<32>

Calvin's prohibitions of statues were gradually strengthened. In 1541, Calvin argued that 'a likeness no less than an image is forbidden,' thus excluding icons.<33> In 1559, Calvin implicated symbols like that of the Holy Spirit as a dove. Matthew 3:16 shows that as soon as it came down as a dove, the Holy Spirit vanished to prevent superstition.<34> Now Matthew 3:16 does not support Calvin's point at all, but Calvin was fencing the Torah, and the use of symbols had been the intermediate phase through which the early church moved from primitive rejection to full acceptance of images.

Like Karlstadt, Calvin repudiated the traditional distinction between dulia (proper veneration) and latria (idolatry).<35> Strikingly both Calvin and Karlstadt appeal to God's single name to show that God dissociates himself from images named after others.<36> However, in support, Calvin paraphrased Zechariah 14:9, while Karlstadt appealed to Acts 4:12.

The basic difference between Luther and Calvin also shows up in how they interpreted Deuteronomy 4:15, where God spoke, yet no one saw a body. Luther spiritualized this, and therefore he rejected images in the heart. Calvin interpreted the event literally; consequently he prohibited any outward likeness of God.<37>

Did Calvin's stance on images draw him closer to the Jews? Calvin had already elevated the deeds of the Jews in the case of the Golden Calf, so he could equally implicate Christians. Later Calvin held that Christians had been worse idolaters than the Jews. In 1536 in reintroducing the Third Commandment (No graven Images), he claimed support from Origen. In his final statement, however, Calvin, denounced all Christian tradition on this point:

> It was an act of diabolical madness to make away with one of the Ten Commandments... They pretend that the Jews were formerly prohibited from idolatry with greater strictness, because they were too much disposed towards it, as if they themselves were not worse in this respect.<38>

Consequently, Reformed houses of worship were deprived of images: an aesthetical loss, not without moral compensations. Reformed Protestants never depicted the casting out of the synagogue. Neither did they preserve the image that objectified the essence of anti-Semitism, the Judensau or the gentile swine that defecated on the Torah<39>. In striving to obey the Law of God, Reformed Churches did not through imagery defame the Jews.

The Sabbath

In 1536, Calvin reclaimed the Judaic legacy with respect to images but not the Sabbath. Calvin did not explain this uneven development. However, Luther had argued:

> We can show that [images and Sabbath observance] are ceremonial laws that are also each in its way abrogated in the New Testament, so that one may see how Dr. Karlstadt deals about as wisely in his book with the Sabbath as with images. For Saint Paul [Col 2:16-17] speaks frankly and clearly, 'Therefore let no one pass judgment on you in questions of food and drink or with regard to a festival or a new moon or a Sabbath. These are only a shadow of what is to come.' Here Paul expressly abrogates the Sabbath and calls it a shadow now past, since the body, which is Christ himself is come. Also Gal 4 [:10-11], 'You observe days and months, and seasons... and years. I am afraid I have laboured over you in vain.'<40>

Calvin virtually echoed this statement in 1536:

> But there is absolutely no doubt that this commandment [of Sabbath observance] was a foreshadowing and demanded of the Jews during the era of ceremonies, that under outward observance, it would represent to them the spiritual worship of God. At the coming of Christ, who is the light of shadows and the truth of figures, it was therefore abrogated like the remaining shadows of the Mosaic Law, as Paul clearly testifies [Gal 4:10-11, Col 2:16-17].<41>

Both Calvin and Luther appealed to Paul, citing identical texts. Both also distorted Colossians 2, where the shadows are related to a future event, whereas Calvin and Luther related them to a past event, viz. the incarnation of Christ. Luther could not appeal to the New Testament for the toleration of images, so he extended Paul's observations from the Sabbath to images. In contrast, Calvin refused to extend what Paul said about the Sabbath to images, thus resisting Luther here, but Luther did cite Paul in support of his view of the Sabbath, and Calvin at first accepted this argument: hence the uneven development.

Even at this early stage, a further distinction should be made. Both Luther and Calvin referred to the shadows of the Mosaic Law, but they used the term differently. For Luther all law is basically shadow, compared to the light of Christ. Calvin was more traditional in distinguishing the shadows of the Mosaic Law from the intention of the Law itself, and thus when he changed his mind on the Sabbath, he had no need of revising the Law, for he only lifted the observance of the Sabbath from the realm of shadows to the realm of Law.

Calvin respected Jewish more than Christian ceremonial laws, because Jewish, unlike Christian, ceremony had once been sanctioned by God. Thus Calvin showed admiration for those Jews who had sacrificed their lives to defend even the letter of the law. They are an example for Christians:

> Let our example be Eleazar, mentioned in Maccabees together with the woman with her seven sons (2 Mac 6:7). When all might have ransomed their lives by tasting a morsel of swine's flesh, they preferred to endure excruciating tortures rather than taste it with their tongues. If you look just at the thing in itself, you might be inclined to think that it was madness to rush towards death for such a cause. But if you consider it carefully, you will find a crucial reason why they would prefer to submit to the most cruel tortures, rather than contaminate themselves by tasting of forbidden fruit.

Unlike the original human pair, Eleazar and the woman with her seven sons, had resisted the temptation to eat of the Tree of Knowledge. Calvin also supported Eleazar's refusal to save even his life by dissembling:

> When friends of this saintly man were able to substitute and set before him other than swine's flesh, that he might eat it, he would not condone the disguise. He saw how he would surrender the same token of blasphemy to his enemies. 'To dissimulate is not befitting in my time of life. Many young men will thus be led to assume that Eleazar, in his ninetieth year, has gone over and embraced the life of strangers. Thus they would be deceived by my dissimulation to gain a short span of corruptible life. I would bring dishonour and cursing on my old age. And though I would meanwhile escape the punishment of men, neither living nor dead would I escape the hand of the Almighty.

As Calvin noted:

> When a wicked tyrant, who wished not only to have the Law of God abolished, but even God's name eclipsed, urged them to testify by this sign that they abjured the observance of the Mosaic Law, they considered, and that rightly, that if they complied they would not just violate the Law in an unimportant ceremonial, but give evidence of having denied God and abjured the whole Law.<42>

Thus when a tyrant confused the fencing of the Torah with the Torah itself, Calvin admired Eleazar and the woman with the seven sons, for having sacrificed themselves on behalf of the Torah. Later, John Knox, no doubt for similar reasons, named his eldest son Eleazar. Calvin's allusion to Eleazar as a 'saintly man,' reminds one also of the fact, that following Karlstadt, Zwingli, and Luther, Protestants rejected the intercession of the saints as a pagan notion. Another barrier between Christians and Jews had been removed, for traditional saints (and hence their powers of intercession) had not been drawn from the Old Testament. Thus the notion of 'saints' was inequitable.

One could of course renounce the notion of official 'saints,' as Protestants eventually did, or one could also occasionally challenge the containment of sainthood. Thus Luther once called Daniel Saint Daniel, and Calvin referred to Eleazar as a saintly man. Moreover, festivals to honour the saints, had detracted from the Judaic legacy of the Sabbath.

Here Calvin opposed Luther, who having sifted out the 'natural law,' concluded that after hard labour one needs a rest; otherwise one does not.<43> In contrast, Calvin emulated those who gave their lives for the Torah. But Calvin faced another problem: What in the Sabbath is divine law, and what is mere ceremonial? Anti-Roman, not anti-Jewish, polemic motivates Calvin in 1536:

> Thus will vanish the nonsense of the sophists [i.e. Schoolmen] who have infected the world with the Jewish [i.e. legalistic] notion that the ceremonial part of this commandment has been abrogated, but that the moral part remains, namely the observance of one day in the week. Yet this is nothing but changing the day to spite the Jews, while at the same time retaining the observance of the day.<44>

The Lutheran origins of the younger Calvin are here revealed insofar as the Sabbath, as a special day, had been reduced to a political expedient, for 'it is not by religion that we distinguish one day from another, but for the sake of the common polity.'<45>

Had Calvin stopped here, his early interpretation of the Sabbath would have been Lutheran, but Calvin also injected the notion of the eternal Sabbath. For Luther Mosaic law was abrogated for purposes of religion, but for Calvin, the shadow of the law pointed to the eternal Sabbath. This notion had also been advocated by Karlstadt.<46> As eternal rest in God, Calvin regarded the Sabbath as divine law, and the cessation of servile works reveals the true Sabbath 'whose type and as it were shadow the Jewish Sabbath was. Thus it was assigned the seventh [!] day, a number signifying perfection in Scripture.'

> By this perfection we are taught that God enjoined on us an eternal Sabbath, for which no limit is set. Secondly, its full and proper hallowing will never come to pass until the seventh day (Heb 4:1-11). Although all of us who are believers have in part entered into it, we have not fully reached it.<47>

A new commandment replaced the old, and in stead of hallowing the Jewish Sabbath, the younger Calvin partially hallowed the Christian Sabbath as divided between the earth and the realm of eternal rest.

Calvin's conception of the Sabbath as foretaste of and participation in eternal rest had been aimed at the Schoolmen. Thus since God had appointed ceremonial only in the 'era of shadows,' Calvin was able to relieve Reformed Protestantism of the church calendar, which was inequitable, for its saints' days were all specifically Christian. Luther had Judaized this calendar by introducing a three-year cycle that allowed greater coverage of biblical materials, and confined its feasts to biblical events. However, Luther had not fully rid the calendar of bias. The Old Testament was never allowed to speak for itself, but was encumbred with often irrelevant materials from the gospels and epistles. Furthermore, with its festivals entirely confined to events from the New Testament, the calendar implied that in the Old Testament, there is nothing worth celebrating. Because they abandoned the medieval calendar, Zwingli, Karlstadt, and Calvin also got rid of such inequities, and the Reformed Churches allowed the Old Testament to speak for itself.

Also, by not having a calendar, there never was a Reformed version of the maddened flagellants, who having scourged themselves in the Good Friday procession, ran loose in the Jewish quarter to become a scourge to its inhabitants.

Consequently, Calvin's notion of the Sabbath as eternal rest proved fruitful as well as destructive. At first he turned this notion against the Judaic Sabbath, but not for long. Already in 1539 Calvin retracted his view of the Old Testament Sabbath as 'shadow' by expanding it. His former notion that the Sabbath precept is shadow, followed by sections that proclaimed the New Law of God in relation to the eternal Sabbath was inconsistent. Since Calvin was about to clarify his notion of the single Abrahamic covenant established between God and the Old and New Israel, the new Sabbath could not just abolish the old.

In the second edition of the Institutes Calvin struck out his discussion of the shadows of the Sabbath, and apologetically blamed the early Fathers for having in part led him astray. This defence would have been more cogent, had Calvin earlier credited the Fathers with having led him down this path. At any rate, Calvin now argued:

> The early Fathers commonly called the commandment a foreshadowing, for it contains the outward keeping of a day, which, upon Christ's coming was abrogated with the other figures. This they say truly, but they touch on only half the matter. Therefore we must go deeper in our exposition, and ponder three conditions, in which, it seems to me, the keeping of this commandment consists.<48>

Now the Old Testament texts are no longer introduced as 'Shadows' but under the rubric of 'The Sabbath Commandment as Promise.'<49> In From Shadow to Promise James Preus analyzed the notion of the Old Testament as 'shadows' in the Fathers, and Preus showed a breakthrough in Luther's early Psalms lectures towards the idea of the Old Testament as promise. Even if the notion of 'promise' still contained a threat to Luther, it did not to Calvin, and in either case, it advanced beyond the notion of 'shadows.' In Calvin's case it broadened his conception of Sabbath.

Calvin also referred to the Sabbath as a mystery, but failed to explain why. He then treated the Sabbath as the day of spiritual rest (divine law), and as a stated day to assemble (a political law as Calvin stated earlier, but also a divine law in the Old Testament, a law that may still apply to Christians), and finally, Calvin referred to the Sabbath as a day of rest for servants and cattle (i.e. a divine clarification of a natural law). Quite possibly this reveals Calvin's independent application of some of the legal categories found in Melanchthon's Commonplaces, but by now he may also have known the contents of Karlstadt's On the Sabbath. Redolent of Karlstadt's blending of Rhineland mysticism with the celebration of the Sabbath is the following passage from Calvin:

> If our sanctification consists in mortifying our own will, then a very close correspondence appears between the outward signs and the inward reality (signi externi cum re ipsa interiori analogia). We must be wholly at rest, that God may work in us; we must surrender our will; we must resign our heart; we must give up all our fleshly desires. In short, we must rest from all activities of our own contriving, so that, having God work in us [Heb 13:21], we may repose in him [Heb 4:19] as the Apostle also teaches.<50>

Even more striking than the mystical language, is Calvin's reference to the 'outward sign' and the 'inward reality' of the Sabbath. Now the traditional Augustinian distinction between signum and res applies to and defines a sacrament. And Calvin, in explaining the sacraments had offered not only his own definition, but he also cited with approval two definitions drawn from Augustine, including the one that refers to a sacrament as a sacred sign corresponding to an inward reality.<51>

If we then assume that Calvin secretly believed the Sabbath to be a sacrament, two other points in Calvin's treatment of the Sabbath suddenly are clarified. First, Calvin's brief reference to the Sabbath as a 'mystery' is now explained, for Calvin knew that the Greek Fathers used the term mysterion for sacrament.<52> Also, the rubric for the Sabbath as a 'promise' takes on added meaning, for Luther coupled the notion of sacrament with a divine promise.

But, if Calvin really believed that the Sabbath is a sacrament, why would he have concealed this? He was not normally afraid of controversy. Yet had Calvin openly propagated this notion, a well-nigh universal chorus would have accused him of Judaizing. None the less, the idea that Calvin concealed such a conviction is too shocking. Therefore, although Calvin implied that the Sabbath was a sacrament, I shall only maintain that Calvin had imbued the Sabbath with sacramental meaning. Even this is remarkable. The Reformers, unlike their predecessors, found sacraments in the Old Testament. The Fathers found mostly 'signs,' while Thomas Aquinas further devalued the Old Testament on this point,

by insisting that, in comparison with New Testament signs (signa), the signs of the Old Testament were lesser signs (signacula).<53>

Unlike his earlier claim that meeting on the Lord's Day was a Christian and political necessity, but without religious warrant, Calvin began to hold that even though the eternal Sabbath was basic, 'there is ample evidence that we must assemble on stated days, even if only in the usage of the Jews,' and that was now sufficient for Calvin. 'Repose from labour to servants and workers' is commanded in Deuteronomy 5:14-15; also Exodus 23:12 is cited to show that beasts of burden should have rest. Calvin asked: 'Who can deny that these two things apply as much to us as to the Jews?' Ideally, Calvin argued, one should meet for worship every day, 'but the weakness of many made this impossible.' Therefore, 'Why then should we not obey the order we see laid upon us by God's will?'<54>

In 1536, Calvin had attacked Christian Sunday observance, that is 'the appointing of the day,' as advocated by the Schoolmen, as a form of Judaizing that also was designed to spite the Jews. Now Calvin defended the Lord's Day without referring to the 'appointed day' of the Schoolmen, but the passage in which he had argued against the 'appointed day' was struck from the Institutes, for Calvin was being charged with becoming a Judaizer:

> Some restless individuals complain that the Christian people are nourished in Judaism, because they keep some observance of days. But I reply that we transcend Judaism, because we are far different from the Jews in this respect. The Jews abstained from manual tasks, not because they are a diversion from sacred duties and meditations, but because with a certain scrupulousness, they imagined that by celebrating the day, they were honouring mysteries once recommended.<55>

The Jews whom Calvin attacks in this passage, curiously resemble Calvin, even though he argues that he 'transcends' Judaism, and is 'far different' from the Jews, 'at least in this respect.' When Calvin accused the Jews of 'honouring mysteries once recommended,' he was feigning an attack on himself, rather than the Jews, for he himself had declared the Sabbath to be a mystery. And when he

charged the Jews with 'a certain scrupulousness,' he implicated himself, at least from the viewpoint of those who regarded him a Judaizer. And as for the Jews, 'abstaining from manual tasks, not because they are a diversion from sacred duties,' mere diversion was no longer Calvin's concern either, to the extent that the Sabbath was appointed for divine, rather than political reasons. So what at first seems like anti-Jewish rhetoric, was no more than an ironic and disguised attack on Calvin's own position, because he had to deflect criticism that he was a Judaizer. In not really attacking a Jewish position here, Calvin showed an unusual scrupulousness towards the Jews.

Calvin accepted the 'Lord's Day,' but other days remained a possibility. Logically, Calvin may have had in mind any day, but historically only the day of the Jewish Sabbath makes sense. As he had written in 1536, 'Why change the day to spite the Jews?'

Referring to the passage above, where Calvin had 'transcended the Sabbath,' J.T. McNeill asserted:

> It is clear from this passage that for Calvin the Christian Sunday is not as in the Westminster Confession XXI.8, a simple continuation of the Jewish Sabbath 'changed into the first day of the week,' but a distinctly Christian institution adopted on the abrogation of the Sabbath, as a means of church order and spiritual health.'<56>

Here McNeill read Luther into Calvin, and as to his comment on Calvin and the Sabbath, virtually everything I have already noted can be cited in refutation of McNeill's position. Moreover, Calvin never referred to a 'Christian Sunday' as McNeill did. Calvin preferred the word 'Sabbath,' or when he referred to the specific day observed by Christians, he called it the 'Lord's Day.' Let Calvin answer McNeill's notion of the abrogation of the Jewish Sabbath:

> God indeed would have the Sabbath as a notable symbol of distinction between the Jews and gentile nations. Therefore, the devil, to pour infamy on pure and holy religion has often slandered the Jewish Sabbath through perverse tongues.<57>

> God promises that as he blessed the seventh day and set it apart, so he will bless believers to sanctify them.<58>
>
> God in his kindness provides an antidote for our weaknesses. He sets apart one day from the rest, and commands that it be free from earthly business and cares, so that nothing may stand in the way of that holy occupation... In this respect we have an equal need for the Sabbath with the ancient Jews, so that on one day we may be free, and thus be the better prepared to learn and attest to our faith.<59>

Creeds simplify complex doctrinal systems. If the framers of the Westminster Confession intended to follow Calvin slavishly, one must concede to McNeill that they somewhat overstated the Reformed position on the Sabbath. But the Westminster divines came closer to Calvin's position than did McNeill in his criticism of them.

Luther's rejection of the Jewish Sabbath was based on his understanding of Mark 2:27: 'The Sabbath was made for men, not men for the Sabbath.' Calvin realized that Christ had 'not come to abrogate the law, but to fulfil it.' Calvin understood this to mean that when the disciples plucked grain on the Sabbath, Jesus defended his disciples from Pharisaic criticism, not by abrogating the Law, but by fencing legitimate exceptions to the Torah, already allowed in the Mosaic Law, for example, as when an ox had fallen into a pit, or when a dangerous animal was running loose.<60>

Luther had reduced the Sabbath to natural law, a notion that proved vapid, as his rather prosaic comments in the Larger Catechism show. This, as was noted, did influence the younger Calvin when he asserted that the Sabbath was 'in a sense' natural law, although he needed a divine command to clarify it. Towards the end of his life Calvin virtually discarded this position, for he held that, after the fall, the notion of the Sabbath was 'extinct' among the gentiles. Therefore, the Sabbath, as well as salvation is from the Jews:

> But what in the depravity of human nature was wholly extinct among the gentile nations, and almost obsolete with the nation of Abraham, God renewed in his Law: that the Sabbath should be honoured by holy and incorruptible observance, and that the gentiles 'like dogs that return to

their own vomit,' accounted to be among the disgraces of the Jewish nation.<61>

Calvin's reference here to the 'nation of Abraham' in connection with the giving of the Law, religiously links the Law to faithful Christians. For the 'nation of Abraham' includes all faithful Christians as well as the faithful Jews in the Old Testament, for Abraham is 'the Father of all Believers.' The single covenant, struck by God with Abraham, was renewed and clarified on Mount Sinai, and the intent of the Law remains binding.

Of course, from a traditional Jewish perspective, even Calvin had removed too many fences from around the Torah. But Calvin felt that Jews often followed so many fantastic Scriptural interpretations that they wandered from the Torah itself: 'Jews get hopelessly lost in reading the Scripture, for with their excessive curiosity over words, they lose the main target.'<62>

Despite this, even ceremonial and dietary laws were not simply abrogated, for they had been intended to shed light on the Law. To recover those intentions, Calvin composed his Harmony of the Four Last Books of Moses. Thus Calvin's aim of restoring the Mosaic Law to its rightful place becomes clear when it is illustrated especially with reference to images and the Sabbath. Here Calvin discarded over a thousand years of Christian tradition.

Evaluation

As we saw, Calvin's polemical references to 'Jewish' ceremonial should largely be dismissed as the adoption of unfortunate terminology. In fact, for Calvin genuinely Jewish was better than much Christian ceremonial, for although both were outdated, Jewish ceremonial had once been sanctioned by God.

Calvin loved the faithful Jews of Old Testament times, and could identify Moses with Christ. After Calvin dismissed as skeptical the idea that Moses was saved from the Nile, because of a fortuitous happening, he claimed: 'Surely God

drew out Moses, the future redeemer (redemptor) of the nation, as from the grave, to prove that the initial security of his Church was like a creation out of nothing.'<63>

Thus as Christ redeemed the Church, so Moses had redeemed Israel, and as Christians regarded the Church as beginning with the resurrection of Jesus, and believers dying and rising in baptism, so the Church of Moses had its beginning when he was as it were resurrected from a watery grave. That of course is a strained interpretation, and therefore remarkable. Then, to enhance the event of Moses' being saved from the Nile, Calvin speaks of the coming of Moses', that is God's, Church among the Jews, as a miracle of new creation, no doubt to draw a parallel between New Testament passages that proclaim the New Testament Church as a 'New Creation' in Christ Jesus.

Love for the ancient Jews, Calvin could only partially transfer to continuing Jewry, however. Calvin was grateful to the Jews for having preserved without falsifying the precious scriptural legacy. He also realized that much of so-called Christian polemic was nothing but ungrateful and 'shameless insult':

> But even though all the wicked, as if conspiring together, have so shamelessly insulted the Jews, no one has ever dared charge them with substituting false books, for whatever, in their opinion, the Jewish religion may be, they confess Moses to be its author.
>
> The miracle appeared not only in that God delivered the Tables of the covenant from the bloody edicts of Antiochus, but also in that the Jewish people, ground down and wasted by such misfortunes, were soon almost exterminated.
>
> And through whom did God preserve for us the doctrine of salvation embraced in the Law and the Prophets, that Christ in his own time might be made manifest [Matt 22:37-40]? Through the Jews, Christ's most violent enemies, whom Augustine justly called the 'bookmen' of the Christian church, because they have furnished us with reading matter of which they themselves do not make use.<64>

Thus the praise that Calvin lavished on the Jews after Christ was mixed, and ended on a note of frustration. Calvin, on the basis of Romans 9-11, believed

that Jews who denied Christ had been cut off from their own legacy, but he pinned his hope for Jewry on an eschatological remnant:

> When the gentiles have come in, the Jews will at the same time return from their defection to the obedience of faith. The salvation of the whole Israel of God, which must be drawn from both, will thus be completed, and yet in such a way that the Jews, as the first born in the family of God, may obtain first place.<65>

Meanwhile, Calvin preferred what he regarded as the side of God, not Jewry. However, in preserving the Law for Christians, Calvin could be equitable in his denunciations. Since Luther rejected the Law, even in one of Melanchthon's senses as a pedagogue unto Christ, he preached grace to Christians and applied the Law to Jews in his later tracts against them. No such inequity can be found in Calvin. In his sermons to the Genevans, he could lash out with awful denunciations, preaching Law.

Another advantage that accrued to the Jews because of the Reformation was that the Reformers often sniped at Rome rather than the Jews. Since Rome responded in kind, or worse, Christian wrath now found inward rather than outward direction. Within a century, for example, the Reformed ministers of Amsterdam objected strenuously to the clandestine services held at the Church of Our Lady in the Attic, while Jews and Marranos who had been driven out of Spain could live and worship there in peace. This outcome is not surprising, for the first generation of the Dutch Reformed had rallied to the slogan: 'We'd rather be Turks than Papists.'

Calvin could also be more equitable in his claims for Christianity (and here he was indebted to Luther) because of his relative lack of churchly triumphalism. Calvin made universal claims for the church's message, though he regarded faithful Christians, like the Jews, as only a remnant, dispersed through a largely pagan earth. Here, however, Calvin's limitations also become apparent, for he did not renounce the universal claim for Christianity.

NOTES

Purely numerical designations refer to the 1559 edition of Calvin's Institutes. They follow traditional usage as found e.g. in Petrus Barth and Guilhelmus Niesel, eds. Calvini Opera Selecta vols 3-5 (1928-36) and in John T. McNeill, ed. Calvin. Institutes of the Christian Religion vols 1-2, 'Library of Christian Classics' vols 20-21 (1960).

The following abbreviations are used:

CC Calvin's Commentaries (Edinburgh: 1844-56)

CR Corpus Reformatorum (Braunschweig, Leipzig: 1834f)

INST Institution of the Christian Religion (1536), trans and ed Ford Lewis Battles (Richmond: 1975)

LW Luther's Works (Philadelphia, Saint Louis: 1955f)

NTC Calvin's New Testament Commentaries, ed David W. & Thomas F. Torrance (1959-72)

OS Johannes Calvini Opera Selecta, ed Petrus Barth & Guilelmus Niesel (Munich: 1926-36)

WA D. Martin Luthers Werke (Weimar: 1833f)

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1. Gottfried W. Locher, 'Calvin spricht zu den Juden,' Theologische Zeitschrift (Basel) 23 (1967): 181-82 interprets Calvin's Ad Quaestiones (CR 37: 657-74) as 'den Niederschlag eines Schriftwechsels der wirklich stattgefunden hat.' For the expulsions see e.g. Salo W. Baron, Encyclopaedia Judaica vol 5 (1971): 66

2. Carl Cohen, 'Martin Luther and his Jewish Contemporaries,' Jewish Social Studies 25 (1963): 203

3. Calvin A. Pater, Karlstadt as the Father of the Baptist Movements (1984): 122

4. See Johannes Reuchlin, Warumb die Juden solang im elend sind (1505). Copy: Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen

5. For Luther see: WA 53:450 (LW 47:178); for Bucer see W. Nijenhuis, Ecclesia Reformata, 'Kerkhistorische Bijdragen' vol 3 (1972): 48

6. WA 53:448 (LW 47:175). Nijenhuis (n 5): 47

7. WA 14:500 (LW 9:7)

8. CR 73:30 (NTC 1:27)

9. Heiko A. Oberman, The Roots of Anti-Semitism (1981): 135 n108; 10

10. WA 50: 326, 330, 333, etc (LW 47: 84, 89, 92-93, etc)

11. WA TR 2:271.23-31

12. Pater (n 3): 17-18

13. Erich Hertsch, ed. Karlstadts Schriften vol 1: 24.22-25: 'Denn in allen gebotten muss die ursach und der geist gemeindt werden, und nichts anders, das ist das nur der Got sol behertzet werden, der do gebeut, und sein will im gebot gesucht und erkand werden.'

14. Hans Lietzmann, ed. Kleine Texte vol 74 (Bonn: 1911): 6.9-25

15. Ibid, 20.33-35: 'Welte got das unsser hern weren wie die weltliche frumen Konig und hern gewest sein in der Judenschafft die der h. geist lobet.'

16. Ibid, 5.28-30: 'Ich wolt gern sehen was wir den warhafftigen Christen konten antwurten, oder den Jüden die verstand der Biblienn haben...'

17. Nijenhuis (n 5): 24-25

18. WA 18:77 (LW 40:93)

19. WA 14:601-619 (LW 9:63-76)

20. Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch lutherischen Kirche (5. Aufl) (1963): 567, where the First Commandment is referred to as the 'Hauptgebot (huic praecepto, quod aliorum omnium caput est), to be related to all the commandments.' Also, 572: 'Quando summa est caput totius pietatis in eo vertatur, propterea quod, ubi cordi cum Deo bene convenit et hoc praeceptum servatum fuerit, cetera omnia apte consequuntur.'

21. OS 1:49 (INST:33)

22. For Calvin see OS 1:43 (INST:26). For Zwingli and Karlstadt see Charles Garside, Zwingli and the Arts (1966): 40-41

23. Lietzmann (n 14): 6.30-7.4

24. OS 1:43 (INST:27)

25. OS 1:44 (INST:28)

26. Charles Garside, 'Ludwig Haetzer's Pamphlet,' Mennonite Quarterly Review 34(1960): 20-36. Pater (n 3): 130-34

27. OS 1:44 (INST:28): 'Non hanc esse docendi populi Dei rationem, quem longe alia doctrina quam istis naeniis institui voluit Dominus. Verbi sui praedicationem communem omnibus doctrinam proposuit.'

28. OS 1:44 (INST:28)

29. OS 1:39 (INST:23): 'Proprieque haec ipsa scripta lex, testimonium est duntaxat legis naturalis, quod memoriam nostram saepius excitet, et inculcet ea quae, docente intus lege naturali, non satis didiceramus.'

30. See n 18

31. 2.8.1

32. 1.11.1

33. 1.11.4

34. 1.11.2

35. Lietzmann (n 14): 7.24-36. In this popular sermon, Karlstadt does not refer to dulia and latria, but he uses the corresponding verbal forms in the vernacular, namely eheren and anbeten.

36. Ibid, 13.19-22

37. WA 14:593-95 (LW 9:58)

38. CR 52:386 (CC Ex-Num vol 2:434): 'Adde quod diabolicus fuit furor, abrogare unum ex decem praeceptis...'

39. See Isaiah Shachar, The Judensau (1974)

40. WA 18:77 (LW 40:93)

41. OS 1:46-47 (INST:31)

42. CR 33:267-68 (Calvin's Selected Works (Edinburgh: 1851) vol 3:398-99)

43. WA 50:333 (LW 47:93)

44. OS 1:48 (INST:32)

45. OS 1:48 (INST:32): 'Non religione aliqua discernimus inter diem et diem, sed communis politiae causa.'

46. OS 1:47 (INST:31)

47. Ibid.

48. 2.8.28

49. 2.8.29

50. 2.8.29

51. 4.14.1

52. 4.4.3;14.2

53. See Calvin's argument in 4.14.20-16. For Thomas see Summa Theologiae 3, q.62 a.6

54. 2.8.32

55. 2.8.33

56. John T. McNeill, ed. Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion vol 1 (1960): 399

57. CR 52:577 (CC Ex-Num vol 2:434)

58. CR 52:579 (CC EX-Num vol 2:437)

59. Ibid.

60. CR 52:580 (CC Ex-Num vol 2:438)

61. CR 52:581 (CC EX-Num vol 2:440)

62. CR 73:47 (NTC vol 1:46)

63. CR 52:24 (CC EX-Num vol 1:44)

64. 1.8.10

65. CR 49:226 (NTC 8:255)

Through Missionary Eyes: The Glasgow Colonial Society Papers as a Source of Social History

John S. Moir

During the decade following the end of the Napoleonic Wars large numbers of Scots escaped the depressed economy of Britain by joining other Scots who had already migrated to British North America. The new arrivals soon discovered that accustomed religious facilities were at best inadequate and at worst nonexistent in the colonies, and that repeated pleas to Scotland for familiar services from their own clergy brought little help and more often no reply. The Church of Scotland had no overseas missions and no auxiliary similar to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts to support members in the colonies. In an attempt to fill this void interested clergy and laity from Glasgow and vicinity, under the patronage of Lord Dalhousie, governor-in-chief of Canada and former lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, founded in 1825 "The Society (in connection with the Established Church of Scotland) for promoting the Religious Interests of Scottish Settlers in British North America." Understandably that name was soon shortened unofficially to the "Glasgow Colonial Society".

The Society had two main functions--first, to raise funds and to use those funds to send and support Church of Scotland clergy in the colonies until congregations could become self-supporting, and second, to recruit and evaluate licentiates and ordained ministers who volunteered to emigrate to British North America and to put them into contact with colonists seeking to establish Church of Scotland congregations. The records of the Society reveal the many facets of the Society's operations and provide incidental insights into the religious and political issues of the day, but particularly the letters written home by the missionaries describe the physical and religious conditions encountered in the localities where they settled. As educated and articulate young men, the missionaries through their letters left posterity a valuable commentary on colonial life.

The Society's records consist of two minute books, two correspondence books (covering primarily policy matters), and seven large volumes of correspondence to its secretary, the Rev. Robert Burns, from the missionaries and interested parties. (1) In the summer of 1843 Burns had made a triumphal two-month tour through British North America that was a catalyst in transporting the Disruption to the colonies. During that tour Burns acquired many friends in the colonies,

and in 1845 he accepted a call to the new Free Church congregation, Knox Church, in Toronto, with the added incentive of a professorship at the recently established Knox College. Presumably the records of the Society were among the more than 2000 volumes donated by Burns, the Colonial Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, and interested individuals to Knox College Library in 1845. (2) There the records lay unnoticed until, amid growing interest in the history of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, the papers were transferred shortly before World War I to a newly created archives collection. When the Church's assets were divided as a result of church union the archives (but not the college Library) were transferred to the United Church of Canada and the Glasgow Colonial Society papers found a new home in the United Church Archives.

The Glasgow Colonial Society was one product of the Evangelical party in the Church of Scotland which later gained control of the General Assembly in 1834. The Society had no official connection with the General Assembly and depended on its benevolence for permission to canvass congregations for funds and to approach the imperial government for aid from the Canadian Clergy Reserves Fund. In 1836 the Evangelical-dominated Assembly took up the cause of help for the colonies by creating its own Colonial Committee, "for promoting the Religious Interests of Scottish Presbyterians in the British Colonies". The Committee would give the Society "from time to time such sums of money as . . . may seem meet to the Committee," but the Committee had the exclusive right to raise missionary funds within the Church of Scotland. The only direct link between the Committee and the Society was Robert Burns who was appointed to a subcommittee of the Colonial Committee. In the next few years the financial condition of the Society became desperate, and at the same time the Committee successively reduced its grants to the Society. Finally, in 1840, the Committee absorbed the Society, to simplify operations and to remove Burns who had proved to be stubborn and unco-operative.

The first missionaries of the Society reached British North America in 1827. Of the five British North American colonies Upper Canada was the preferred recipient of the Society's attentions, largely because the well-established Burgher and Antiburgher communities in the Maritimes looked on any Church of Scotland missionary activities there as unwarranted and provocative. During the Society's fifteen-year life thirty-four ministers were sent to the Canadas and twenty-five to the Maritimes. Of those fifty-nine missionaries sixteen left the Canadas either before or immediately after the Disruption, and in the Maritimes only five remained in Pictou County and Cape Breton after 1844. The fact that fourteen of the twenty-two still in the Canadas

joined the Canadian Free Church at the Disruption reflects the Evangelical origins of the Glasgow Colonial Society. (3)

The expectations of missionaries never matched the realities of life in the colonies. Letters from Upper Canada described new settlements with a mixed population of thousands, but warned of a general absence of religious interest. As for Church of Scotland ministries, Upper Canada was a near vacuum, (4) and in Nova Scotia Horton township Presbyterians had been settled for sixty-five years but still had no minister of their own. (5) From New Brunswick the Rev. Alexander Maclean reported that the lieutenant-governor said, "from the almost total absence of Kirks" many Presbyterians had become Anglicans, "but many more prefer Sectarianism." Some Highlanders had kept the faith by holding home services led by "the more gifted." (6) Without sabbath worship, a minister in Pictou added, Sunday in the colonies became "a day of mere animal rest". (7) Do-it-yourself services as the only alternative to "animal rest" were common in Upper Canada as well. (8) Perhaps settlers found such arrangements both satisfactory and economical, for in Lanark, where 985 Presbyterians in a hundred-square mile area had no church, a subscription for funds raised only £ 6, 5 s and a promise of 144 bushels of wheat for four years. (9)

Even when subscriptions for ministers were raised in the colonies, attitudes in Scotland posed an additional problem. The Church of Scotland had the human and material resources, complained the Rev. William Rintoul from Upper Canada, but unlike the Glasgow Colonial Society the Church had "made no great and decisive effort to furnish this Province with Ministers . . . ." (10) For a dozen years Presbyterians of East River near Pictou had petitioned the Church for help, without receiving the courtesy of a reply. (11) Beckwith township in the Ottawa valley had forwarded the necessary bond for a minister, but two years later no clergy had volunteered. (12) Again and again, however, the missionaries in the field warned that new men must be good preachers and that the Society must lay "an absolute interdict" on everyone against reading sermons. That was a practice "especially abhorred" by the colonists who assumed that a read sermon was always a borrowed sermon! (13)

Missionaries' reactions to their new environment varied widely according to conditions in their particular region. One minister found nothing but desolation around Shelburne, Nova Scotia, where some of the local roads were "impassible both on foot and horseback." (14) Physically the worst conditions were found on Cape Breton Island where some 5000 Presbyterians had arrived from the West Highlands in 1835 and 1836. Older settlements had already grown "callous" towards the lack of religious services. At least six ministers were

needed because the people were religiously ignorant and dreadfully poor. Near Whycockmach settlers from Skye had neither food nor clothing according to the Rev. James Fraser. "I never witnessed such utter destitution. In one house was an old man bed-ridden for two years, with but one tattered rug or covering to protect him from the cold, & the snow drifting in between the logs." (15) A similar account came from the Rev. John Stewart. "I have baptized where neither Father, Mother or children could venture out in their tattered rags. I have seen dwellings where 6 or 8 of a Family lived for 5 weeks on the milk of a cow without any other Food. . . . I have known dozens of Families who lived on unripe Potatoes for weeks . . . ." (16) To compound their misery, many immigrants who had got their passage on credit lost their cattle or their land to the collection agent. (17)

From every colony ministers wrote home about the religious ignorance of their flocks. A missionary in eastern Upper Canada said his people were easily swayed by "every wind of doctrine" because they were deficient in speculative religion and worse in practical! (18) Commenting on Upper Canada's religious kaleidoscope the Rev. George Romanes suggested that the Scottish temperment seemed unhappy with sectarian groups and some persons told him that "they would rather go to hear Mass than attend a Methodist Camp Meeting." (19) From St. James, New Brunswick, newly arrived Rev. Peter McIntyre complained that half his parishioners lived five miles from the church and probably would not attend services because they refused to walk and could not afford horses! (20) Settlement in Upper Canada was rapid but in the opinion of George Romanes the scattered groups of Presbyterians would be reached only through an itinerant system, and another missionary recommended that all itinerants be celibate and remain so for a couple of years. (21) Not all the fault for religious laxity lay with the settlers, for the missionary at Georgetown, Lower Canada, complained that the provincial Church of Scotland clergy, with one exception, practiced "promiscuous baptism" and did not ask for certificates of character from communicants. (22)

Upper Canada's good lands attracted settlers with some capital, and soon the colony could boast of a high material standard of living as well as such civilizing institutions as schools, public libraries, prayer meetings and sabbath schools. Typical of the missionaries and visitors to Upper Canada, George Romanes wrote that Upper Canada was "a magnificent and wonderful country" whose advantages surpassed the most laudatory reports common in Scotland. (23) The missionary from Richibucto, however, felt that New Brunswick was being underrated. In addition to great resources the colony had a climate more pleasant that Britain's, for "Colds

and coughs are almost unknown; and there is a dryness and elasticity in the air, that gives a buoyancy to the animal spirits . . .." (24)

In the selection of missionaries bilingualism--English and Gaelic--was frequently mentioned by the colonists as a desideratum, or at least a strong advantage. The Rev. William Rintoul regretted this fact, but "the Highlanders cluster together in the same settlements, and are . . . very tenacious of their native speech." (25) Enquiring about a minister for Martintown, Upper Canada, the Rev. John Burns suggested that the sabbath services should use Gaelic for one half of the day because "that language is generally spoke [sic] by the lower order of the old Settlers." (26) In 1829 the Rev. Matthew Miller, a touring missionary in Upper Canada, formed a different opinion of the bilingual question. Some Highlanders in Vaughan township wanted a Gaelic-speaking minister although they had earlier been willing to hire an English-only preacher.

Miller believed this emphasis on Gaelic was overblown--"With a very few exceptions among the old people, they understand English . . . ." He felt Gaelic services were "quite undesirable" in a mixed population because the majority of a congregation could not understand the language. One church on Yonge Street tried the experiment and the result was "a good deal of dissatisfaction." (27) That the bilingual question in Upper Canada was a localized issue is obvious from the Rev. Alexander Macnaughton's plaintive letter to the Society. "Could you not send us one Gaelic Missionary of the six? In our Presb[yter]y the missionaries from want of Gaelic are in a great measure useless . . . ." (28)

In Nova Scotia, particularly on Cape Breton Island, the situation was quite different since many settlers were Gaelic unilinguals and for many more English was their second language. In 1829 two touring ministers preached at Pictou--one addressed a thousand people indoors in English, the other addressed between two and three thousand in Gaelic, outdoors.(29) Writing from Lochaber in Antigonish, a spokesman for the residents told the Society how pleasing the Rev. Alexander McGillivray was to some Gaelic unilinguals who had not heard a sermon in their native tongue for twelve years. (30) Missionary James Hannay noted that the people of Black River, New Brunswick, spoke Gaelic "almost exclusively" and would be delighted to have a Gaelic-speaking minister. (31)

The missionaries of the established Church of Scotland received an ideological shock, however, when they encountered the voluntarist mood of the colonists, especially of those

in Upper Canada. Alexander Macnaughton reported from Glengarry that, "A great many people here have got hold of the voluntary cant word `that religion will support itself' & with the view, I suppose, of giving the experiment the fairest trial, refuse to put their hands in their pockets. So much for the voluntary principle." (32) The missionary in Beauharnois was similarly discouraged as he saw colleagues leave the colony for lack of local financial support. The voluntary principle, "however beautiful in theory," was "quite unadapted to practice." (33) William Rintoul predicted that voluntarism would turn ministers into farmers, and the history of the next two decades partly supports his prophecy. (34)

In a thoughtful letter to the Society George Romanes also criticized voluntarism as being much worse for the colonies than for Britain. In North America the population was scattered, religiously pluralistic and often poor. Cash was so scarce that barter was the rule rather than the exception. On top of all this the settlers were so indifferent to religious ordinances that the fate of most churches seemed dismal or even desperate. (35) The Rev. P.C. Campbell (later principal of the University of Aberdeen) informed the Society that local Yankees and others around Brockville supported voluntarism, which meant in practice hiring "a pious labourer or tradesman, who will for a day's wages, be willing to exercise the less laborious trade of preaching." (36) A collective complaint to the Society claimed that the clergy were viewed as "hired servants" without job or salary security, and that the power of the purse was exercised against them as a form of intimidation. (37)

Given the traditional importance accorded to education in forming individual and national character in Scotland, the frequent references to schools, libraries and even seminaries in the Glasgow Colonial Society papers is not surprising. As early as 1833 Burns was urging the creation of an "establishment . . . for the training up of young natives . . . to the future service of the Colonial vineyard." (38) He was convinced that Scotland was unlikely in the short run and unable in the long run to meet colonial needs for clergy. One missionary suggested a two-year theology course in Scotland for colonial volunteers. (39) Another replied that many young men who could not afford to study abroad would enter a colonial seminary, but that no one in the colonies would start such an institution as long as General Assembly refused to allow colonial presbyteries to license ministerial candidates. (40)

As for primary education, the early settlers felt that "the young have been shamefully neglected." (41) The Society did not offer direct support for education, but the extensive

assistance given to teachers in Cape Breton by the Society's auxiliary Edinburgh Ladies' Association has been throughly described by Laurie Stanley in her excellent book, The Well-Watered Garden. (42) At least many missionaries took an active interest in their local educational scene and seemed to consider their interest as a natural part of their ministry. James Morrison, writing back from Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, expressed reservations about the qualifications of the teachers in the six neighboring schools. (43) Dugald McKichan complained from Merigomish that children of his area had no school of their own and had to travel to one of three neighboring communities, although two schools had been built in another locality where there were no children. (44)

From Cape Breton John Stewart advised that in his one-thousand-person parish 376 children did not attend school, and 151 adults were illiterate. (45) At Boularderie, Cape Breton, the church doubled as a school and the new teacher collected 145 zealous pupils in a very few weeks. (46) Four months later that number was 212, and the teacher was puzzled as to where they all came from. (47) He also had a Sabbath school with up to 130 children and thirty-five adults. Practical knowledge acquired in the day schools was in turn put to use at Sabbath schools which were often conducted by the same teacher. There praise and prayer were followed by Scripture reading and exposition. (48) Obviously Sunday schools were popular institutions in the colonies, for James Souter in Newcastle, New Brunswick, reported in 1831 that he had begun a Sunday school with five teachers and 84 scholars, many of them grown people. (49)

One area of education in the colonies where the Society and its auxiliaries were actively involved can be classed as "continuing education". Traditional Scottish emphasis on literacy had its complement in the promotion of good reading by means of private and public libraries. Colonial conditions enhanced interest in access to books, and as early as 1828 the Society's Report noted that an "Itinerating Library" sent to Nova Scotia was providing "an ample store of profitable reading." (50) This library of 250 volumes, "mostly religious", as well as pamphlets, magazines, reports and tracts, had been provided by Edinburgh friends of the Society. It was managed by volunteers, and each subscriber paid 2s 6d annually towards the enlargement of its holdings. In Upper Canada that famous pioneer public library in Dalhousie received $100 and a set of the Encyclopedia Britannica from a patron in 1828. "I need not tell you Rev[erend] Sir," the Dalhousie correspondent continued, "that the desire of knowledge appears to be a particular inherent in Scotsmen." That library was, however, the second local Presbyterian project--the first was the St. Andrew's Philanthropic Society and the third was a "commodious house"

to serve as school, church, library and meeting place. (51)

From Pictou the Society was asked to fill a list of some twenty titles in Gaelic and the same number in English, ranging from Bunyan to Josephus and including school books, psalters, and several different printings of the Bible, although the most requested titles were poety and sermons. (52) Private individuals had often provided the foundations of a colonial library, (53) but hearing that the Society had given one school £ 10 for a juvenile library, the Rev. Robert McGill of Niagara asked for the same "or a larger sum" to purchase books in Scotland. (54) James Souter donated to his Sunday school the library given to him by the Society. (55) The missionary at Beauharnois had collected "the germ of a Church Library" and asked the Society for "a little addition", particularly of "Pious Biography". His flock did not expect new books--"Old ones, even odd volumes of useful reading would be very acceptable." (56)

Not all shipments of books from the Society reached the eager readers in the colonies unscathed. When one ship was wrecked on Cape Breton a neighboring teacher bought all the water-logged books at a salvage sale. His efforts at sun-drying the bound volumes did not much improve their condition--the paper-covered items were a total loss--but the remainder were "received with transports of joy, and with the greatest feelings of gratitude to the Honourable Society, and to the pious and benevolent individuals who contributed towards the institution of a library within the reach of the most needful (I may almost say) of the British dominions in North America." (57)

The comments of the missionaries on their own working and living conditions in the colonies frequently reveal much about the colonists and the country. Partial payment of salary was the rule rather than the exception--most missionaries seem to have collected only half of their promised stipend. Dugald McKichan received less than a third of his £ 80 in 1830, but he blamed this on bad crops as well as the "wretched habits of the country." (58) The Rev. John McLaurin had arrived in Lochiel, Upper Canada, in 1820 and five years later had one thousand hearers in his three-point charge. Despite the fact most of his flock were considered wealthy, he warned that no minister should come to British North America "dependent upon the voluntary support of the people." (59) Hugh MacKenzie reported from Wallace, Nova Scotia, that his flock had generously promised him a horse, but only £ 5 had ever been raised. In two years he received £ 120, but half of that sum came in the form of inferior wheat or overpriced labour! For the Bibles he had brought from Edinburgh and sold, he had yet to receive one penny. (60)

Poverty was undeniably a factor in the problem of paying clergy, but the Rev. John Sprott of Musquodoboit, Nova Scotia, asked rhetorically if the settlers must be doomed to live "in a state of spiritual starvation" and perhaps lose "all relish for spiritual food" just because of their lack of means? Sprott was convinced that only a few years of external aid would be needed to avoid this Catch 22 situation. (61) Peter Macnaughton, newly arrived in Upper Canada in 1833, reached a different opinion quickly when the inhabitants of Thorah and Eldon refused to give him life tenure and offered only contractually limited employment. Peter shook the dust of those townships from his feet, observing that in any case the people there were given to drinking and fighting. His next encounter with Upper Canadian Presbyterians in Vaughan township was even more discouraging. Here he found more drinkers and fighters, who spent their Sundays either working or relaxing, were poor and ignorant, and believed that ministers did not work hard and therefore deserved less pay than labourers. "Though perhaps only a dollar is given, it is regarded as so much lost money, ..." "This land is covered with thick moral darkness." (62) Fortunately this was not Peter's final judgement on the colony--he spent forty-three years here, thirteen of them in Vaughan.

The positive results of religious ministrations fortunately became more evident with the passing of time. A missionary in New Brunswick reported that wherever churches had been established there was a marked decrease of sabbath profanation and drinking. (63) At Lancaster, Upper Canada, Alexander Macnaughton's parishioners thought that catechizing was a novelty, but he persisted with such success that they soon were convinced that non-attendance on ordinances was "decidedly disgraceful." (64) Dugald McKichan, who at first feared the Sutherlandshire people of Merigomish because of their reputation for deceit and greed, soon found his fears were groundless and he lauded their custom of morning and evening daily family devotions where a chapter of the Bible was read and all joined in worship of God. Dugald did admit that he had perhaps overdone his desire to please the Highlanders when he preached in Gaelic for an hour and twenty minutes! (65) When William McAlister gave communion to 200 people at Lanark the church was packed and many more stood outside at the windows all day. (66) Services were governed by the agricultural calendar, so that at seeding and harvest Sunday was the only convenient time for formal religious activities; winter, however, was the ideal season for catechising. (67)

The advancement of true religion could not, however, disguise the fact that a missionary's life was often rough and sometimes perilous. John Sprott commented on his lack of old country comforts and on "coarse food and hard fare," but

concluded optimistically that he suffered "no real want." (68) Travel, especially in winter, was probably the most difficult part of missionary life. One missionary struggled through six feet of snow for most of a forty-mile trip. (69) Two others reported that they travelled respectively forty-eight and thirty miles on foot to visit their churches in the Ottawa valley. (70) "Trees, trees, trees continually," wrote one missionary from Lanark, with "very bad" roads that were worse in spring and autumn when a horse could be up to its belly in five feet of mud. (71) Alexander MacLean at St. Andrews, New Brunswick, was happy to have a new ministerial neighbour only thirty miles away, "a distance which, in this gigantic country, is considered trifling." (72) Travel might be trifling or broadening, but at times it could be dangerous to a missionary's health. Early one winter morning the Rev. Thomas Alexander's ship sank in half an hour on Lake Ontario, near Belleville, because of ice damage. Fortunately the water was shallow, and the half-clothed passengers who had rushed on deck to face their fate were left stranded with the icy waters lapping just two feet below them. (73)

The lack of religious ministrations, the need for education, the trials of private and public life in a mission, the danger of reading sermons, the shortcomings of voluntarism, the question of a bilingual ministry, the quality and quantity of private piety, and the independence of congregations were only some of the topics of social commentary scattered across the pages of the missionary correspondence of the Glasgow Colonial Society. Other themes include the beginnings of Queen's University, internal politics of the Church of Scotland, denominationalism in a colonial setting, extensive discussion of that perennial complaint, church-state relations, French missions and (once only) Indian missions, and the creation of presbyteries and synods. All of these topics and more can be added to the roster of historical interests touched on by the missionary correspondents of Dr. Robert Burns during that decade and a half when he assiduously preserved these letters with their insights through missionary eyes into the broad spectrum of social history in colonial British North America.

Notes

1. Dictionary of Canadian Biography, IX (Toronto: 1976), 104-8; see also R.F. Burns, Life and Times of the Rev. R. Burns, D.D. Toronto (Toronto: 1871), 152. R.F. Burns claims that his father started the Glasgow Colonial Society.

2. Catalogue of Books in the Library of Knox College, Toronto (Toronto: 1849); Burns, 207 and note.

3. J. S. Moir, " `The Quay of Greenock'--Jurisdiction and

Nationality in the Canadian Disruption of 1844," Scottish Tradition, V (1975), 38-53.

4. John Taylor et al to John Scott, York, UC, 16 March 1825, Glasgow Colonial Society Correspondence, I, 3. Unless otherwise indicated all letters cited were addressed to Robert Burns. This paper is based on the transcriptions prepared by Mrs. Elizabeth McDougall. Reference numbers are to the bound volume and letter numbers of the original manuscripts in the Archives of the United Church of Canada.

5. Samuel Avery et al, Horton, NS, 27 June 1825, I, 1.

6. Alexander MacLean, St. Andrews, NB, 26 September 1825, I, 25.

7. Kenneth Jno. Mackenzie to John Scott, Pictou, NS, 9 December 1825, I, 30.

8. John Crichton to Thomas Crichton, Caledon, UC, 24 October 1826, I, 36.

9. Matthew Leech, Lanark, UC, 13 June 1828, I, 158.

10. William Rintoul, Williamstown, UC, 22 September 1835, V, 181.

11. D.A. Fraser to John Scott, Saint John, NB, 29 June 1826, I, 56.

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THE CANADIAN SOCIETY OF PRESBYTERIAN HISTORY

INDEX OF PAPERS
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The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History had the pleasure, at its 1986 meeting, to notice that ten volumes of Papers had been printed and distributed to its members. To mark this event, it was decided to compile a cumulative index of the printed Papers. Since this society has had the good fortune of printing almost all of the papers presented at the annual meetings, a perusal of the titles will give any future member an accurate idea of the interests of our society during its early years.

The following index has been compiled from the existing Papers deposited in Knox College Library, University of Toronto, and the Archives of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. It is divided into three sections. The first lists the articles by volume and page number in the order which they appeared in the volumes. The second index is an alphabetical listing of the authors. The third is a simple subject index. Occasionally, titles and page numbers missing in the printed papers have been supplied within square brackets. We regret any omissions or errors.

Paul Laverdure

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