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CALVIN'S NOTION OF NATURAL LAW - CONTRADICTION, COMPROMISE OR CATALYST BETWEEN HIS THEOLOGICAL AGENDA AND SOCIO-POLITICAL ETHIC?

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One discerns in Reformation scholarship a fundamental debate as to the role of natural law in Calvin's socio-political ethic. On one hand some scholars of Reformation Europe and of Calvin in particular, deny outright that natural law informed Calvin's socio-political ethic in any significant way. For example, August Lang baldly concludes in this regard, "natural law plays no part in his judgment of legal and social conditions."[1] Meanwhile others confess, with discernible malaise, a theologically awkward integration of natural law in Calvin's socio-political ethic; a tenuous compromise as it were in the socio-political realm, between Calvin's biblical theology and natural law. Such an inference is duly expressed by François Wendel:

> Calvin a dépensé beaucoup d'habileté à présenter une doctrine cohérente de la loi naturelle, en essayant de concilier les données pauliniennes et les définitions des juristes romains. Il y a, certes, partiellement réussi, en distinguant entre l'application de la loi naturelle dans le domaine politique et son rôle dans la conscience humaine. On ne peut cependant se défendre d'en ressentir la présence dans sa théologie comme celle d'un corps étranger, difficilement assimilable, et dont l'existence n'est qu'imparfaitement justifiée à côté de la Loi divine exprimée par le Décalogue. Du moins en est-il ainsi pour tous ceux qui ont pu avoir quelque connaissance de cette Loi révélée.[2]

On the other hand some go the length and proclaim natural law the predominant element in Calvin's socio-political ethic, the common denominator between the latter and his biblical theology--indeed, the catalyst for their ultimate reconciliation.

Willem Balke enounces this line of thought:

> Calvin felt that the love command in the Sermon on the Mount was wholly consonant with the Decalogue. The Decalogue, although it is clearer and deeper, is materially not to be distinguished from the general, natural law that is created within all people. Thus for Calvin, the love command, love for the neighbor as well as love for enemies,... flowed from the general idea of the unity of humanity ...
>
> In this way Calvin refuted ... Anabaptist ethics, ... He contended for an ethos that bound both the Christian and the world by the same set of requirements,... In the background there was always Calvin's idea about the unshakable ordo naturae ... so that the way of the Reformation did not result in a church segregated from the world.[4]

The purpose of this article is to clarify the role of natural law in Calvin's socio-political ethic in the light of twentieth-century Reformation scholarship and Calvin's original exposition of the subject. This will be done with primary reference to the first interpretation mentioned above and secondarily to the two which follow, through their integration into the discussion.

The interpretation that natural law plays no part in Calvin's socio-political ethic rests on the fundamental supposition that there is an inevitable, nay an inherent, contradiction between natural law and Calvin's biblical theology. It perceives the issue as a contest ultimately between reason and revelation in Calvin's theological agenda. In essence it posits a theological dilemma by assuming that in order to preserve the integrity of revelation as divine, it must be isolated from human reason;

including natural law which is identified with the latter. Thence the intrinsic alienation theorized of revelation and reason adheres equally to natural law and revelation; a matter of guilt by association as it were. Jacques Ellul describes the dilemma:

> We are thrown back on the concept of divine law as opposed to that of natural law. A true understanding of creation can never admit the latter to be a germ of justice deposited by God. Nor can natural law be a perfect model to be imitated by human law. Neither of these two concepts agrees with God's disclosure of his creative activity. They only correspond to the philosophers' idea of creation. This 'Christian' interpretation of natural law always appears as an adulteration of God's word by discoveries of human reason. Revelation is coupled either with the Aristotelian concept, as in Thomas Aquinas and more recently in Brunner, or with the Stoic concept, as partly in Calvin and particularly in the Calvinists of the eighteenth century.[4]

The position that maintains natural law was insignificant in Calvin's socio-political ethic correctly assigns the lion's share of Calvin's theological agenda to revelation, but erroneously equates natural law therein largely with reason. Thus, it does not discern Calvin's perspective of natural law as primarily divine revelation, nor the extent, consequently, to which it informed his socio-political ethic. This position's equation of natural law with reason, and on this basis its supposed contradiction with Calvin's biblical theology, and subsequent exclusion from his socio-political ethic, is enunciated in Georges de Lagarde's comments on Calvin's view of civil disobedience: "...Calvin rappelait que les prescriptions

divines dépassaient le droit naturel. Il avait reconnu dans les premiers livres de l'Institution que la raison naturelle répugnait à une obéissance sans condition, il y avait vu une preuve de l'infirmité de la loi naturelle et de sa contradiction avec la loi de Dieu."[5]

Calvin, however, clearly identified natural law with divine revelation and contended forthright that it was both analogous to and congruent with biblical revelation. In Calvin's theological agenda natural law is the divine, unwritten correspondent to the written law of God. This is particularly true in the socio-political spheres as is evident in the tenor of Calvin's exposition of Romans 2:14-15:

> There is no nation so opposed to everything that is human that it does not keep within the confines of some laws. Since, therefore, all nations are disposed to make laws for themselves of their own accord, and without being instructed to do so, it is beyond all doubt that they have certain ideas of justice and rectitude ... which are implanted by nature in the hearts of men. Therefore they have a law, without the law, for although they do not have the written law of Moses, they are by no means completely lacking in the knowledge of right and justice. They could not otherwise distinguish between vice and virtue, the former of which they restrain by punishing it, while commending the latter, and showing their approval of it, and honouring it with rewards. Paul contrasts nature with the written law, meaning that the Gentiles had the natural light of righteousness, which supplied the place of the law by which the Jews are taught so that they were <u>a law unto themselves</u>.[6]

Furthermore, for Calvin the primary referent of natural law, in relation to the human faculties, was not reason but

conscience, as attests his comment on Romans 2:15 "...The testimony of their own conscience, which is equivalent to a thousand witnesses, was the strongest pressure which he could bring to bear on them. Men are sustained and comforted by their consciousness of good actions, but inwardly harassed and tormented when conscious of having done evil ... There is, therefore, a certain natural knowledge of the law, which states that one action is good and worthy of being followed, while another is to be shunned with horror."[7] Calvin thereby effectively identifies conscience with natural law. This is a premise of the theological agenda he develops in the Institutes of the Christian Religion wherein Calvin not only links natural law to conscience, but both to the Decalogue as well; so that natural law, conscience, and the Decalogue are portrayed as the ensemble of divine revelation of the law of God. Calvin affirms, "Now that inward law, which we have above described as written, even engraved, upon the hearts of all, in a sense asserts the very same things that are to be learned from the two Tablets. For our conscience does not allow us to sleep a perpetual insensible sleep without being an inner witness and monitor of which we owe God,... through this natural law ..."[8] The sum effect of natural law's association with divine revelation was to impart the validity of the law of God to natural law in Calvin's socio-political ethic. So it is that in the Institutes Calvin

consistently summons natural law to arbitrate in the socio-political court; as John T. McNeill alludes, "References to natural law in the Institutes are usually ..., associated with conscience, frequently also with civil positive law and equity, and the Christian's duties to society."[9]

As a result of this position's equation of natural law with reason it supposes an even more fundamental contradiction, i.e. between divine law and natural law; which is clear in the above statements of Ellul and Lagarde. This position rightly assumes the preeminence of divine law in Calvin's theological agenda, but wrongly surmises that he therein perceived natural law to be inimical to divine law. Quite the contrary is true. This is readily apparent in the above affirmation of Calvin. As the warp and woof of divine revelation, natural law neatly fits into the fabric of divine law in Calvin's theological scheme. In fact, the essential unity of natural law and divine law was the crux of the socio-political ethic Calvin opposed to that of the Anabaptists; which is indicated above by Balke. Ernst Troeltsch elaborates, "Calvin's one reply is to set against the views of the Anabaptists the statement that the Divine Law cannot be divided, that whether it be expressed in the Old Testament or in the New it is all one. He adds that in his opinion their demands are against common sense, since if they were realized they would do away with the Law of Nature as well. Calvin ... takes for granted that the relative Natural Law is a Divine institution."[10]

It is imperative to ask why this position identifies natural law with reason, in view of the major conclusions it draws from this

determinative premise as to the role of natural law in Calvin's socio-political ethic. The answer is that this position's perspective of natural law is at one and the same time medieval and modern. Medieval in that it maintains with Thomas Aquinas (1224-1274) that revelation perfects but does not repudiate the conclusions of reason, and consequently through human reason all can apprehend general ethical principles by an appreciation of natural law. Modern in that it holds with Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), the founder of the modern theory of natural law, that the law of nature is intrinsic to the social being of man, and that God cannot alter it, any more than laws of number. Clearly this is the understanding of natural law in that position which denies that the latter significantly influenced Calvin's socio-political ethic. Lagarde concludes:

> Calvin refuse d'admettre,..., que la volonté de Dieu ne soit réglée par aucune loi, mais il enseigne avec force que l'on ne peut s'autoriser d'aucune des lois humainement connues pour juger l'action divine. Si Dieu agit en vertu d'une loi véritable, celle-ci nous est inconnue. Toutes les lois que nous connaissons peuvent être abolies par Dieu si tel est son bon plaisir. Il en est ainsi de l'ordre de nature...
>
> Au regard de Dieu tout au moins, la loi de nature n'est donc pas une véritable loi.
>
> Au regard de l'homme, on s'efforce de lui enlever tout caractère naturel.[11]

It is not surprising then that this position infers that natural law played no important part in Calvin's socio-political ethic, since it is axiomatic that Calvin would not admit any notion of natural law as independent of the will of God. Indeed such a concept was anathema to Calvin's thought; as Emile Doumergue

tersely remarks, "Calvin nie le droit indépendant, la morale indépendante. Avec quelle véhémence!"[12] Moreover, this conclusion is seemingly all the more compelling in light of the equally axiomatic tenet of Calvin's theological agenda as to the sin-distorted reason of fallen humanity.

Yet, this position's conception of natural law differs critically from that of Calvin. It posits a fundamental, irreconcilable dichotomy between God's sovereignty and the integrity of natural law. Quite understandably then, it perceives Calvin as having opted for the sovereignty of God to the exclusion of natural law in his socio-political ethic. This is evident in the inference of A.P. d'Entrèves, "The 'sovereignty of God' is the pivot of Calvin's theology and ethics...The Reformation marked a return to the rigid alternatives which had been stressed by St. Augustine... The voluntarist bent of Protestant ethics may well afford an explanation of the comparative disparagement, among Protestant controversialists and political writers of natural law in favour of the divine law of the Bible..."[13] However, Calvin's understanding of the sovereignty of God and the integrity of natural law was not that of a dichotomy, as in the modern perspective; but rather a synthesis in accord with the holistic medieval world-view which was his. It is remembered that Calvin was importantly influenced by the Scholastics, and this was specifically the case in the socio-political sphere.[14] We are not surprised then, that in the Scholastic mode Calvin reconciles God and natural law by simultaneously affirming the sovereignty of the former and the integrity of the latter through the monistic motif of their essential unity. Doumergue aptly deduces, "Il y a donc un Droit naturel, parce que

Dieu en est l'auteur, - l'auteur de la nature, - et le garant. L'auteur et le garant: ceci n'est pas moins essentiel que cela, parce qu'il n'y a pas plus de Droit naturel, s'il est détruit, s'il n'existe plus, qu'il n'y en aurait, s'il n'avait pas existé."[15]

Moreover, with regard to reason, this position does not adequately distinguish the qualified validity which Calvin attributes to human reason, expressly in the socio-political realm. Calvin asserts, "Men have somewhat more understanding of the precepts of the Second Table (Ex. 20:12ff) because these are more closely concerned with the preservation of civil society among them."[16] This proviso circumspectly rehabilitates the role of reason in the socio-political province and thereby effectively secures a significant role for natural law in Calvin's socio-political schema. Here too the Scholastic influence is evident. A.J. Carlyle observes, "It is clear that substantially Calvin was restating the principles of St. Thomas Aquinas, and other great medieval political writers, both with regard to the nature of positive law, and its relation to reason, the moral law, and the natural law."[17]

Importantly, it must be noted that Calvin concedes such a role to reason to the extent that it operates in conjunction with conscience in the socio-political theatre. Thereby reason and conscience not only serve as checks and balances in Calvin's socio-political agenda, but at the same time give it definition by their confluence. Duncan B. Forrester comments, "How is the law of nature to be discovered and applied in specific situations? The law is not innate in man as such, but is an external objective standard set up by God, discoverable, at least

in part, by the use of reason or, in Calvin, reason and conscience cooperating."[18] In Calvin then, reason and conscience in tandem are essential informants of his socio-political epistemological method. This point is crucial because the position which maintains that natural law played no important role in Calvin's socio-political ethic ultimately concludes that Calvin was a Biblicist in his socio-political epistemology. Marc-Edouard Chenevière affirms:

> Calvin proclame que le Décalogue, interprété au moyen des Saintes Ecritures, constitue pour le chrétien la règle unique de morale politique.
>
> Mentionnons à ce propos le rôle très particulier des lois mosaïques dans la pensée politique de Calvin,...
>
> Pour Calvin, les lois juives que nous connaissons grâce a l'Ancien Testament sont des lois inspirées par Dieu a son peuple élu. Comme telles, elles nous donnent l'exemple instructif d'une législation en accord avec la volonté de Dieu.
>
> ...il leur donnait comme un exemple unique cette législation consacrée tout entière a faire respecter la volonté de Dieu... Calvin montre par de nombreux exemples que les lois juives ne faisaient en effet qu'appliquer les préceptes contenus dans le Décalogue.
>
> ...Ce ne sont donc ni la raison, ni la conscience qui caractérisent la pensée juridique de Calvin; c'est le rôle du Décalogue et, par extension, celui des lois juives et de la Bible tout entière ...
>
> Pour Calvin, la raison et la conscience n'ont pas pour rôle de poser les fondements d'une éthique valable pour le chrétien.[19]

This inference hinges on the assumption that Calvin's socio-political ethic, like his theological agenda, claims a singular, supreme referent, i.e. the Scriptures; and therefore inexorably the concretization of Calvin's socio-political agenda culminates in biblical literalism. Once again, this position does

not sufficiently distinguish the variants and nuances in Calvin's thought. It is remembered, as intimated above, that Calvin significantly differentiated the two 'Tables of the Law' and the corresponding roles of reason, conscience, and the law of nature with respect to each of these tables. Further, in light of this important distinction between the 'two tables', while the Scriptures may be the locus par excellence of Calvin's theological agenda, it does not follow that they were exclusively so, much less that they were necessarily so, in Calvin's socio-political ethic.

Most importantly, this conclusion betrays a conception of Calvin's perspective of the Decalogue, hence of the law of God, as essentially legalistic, i.e. a strict and literal adherence to the Law. However, Calvin's comprehension of the law of God was not nearly so constrictive, but rather as expansive as the principles of love and equity (aequitas). This was specifically the case in the socio-political sphere; as enunciated in Calvin's statements on positive law:

> Equity, because it is natural, cannot but be the same for all, and therefore, this same purpose ought to apply to all laws, whatever their object. Constitutions have certain circumstances upon which they in part depend. It therefore does not matter that they are different, provided all equally press toward the same goal of equity.
>
> It is a fact that the law of God which we call the moral law is nothing else than a testimony of natural law and of that conscience which God has engraved upon the minds of men. Consequently, the entire scheme of this equity of which we are now speaking has been prescribed in it. Hence, this equity above must be the goal and rule and limit of all laws.
>
> Whatever laws shall be framed to that rule, directed to that goal, bound by that limit, there is no reason

> why we should disapprove of them, howsoever they may differ from the Jewish law, or among themselves.[20]

Moreover, it is readily evident that this position does not adequately take into account the fact that Calvin clearly distinguished between moral, ceremonial, and judicial law. Failure to do so obscures the centrality of love and equity in Calvin's socio-political ethic. Thereby this position is subject to a myopic view and "cannot see the forest for the trees" in Calvin's socio-political ethic. Calvin, on the contrary, was limpid in this matter as he asserts:

> The moral law is contained under two heads, one of which simply commands us to worship God with pure faith and piety; the other, to embrace men with sincere affection. Accordingly, it is the true and eternal rule of righteousness, prescribed for men of all nations and times, who wish to conform their lives to God's will. For it is his eternal and unchangeable will that he himself indeed be worshiped by us all, and that we love one other.
>
> The ceremonial law was the tutelage of the Jews... yet could be distinguished from piety itself. In like manner, the form of their judicial laws, although it had no other intent than how best to preserve that very love which is enjoined by God's eternal law, had something distinct from that precept of love. Therefore, as ceremonial laws could be abrogated while piety remained safe and unharmed, so too, when these judicial laws were taken away, the perpetual duties and precepts of love could still remain.
>
> But if this is true, surely every nation is left free to make such laws as it foresees to be profitable for itself. Yet these must be in conformity to that perpetual rule of love, so that they indeed vary in form but have the same purpose.[21]

Furthermore, Calvin demonstrates an acute consciousness that a Christian socio-political agenda must be contextualized to its immediate milieu, and not stylized à la transitory expressions of the law of God. Thus, Calvin's ideal of a socio-political ethic

is one which fuses the transcendent elements of the law of God, i.e. love and equity, with the social, political, cultural et al. constituents and exigencies of a given context; resulting in a socio-political agenda which finds appropriate expression in the constitutional and legal fabric of a civic entity. That this was indeed the case is borne out by the uniquely international character and success of the 'Reformed' faith, as well as the marked extent to which the latter informed and shaped social, political, and cultural developments, in its many and sundry milieus, i.e. Switzerland, France, Holland, Scotland, England and America, as well as Germany et al. to a more limited extent.

At the same time, this inference does not sufficiently recognize Calvin's express effort to circumvent the extreme implications of the Anabaptist claim to a socio-political ethic integral to the Scriptures through consistency with the letter thereof. Indeed, Calvin's appeal to the broad ethical principles of love and equity, as the essence of the law of God, and their apprehension and application in the socio-political realm through reason, conscience, and the law of nature, was an adroit proposal of a socio-political ethic which is eminently consonant with the intent of the biblical witness, yet avoids crippling conformity to the words thereof; and thus provides the latitude requisite to a truly viable and practical Christian socio-political ethic. Calvin argues in reference to the Anabaptists:

> For the statement of some, that the law of God given through Moses is dishonored when it is abrogated

> and new laws preferred to it, is utterly vain. For others are not preferred to it when they are more approved, not by a simple comparison, but with regard to the condition of times, place, and nation; or when that law is abrogated which was never enacted for us. For the Lord through the hand of Moses did not give that law to be proclaimed among all nations and to be in force everywhere.[22]

In view of this obvious attempt on Calvin's part to eschew the biblical literalism of the Anabaptists in his socio-political agenda, such a conclusion is rather surprising in Calvin's regard. However, it is readily explained when it is realized that this position substantially perceives Calvin's socio-political ethic in the light of subsequent Reformed Scholasticism; as witnessed in Chenevière's inference, "C'est à Calvin, sans doute, que l'on doit la grande importance des lois juives dans les premières sociétés puritaines."[23] Such a perspective also accounts for this position's assumption that natural law is intrinsically foreign to Calvin's theological agenda since it is not commensurate with the biblical literalism which characterized the initial hardening of the Calvinist movement. It is the imposition of the latter's viewpoint on Calvin's theological agenda which leads this position to posit the termination of natural law's epistemological validity therein, and consequent exclusion from Calvin's socio-political ethic; since natural law is effaced by the literal law of God in such a viewpoint. Thus Chenevière concludes, "Par conséquent, la loi écrite est plus que le simple complément de la loi naturelle; pour le fidèle, elle la remplace véritablement, ... le rôle du Décalogue est en un certain sens tout à fait différent du rôle de la loi naturelle."[24] It must be said then that this position's

perspective of Calvin's socio-political ethic is significantly anachronistic and somewhat artificially causes it to interpret the latter in terms of Reformed Scholasticism's rigid epistemology of biblical literalism; rather than discerning the more supple, expansive biblical epistemology of Calvin which provided for the normal integration of natural law in his socio-political ethic.

In conclusion then, the interpretation which denies that natural law significantly informed Calvin's socio-political ethic, or at best was an accomodation of a principle alien to his theological agenda, rests on a dichotomous rationale wherein natural law is effectively perceived as a foil to biblical theology, revelation, and divine law, as well as God's sovereignty, and biblical epistemology. Thus it fails to discern the ultimate unity of these components in Calvin's socio-political conception. The latter was a corollary of Calvin's seamless world picture wherein God and His law embrace the entirety of existence; as Robert D. Knudsen declares, "...For Calvin, all of life,... is theonomous; that is, it has its being in its subjection to God and to His law."[25] This fact has myriad ethical implications. Indeed it means that for Calvin the scope of ethical concern and cognition is synonymous with the gamut of God's creation and revelation. James M. Gustafson surmises:

> The ethics that derive from Calvin's position logically are theonomous. The proper actions are those that are governed by the divine law. The divine law is present in the natural ordering of things, and thus action is to be in accordance with the natural law. The moral law of the Bible is not different from the law of nature...This is no ethics of autonomy. Actions are to conform to God's will, and since God's providence is omnipotent, there are no spheres of human action that are outside the divine governance and purpose.[26]

Perhaps most importantly of all, however, it explicitly implies that natural law is part and parcel of the piety of John Calvin; as Ronald S. Wallace asserts, "Submission to the natural order of things is not for Calvin a secondary or alien aspect of our duty which must by performed merely as a supplement or addition to the truly Christian part of the life of the believer, but it is an essential part of Christian piety and an integral element in his new life in Christ."[27] It is in this vein one perceives that Calvin's notion of natural law was not a compromise, much less a contradiction, but a catalyst between his theological agenda and concomitant socio-political ethic.

FOOTNOTES

[1]William Park Armstrong, ed., Calvin and the Reformation, p. 70.

[2]François Wendel, Calvin, p. 155.

[3]Willem Balke, trans. by William J. Heynen, Calvin and the Anabaptist Radicals, pp. 318-319.

[4]Jacques Ellul, trans. by Marguerite Wieser, The Theological Foundation of Law, p. 65.

[5]Georges de Lagarde, Recherches sur l'Esprit Politique de la Réforme, p. 241.

[6]David W. Torrance; Thomas F. Torrance; trans. by Ross MacKenzie, Calvin's Commentaries: The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Romans and to the Thessalonians, p. 48.

[7]Ibid., p. 49.

[8]John T. McNeill, ed.; trans. by Ford Lewis Battles, Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Relition, vol. I, pp. 367-368.

[9]Ibid., pp. 367-368.

[10]Ernst Troeltsch, trans. by Olive Wyon, The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches, Vol. I, p. 615.

[11]de Lagarde, op cit., p. 175.

[12]E. Doumergue, Jean Calvin, vol. V., La pensée ecclésiastique et la pensée politique de Calvin, p. 580.

[13]A. P. d'Entrèves, Natural Law, pp. 70-71.

[14]Williston Walker, John Calvin, p. 149.

[15]Doumergue, op. cit., p. 473.

[16]McNeill, op. cit., p. 284.

[17]A. J. Carlyle; R. W. Carlyle, A History of Medieval Political Theory in the West, Vo. VI; Political Theory from 1300 to 1600, p. 26

[18]Leo Strauss; Joseph Cropsey, eds. History of Political Philosophy, p. 321.

[19]Marc-Edouard Chenevière, La Pensée Politique de Calvin, pp. 88-89.

[20]John T. McNeill, ed.; trans. by Ford Lewis Battles, Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion, vol. II, p. 1504.

[21]Ibid., p. 1503.

[22]Ibid., p. 1505.

[23]Chenevière, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

[24]Chenevière, op. cit., pp. 74-75.

[25]Reid, op. cit., p. 21.

[26]James M. Gustafson, Ethics from a Theocentric Perspective, pp. 106-107.

[27]Ronald S. Wallace, Calvin's Doctrine of the Christian Life, p. 1L

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RECOVERING THE REFORMATION DOCTRINE OF REVELATION: The Theological Contribution of Walter Williamson Bryden to Post-Union Canadian Presbyterianism

by John A. Vissers

INTRODUCTION

> A future historian who attempts to understand and evaluate the development of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in the half century following 1925 will find himself very clearly confronted with the fact of Walter W. Bryden. He will not find the name appearing often in the minutes of the General Assembly nor among those serving on important committees which are supposed to wield great power in the shaping of the Church's life. But as he examines the convictions which have moved men to action and asks why the ministry of this Church has moved in certain directions and not in others, he will come upon innumerable trails all leading back to the classroom of this one man. It can be said that he has moved the Church at the level of its faith and its deepest thinking as has no other man in its history.1

These words by the late James D. Smart estimate, perhaps better than any others, the significance of the life, ministry, and theology of Walter Williamson Bryden for the Presbyterian Church in Canada in the years immediately following 1925. As Professor of Church History and the History and Philosophy of Religion at Knox College in Toronto, Bryden shaped an entire generation of theological students in preparation for the pastoral ministry of the then Continuing Presbyterian Church. In this context Bryden's influence was considerable. Joseph C. McLelland assesses that influence in these words:

> The quarter-century and more during which Bryden taught the theologues of Knox was the most critical in the history of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Behind lay mixed motives and traditions, ahead an uncertain future, no clear theological position emerging, but rather a struggle over the Church's relationship to its subordinate

> standard, the Westminster Confession of Faith. This was Bryden's hour. Occupying one of the highest and most influential educational positions in the Church, he brought his considerable intellectual gifts to bear on the practical issue of theological education - the teaching of those "teaching elders" who must minister to a Church undergoing a crisis of identity.2

For many students Bryden's influence was a personal one - the influence of a revered professor on the lives of those theologues who sat in his classroom week by week. But Bryden's leadership extended beyond his personal relationships with students to the substance of his theological thought. He taught a generation of ministers to think theologically and thereby contributed to a theological awakening in the Church.

The substance of that theological thought, however, has never been thoroughly and carefully examined. Bryden's theology is usually described as "Barthian" or "Neo-orthodox" without any real comprehensive assessment of his theological programme. For example, in speaking of Bryden's significance for the Presbyterian Church in Canada in Enduring Witness John Moir says:

> Within Knox College and Presbyterian College the majority of faculty members were older men who showed little interest in theological trends and seemed content to repeat well-worn lectures despite student dissatisfaction with such uninspiring material. The notable exception was W.W. Bryden of Knox, whose own theology had been much influenced by Barth's conservative "neo-orthodoxy", which Bryden said, had driven him back to the Bible. Through his classes and writing Bryden did much to shape and challenge a generation of younger ministers.3

A similar description of Bryden's theology was given recently by N. Keith Clifford in his book The Resistance To Church Union in Canada 1904-1939:

> Thus they (ie. those who opposed church union and constituted the Continuing Presbyterian Church) did not bind their church to any theory of biblical inerrancy, premillenialism, or dispensationalism, and they did not insist that their church adopt an anti-ecumenical stance. Consequently, after 1925 the Presbyterian Church in Canada was completely free to follow Walter Bryden, their new young theologian at Knox College, beyond modernism and fundamentalism to neo-orthodoxy.4

Both Moir and Clifford represent the commonly accepted interpretation of Bryden's theology as "Barthian" or "Neo-orthodox". Such a description is not altogether inaccurate, but it is certainly inadequate. What is missing in the study of the significance of Walter Bryden for the Presbyterian Church in Canada after 1925 is a careful theological assessment of the substance of that so-called Barthianism and neo-orthodoxy. Such a study will show that Bryden's theology, while certainly influenced by Barth and the emerging neo-orthodox theological movement of the day, was primarily the result of Bryden's conscious theological programme, that programme being the recovery of the Reformation doctrine of revelation, particularly Calvin's doctrine of the knowledge of God, for the Presbyterian Church in Canada after 1925. It is the purpose of this paper to give a preliminary theological analysis of Bryden's theology in order to redress this lacuna in the study of Walter Bryden and his significance for the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

Our study of Bryden's theology will take the following form. First, we will sketch Bryden's theological development by setting forth his life and ministry, arguing that Bryden's theology was shaped in the Canadian context as much by Scottish liberal

evangelicalism as by Barth's theology. Second, we will survey the key themes of Bryden's doctrine of revelation, showing the extent to which Bryden is seeking to recover the Reformation doctrine of revelation. Third, we will set forth the implications of Bryden's doctrine of revelation for his ecclesiology - the doctrine of the church which emerged as the theological rationale for the post-Union Presbyterian Church in Canada.

I. THE LIFE AND MINISTRY OF WALTER W. BRYDEN

Walter Williamson Bryden was born on a farm near Galt, Ontario on September 18, 1883.[5] As a young boy he suffered a serious injury to his right arm, the result of a shooting accident near his home, which was to be a distinctive feature of his appearance throughout his life. The Bryden family attended Knox's Presbyterian Church, Galt, a congregation of the Presbyterian Church in Canada after 1875 which was experiencing much growth and activity in its life during the years Walter Bryden was associated with it as a child and teenager (1883-1902). Also significant for his intellectual development was the dissenting heritage of Scottish Presbyterianism as it expressed itelf in the political arena by those in rural western Ontario who felt marginalized and alienated from the establishment. Walter Bryden's son, Kenneth Bryden, believes strongly that this background accounts for much of his father's later social and political thinking.[6]

In 1901 Bryden graduated from the Galt Grammar School where he had received a classical education in preparation for university studies upon which he embarked in 1902. At the

University of Toronto he studied moderns in his first year, and philosophy and psychology in his second, third, and fourth years, graduating in 1906 in Honours Philosophy and Psychology. In 1907 he presented a thesis for the Master of Arts degree in psychology called "A Verification of The Law of Weber, By The Method of Mean Gradations, With Reference To Great Differences of Light Intensities", and was granted the degree with honours standing.[7] During Bryden's study at the University of Toronto he was exposed to the school of philosophical idealism which had been espoused by George Paxton Young, although Young himself had died in 1889, long before Bryden's arrival on the campus. Nevertheless, Young's emphases on metaphysical idealism, the doctrine of free will, the ideal of self-realization through the use of reason which was understood as inner structure of all reality, were still very much at the centre of philosophical thinking during Bryden's years of study at the University of Toronto. It was against this exalted view of human reason as the arbiter of all reality which had shaped Bryden's early philosophical and theological convictions, that Bryden later set forth his programme to recover the Reformation doctrine of revelation.[8]

In 1906 Bryden also began studies in theology at Knox College, Toronto in preparation for pastoral ministry in the Presbyterian Church in Canada. With the death of Principal Caven in 1904 the college was in a period of theological transition and institutional reorganization. The faculty represented a variety of emphases within the Reformed tradition, reflecting both the decline of post-Reformation orthodox theology in the form of Presbyterian creedalism, and the rise of liberal

Protestantism which was sweeping in from continental Europe, largely mediated by British scholars. Bryden studied Old Testament under John McFadyen who taught his students the newest insights of the developing historical-critical method of biblical interpretation. At the same time he studied Reformed theology under the Principal William MacLaren who represented the more conservative nineteenth century Princeton approach to theology. Bryden's later theological work was an attempt to recover what he considered to be the best of each tradition, a Reformed theology which reached back beyond the period of post-Reformation scholasticism to the Reformation itself, and an enlightened critical approach to biblical interpretation adequate to provide the basis of a post-Enlightenment theological epistemology.[9]

Bryden spent his second year of theological study (1907-1908) at the United Free Church College in Glasgow, an experience which was to have a decisive impact on his theological development. He studied under the direction of James Denney, T.M. Lindsay, James Orr, and George Adam Smith, being exposed in varying degrees to the Scottish liberal evangelical theology being set forth in response to both classical Reformed theology and the rising tide of Ritschlian theology. It was James Denney especially who figured prominently in Bryden's theological development. Bryden later referred to Denney as "the prince of Scottish theologians" whose "terse observations, as the years go by, seem to become ever more pregnant with meaning".[10] Denney helped point Bryden to a theology which could be preached, and helped him understand that the knowledge of God which issues from

faith in Christ is a paradox.[11] Bryden became convinced that the relationship between the finite and the infinite could only be addressed in terms of the incarnation and atonement even though this paradox could never be rationally or ethically comprehended. Further, he began to see the importance of the testimony of the Holy Spirit as an essential element in a Reformed doctrine of revelation which would be adequate to the contemporary context.[12] Bryden was also influenced by T.M. Lindsay, making reference to "the things I learned in Principal Lindsay's classroom while a student at Glasgow".[13] Lindsay persuaded Bryden that the doctrine of revelation and Scripture espoused by post-Reformation scholasticism, especially in its expression of the nineteenth century Princeton school, was not the doctrine taught by Calvin and the Reformers.[14] Denney and Lindsay, together with James Orr, George Adam Smith, and later the British theologians P.T. Forsyth and John Oman, helped Bryden to see the possibility of developing a Reformed theology which might weave a mediating position between liberal Protestantism and evangelical orthodoxy.

Bryden returned to Canada to complete his final year of theological study (1908-1909), and after graduation he was ordained to the ministry of Word and Sacrament in the Presbyterian Church in Canada, taking up an appointment as the minister of St. Andrew's Church in Lethbridge, Alberta. Bryden referred to this ministry as "spade work in western Canada" as he was involved in the establishment of a new congregation in the northern part of the town.[15] In Lethbridge Bryden came into contact with the miners struggling to organize the labour movement in western Canada. Coming into contact with the Western

Miner's Federation and the Industrial Workers of the World, Bryden recognized the challenge of Marxism to the Christian tradition, and he was forced to rethink his understanding of the New Testament. Politically and economically Bryden's sympathies lay with the socialists, although he could not accept what he saw as the reductionist and domesticated message of the Social Gospel. Nevertheless, throughout his life Bryden found himself on the moderate left of the political spectrum, and a faithful supporter of the C.C.F. after its inception in the 1930's.[16]

In September 1910 Bryden married Violet Nasmith Bannatyne, whom he had met in Scotland. Their first son William Bannatyne Bryden was born on August 10, 1911 in Lethbridge and died on August 25, 1925 in Woodville, Ontario. Their second son, and only surviving child, is Walter Kenneth Bryden, Professor Emeritus of Political Economy at the University of Toronto.[17]

In 1912 Walter Bryden was called to be the minister of Knox Presbyterian Church, Woodville, Ontario, a position he held until 1921. He later referred to this experience as ministry in "a quiet little village in the heart of Ontario".[18] In 1921 the Bryden family moved to Melfort, Saskatechewan where Bryden succeeded W.A. Cameron as the pastor of St. James Church. Most of his first book, The Spirit of Jesus in St. Paul (1925), was written during this pastorate which ended in 1924 with Bryden's resignation due to the ill health of his wife. From Melfort they moved back to the Bryden family farm in Galt and Walter Bryden served as supply preacher in Kirkland Lake and other places, spending much of his time with colleagues discussing the issue of

church union in preparation for the vote which was to take place at the 1925 General Assembly. In the aftermath of the June 1925 Assembly, Bryden accepted a call from the continuing Presbyterians in Woodville to once again be their minister.[19] Significant for Bryden's theological development throughout this period was the fact that his struggle to articulate a Reformed doctrine of revelation occurred in the midst of his own pastoral ministries, and more specifically in the context of the church union controversy. Bryden's theology was the theology of a preacher, pastor, and churchman who was much concerned for the life of the church and the furtherance of the gospel in Canada. In 1927 he wrote a pamphlet called The Christian Ministry in which he set forth the theological rationale for Reformed ministry in an effort to enlist new pastors for the continuing Presbyterian Church. In an address to the convocation of Presbyterian College, Montreal in 1929 Bryden reflected upon his own theological and pastoral pilgrimmage:

> ...I have to confess that my particular ministry has been a fairly limited and modest one and perhaps a little unusual. I have never for instance had the privilege of being the minister of what is known as an influential city pulpit. For nearly half of the sixteen or seventeen years I spent in active congregational work, I was employed in what they call "spade work" in western Canada. The other portion was spent in a quiet little village in the heart of Old Ontario. I am persuaded, however, that this kind of ministerial career has its advantages and compensations. You get to know real life as other men do not know it, and your own life is tested by the inwardness of things rather than by the outwardness of conventions which after all do not matter. Besides, you are not so likely to be encompassed by exacting church duties and if you have the will, you may train your mind and heart on those far greater

> things. As I see it now, my true student days began after I left the college halls; and had I to do it all over again, I surely would choose the same kind of ministry.20

Like his teacher James Denney, and in parallel to the experience of Karl Barth, Bryden worked out his theological programme in the context of the church, for the church. What makes Bryden's experience especially unique, however, was that his theology was forged in the context of a church undergoing a national crisis. And as painful as the decision was for Bryden, he was not persuaded to enter the new United Church of Canada on the basis of the arguments advanced in its favour. In particular, Bryden was not convinced that the United Church's theological basis was grounded firmly enough in the Reformation doctrines of the revelation and grace of God in a Christ-centred gospel, and therefore that it would never provide a witness for the Reformed faith adequate to address the needs of the contemporary Canadian context.[21]

In 1925 Bryden was invited to lecture on church history at Knox College on a part-time basis while he continued his ministry in Woodville. This he did for one year, but in 1926 the family moved to Toronto, and in 1927 Bryden was appointed to the two chairs of Church History and the History and Philosophy of Religion by the General Assembly. Bryden taught church history, the history of religion, and the philosophy of religion as a church theologian, introducing his students both to the Reformed tradition and the latest theological thinking. During the academic year 1937-1938 Bryden even taught systematic theology. On April 12, 1928 the degree Doctor of Divinity (<u>honoris causa</u>)

was conferred upon Bryden by Presbyterian College, Montreal. In 1945 Bryden assumed the principalship of Knox College which he held until his death in March 1952.

During the first twenty years after church union Knox College was in considerable turmoil as an institution as it struggled to provide theological education for the Continuing Presbyterian Church in Canada. Nevertheless, in addition to his teaching and administrative responsibilities Bryden wrote Why I Am A Presbyterian (1934), "The Presbyterian Conception of the Word of God" (1935), The Christian's Knowledge of God (1940), and The Significance of the Westminster Confession of Faith (1943), as well as a variety of articles and book reviews for both academic journals and more popular Christian papers. It was also during the period from the late 1920's through to the 1940's that his engagement with the theology of Karl Barth began, whom he referred to as "the stern, new prophet of Europe" and "the modern scion of the Reformation spirit", and whose theology he referred to as "real Calvinism in a modern dress".[22] The theology of Karl Barth pointed Bryden back to the Bible and his old teacher James Denney, and it provided Bryden with the categories to explicate more fully the recovery of the Reformation doctrine of revelation which he had been struggling to articulate in the Canadian Presbyterian context. The mediating path of liberal evangelicalism in the Reformed tradition turned into a Reformed neo-orthodoxy for Bryden. In sum, our survey of Bryden's life, ministry, and intellectual development leads us to conclude that Bryden's neo-orthodoxy must be understood in terms of his own theological development along the lines of liberal evangelicalism

parallel to but apart from the theology of Karl Barth (Barth's theology providing a later influence enabling Bryden to articulate more fully his position), and the unique Canadian Presbyterian context in which he worked out his theological programme. Moreover, the material aspect of that theological programme was the attempted recovery of the Reformation doctrine of revelation, especially in the theology of Calvin, for the new Enlightenment context of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

II. THE DOCTRINE OF REVELATION IN THE THEOLOGY OF WALTER W. BRYDEN

The concept of revelation and the knowledge of God is the question addressed by Bryden throughout his theological writings. Already in his first book The Spirit of Jesus in St. Paul Bryden notes that what one means by the knowledge of God is the most difficult and yet important question that may be asked of a religious person.[23] In The Christian's Knowledge of God he argues that a genuine knowledge of God in the modern church has been lost because of the loss of a Reformation understanding of revelation.[24] Revelation, Bryden contends, is not to be identified merely with a general human religious experience, human reasoning about that religious experience, human ethical ideals, or with culture or history. But revelation is not to be identified as a series of propositional eternal truths set forth in the Bible either. Revelation, according to Bryden, is the gracious act of God in which a genuine knowledge of God by faith breaks upon the individual soul of the Christian. God is both the object of such knowledge for the human soul and the means whereby such knowledge is apprehended. God is mediated only by God.

The locus of this revelation and the knowledge of God for Bryden is the Word of God, and it is this recovery of a Reformation theology of the Word which forms the centre of his theological programme. Bryden explicitly affirms that it is a sixteenth century conception of the Word of God which has to be recovered by the Presbyterian Church in Canada after 1925. "It is not too much to hold", Bryden argues, that it was a "completely fresh and living apprehension of the Word of God which constituted the primal inspiration of the Reformation movement as a whole", and especially for Calvin.[25] Bryden recognized that while it was impossible, in any literal way, to go back to Calvin, it was imperative that Presbyterianism, if it was to remain true to its distinctive features, had to get back to something of that understanding of the Word of God which created Calvin and the Reformed faith.[26]

Bryden's recovery of Calvin's Reformation doctrine of revelation is characterized by a dialectical christocentric reconstruction of the doctrine of the Word of God. For Bryden, the Word of God is the Judging-Saving Word of God in Jesus Christ. The Word of God "is Jesus Christ, and Him crucified, with nothing to be added or subtracted from simply that".[27] Jesus Christ is the mediator of revelation and reconciliation, and these two aspects of the Christian faith cannot be separated in Calvin's Reformation conception of the Word of God. This Word of God in Jesus Christ encounters human beings in utter negation, as something which completely disillusions them by calling into question their independent human existence and their attempts to domesticate the divine reality. This is the judgment

of the Word of God.[28] But the Word of God is also a Word which encounters us in grace and therefore affirms human existence in Jesus Christ. This is the salvation of the Word of God.[29] This Judging-Saving Word of God in Jesus Christ is an exclusive, unique, and absolute revelation of God, without which genuine knowledge of God is not possible.[30] One might ask at this point whether Bryden is not as much indebted to Kierkegaard and Buber and their conception of truth as subjective encounter, as he is to Calvin's conception of the Word of God.

In setting forth this interpretation of the Reformation doctrine of the Word of God, Bryden is rejecting what he considers to be the inadequate interpretation of a rational orthodoxy or fundamentalism which identifies the Word of God simply with the written Holy Scripture, in its wholeness; this Scripture to be interpreted literally because it is verbally inerrant and plenarily inspired.[31] It is Bryden's contention that such a view does not find its source in Calvin and the Reformation, but that its origin is in the Protestant scholasticism of the post-Reformation orthodox period. Moreover, this interpretation fails to account adequately for Calvin's doctrine of the <u>testimonium Spiritus sancti internum</u> in which the authority of Holy Scripture is self-authenticating and grounded not in human reason, but in the work of the Holy Spirit testifying to the Word. And it makes faith an assent to certain propositional truths rather than an experience of trust in the grace of God. One might well ask whether Bryden, in his strong critique of rational orthodoxy, has himself provided a full

recovery of Calvin's doctrine of Holy Scripture, a doctrine of Scripture complete enough to sustain his own theological epistemology.

In setting forth his recovery of Calvin's Reformation doctrine of the Word of God Bryden also rejects the interpretation of nineteenth century liberal Protestantism. This position Bryden describes as a theology of revelation in which the Word of God has been reduced to a religious-ethical ideal, a rational philosophical ideal, and a cultural-historical ideal.[32] Liberalism means primarily by the Word of God...

> ...those supreme moral and religious values which find unique expression in the Old Testament and especially in the New Testament - but which exist preeminently in the teachings of Jesus especially as these are embraced and find vital expression in the unique perfection of Jesus' life and personality.33

This position, Bryden argues, owes its insights not to Calvin and the Reformation but to the Enlightenment philosophy to which it accomodated. One might ask whether Bryden's extensive polemic against the high view of reason emanating from the Enlightenment has not left him susceptible to the charge of fideism, or even the charge of being an "irrational enthusiast" as was made by F.H. Anderson in a critical review of The Christian's Knowledge of God in The University of Toronto Quarterly. Further, nowhere does Bryden give an adequate explication of Calvin's doctrine of revelation in the opera Dei thereby addressing the question of the possibility of a natural knowledge of God, which is a crucial issue for a post-Enlightenment theological epistemology. Is the negative pole of the dialectic, Bryden's strong judgment of "No!"

to rational orthodoxy and liberal Protestantism not operating magisterially and preventing the full reconstruction of a Reformed dogmatic theology of revelation adequate to the need of his context?

In sum, Bryden's recovery of Calvin's Reformation doctrine of revelation is characterized by a dialectical christocentric reconstruction of the Word of God in the conception of the Judging-Saving Word of God in Jesus Christ; a recovery of the Reformed doctrine of Word and Spirit in revelation; a union of revelation and reconciliation in the Word of God in Jesus Christ; and a conception of faith as personal encounter and trust rather than assent to propositional truths. His rejection of rational orthodoxy and liberal Protestantism is shaped by a desire to recover genuine Reformation theology after the Enlightenment, and in this sense Bryden's theology is, as we have already seen, influenced by both Scottish liberal evangelicalism and the emerging neo-orthodoxy, but may perhaps best be characterized as a "neo-Reformation" theology. While we have at points called into question Bryden's interpretation of Calvin's theology and the adequacy of Bryden's formulations as a post-Enlightenment theological epistemology, there can be no question that such a recovery and restatement for the Presbyterian Church in Canada after 1925 was the explicit programme of Bryden's theology. It remains for us now to examine the implications of this theological programme for Bryden's ecclesiology.

III. REVELATION AND THE CHURCH IN THE THEOLOGY OF WALTER W. BRYDEN

Bryden's attempted recovery of Calvin's Reformation doctrine of revelation after the Enlightenment had direct implications for his ecclesiology and his position on the church union controversy. Throughout his writings the relationship between this understanding of revelation and the church is developed. In The Spirit of Jesus in St. Paul (1925), a psychological study of Paul's religious experience based upon the Corinthian correspondence, Bryden attempts...

> ...to study the "soul of Paul" as his inner thoughts and feelings, his ethical appreciations and spiritual aspirations reveal themselves in these two letters. There is also the hope on the part of the writer that such a portrayal of the life of the great apostle may have some practical significance in the understanding of the perplexities of our own modern Church life, and in lending guidance in the discharge of our important and difficult work.34

In his book Why I Am A Presbyterian (1934), a series of lectures given at Knox College and the University of Toronto, Bryden attempts to explain his personal decision to remain with the Presbyterian Church in 1925, arguing that genuine unity must be grounded in the Gospel of grace given in the revelation of the Word of God.[35] In his essay "The Presbyterian Conception of the Word of God" (1935) Bryden argues that essential Presbyterianism has to do with the conception of revelation and the Word of God in the Reformation rather than a form of order and ministry which emerged in Scotland.[36] In The Christian's Knowledge of God (1940) Bryden discusses the nature of the church and its relationship to society at great length as it is so closely related to his exposition of the doctrine of revelation.[37] The Significance of

the Westminster Confession of Faith (1943) addresses the nature of the confessional and confessing church in the Reformed tradition.[38] While Bryden does not develop a full dogmatic ecclesiology in any one of his writings, it is not too much to suggest that in his construction of the doctrine of revelation the church forms an integral part.

First, Bryden argues that the church is a creature of the Word of God. The church, he says, must "strive to rediscover the Word of God - that Word, I mean, which in the beginning gave rise to Holy Scripture, and which alone gave existence to the Church of God, and apart from which that Church cannot stand".[39] According to Bryden, "there is a very definite and necessary relation between the New Testament conception of revelation and the New Testament conception of the Church".[40] For Bryden, "the Word of God is prior to and transcends both the Scripture and the Church and we may add it is prior to and transcends creation as well. Briefly, the Word of God is the raison d'etre of all three".[41] The Word of God gives faith to men and women, a faith which has given existence to the Church of God itself.[42] "Revelation, therefore, and the Church are interdependent existences, so to speak. The latter, at least, possesses no significant meaning except for the former".[43] In sum, the church is constituted by the Word of God. It is a creature of the Word and a fellowship of the Holy Spirit. This is the very nature of its existence.

Second, the church is called to confess the Word of God. Such confession, Bryden argues, emanates from a living church under

the constraint of God's Word. In a 1941 article in The United Church Observer entitled "Continental Movements and The Theological Thought of Tomorrow" Bryden distinguishes between a statement of faith and a confession of faith:

> It is easy to make statements of our faith, but confessions are wrung from men who have been on their knees. A theology which may be acquired objectively is not Christian theology; the latter appears only when men are under the power and constraint of God's Word.44

A church which has been created by the revelation of the Word of God, and which is continually encountered by that Word in its life, is a church which must confess its faith. In his book The Significance of the Westminster Confession of Faith, a revised and expanded version of an address delivered to the sixty-ninth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1943 on the occasion of the tercentenary of the Westminster Confession of Faith, Bryden argues that the subordinate standard must be taken seriously by the Church as an essential part of its Reformed witness. The Westminster Confession of Faith is not an outmoded expression of Christian thought no longer having any but an historic interest, but it is also not an absolute norm for Christian doctrine. Bryden rejected both an historical relativisation and a literalistic interpretation of the Westminster Confession of Faith. James D. Smart summarizes Bryden's contribution to the Presbyterian Church in Canada on this point in these words:

> He did two things that are not likely to have to be done again; he commanded an interest and a respect for the faith which speaks in the Westminster Confession and he destroyed every pretext in our tradition for a literalistic

> confessionalism that would make the Westminster Confession not a guide to faith but an iron-bound shackle upon the faith of the church.[45]

In sum, the church's confession emanates from its encounter with God's revelation in the Judging-Saving Word of God.

Third, the pastoral ministry and leadership of the church consists of those who have been called to proclaim God's Judging-Saving Word in Jesus Christ because they themselves have been encountered by this Word at the very heart of their existence. In his 1927 tract The Christian Ministry Bryden sets forth his understanding of the Reformed doctrine of ministry in the context of issuing an appeal to the youth of the Church to consider ministry within the Presbyterian Church in Canada.[46] The Church needs those, he says, who in their encounter with God's Word know the inner reality of Christian experience and the sense of a divine call. In his convocation address to Presbyterian College in 1929 he speaks about the nature of Reformed preaching. True preaching, he says, "may be described as the unveiling of one's soul as that soul in the course of life is being touched by God".[47] Preaching, Bryden argues, is a kind of incarnation which is particularly auspicious for this age.[48] In sum, the revelation of God's Judging-Saving Word creates and sustains the preaching ministry of the church.

Fourth, the church's creation by and encounter with God's Judging-Saving Word has tremendous implications for the church's relations with the social, economic, and political powers. As the church stands under the judgment of the Word of God, so that Word judges the self-righteousness and injustices of the world. Only

organized national church in Canada, rather than from a desire for the unity of the church which came from its creation as a fellowship of the Spirit by the Judging-Saving Word of God. This concern for external organization, he argues, was not a sufficient basis for church union since its considerations were primarily sentimental, expedient, utilitarian, and humanitarian, rather than ecclesiastical and theological.[51] The maintenance of a Scottish presbyterian ecclesiastical system or a rational orthodox theology, the rationale used by many of those who opposed church union were insufficient reasons.[52] The only reason sufficient to oppose church union was the Gospel itself. For Bryden, the knowledge of God revealed in the Judging-Saving Word of God in Jesus Christ, witnessed to in the Scriptures, giving life to the church and its confession and ministry in the world, was the only genuine basis for church union. Such a church, he concludes, being conscious of the Gospel and the missionary mandate, is truly catholic.[53] This is, at its heart, the theological contribution of Walter Williamson Bryden to post-Union Canadian Presbyterianism.

CONCLUSION

Why has the Presbyterian Church in Canada moved in certain directions and not in others since 1925? Certainly a great deal of the answer to that question has to do with the significance of the influence of Walter Williamson Bryden. We have tried to demonstrate in this paper that this influence must be understood theologically as well as personally. We have argued that Bryden's theology ought to be interpreted formally as a "Neo-Reformation"

theology seeking to weave a path between liberal Protestantism and what Bryden saw as a rational fundamentalist orthodoxy. We have tried to show that Bryden owes as much to Scottish liberal evangelicalism as to the later influence of Karl Barth and neo-orthodoxy, and that his theological development must be interpreted within the context of the Canadian church. We have argued that Bryden's theology ought to be understood materially as an attempt to recover Calvin's Reformation doctrine of revelation and the knowledge of God in the Word of God after the Enlightenment, and that this doctrine is characterized by a dialectical christocentric reconstruction of the Word of God; a recovery of the Reformed doctrine of Word and Spirit; a union of revelation and reconciliation in the Word of God in Jesus Christ; a conception of faith as personal encounter rather than assent to propositional truths; and an understanding of the church as a creature of the Word of God and a fellowship of the Holy Spirit whose confession and ministry took a certain shape in thew world. It was this conception of revelation and its implications for ecclesiology in Canada which formed the heart of Bryden's theological contribution to and significance for the Presbyterian Church in Canada after 1925. As a preliminary study, this paper has only introduced themes which require further exposition from the texts of Bryden, and further critical analysis in light of contemporary theology and the history of the Presbyterian Church in Canada since 1925. It is our hope that this study will provide the framework for that further study of the Reformed theology of Walter Williamson Bryden and its significance for the Canadian church. That this is the right direction in which to proceed is

summed up by Bryden himself in a letter written to Alan Farris in 1945:

> "I stand firmly by the Reformed faith, subject to Scripture which I believe cradles God's living Word for those who have ears to hear it. That about sums me up - whatever lies before.54

ENDNOTES

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2. Joseph C. McLelland, "Walter Bryden 'By Circumstance and God'", Called To Witness. Volume Two. (Edited by W. Stanford Reid. The Presbyterian Church in Canada: Committee on History, 1980) p.120.

3. John Moir, Enduring Witness. (The Presbyterian Church in Canada: The Bryant Press, 1975) p.235.

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5. "Death of Principal of Knox College", Presbyterian Record, May 1952, p.9.

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16. W. Kenneth Bryden, op.cit. See also Donald V. Wade, "The Theological Achievement of Walter Bryden". A paper presented to the Karl Barth Society of North America, Barth Colloquium, March 22, 1974, Toronto, Ontario.p.3.

17. W. Kenneth Bryden, op.cit. See also The University of Toronto Archives, Walter Williamson Bryden. A73-0026/043.

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19. D.V. Wade, "The Theological Achievement of Walter Bryden",op.cit. p.3; See also R.A. Mackay, "Founding of Woodville Congregation", Presbyterian Witness, October 30, 1924; "History of Woodville Reveals How Village Character Was Shaped", The Lindsay Post, April 17, 1957, p.6. Presbyterian Church Archives, AR4; Mrs. B. Whittome and Mrs. C. Rush, "St. James Presbyterian Church History", Presbyterian Church Archives, AR4 S3M45S3.

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24. W.W. Bryden, The Christian's Knowledge of God, pp.1-2.

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"Sending the Gospel": The Development of the Knox College Student Missionary Society, 1845-1925

by

Peter Bush

> Much of our success as a Church, in the expansion of Home Missions work, is due to the labours of our students during the summer months, and to the sustained occupancy by the Students' Missionary Societies, of fields beyond the reach of the regular missionary....The rapid increase of preaching stations in the North-West Territories and in the Muskoka field,is almost, if not entirely due to the self-denying labours of students and catechists.[1]

This high praise came from the Reverend William Cochrane, Convenor of the Home Missions Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1886. By far the largest of the Students' Missionary Societies was the one at Knox College, which in 1904 was able to support over forty summer missionaries in fields stretching from Washago in Ontario to Penticton, British Columbia, and over the course of the winter the Society supplied five charges in and around Toronto. These and similar endeavours were financed by an aggressive fund-raising and publicity campaign among the established Presbyterian churches, which had the additional result of educating southern Ontario churches to the needs of the frontier areas of Canada.[2]

From 1873 to 1915, the primary focus of the Knox College Student Missionary Society was sending the gospel to the areas of Canada where there was no Presbyterian ministry. This was done by sending Knox students, both theology and arts students, to the frontier areas of the country. In 1873 the frontier was the Muskoka region, while by 1905, the frontier had moved west as far as the Okanagan Valley. Knox was by no means the only Presbyterian College to have such a society; Presbyterian College-Montreal, Queen's, and later Manitoba College and Morrin College had similar societies.

It is important to note, at this point, that although the present day M&T Society stands for Missionary and Theological, in the period under discussion the M&T Association was the Metaphysical and Theological Association while the KCSMS (Knox College Student Missionary Society) was an organization independent of M&T.[3]

This paper briefly examines the early history of the Society and then turns to look at the structure of the organization as it existed during its heyday (1880-1910). A critical factor in the Society's existance lay in its relationship with the Home Missions Committee of the Presbyterian Church, and therefore a large section of the paper will examine that connection. The paper will conclude with some provisional comments about the results of bureaucratization and rationalization as seen in this case, the significance of the KCSMS, and some suggestions for further research.

The KCSMS traced its roots back to the Student Missionary Society of New College, Edinburgh; for just as Knox College was created in imitation of New College and the Great Disruption of 1843, so the students of Knox College imitated the students of New College and in 1845 established a Missionary Society. The purpose of the Society was,

> to gain information with respect to those mighty movements which are going on in the Missionary Field; and so far as in us lies to join our feeble co-operation, and unite our humble endeavour in helping on the glorious cause.[4]

In order to reach these goals, papers on missionary topics were given on a regular basis and a missionary reading room was established; as well a collection box was set up and its proceeds were forwarded to the New College Missionary Society for a mission to the Jews. In the spring of 1847, however, the students at Knox decided that they wanted the donated funds to stay in Canada

and to be used toward mission work among the French-Canadians. To this end, in 1847, the Society hired John Black, then a student at Knox, to be its first missionary. But it was not until 1849 that Black was able to go to the chosen field, Metis, Canada East, 200 miles down-river from Quebec City.[5]

Things went smoothly enough between 1851 and 1855, despite the death of two of the Society's missionaries, and the gospel seemed to be having an impact in Metis. However, the Society was not willing to make the financial commitment of building their own school house and mission home, preferring to rent buildings. In retrospect this was a wise decision, but the missionaries on the field got the feeling that their well-being was not the Society's top-priority. These unresolved problems led to a crisis in 1855-6 which resulted in the Society moving its mission to the Essex-Kent region of Ontario and the decision to train a French-Canadian at Knox College to be the Society's missionary. Working with non-Canadian missionaries had been extremely frustrating, and it was hoped that this switch would alleviate the problem. It did not. Two men were selected, Oliver Labelle and M. Paquette; Labelle was particularly hard to handle. When Labelle left the Society's employ in 1864, he refused to pay back the money the Society had put out for his education.[6] As Donald MacGillvary, a student at Knox, said in his 1887 review of the Society's history,

> It may safely be said that the experiment of the Society had not proved a success, and we seem from the history of the Society's French work to be forced to the conclusion that it was too difficult for such a body.[7]

But the Society held on to the belief that it could make a go of the French-Canadian mission until well after Labelle's departure in 1864.

In 1847 the Home Missions Committee of the Free Synod of the

Presbyterian Church of Canada was charged by the Synod with the care of the KCSMS. The Home Missions Committee, however, did not have tight control, as an 1853 decision gave the KCSMS financial freedom. The Synod decided that the easiest way to eliminate the confusion of two seperate collections at any Student Missionary Society supplied station, one for the Synod and one for the Missionary Society, was to give the Society the right to all the funds collected at any mission station the Society supplied. Thus the KCSMS was able to take a huge step towards autonomy from the Home Missions Committee, for the Society had a financial resource that no other Presbyterian group could touch.[8]

After 1866 the KCSMS started to look towards having an English-speaking mission, and by 1869 it was sending Anglophone missionaries to Huron County and into the Penetanguishene area. In 1871 the Society sent the first Presbyterian missionary to Parry Sound and the following summer the first Presbyterian "clergyman" to Manitoulin Island was sent out under its auspices. But it was not until 1873 that the Society officially changed its focus from being a French-Canadian mission to one that dealt with "the more neglected portions of Canada." From this point on the Society had two goals: the first, "sending the Gospel to the more recently settled parts of the country and to other places not otherwise provided for by the Church," and secondly, to foster "a missionary spirit among its [the Society's] members."[9]

It was the goal of the Society to start a congregation in a new area with those families that claimed to be Presbyterian, expecting that after about five summers' work the congregation would be able to support a full-time missionary. The congregation

would then become a charge in the Presbytery within which bounds it was. The Society was thus perpetually starting new charges and was often involved in the construction of the first Presbyterian church building in an area.[10]

It is possible to now turn to look at the organizational structure of the KCSMS as it stood at the turn of the century. Every student at Knox College was automatically a member of the Society, this included both theology students and those in an Arts program living at Knox and preparing to take theological study. The executive was elected by the membership of the Society to a one year term. The executive was made up of twelve students: a president, two vice-presidents, recording secretary, corresponding secretary, financial secretary/treasurer, and a council of six. Up until the late 1860's and again after World War I executive meetings were chaired by faculty members, but in the intervening years faculty came only when invited or if they requested the privilege of presenting a matter for discussion.[11] With one year terms it may appear that it would be hard to keep continuity from year to year, but the example of William Fingland, who served on the executive continuously from 1910 to 1914, shows that executive members were re-elected.[12] Thus a strong sense of continuity blended with the addition of new blood to the executive each year. As well, a series of standing committees in such areas as Finance, Printing, Lantern Slides, Foreign Missions, Report Revision, and Programming carried out the Society's activities. Special committees to visit with the Home Missions Committee Convenor, to delegate students to the fields, and to work on the Inter-Seminary conference was also established. Clearly the students had a sophisticated executive structure which could handle the pressures

placed on it.[13]

Just as with any mission agency, the KCSMS had to be concerned about finances. The KCSMS was able to fund itself partially through collections from the fields it served. The support the Society received from this source never fell below 35% of its annual budget and sometimes rose to cover 60% of its expenditures. On the whole the Society needed the fields to cover 45% or more of the annual outlay in order to break even.[14] The rest of the costs were covered by donations from students and faculty at Knox, from individuals and congregations, and other local Presbyterian societies in Ontario and Quebec. Unforetunately, it is not possible to determine precisely the make-up of these various groups, since for only three of the years between 1873 and 1925 do we have records of donations. An analysis of the extant reports (1878, 1904, 1906) indicates that a large number of Young People's Societies, Sunday Schools, and Boys' Clubs made donations.[15] As a young man's movement the KCSMS had special appeal to young people connected with the church.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century the students became experts at raising financial support. Their publicity and fundraising took a number of forms. Until 1899 lengthy reports, often more than ten pages, of the Society's activities appeared in <u>Acts and Proceedings</u>. As well the Society distributed its printed report to all contributors and potential supporters, by 1910 they were printing 10,000 copies of the report each year.[16] Established churches that covered more than half of the costs of sending a missionary out for the summer were twinned with a student who sent back monthly reports about the field. If a church paid the entire cost of a student's summer work, the church would

receive, in addition to the monthly reports, two personal visits from the student when he returned from his mission charge and these visits would be at the expense of the Society. Contributing congregations could not designate which student they wanted to support, but they could designate which congregation they would support.[17] Thus it was possible for an eastern church to develop a long term relationship with a western church, providing for continuity and continued interest even after the student had graduated or had been appointed to a new charge the following summer. Even if congregations were unable to provide the level of support needed to be in this twinning relationship, the Society had an active winter program of visiting churches, presenting the work they were doing. No matter how one looks at it the students were effective in raising funds; needing contributions of over $4,500 each year after 1900 from eastern churches to survive.[18]

More important that the funds they were raising, is the fact that the KCSMS was actively educating eastern churches about the needs of the west and to the special situation that existed there. The presence of enthusiastic, young missionaries in the pulpits of eastern churches would have encouraged churches to broaden their missionary vision. That the students could bring about the enlarging of a congregation's mission was realized by the students themselves. In January 1914 the Executive of the Society recommended to the student body,

> that we have a 'Knox College Student Sunday', that we secure as far as possible 'the pulpits of the city' to place before the young men of the church the ends of the ministry from a student's point of view.[19]

The Society saw one of its prime goals to be encouraging young men to enter the ministry. This was best done through showing what

was happening in the missionary areas and discussing the benefits of life in the ministry.

We have seen how the Society was organized, how it raised funds and the public relations it did. This still leaves the large area of the relationship between the Home Missions Committee (Western Section) and the KCSMS. It is necessary to explore this relationship in detail for it plays a critical role in the history of the Society. It is, in fact, the backdrop to the Society's entire existence.

In the 1870's the Society had a very free hand. The students were financially autonomous, and determined which charges they would supply each summer. In 1875, five students were sent to the Barrie Presbytery; in the summer of 1876 four charges were supplied in the Presbytery of Barrie.[20] The Presbytery, therefore, had reason to hope that in 1877 the KCSMS would again supply some of their mission charges, but it was not a sure thing.

> [W]e find some twelve points in these districts which stations will require to be established during the coming summer. Some of these we trust the Missionary Societies will attend to, but the others will fall to the lot of the Presbytery.[21]

The Presbytery wanted the missionary societies, includung the one at Knox, to supply these stations, but had no way of guarenteeing how many the societies would supply before the students societies announced their intentions. That the student societies were in control of the situation was even clearer in 1882 when the Barrie Presbytery reported that it had entered into negotiations with the KCSMS to find out how many points the Society would supply and when the Presbytery got its answer it turned to the Home Missions Committee to fill in the gaps.[22] The Society chose where to send people and then the presbyteries had to fill in what was left over. This meant that the Society could strike out into totally new territory if it

felt there was a need, and there was little that anyone could do to stop it. The KCSMS needed pioneer areas to move into as it handed self-supporting churches over to the Presbyteries.

By 1881 concern was being expressed about this freedom. At the March 1882 meeting of the Missions Committee,

> It was agreed to notify the Student Missionary Societies of the respective Colleges that all appointments made by them should be done only in concurrence with or at the request of the Presbytery within whose bounds the field may be situated.[23]

The student societies were forced to talk with the Presbyteries before they acted, this was not so much a limitation of the organization's autonomy as a move in continuity with the ecclesiastical structure of the church. The Society had little choice but to agree, it could not operate without close ties to the Presbyteries in which it was working. The students could not baptize, marry, or administer communion and so they needed to bring in ordained men once a summer to do these things. These men came from the Presbytery and thus links had to be established or no ordained person would come to these outlying charges. The students needed the advice and support of the Presbytery to be effective, even if a minister only visited twice during the summer that contact was extremely valuable. Thus this limitation of the Society's autonomy was one which protected the students from making mistakes both in choosing fields to move into and while on the field. This arrangment remained in place for nearly fifteen years before it was significantly changed.

In 1895 the HMC made a decision which was to spell the end of the KCSMS as a body capable of independent decision-making. During the summer a large number of students wanted to work and it was possible to start churches in new areas and expand the work in more established places; but in the winter the students went back

to school and the churches they were supplying were left without a minister until the following summer. This was a problem that the HMC had struggled with since 1877 when the issue was first raised in the minutes of the Committee.[24] At that point the goal had been to find a different group of missionaries who would take the churches in the winter. By 1885 it was evident that such a group would not appear unless some action was taken by the HMC, and therefore the compulsory six months of ministry in the west before being settled on a charge was recommended to and approved by Assembly.[25] However, this was not a complete solution.

As a result of the rapid growth of the KCSMS between 1885 and 1895, the Missions Committee had to find ten additional missionaries each winter and had to find funding for those missionaries as it, the HMC, had an operating deficit. Therefore the HMC passed the following resolution at its October 1895 meeting,

> Applications for grants for the winter months having been made on behalf of a large number of mission fields...having been under the care of the missionary societies of some of the colleges during the summer, it was resolved, hereafter to make no grant from the Home Missions Fund to any field supplied by any of these societies, unless the sanction of the Committee and of the Presbytery of the bounds be first got for placing of such fields under the care of said societies.[26]

This meant that the KCSMS could go out and start in a new area if the Presbytery agreed, but there would be no way to get winter supply for that church unless the HMC had sanctioned the move into that area. The HMC wanted to determine early in the game where it would have to send missionaries for the fall and winter months. This meant that one further piece of the KCSMS's autonomy had been lost.

In March 1900 the logical conclusion to the decision made in 1895 was passed, "to the effect that all Mission Fields hereafter to be supplied by the College Student Missionary Societies are to

be assigned to those Societies by the sub-committee of the Assembly's Home Missions Committee."[27] Since the Societies had to consult with the HMC under the provisions established in 1895, it seemed reasonable to take the next step and say that the HMC would determine which charges would go to the College Societies and which would be maintained by the HMC. Thus the die was cast; there was no turning back.

The Student Societies were supposed to be consulted regarding which charges they wished to supply, but by 1901 it was clear that they would not have much say in what went on. In reality the Missions Committee Executive wrote to the various Presbyteries to find which mission charges needed to be filled; the executive the divided the charges between itself and the various College Societies. Each Society was then informed as to which places they would be sending missionaries. The Societies then produced a list of appointments which was submitted to the HMC for its approval. And only then did the Presbyteries find out who was supplying the charges within their bounds.[28] These appoinments having been made, the missionaries were sent out and were paid by the KCSMS. Thus the HMC was able to hand pick the areas to which the KCSMS sent people and the people who went, but had none of the financial burden to bear.

During this process of rationalization the KCSMS flourished, in 1902 it had twenty-four missionaries in the field, while in 1904 it had forty. Between 1902 and 1909 the operating budget more than doubled, rising from just over $5,000 to $11,000.[29] Thus the loss of autonomy did not have any immediate negative effects on the Society. In fact, there were some benefits to be gained. First, the hard leg work of tracking down charges was now in the hands of

the HMC, and executive of the Society could spend more time on publicity and fund-raising. Both of these activities became more prominent after the HMC took over the allocation of charges. Second, the consultation each year with the leadership of the Missions Committee of the church provided some continuity in a student-run organization, which seldom had people in leadership roles for more than two or three years. It is important to note as well that the Society still controlled its own financial base, any offerings given by congregations which students supplied went into the Society's coffers and they were allowed to appeal to congregations for funds in which they did publicity. But the Society had lost much of its earlier autonomy. Its subjugation to the HMC was most obvious to the general public in the fact that after 1898 the KCSMS was never to have more than half a page in the Home Missions Committee report in Acts and Proceedings, whereas up to 1898 the Society had often ten or more pages reporting on each charge it had supplied during the summer.[30]

The final pillar of autonomy was not removed until a one-two knock out punch between 1910 and 1912. In 1910 for the first time the KCSMS was unable to meet its expenses through its normal sources and an appeal to the student body did not raise sufficent funds, so in October 1910 the Society went to the Home Missions Committee to get a loan.[31] It was a small loan of about $800, just over 5% of the operating budget of the Society, but it was the beginning of the end.[32] In 1912 a much larger loan of $1,600 was negotiated to cover a bank overdraft of $1,100. The overdraft represented 10% of the budget, which had shrunk by 20% over a twelve month period. This was a great reversal in the financial

fortunes of the Society and was the result of two factors, as was explained in the 1912 report of the Society,

> The year's work has entailed unusually heavy financial obligations. Owing to the fact that the crops were a failure the preceding summer in the West...and the bad harvest last fall, the contributions from these stations towards their support was somewhat below average. This financial situation was accentuated by the fact that the new Budget scheme of the Church left some uncertainty whether money contributed to the Knox College Student Missionary Society would be credited as part of the amount assigned to each congregation for the Budget.[33]

This crisis led to a need to redefine the relationship between the KCSMS and HMC on a number of fronts. For under the new Budget Scheme the Societies could not appeal to established congregations for funds and those congregations which had previously supported the KCSMS were uncertain if their donations to the KCSMS would be credited to their General Assembly Budget and in particular to the level established for going to the HMC.

This problem was solved through a series of negotiations between the HMC and the Knox Society. The resulting document, which was approved by the Missions Committee in March 1912, became the heart of a new relationship between the two parties. Financial security was re-established through a five-point funding plan:

1. Collections among the students themselves and their friends.
2. Receipts from Lantern Slide Lectures.
3. Money raised on the mission field where the work is being done.
4. Money apportioned by Congregations and by Societies.
5. Amounts set apart by the Home Missions Committee.[34]

This looks very much like the structure for funding before the budgetary problems of 1911, but there were three changes. First, as noted above, the Society was not allowed to appeal to congregations for help. Second, the money that was given to the Society by various congregations would be credited towards the budget level established for that church, but the funds would be handled through the HMC. As was recommended,

> ...all moneys apportioned to the Mission Societies by Congregations be forwarded to the Treasurer of the Church...being subject to call by the Treasurer of that Missionary Society to which it has been set apart.[35]

Thus congregational donations were to be handled through the head office of the church andthe Society would then get the designated funds from the HMC when they needed it. The Society was losing the direct accountability to congregations that it had had before 1912. And thirdly, the addition of the HMC in point five of the funding formula was a safety net, a net that would eventually smother the last remaining freedom the Society had.

These were not the only changes that grew out of the crisis on 1911-12. The Society to this point had determined how many missionaries it would send out each year, even though they had no control over where the students would go and all appointments had to be approved by the HMC. But as the 1912 Missions Committee report made clear even this element of autonomy was eliminated,

> The number of students that any College Society may send out to the mission field will be determined by the number of men that that College center is able to furnish for the whole work; The Home Missions Committee Executive to determine the number.[36]

The formula to be used was not indicated, but the Society had lost control of how many missionaries it would send out each summer.

A further area of change was the guidance of the missionaries on the field. Before 1910 missionaries sent out by the KCSMS had had close ties with the Presbyteries to which they had been sent, but it was clear that they were responsible to the KCSMS executive and to whomever from that group was in Toronto during the summer and in a position to make decisions. Thus the KCSMS missionaries were somewhat independant of the discipline and control of the church courts. This was brought to an abrupt halt in 1912, as supervision was to be along the following lines,

> ...all students when in the field must conform with the regulations of the Assembly and report to the District Superintendent and Convenor as the regulations require....and that the Societies have the handling of their men and of their fields, subject, of course, always to the same oversight as those students sent out under the Home Missions Committee.[37]

The students became responsible to the Missions Convenor of the Presbytery and to the District Superintendent of Missions, living under the same rules as the students sent out by the HMC. There was now no real difference, therefore, between those sent out by the HMC and those sent out by any of the College Societies.

The Missions Committee of the church now determined how many charges the KCSMS would supply, the Committee decided which charges the Society would get, it approved the selection of appointees, it reviewed the financial situation of the Society and determined how much additional funding the Society would receive, and the Committee or its appointees supervised the missionaries on the field. The KCSMS had become a branch plant of the Committee, doing only that which the Committee would allow it to do, which by 1912 was basically nothing. The Society had been so totally absorbed into the HMC that 1912 was the last time a seperate report was filed by the KCSMS to be published in Acts and Proceedings. The change from an eleven page spread in 1898 to no report in 1913 speaks eloquently of the rapid changes through which the Society had gone in fifteen years and the way its role was redefined.[38] The process by which the KCSMS's autonomy was bureaucratized out of existence raises important questions about the move towards a more bureaucratic church polity and the development of a church head office structure.

For all intents and purposes the KCSMS ceased to be a force in its own right in Home Missions after the Assembly of 1912, but the body was not laid to rest until 1915. In January of that year

the KCSMS presented the Home Missions Committee with a proposal for dealing with the continuing financial crisis of the KCSMS. The proposal was,

> Whereas the present financial scheme of the Knox College Student Missionary Society has been rendered ineffective under the Budget Scheme of Home Missions, and
> Whereas the present system leads to confusion, and
> Whereas the centralization of the finances will avoid those confusions.
> Therefore, the Financial Committee of the Executive submits the following recommendations to Dr. Grant and the Executive.
> (1) That the system of financing the summer work be handed over to the Home Missions Committee of the Church.
> (2) That the Knox College Student Missionary Society turn over to the Home Missions Committee of the Church all contributions made to the Society and in return the Home Missions Committee give the Society sufficent funds to meet the expenses of delegate work, advertising, and promoting and other incidental expenses which the Society deems necessary.
> (3) That the constitution be amended to meet the proposed changed conditions.[39]

The students were surrendering the one thing that had been left to them from the early history of the Society, the right to keep the money collected from the churches they were supplying. The proposal was accepted by the HMC, who agreed to shoulder the financial burden of the KCSMS. This decision in January, was followed by one in February, which gave the HMC the right not only to approve the list of appointees, but to make the list up in the first place. The Society,it would seem, had lost all interest in being involved in Home Missions. Reading between the lines, one senses discouragement and frustration with the situation. But there is also a sense that nothing could have been done to make the result different.[40]

A last attempt was made to resurrect the Society's Home Mission endeavour in the school year 1919-1920. From 1916 to 1919 the Society had ceased to exist, but as students returned to Knox after being de-mobilized some hoped to restore the Society's previous glory. But that was not to be. In the summers of 1920 and 1921,

five students were sent out under the name of the KCSMS, but they were funded by the HMC and were really Missions Committee appointees. A brave attempt was made to assume the actual "cost of ten fields" in 1922, but the difficulties became insurmountable and the plan was dropped. In 1923 the Society sent out eight missionaries, but there was a clear lack of enthusiasm in the whole operation as the student body realized that they could never go back to the role they had had when they were among the leaders of Presbyterian Home Missions in Canada.[41] With church union in 1925, the Society went through a further shock, as did all of Knox College, and it would be years before the Society would recover from that. By that time it had been absorbed entirely into the Metaphysical and Theological Association of Knox College, which in turn had become the Missionary and Theological Society.[42]

After the crisis of 1911 and the agreement of 1912, it was only a matter of time before the Society would have to face the fact that it was no longer a force on the Home Missions stage. It is clear that the war finished off the Society, but the Society had been mortally wounded before the war rang the death knell. Between 1873 and 1912 the students had taken on the problem of Home Missions in Canada. To a large extent they reached their goals, but they were also caught in forces beyond their control, forces which drove them into the arms of the Home Missions Committee as the church became a business.[43]

Much more work needs to be done on the KCSMS and its sister organizations in the other Presbyterian Colleges and in the colleges of other denominations. What happened to the students who were sent out? How were they changed by their experiences? How were

the colleges changed when the students returned from the "real world" of ministry? How did these individual college societies relate to each other, both within the denomination and across denominational boundaries? How did this missionary interest in the Presbyterian colleges relate to the Student Volunteer Movement and the Inter-Seminary Missionary Conferences? All of these questions beg for answers, which will help us to develop a clearer picture of the pratical side of seminary life at the turn of the century. For a large gap exists in the historigraphy about the education of clergy--the type of practical training the colleges provided students with and the practical experience that students received on the summer fields. Until we have studied this area we will not be able to fully understand how students were being prepared for ministry.

But the study of the KCSMS has a significance beyond an understanding of the educational process. Through looking at the College Student Missionary Societies we will see how the vision of a growing church was translated to the students preparing for ministry. The goal was passed on and the vision remained intact for over thirty years--the students answered the call to "send the gospel". They provide us with a model of commitment in a day when the Presbyterian Church in Canada wants to grow. We will also see students struggling to relate the gospel to the situation they faced on the field and in the process we may learn something about how to do that in our own day. But above all the students mobilized congregations to support the missionary endeavour. We have much to learn from them.

Finally, the history of the KCSMS shows that to a certain extent the drive towards a bureaucratic control of the mission of the church aided the growth of the church. By 1900 the HMC was deciding which

charges the KCSMS would supply, this meant that one of the most time-consuming parts of the executive's responsibility was taken away, freeing them to run a sophisticated publicity campaign. Also the HMC's approval of appointments allowed for a better matching of student missionary's gifts with the charges they were sent to; the HMC would have had a much better idea of the needs of charges than would the students who changed each year. Even though there were benefits to the growing centralization of the mission effort, there were serious drawbacks as the loss of autonomy was eventually to destroy the KCSMS. This points to the interesting problem of needing to learn how to balance autonomy and freedom of action against organization and directed planning. This tension is one that lies at the heart of not only the KCSMS's relationship with the Home Missions Committee, but also is to be found in the move towards a head office structure in a number of other areas, such as foreign missions, concept of ministry, and social action. The history of the KCSMS should stand as a warning to us about the need to think clearly about the way to balance the dynamics of free action with the necessity of directing that energy through administrative structures. We must always be discovering how to make the wineskins new so that none of the new wine is lost.

ENDNOTES

1. Knox College Monthly, (Hereafter KCM), Jan., 1886, p. 102.

2. Annual Report, Knox College Student Missionary Society, 1904, pp. 1-10.

3. Presbyterian Church Archives, (hereafter PCA), Minute Book, Knox College Student Missionary Society (hereafter KCSMS), 1919-1925.

4. KCM, Jan. 1887, p. 158.

5. Ibid., Jan. 1887, pp 158-160; Feb. 1887, 227-8.

6. Ibid., Feb. 1887, pp. 227-230.

7. Ibid., p. 231.

8. Ibid., p. 229.

9. See Annual Report, Home Missions Committee (Western Section), in Acts and Proceeding of the General Assembly, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1876-1898.

10. See KCM, Feb. 1887, p. 231; Feb. 1883, p. 20.

11. KCM, Jan. 1887, pp. 158-60; Feb. 1887, pp. 226-9; and Minute Book, KCSMS, 1919-1925.

12. PCA, Minute Book, KCSMS, 1910-1914.

13. Minute Book, KCSMS, 1910-1915.

14. See Annual Reports of the KCSMS in Acts and Proceedings, 1876-1912.

15. PCA, Annual Report, KCSMS, 1878, 1904, 1906.

16. Minute Book, 1910-1914, Unforetunately we do not a mailing list of where these 10,000 reports went.

17. Minute Book, 1918-1922; Annual Reports of KCSMS in Acts and Proceedings, 1876-1913.

18. Annual Reports of KCSMS, Acts and Proceedings, 1876-1913.

19. Minute Book, Jan. 20, 1914.

20. Annual Report, Home Missions Committee (Western Section), in Acts and Proceedings, 1876, 1877.

21. Ibid., 1877, Appendix I, p. viii.

22. Annual Report, Home Missions Committee (Western Section), 1882.

23. United Church Archives, Presbyterian Church, Home Missions Committee, Minutes, March 1882; Acts and Proceedings, 1882, Appendix I, p. xxvii.

24. UCA, Presbyterian Church, Home Missions Committee, Minutes, October 1877.

25. Acts and Proceedings, 1885, p. 48.

26. UCA, Home Missions Committee, Minutes, Oct. 1895.

27. Ibid., Oct. 1900.

28. Acts and Proceedings, Home Missions Committee Annual Report, 1902, p. 28.

29. Ibid., 1903; PCA, KCSMS Annual Report, 1906; Minute Book, KCSMS, 1909.

30. Acts and Proceedings, KCSMS Annual Reports, 1876-1913.

31. Minute Book, KCSMS, Oct. 18, 1910.

32. Acts and Proceedings, KCSMS Annual Report, 1910. The total budget was $14,500.

33. Ibid., 1912, pp. 34-5.

34. UCA, Home Missions Committee, Minutes, March.1912, p. 25.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Acts and Proceedings, KCSMS Annual Reports, 1898, 1913.

39. Minute Book, KCSMS, Jan. 19, 1915.

40. Ibid., Feb. 4, 1915.

41. Ibid., 1919-1923.

42. Ibid., 1923-1925.

43. KCM, Nov. 1887, pp. 33-35.

The Distribution of Knox College Student Missionary Society Missionaries, 1875-1911

Year	Total Fields	Ontario Proper	Muskoka	Algoma	Manitoba	Sask.	Alb.	B.C.	Revenu Expenc
1875	9	2	6		1				1260
1876	7	1	6						1210
1877	8	1	7						1276
1878	8	1	7						1466
1879	10	2	8						1982
1880	11		6	3	2				1817
1881	11		5	5	1				2078
1882	12	1	3	5	3				2849
1883	---								----
1884	17	3	4	5		5			2747
1885	20		8	7		5			3574
1886	17		11	2		4			3735
1887	17		9	3		5			3305
1888	16	1	8	4		3			3471
1889	14	2	7	3		2			2798
1890	17	2	7	5		3			3546
1891	24	6	13			5			3546
1892	27	6	18			3			----
1893	29	4	20			4		1	6333
1894	29	6	18			3		2	5935
1895	31	2	20			7		2	6476
1896	32	4	21			4		3	----
1897	40	4	11	8		4		3	----
1898	28		23			5			----
1899	29								----
1900	30								----
1901	24		15			5		4	5098
1902	26								----
1903	33								----
					Manitoba	Sask.	Alb.	B.C.	
1904	40		20		3	9	6	2	9002
1905	40								----
1906	33		12		3	12	4	2	8928
1907	35		14		2	8	9	2	10,000
1908	40		15		1	11	10	3	11,177
1909	40		15		2	11	9	3	11,563
1910	40		15			13	9	3	14,338
1911	40		16		3	12	9		11,350

From, Knox College Student Missionary Society, Annual Reports, in Home Missions Committee, (Western Section), Annual Reports, in Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1876-1912.

COVENANTER SETTLERS IN THE CHIGNECTO REGION

Eldon Hay

Where is the Chignecto region? I show a small map of the area--see Appendix I. The Rev. Alexander Clarke, one of the chief figures in this paper, described Chignecto in this way, in 1848.

> The district . . . is the Isthmus of Cumberland, the neck of land which unites New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and separates the Bay of Fundy from the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It is comprised in the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and is about sixty or seventy miles in length and the same in breadth (BC, 1848, 350).[1]

And who are the Covenanters? Why Reformed Presbyterians, of course.

I draw your attention in particular to the various Presbyterian church divisions in Scotland, as I've attempted to outline them in the sketch in Appendix II. I have adapted the sketch from Henderson.[2] But I have made one important revision. I have placed the line indicating Reformed Presbyterianism to one side of the heavy line which signifies the Church of Scotland, and I have placed all the other secessions, splits from the Church of Scotland on the other side of that line. To some extent, I have followed the procedure in the sketch of Presbyterian bodies in the United States, adapted from Leith[3] and the sketch of Canadian Presbyterian bodies, adapted from Moir.[4] To scamper back to the Scotch sketch, my revision seeks to make one vital point. Reformed Presbyterians do not see themselves as offshoots of the Church of Scotland. Rather, the Church of Scotland is an aberrant offshoot of Reformed Presbyterianism. Reformed Presbyterianism has a different understanding of pre-Revolution settlement history, and of the Revolution Settlement itself, and therefore a different version and vision of the true Presbyterian church. Reformed Presbyterianism sees itself as the first, the Presbyterian church par excellence. Not in terms of perfection, but in view of a vision as to what God intended and intends for the church. The Reformed Presbyterians see themselves as

first, not in chronological time or *chronos* (when was the original presbytery formed?) but in terms of *kairos* (what form does God will for the church?)

Of course, what God intended and intends for the church is open to more than one interpretation. My point here is that if we wish to understand Reformed Presbyterians, we must comprehend their own self-interpretation. And that interpretation was clearly stated by Reformed Presbyterian leaders in the Maritime region.[5]

What is the Reformed Presbyterian version and vision? I quote a statement given in 1877 by Robert Shields, a Reformed Presbyterian minister in Ramsay, Ontario:

> Reformed Presbyterians claim the name Presbyterian, because they believe Presbyterianism to be the only divinely instituted form of Government in the Christian Church; and they accept the Westminster Form of Church Government as justly setting forth in substance and outline the system of order appointed by Christ for His own house. They use the term, Reformed, to express their adherence to the principles and practices of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland in the purest times of the Second Reformation between the years 1638 and 1649. They are also Covenanters because they have always as a Church held the principle, that Covenanting is an ordinance of God to be observed by Churches and Nations under the New Testament dispensation, and the National Covenant of Scotland as sworn and subscribed in 1638 and 1639, and the Solemn League and Covenant of the united Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, as taken by Christians of all ranks, in 1648, and by Parliament, in 1649, exhibit the true spirit of religious covenanting; and they consider themselves bound by everything in those Covenants, that is of moral obligation. They hold that in lands where the Bible is known, it is the duty of Nations to recognize God as the Source of all authority, Jesus Christ as the Ruler of Nations, the Holy Scriptures as the supreme rule, and Christianity as the only true religion; and to require that rulers shall possess the scriptural qualifications of ability, honesty, and piety. They also refuse to become part of the governing society in any Nation which does not thus honor the true God. They do not unite with any ecclesiastical body which does not maintain the doctrines of the Bible in their integrity, and preserve the discipline of the Church in its purity; or which corrupts the worship of God by introducing therein anything not commanded by the exalted Head of the Church; as uninspired hymns, instrumental music, the worship of saints, and like observances. They reject all systems of false religion and worship, and also all forms of secret, oath-bound societies and orders, as ensnaring in their nature, pernicious in their tendencies, and perilous to the liberties of both Church and State. They believe thoroughly in the power of dissent, and they hope through the blessing of God upon a faithful testimony for the glory of the enthroned Mediator, to see the kingdom of this world ere long become the kingdom of the Lord and of his Anointed.[6]

To elicit the chief points:

1) Christ is head of church and state.
2) Covenanting is an ordinance of God. Hence 'Covenanterism.'
3) Since Christ is not yet truly head of state,
   Covenanters do not vote or hold public office,
   eschew oath-swearing;
   reject all secret societies.
4) The supreme authority of Scripture--what is not enjoined is forbidden: in worship,
   hymns are prohibited, psalms only are sung;
   organs and other musical instruments are excluded.
5) Communion was open to believers only: this last point not clearly stated, though implicit in the above.

To this theological statement it needs to be added that some Covenanters paid for their beliefs with their lives: there is a rich history of dissent and martyrdom. It is also strongly lay in orientation; at various times, in the face of what seemed commendable compromises, clergy left--to go over to a majority position. In Scotland,[7] Ireland,[8] and the United States,[9] at various times, the denomination existed without benefit of clergy. And another name for the Reformed Presbyterians comes from this life-without-ministers--"society people." When presbyteries were impossible, either because there were no ministers or because they were illegal, lay Covenanters organized themselves into 'societies,' hence "society people." The technical historical situation in Northern Ireland (where the first presbytery was organized in 1763), was of course different from that in Scotland: but the heilsgeschicte--the holy history of struggle and persecution--is virtually the same. Covenanters also made their way to the American colonies; where, though Reformed Presbyterians had been present for some fifty years, the first presbytery was not organized until 1774. In the American colonies, Covenanters did not suffer overt persecution. But in crafting an indigenous Covenanter policy and platform in that part of the new world, a task at which they were finally successful, some old problems reasserted themselves--especially the loss of ministers--whereby Covenanter clergy not infrequently left to join other, more compromising, less exclusive, Christian communities.

Now we come to Canada. I note that there are three Reformed Presbyterian communities

in the Maritimes; all founded by the Irish Synod. There was a fourth group of Covenanter communities in eastern Ontario and western Quebec, founded at approximately the same time, but by the Scotch Synod. There was a fifth, a much later group of congregations in Western Canada, founded by the American [Old Light] Synod.[10]

A sketch of Reformed Presbyterianism in the Maritime Provinces is outlined in Appendix II. Since I'm dealing with Covenanters in the Chignecto region, I'll be following the 'upper wing' of that sketch, dealing with the years 1827/28 until 1905. And that wing is dominated by the Rev. Alexander Clarke, who started the movement. Another great figure is the Rev. Joseph Howe Brownell, who closes it.

How come Clarke came to Canada, to the Chignecto area? We're getting there, but first we go to Saint John, N.B. In that Loyalist stronghold, very early in the 1800's, there were a few Covenanters from Scotland and Ireland, apparently worshipping together without any formal organization.

> In 1820, these people made application to the Northern Presbytery of the American [Reformed Presbyterian] Church for preaching ordinances. The matter was brought before that court . . . and in the spring of 1821, the Presbytery sent the Revs. James R. and Samuel M. Willson on an exploring expedition to [Saint John]. . . . They found seven families regularly certified from the Covenanter congregations beyond the sea, and organized them into a praying society.[11]

On their return to the United States, the two explorer-clergymen corresponded with both Scottish and Irish Synods. The Irish Synod seized the initiative, looking for a suitable candidate to send out. They chose Alexander Clarke.

Let's hear the story in Clarke's own words.

> In the fall of 1826 I was entering . . . a Theological class in the College of Belfast, North of Ireland. One evening I went to hear specimens of elocution by that wonderful elocutionist, James Sheridan Knowles, in the theater. This, I suppose accounts for my peculiar eloquence. Never before or since have I seen the inside of that thing called a theater. A Presbytery sat that night, and sent and brought me out of that <u>den</u> to ask me if I would accept the offer to go out as a missionary to the City of St. John, N.B., after my session of study would close, in which case they would make a preacher of me. A strange

> place to go to find stuff to make a preacher of, surely. But they did it . . . (Sketch, 1, 2).[12]

Clarke did it too, completing his studies, becoming ordained. Nine months later, found him "a hard working missionary in the wild wilderness of British America" (Sketch, 2).

Catherine and Alexander Clarke and a two-year-old daughter, Eliza Jane, had set sail in late May, 1827. And another daughter was born to them during that long, rough, close to three-month crossing. There were other adventures. On board, there were, in Clarke's own words, "two hundred and fifty Irish . . . from the western parts of the Island of Saints and Heroes, irritated by the presence of a sprinkling of nominal Protestants of all shades, from the halfway Romanist to the Reformed Presbyterian Covenanter. The stimulating element of the heterogeneous mass was not, mark ye, plenty of holy water, but an abundant in-pouring of Jamaica liquid fire" (Sketch, 2). A rowdy lot, indeed. One bully was generally intimidating: until Clarke took him on, bodily, with fists. The bullying was finished (Sketch, 2). Covenanters do not retire from the world.

When the Clarkes arrived in Saint John, they were in for some rude awakenings. Clarke was appalled by the disregard of the Sabbath: "Oh! how I was shocked by seeing . . . young men engaged at football, in full blast on the afternoon of the Lord's Day!" (Sketch, 2, 3). There were other shocks in store. The few Covenanters of the city had entirely lost hope, and the Reformed Presbyterian "Society in St. John was broken up and scattered" (Sketch, 3). A bit later, Clarke asked the Rev. Dr. George Burns of the established Kirk, for the use of his church for a collection sermon in aid of a new Reformed Presbyterian church which Clarke hoped to build at Hammond River. Burns didn't say no, he didn't have to, his manner betrayed his feelings toward Clarke and the Covenanters: Burns was "contemptuous to me and the church I represented" (Sketch, 3).

Saint John was not long to be the chief center of Clarke's activities. Burns' more

or less open hostility was a factor; for Clarke ironically commented that Burns, "that charitable Christian minister did fully his share to send me to the place where God intended I should sow the evangelical seed and wait for the harvest" (Sketch, 4). Clarke wanted to go to a place where he could do what he'd been sent to do--be a missionary. And he came to the Chignecto area; specifically, to Amherst.

Why Chignecto? Why Amherst? Clarke intuited that he was wanted; a place where Reformed Presbyterianism might well at least have a chance: that meant an area free of the likes of the Rev. Dr. Burns. There are a couple of background factors favouring the coming of Clarke to Chignecto.

First. Much earlier, in 1788, James MacGregor had come to Amherst. He was probably the first Presbyterian clergyman to visit. Whether or not he was the first, Clarke commented that MacGregor was "the first sound, solid and devoted clergyman that ever sowed the seed of Presbyterianism in the county of Cumberland" (Presbyterianism, 324).[13] MacGregor himself wrote that

> the settlers of Amherst were Presbyterians, from the north of Ireland. . . . They were a pious, intelligent people, who much regretted their situation, destitute of a gospel minister. . . .

Before MacGregor left them, the Presbyterians of Amherst

> held a public meeting, at which they signed a petition to the Synod, for a minister, specifying a sum for his maintenance; and the petition they committed to me [MacGregor] to transmit to the Synod. . . .[14]

MacGregor did. But Amherst did not receive an influx of Presbyterian clergy. Some did come, but not for long. Others came, and left Presbyterianism with a bad name. But obviously the taste for an adequate Presbyterian witness had not been effaced; though the appetite was a bit jaded.

Second. Shemogue, the site of the first Reformed Presbyterian congregation, session and church building, was hungry for Presbyterian ordinances. In 1826, two years before Clarke appears, a group of 52 settlers in the township of Botsford, wrote a

letter to the Glasgow Colonial Society, asking for a minister.

> That as there never was any resident Minister here and as your petitioners are very desirous of having a Minister of the Gospel settled among them, but as their circumstances are such that they are not able to pay the full Salary of a Minister yet they rejoice to hear that there is a Society established in the Mother Country for the express purpose of promoting the religious interests of the Scottish Settlers and Others in British North America and as your petitioners are most Emigrants and of indigent circumstances yet they are very willing to contribute as much as is in their power.[15]

An accompanying letter gives a little background.

> The women and Children belonging to the signers of this petition exclusived of any whose names appear amount to about 150 There still remain about 12 families who seem to be a little inclined to either the Methodists or New Ligh[t Bap]tists but who have made no open profession to any They are like ourselves wandering like lost sheep without a Shepherd. There have been a few visits by Ministers of the secession but none fore these two years. If Providence, in your opinion, were to send us a Minister of a sincere and affable disposition these families would easily join us as the door would be shut against the formation of any other Society.[16]

Clarke relates that "early in the Fall [of 1827] a man from near Amherst, a Mr. McMorris, a native of Donegal, Ireland, visited St. John, and on me he called and insisted on my making a visit to Amherst" (Sketch, 4). McMorris intimated that there was a congregation of Presbyterians in Amherst, with an empty church at the end of the town. There was even one man, a Mr. Logan, whose son had espoused Reformed Presbyterian principles. "In the presence of such endorsement, and as my confidence through the conduct of Dr. Burns was much diminished in the people of New Brunswick, I made a visit to Amherst on the strength of friend McMorris' invitation" (Sketch, 4). The visit proved to be less promising than the invitation. Clarke knew that the task would be a daunting one. "Still," Clarke reflected, "I did not despair of being somewhat successful. I believed I had a good cause and a glorious Master, and that he had not brought me so far without having some work for me to do" (Presbyterianism, 324). So Clarke stayed for three weeks, returned by land to Saint John, with the understanding that he'd be back in the spring. He did return, in March. By the first of June, 1828, he had his family with him (Presbyterianism,

351). He settled for a time on the shore of the Northumberland Straits (at Shinimicas or Goose River); though in 1835 he bought a farm some five miles from Amherst, and that was to be his home until he died in 1874. The fact that he had left Saint John did not mean he had no further dealings there. He must have visited Saint John and held services there occasionally: in 1835 a Covenanter church was opened, and in the eyes of at least some Saint John Kirk folk, Clarke was seen as the minister.[17]

Clarke, Indefagitable Missionary[18]

Clarke was on his own, in Cumberland and Westmorland, for the first few years. We do not have, directly from Clarke's own pen, a record of what happened, Sabbath by Sabbath, year by year, during those early heroic days. In 1831, he has written a letter to the Mission Board in Ireland, and there is a report based on the letter. It goes like this:

> Clarke . . . this indefagitable Missionary to the British North American Colonies, for the Reformed Presbyterian Synod in this country, has written the Secretaries of the Missionary Society, under date of 13th July last [1831]. The intelligence communicated is most cheering. Four years ago, he left his native land, and went into a moral wilderness as a preacher of the glorious Gospel, and an advocate of the Covenanted Testimony. Throughout this destitute region, he found few adherents to the good old cause; many enjoying no access to ordinances faithfully dispensed, and, in consequence, sunk into a state of deplorable ignorance; and not a few propagating error, and prepared wherever he went to gainsay and resist him. Amid this array of forbidding circumstances, Mr. C. commenced his ministry, and with incredible labour, and through the good hand of God upon him, he has been enabled to continue till this present, and has been given to see some of the fruits of his labours. A considerable time since, he informed the Directors that a comfortable house of worship had been erected at one of his stations, and that various Fellowship Meetings had been organized in different parts of the provinces. Had he followed the method pursued by many missionaries abroad and ministers at home, of admitting indiscriminately persons to the privileges of the Church, and of dispensing ordinances to applicants, of whatever creed or character, he could easily have obtained large accessions of followers. Preferring, however, the purity of the Church to the number of adherents, he has aimed to admit only such as make a full and intelligent profession, and who give evidence of attending to all commanded duty, and of living soberly, righteously, and godly in the world; and he has uniformly endeavoured to maintain scriptural discipline among his people. Acting on this principle, it is gratifying, as it was unexpected, to learn, from Mr. C.'s last communication, the success that has attended his

> mission. He had just finished the labours of celebrating with his people the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, being the first which he had dispensed since coming to the Colonies, and the first ever dispensed in that quarter of the world according to the good order of the Covenanted Church. Previously, he had ordained several persons to the office of Ruling Elder. On the sacramental Sabbath, a numerous audience was collected from remote parts of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island, and ~~fifty-two~~ persons joined with their minister in the solemn and interesting act of commemorating the Saviour's dying love. Mr. C. was unassisted by any other minister in the work, but we doubt not the presence of Jacob's Mighty God was with him. His communication is full of thanksgiving for the mercies experienced. When he wrote, he was on his way to the United States, designing to make a short excursion, in order to be present at the meeting of the Reformed Synod in Philadelphia (Cov, 1831, 328).

Some comments. One, Clarke did not make membership an easy matter. He insisted on proper instruction, before one could have a child baptised or join the church. Two, Clarke's greatest and longest lasting impact was upon the communities of Shemogue, Amherst and Goose River; where most of the folk were, like himself, either Irish or Scots-Irish. Three, as already mentioned, the site of the first congregation, session and church building was Shemogue.[19] Four, Clarke's report mentions that he is on his way to attend the Reformed Presbyterian Synod meeting in Philadelphia. We have a brief record of his presence there. Clarke told the American brethren of the situation and pleaded with them to send him helpers.[20] The need for more ministers was a theme Clarke never tired of pressing--in letters, in addresses, wherever he had a chance.

Clarke: The Formation of the N. B. and N. S. Presbytery

In 1831, William Sommerville had come out from Ireland. He went first to Saint John, spent some time in Chignecto, where he courted and married a woman from Clarke's Goose River congregation, Sarah Dickey.[21] Sommerville then found his way to Cornwallis, where he finally settled and had a long and distinguished career. At first, he and Clarke worked very well together. Sommerville baptised one of the Clarke children.[22] The two men decided to form a presbytery: it would give them mutual support and supervision. Besides, Presbyterians need presbyteries. So they constituted "The Reformed Presbytery of N.B. & N.S," in Point de Bute, on April

25th, 1832, with Robert Cook of Amherst and William Peacock of Shemogue as ruling elders (Min, 1-4).[23] Why Point de Bute--where there were many Methodists, and a long Methodist tradition--but no Covenanter community or church? Was it to avoid choosing amongst any of the existing Covenanter communities in the area--in Goose River, Amherst, Shemogue or Jolicure? Perhaps partly. I think it much more likely that a place in New Brunswick was chosen with an eye on history: Sommerville, in particular, had such an eye, a knack for such niceties (Cov, 1842, 83).[24] The eye on history was this: the presbytery was a first for New Brunswick. With all those other Presbyterians in Cape Breton and Colchester, there already were presbyteries in Nova Scotia; but there seemed to be none in N.B. And the minutes of the first meeting note that fact: the four--Clarke, Sommerville, Peacock and Cook--have "been honoured as instruments in giving existence to the first Presbyterian court of any name in the province of New Brunswick" (Min, 2).

Clarke and Sommerville had a sharp eye on history--but a blind spot as far as Ireland was concerned. They neither consulted nor informed the Irish Synod about their intention to form the presbytery, ahead of time. They constituted the Presbytery, with Clarke as moderator and Sommerville as clerk, <u>then</u> they wrote to the Synod for approval. The Synod in Ireland was not pleased. Their minutes note:

> The Resolutions of a Presbytery constituted in New Brunswick by Rev. Messrs. Clarke and Sommerville with Ruling elders are received. After discussion it is resolved that this Synod disapproves of the precipitancy and want of courtesy with which their missionaries have proceeded in constituting a Presbytery without consulting this Court: and it is agreed that the Committee of Correspondence shall give indication of this disapprobation.

Nonetheless, Synod doesn't slam the door, not at all. "Synod does recognize the Constitution, and directs them [the new Presbytery] to continue subject to this Synod, until reasons may occur and be assigned for placing them under the direction of another Synod."[25]

Quite apart from that somewhat shaky start, it proved difficult to maintain good

relationships between the new world presbytery and the old world synod. So a certain amount of tension is evident between the two bodies; compounded by the vagaries of ecclesiastical bureaucracy and that other congenital concomitant of courses Canadian--ecclesiastical and otherwise--an uncertain postal service. In 1833, in Ireland, a year after the Synod had voiced its disapprobation and grudging recognition, it is discovered that no letter to this effect had in fact been sent to the new Presbytery (Cov, 1833, 324)! In October, 1834, the new Presbytery hears about the matter--Clarke had received a letter, the contents of which he shared with the court--after admitting that the letter "had fallen" through his hands (Min, 14). Translation? Clarke had lost it. Nonetheless, the Presbytery immediately wrote to Synod, explaining that the new Presbytery's action was done "not as mandatory but recognizing synodical authority." And they added the somewhat sharp question: "upon what principle and to what intent is subordination required of a Presbytery which is not nor cannot be represented in Synod in the ordinary [way]?" (Min, 14, 15). On the Synod's side of things, they were not receiving letters, so in 1835 the Synod Clerk was instructed to write to the new Presbytery desiring an annual report, as do other Presbyteries (Cov., 1835, 234). The new Presbytery got that message, and decided that any reports forwarded to Synod would have to be approved by the full Presbytery (Min, 18). Nonetheless, a report is prepared, approved and sent to the Irish Synod, August 1, 1836 (Min, 18). Over a year later, on 7 November, 1837, the new Presbytery has heard no response, and consequently the "clerk is instructed to report to synod and to express the dissatisfaction of Presbytery at Synod's delay in replying to [the] former report" (Min, 21). At the next Presbytery meeting six months later, 9 May, 1838, there is still no word from Synod, so the Presbytery "resolved that Synod be asked whether we are not to expect any notice of our reports in connection with Synod, [as do other Presbyteries?]" (Min, 22, italics mine). It's not so difficult to perceive a persistent and not-so-polite palaver between the two Presbyterian courts.[26]

Three developments of note. First, the presbytery does, for a time, give real support to the members. Clarke and Sommerville hold each other to account, with the elders playing their part. Guidelines for the praying societies--meetings of lay folk without benefit of clergy--are set up (Min, 6-9). In 1835, Sommerville is to come to Shemogue to assist at a communion season; and Clarke later goes to Horton to assist Sommerville. So from 1832 to mid-1838, all goes well.

Second, apparently somewhat abruptly, Clarke and Sommerville have some kind of falling out. It may have been disagreement over how to handle a difficulty in Saint John, it may have been something completely different. The two men became distanced from one another, and Presbytery simply didn't meet.

Third, either concomitant with Clarke's distancing from Sommerville, or as a result of it, Clarke grows steadily apart from the Irish Synod. From being the sole 'indefagitable missionary' to a senior partner with Sommerville, Clarke's fame decreases; while Sommerville increases in wisdom and in status, in favour with God and with Synod. In 1839, Sommerville's work is praised, and the name Clarke does not appear in the Synod report, though there is talk of 'our missionaries' (Cov, 1839, 229). In 1841, the Synod notes that they have had no word at all from Rev. Alexander Clarke, though Synod has written to him, at least twice. In 1842, the Synod is warning ominously that matters about Clarke have come to Synod's attention "which may require the Synod's mature consideration" (Cov, 1842, 223). In 1843, the pertinent committee notes that "as the relation in which the Rev. Alexander Clarke, of Amherst, stands to the Synod, has not for some time past been satisfactory, [the Committee] refrains from offering, at present, any report respecting his stations or labours" (Cov, 1843, 221).

And, it is just at that point, that my sources give out.

What I do know is that the N.B. and N.S. Presbytery is reorganized in 1845, with ministers Sommerville of Cornwallis and the Rev. A. McLeod Stavely of Saint John

(who had come out from Ireland in 1841). The Clerk (Stavely) is to write to Clarke "to ascertain whether or not he is disposed to unite with the member of this court according to the direction of the Supreme Judicatory" (Min, 25). Stavely does not do so, because he received a letter from the Synod in Ireland "directing Presbytery to refer his [Clarke's] case at once to [the Irish] Synod without taking anything more to do in this matter" (Min, 28). The Presbytery, previously prickly about its prerogatives, is pleased to pass this hot potato to the care of Synod.

Unfortunately, Synod minutes are not available for this crucial period.

From a secondary source, we know that Clarke's name was stricken from the roll of the Irish Synod on October 14, 1847.[27] Why was he kicked out? The chief reason? He voted in an election. Burns, a source sympathetic to Clarke writes: "In New Brunswick and Nova Scotia about this time was growing up a feeling in favor of responsible government and . . . Clarke became anxious to engage in this struggle and so in order to clear his conscience in the matter of taking part in politics and exercising his right, and that of his fellow church members, to vote, he and his churches . . . left the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Ireland."[28] From the other side, in a source not friendly to Clarke, it sounds like this: "Mr. Clarke had voted at some election in Nova Scotia, [and thereby] identified himself with the government which the Covenanters under the British Crown had been endeavouring to reform for many years, and the same government which had inflicted the persecution upon his forefathers in Scotland."[29] And although Clarke "claimed [that this] was not contrary to the position of the church in civil relations, [he] failed to satisfy the requirements of the presbytery, [and] absented himself from the meetings. . . . Mr. Clarke having violated his church principles and ministerial vows, and having declined the authority of the presbytery and Synod, was formally suspended, and his name stricken from the roll October 14, 1847."[30]

Although Clarke himself spoke very little about the matter, I suspect there were two

factors in addition to voting. First, Clarke was hurt by the less than complete approval of the Irish Synod at the formation of the presbytery, and by what Clarke construed as the Synod's less than whole-hearted attention to the on-going life of the new presbytery. Second, Clarke was disappointed that the Irish Synod did not send more ministerial help. Clarke needed all the support he could get; and I think he felt increasingly isolated. In addition, the Irish Synod itself was having its own internal troubles, and apparently Clarke felt less and less attached to the main group, and more in tune with the splinter group that finally did break away from the Irish Synod in 1840, and termed itself the Eastern Reformed Presbytery of Ireland.[31]

Clarke: Minister of the "New Lights"

Clarke, the presbyterian had no presbytery; he was without a home. Not for long. He found, or was found, by another presbytery. Here we have to back up a bit, and go south. I indicate a break in the American Reformed Presbyterian Synod in 1833, in Appendix II, that part taken from Leith. That split lies outside the scope of this paper. But it did come about because of differences in the American Reformed Presbyterian Church about the church-state relationship: the more liberal "New Light" branch illustrating an easier, more compromising stand vis-a-vis the state; the "Old Light" branch adhering to the traditional sharp distinction. In my paper, I follow the somewhat simplistic and conventional "Old Light" (conservative) and "New Light" (liberal) labels.[32]

Clarke joined the "New Light" Synod, through its Northern Presbytery on April 21, 1848. And he took all the churches and preaching stations in Chignecto with him. The sole statement that we have from Clarke about his decision is in this paragraph, which is dated 2 Feb., 1848, Amherst, N.S. It is, in fact, Clarke's petition to join the "New Lights."

> To the Moderator and remanent members of the Northern Presbytery, in connexion with the Reformed Presbyterian Synod of North America,

> The petition of Alexander Clarke of Amherst, Nova Scotia, Humbly Showeth, That, twenty years ago, petitioner was sent out as a missionary to these provinces by the Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Ireland,--that in the present field of his labour, petitioner found but one professed Covenanter,--that there was not a Presbyterian house of worship in the two counties in which the petitioner's circuit lies, nor any suitable place for preaching, at all--that there were but few of the Presbyterian name, and those, in many instances, unworthy of even the name,--that now there are many stations, four houses of worship, a fifth in progress, other places of accommodation, and nearly two hundred communicants,--that in view of these facts, and aware that the petitioner stands alone, others wish to press into the field, that without immediate help no one man, in these shaking times, can hold these many posts together,-- . . . And as your petitioner's views of public policy are in accordance with those of your reverend body,--Therefore petitioner earnestly prays that you will, without delay, take him into your connexion, under your protection, and send him some assistance. And petitioner hereby promises, to follow no divisive courses, but to yield all due submission in the Lord. And petitioner, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c., &c.
>
> Amherst 2d February, 1848. ALEXANDER CLARKE. (BC, 1848, 225).

The Northern Presbytery welcomed him with open arms, listened to his plea for help, and a young licentiate, hearing Clarke, immediately offered his services. That young man was Henry Gordon, who in July 1848, came to the area. The Northern Presbytery reports to Synod in its October meeting in New York in 1848.

> Mr. Clarke had been for several years a missionary connected with the Reformed Synod in Ireland, before the disruption of that body [in 1840], but owing to a variety of circumstances, growing out of the state of the divided church, and the peculiarities of his own position, he had not considered himself as responsible to that body, for some time past (BC, 1848, 326, 327).

The switch from Old Light to New Light, however much difficulty and pain it caused Clarke, was not a matter of large moment in the congregations. Clarke discussed it with his sessions; better, informed them--we have a partial record of that happening in the Shemogue session; and no doubt the congregations were likewise informed. But there is no evidence of any congregational disagreement or dispute over the matter.

Clarke and his New Light Coadjutors

One of Clarke's hopes was that the New Light American connection would result in more clergy coming to Chignecto to assist him. And although there were never

enough, there were certainly more from the U.S.A. than had come from Ireland. A list is found in Appendix I: Chignecto Covenanter Clergy, 1828-1905.

Were they good men? On the whole, I think they were. Near the end of his ministry, Clarke made some brief, sharp comments about most of them. The first, Henry Gordon, is seen by Clarke as the original cause of the later splits in Chignecto Covenanterism, splits which displeased Clarke greatly.

> Had that gentleman [Gordon] been sent for the special purpose of effecting a change of denominational relationship, he could not have wrought more thoroughly to effect that end. The ten following years, did not completely allay the feeling which he raised in that direction. With some, the feeling has never yet been removed. Such is a specimen of the aid which the mission and the writer have more than once received (RPA, 1870, 173).[33]

Gordon "left in September, [eighteen] forty nine. Messrs Gaily and Darrah were sent the next spring [of 1850]" (RPA, 1870, 173). Gailey receives a rating of B or B+ from Clarke. "Mr. G., an honest honorable man, stayed three years pastor of Chimague congregation, and withdrew in an orderly manner from the scene of conflicting elements which G[ordon] had, Jesuitically, put in motion" (RPA, 1870, 173, 174). Why did Gailey leave? From another source we learn that "the severity of the climate [was] too much for his constitution [so] he returned to the States" (RPA, 1884, 16). The relationship of Darragh and Clarke was to prove much more ambiguous, as we shall see; but it's clear that he and Clarke worked very well together and accomplished much for Reformed Presbyterianism in the period 1850-55/6.

Covenanterism could well have been at its height in that period. Clearly it was expanding, under both Clarke and Darragh. It continued to expand for another 10-15 years; but there were in that same period serious defections. In the period 1850-1855/6/7 the congregations were united.

The closest thing we have to a statistical report comes in 1852. That Report lists three congregations: Amherst, Goose River and Shemogue; in addition nine stations; 8 church buildings. And how many Covenanters? The grand total of communicant members

is 325; 145 at Goose River (and its stations); 90 at Amherst, (and its stations); 90 at Shemogue. Attendance at public worship is listed at 1780. (BC, 1853, 358, 390, 392). The discrepancy between numbers of communicant members and numbers who attended services was frequently a matter of comment by Clarke; at Nappan, for instance, "the attendance here is large, although the number of church members in communion with us is but few as yet" (BC, 1848, 350).

Clarke's Place in the Presbyterian Order of Things

As already indicated, Clarke was something of a novel hero in the "New Light" courts--Presbytery and Synod--in 1848 He was a favorite from the outset. And his ability meant that leadership came his way soon. In 1856, Clarke is elected moderator of General Synod, and appointed by that Synod to visit the brethren in Ireland and Scotland; so Clarke makes his once-in-a-lifetime trip to the old country. Clarke has a great time, lionized before, during and after his journey. During the trip, he writes several articles about it, and indulges his evident interest in Covenanter history. In addition to preaching the opening sermon at the next Synod, he duly reports on his journey. So 1856 is a big year, so big that all the secondary sources say that he was honoured that year with an honourary degree; though in fact that didn't happen until 1860 (BC, 1860, 58).

It is in connection with that trip that Clarke's own assessment of his place in the Presbyterian order of thing emerges. On his trip to Scotland in 1856, a Glasgow host got carried away in introducing Clarke to an audience, and the introduction found its way back to the denominational paper. In Glasgow, Clarke had been characterized "as being the chief instrument, under God, for the preservation of Presbyterianism in Nova Scotia." Not so, not so at all, Clarke declared, to his Covenanter colleagues. It should rather be that Clarke was the chief instrument, under God, for the preservation of Presbyterianism in the Chignecto region.

> God has been pleased to bless my instrumentality for the preservation of Presbyterianism in the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, but to

> say that I have been the chief instrument . . . throughout the province, is to rob both the living and the dead. It [Presbyterianism] had lived and been preserved in the province, had I never been born. To the labors of the McGrigars, the Grahams, the Patricks, Rosses, Waddles, Keirs, McCullochs, and a host of other worthy names, who have immortalized their names for the spread of Presbyterianism in Nova Scotia, I bore public witness many years ago (BC, 1857, 160).

But Clarke did not hide his candle under a bushel when it came to Presbyterianism in Chignecto. Chignecto had been a wasteland when he came, and that presbyterianism now flowered in the area, was, under God, due to Clarke.

> If there is a question whether I should be regarded as having arrived in time to nurse and invigorate Presbyterianism, or to introduce it in the community of Amherst and Cumberland--the latter, from the difficulty I had in introducing it at all, is the only true view of the case. I therefore, cannot be said to have builded on any other man's foundation (Sketch, 7).

Clarke becomes the first moderator of the newly formed Eastern Presbytery, August 5, 1859 (BC, 1860, 320). The formation of this presbytery--which meant that the congregations in Chignecto had a court of their own--had been discussed for a decade. From its formation in 1859, until his death in 1874, Clarke was its only moderator. (Unfortunately, the minutes of this presbytery have not survived.) Clarke is invariably named as a delegate to Synod; and he was frequently, though not always, in attendance.

There can be no doubt that, in Chignecto, Clarke was a Prince of the Reformed Presbyterian church. He was so seen by the General Synod, by the laity of Chignecto, by most of the clergy there; and in his own humble/proud fashion, by Clarke himself. Before going on with some of the difficulties in this Reformed Presbyterian princedom, I outline Clarke's relationship, on the one hand, with the United Presbyterians,[34] and, on the other hand, with the Old Light Reformed Presbyterians.

Clarke is a Covenanter first, and then a United Presbyterian--in that order. Clarke "rejoiced in the growth of Presbyterianism which he loved so well although it was not altogether after his own heart--for he was a 'Covenanter' to the last" (PW,

1874, 105). Clarke's interests, like that of other Covenanters, were shared by other United Presbyterians--their distrust of and hostility to Roman Catholicism, their advocacy of strict Sabbath observance, their strong stand on total abstinence, their hearty difference with Baptists over baptism.

His ambivalence to United Presbyterians is clear; as is the attitude of United Presbyterians to the Covenanters. I have already noted Burns' hostility to Clarke in Saint John. On the eve of his trip to Scotland both the Christian Instructor and the Presbyterian Witness carry the same brief notice of his sailing and then add this editorial comment:

> Mr. Clarke, who is one of the most laborious and successful of ministers has been stationed in Amherst for many years. It is owing to his efforts, under God, that Presbyterianism is not altogether defunct there (PW, 1856, 126).

From Clarke's side, some of his writings appear in the Presbyterian Witness under a pseudonym; they are later published in the New Light denominational paper with Clarke's name clearly attached.[35] One of Clarke's letters did see the light of day in the Witness; ending with this brief paragraph. "I have stated a few facts of an interesting nature, without any vinegar. Will the Witness let them go abroad? and oblige Alex. Clarke" (PW, 1862, 59).

The New Light Clarke and his relationship with Sommerville and the other Canadian Old Lights is also ambiguous. Immediately after the two break in the mid-1840s, they completely ignore one another. Their accounts of their early days are re-told; but mention of the erstwhile colleague is glaringly absent. The Old Light presbytery of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia does take up the matter of its relationship with the Chignecto New Lights; but only as an appendage to the break in the Reformed Presbyterian church in Scotland in 1863. At that time, the N.B. and N.S. Presbytery declare that "we cannot recognise as ministers . . . any ministers . . . of the New Light body in America, nor those who hold fellowship with them" (Min, 79).

Yet Sommerville and Clarke do not remain totally alien to one another. They appear, one following the other, at a series of sermons at the Tri-Centennary Celebrations in 1860 at Pictou. A commentator notes that "if the paper of Mr. Sommerville was a great success, that of Dr. Clarke, of Amherst, was greater, in the popular view."[36] Sommerville published a work on baptism in 1866,[37] and Clarke is unstinting in his praise of it (PW, 1867, 34).

However much they disagreed with one another, their minority position as over against the United Presbyterians drew, or threw them together. This is clearly illustrated in the 1869 pamphlet by Sommerville, The Social Position of Reformed Presbyterians or Covenanters.[38] Here Sommerville argues that Reformed Presbyterians have broken new ground for the United Presbyterians in British North America, they did not come into areas already occupied by other Presbyterians. And the chief example Sommerville cites is none other than Clarke. Sommerville puts it this way:

> Cumberland . . . had been twice entered and twice abandoned by the Presbyterians of that Province. Now . . . Dr. Clarke enters, gathers, in toil and privation, the scattered Presbyterians of Cumberland and of the adjoining county of Westmoreland, erects places of worship, organises congregations, introduces additional labourers; and when there are better roads, more improved fields, finer houses, and more money, the Presbyterians of the Lower Provinces are practically saying, . . . "Our brother, Dr. Clarke, has served his generation well, and as to his continuing the Covenanting minister any longer, in our presence, it is not necessary. We bear the same testimony for truth before the world as our Covenanting brethren." . . . The great body of Presbyterians feel themselves competent to take charge of the whole field; and we [Covenanters] are in the way.[39]

Clarke's Precarious Princedom

Clarke was a Prince of the Reformed Presbyterian church in Chignecto. As I indicated, the years 1850-55 may have marked the height of the movement in that region. In 1855, a spacious new church had been built and opened in Goose River, the largest Covenanter congregation in Chignecto. As soon as the church was opened, however, Darragh began to have serious difficulties in Goose River. Apparently,

Darragh tried to gain a greater measure of financial security, by demanding that the elders guarantee a yearly salary of 100 pounds; the elders becoming responsible for all delinquencies.[40] Some of the elders agreed, others did not. One who did not was the Scot Alexander Ferguson, who had been appointed an elder in Clarke's day with the congregation. The money matter festered, and became the magnet for other dissatisfactions; and Darragh did nothing to cause the dissatisfaction to abate. Elders resigned, or were dismissed. There were appeals to Presbytery. From an apparently happy and growing congregation (with an underpaid pastor) came a disgruntled and divided congregation: and Darragh's income seemed no more secure.

The congregation petitioned the Northern Presbytery (Chignecto's own Eastern Presbytery had not yet been constituted) to form a second congregation. Presbytery approved of the petition and Goose River Second congregation came into being. They were able to call, ordain and install the Rev. Archibald Thomson as pastor of Goose River Second.

Darragh and the part of the congregation which had supported him applied for admission to the Truro Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church in Nova Scotia. The circumstances of his leaving, the subsequent quarrel over the church building, the acrimony between Clarke and Darragh poisoned the atmosphere around Goose River for a long time. Clearly, the situation did not help the Reformed Presbyterians.[41]

Darragh was a very able man; and he stayed in Goose River. Archibald Thomson, the Reformed Presbyterian minister in that community for a dozen years was himself a very capable preacher, pastor and scholar. But he left in 1869.

Clarke and Darragh remained bitter antagonists; though there's evidence that Clarke retained a grudging admiration for Darragh--at any rate, unlike the States-bound Thomson, Darragh stayed (RPA, 1870, 168-170). Darragh, I repeat, stayed at Goose River, and ministered to the United Presbyterians. That is not to say that everything was smooth sailing for him in that congregation; it wasn't. But Darragh

outlasted and outlived most of his detractors, dying in 1902, a quarter century past his erstwhile mentor and colleague, and then bitter adversary, Alexander Clarke.

Throughout his career, Clarke was consistently seeking additional ministerial assistance. Alexander Robinson came to Shemogue in 1856, helped to open the Port Elgin church in 1857, and had four or five years of solid work in Shemogue. He then caused or fell into a fama clamosa. The exact nature of the uproar is not clear. The charge was never really sustained; and yet never fully removed. It marginalized Robinson. He was suspended by Eastern Presbytery in 1862; kept appealing to Synod until he was reinstated in 1876. But the reinstatement didn't stick. Robinson lived thirty years in Chignecto; but the last twenty five years he was an unhappy man; never expelled by the Reformed Presbyterians, never really readmitted either; finally dying an embittered man. The Eastern Presbytery of the Reformed Presbyterian church was not able to channel the considerable energies of this caustic character; and instead expended a lot of their own in dealing, or attempting to deal, with him.[42]

Samuel Boyd, clearly an able minister, came to Shemogue in 1865. Solid, if quiet, Clarke felt that the congregations at Shemogue and Port Elgin were "highly favored with the excellent ministry of that excellent Christian man, the Rev. Samuel Boyd" (RPA, 1870, 173). Clarke spoke the truth. But the movement had moved to a holding position, a plateau: there was to be little further expansion. In fact, the letters of Clarke after 1870 indicate a movement in decline. Was union with the United Presbyterians a possibility? As a fraternal delegate, Dr. Clarke visited the Synod of the United Presbyterians (the Presbyterian Church in the Lower Provinces of British North America) in 1869 (PW, 1869, 204), and again in 1871 (PW, 1871, 209): and he is treated with great respect in both appearances; especially since in those courts, he seemed to speak in favour of some kind of union between the Reformed Presbyterians and the United Presbyterians. Clarke could talk earnestly about union if he himself initiated the discussion: but he tended to react angrily if someone

else brought up the possibility. In the minutes of Wallace Presbytery, that court nibbles a couple of times at the possibility of broaching some form of union, in a direct conversation with Dr. Clarke. Broaching was easy, actual direct discussion with Clarke was another matter. It never took place. Clarke died in 1874.

Ministers--there were never enough. Students, catechists, licentiates, came for short periods of time, and left. Men who had grown up in the area were pressed into service when they returned, as they did, not infrequently. But sure, steady, long-time Covenanter pastors there were none: except Clarke himself, and he was dead. Darragh stayed, but defected to the United Presbyterians. Boyd was to do the same.

In 1876, Samuel Boyd joined the United Presbyterians. Undoubtedly, the 1875 union precipitated this move; although I've located no writings of Boyd on the matter. Besides, by 1876, Clarke had been dead for two years--maybe it was safe, then! A considerable portion of the congregation at Shemogue, and almost all the congregation of Port Elgin, also petitioned the Wallace Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church in Canada to join that denomination. We have the reminiscences of a man who vividly remembered the 1876 discussion. "In the matter of the split in 1876 the burning questions were. 1st acknowledging Christ as the head of the Church 2nd open communion 3rd The use of hymns and Instrumental music in Public Worship or in the home on the Sabbath day."[43]

But Boyd did not repeat the scenario of Wm. Stavely Darragh in Goose River. He left Shemogue, later to become minister of the United Presbyterians in Wallace Nova Scotia, dying there in 1897.

In the Shemogue charge, the Port Elgin congregation went over to the United Presbyterians, virtually to a person. The church building, which had never been deeded to the Reformed Presbyterians, and which sat on land owned by an elder who joined the new denomination, became United Presbyterian without the shaking of a

single shingle. At Shemogue itself, many went over, but a few Covenanters remained. And the newly constituted Presbyterian congregation asks the Covenanters if they can use the church building. The answer comes back, no; but it is stated, if not with Christian compassion, at least with decent Canadian civility. Shemogue's experience of two congregations was to be quite different from that of Goose River.

Nonetheless, from 1876 on, Covenanterism is in decline, almost besieged. George Brownell, at the beginning of a long career, serves well for two or three years after Clarke's death. His time in Chignecto is also marked by the diptheria death of his wife, Elizabeth, the oldest daughter of the old Scots elder, Alexander Ferguson. Then George Brownell leaves for Pennsylvania. Samuel D. Yates and Samuel R. Stormont spend 10 and 8 years respectively in Chignecto, but they are not of the same stuff as Clarke or Darragh: not least in sheer physical stamina, pure human strength. Alexander Roulston came in 1882 and was a man of considerable ability, but he stayed for but a short time; and further demoralized the Shemogue Covenanters by leaving more or less abruptly to become minister of a Prince Edward Island United Presbyterian congregation. Not surprisingly, perhaps, especially in Shemogue, more and more people go over to the United Presbyterians.

About ten years after he had served as a missionary in Chignecto, George Brownell returned for a visit, in November/December of 1888. He tells readers of the church paper something of that visit.

> My first Sabbath in the East was spent with the Shemogue brethren. This congregation is still strong in numbers; but some of the friends seem to be discouraged on account of having so little preaching. Our church there (and it is the same with the other churches in the Presbytery) is surrounded with those who are in no way friendly to us, and they seem to think that our church ought not to exist. The Presbyterian Church of the Dominion of Canada is desirous to take possession of the whole field, and in a number of our congregations she has entered and caused division. I did all in my power to encourage those adhering to the principles of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in North America, assuring them that some one would be sent to labor among them when the winter would be over. The friends here are warmly attached to reformation principles, and will do all they can to support an earnest

Christian worker (RPA, 1889, 72).

In this period of decline, I want nevertheless to draw your attention to the Covenanters of Chignecto who became clergy; surely one of the signs of an active church: see Appendix I. Three Covenanters were in Seminary when Clarke died: George Brownell, William James Clarke (Clarke's son) and Aaron Finley, whose name is not on the list. Finley was a first cousin of George's, and the other Brownells who were to become clergy; Finley died of pneumonia in 1876. But it is a quite remarkable list. Only two had entire careers in Canada, Samuel Carruthers Murray and Joseph Howe Brownell.

Joseph Howe Brownell was the last Covenanter clergyman to serve in Chignecto. And he was much beloved; primarily as a preacher and pastor. He was a remarkable man. And he married a very remarkable woman, Jenny Martin a woman he'd met while studying in Philadelphia. I suppose it is more a sign of the age, but for the first time, their ministry is seen as a joint one. At least, some of the time. Physically, J.H. Brownell had two club feet. Psychologically and spiritually he was a giant. Time fails me to do him justice.

No doubt Joseph Howe Brownell could see that some kind of merger was inevitable. The once considerable Covenanter territory--with some two score congregations--had shrunk to the two congregations, Shemogue and Goose River (now Linden). And Covenanter Joseph Howe Brownell's Shemogue United Presbyterian counterpart was Joseph Howe Hattie. The two worked together. There was already a common Sabbath school. Brownell had some good lay allies in his congregation. J. Smith Blacklock, who had been a Reformed Presbyterian theological student for a couple of years in Philadelphia, but who had returned to Chignecto, had worked towards the day of union for years.[44] Yet the crucial factor in the successful merger was the love, esteem and respect people had for Joseph Howe and Jennie Brownell. They had made sure that the ground had been very carefully laid. The area had seen 'unions' before--in Goose River, very painful; in Shemogue, when Boyd left, much better, but still

marked by some bitterness. By comparison, the union in 1905 seemed quite free of such bitterness. Perhaps opposition was not altogether absent. One story that has come down through the oral route has it that Joseph Howe's mother, in Northport, was not at all pleased.[45] And whereas Shemogue joined the Presbyterian Church in Canada, the Linden congregation dissolved.

Of course, the United Presbyterians, the Canadian Presbyterians, were enthused. G. Lawson Gordon, clerk of Wallace Presbytery, gives expression to this exultation.

> With Mr. Brownell his former congregation comes into the Presbyterian church, thus crowning the debt of our Church to the Reformed branch. . . . [To] the Rev. Alexander Clarke and his coadjutors and successors we owe the preservation of Presbyterianism in the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland. All the congregations arising out of his first charge have now been added to our Church. Between ourselves and them there was, besides the name, only one matter of difference in the whole range of ecclesiastical practice and doctrine: the R.P. Church said in effect though not in statute, you must sing only Psalms in Public Worship; the Presbyterian Church says, you may sing Psalms or hymns or both. Mr. Brownell has now a united and harmonious people (PW, 1905, 257 . The word 'Northumberland' should probably be 'Westmorland.')

The same events are somewhat differently seen in Reformed Presbyterian sources. The Stated Clerk of the New York and Vermont Presbytery reports that Brownell and Shemogue have been certified to the Wallace Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church in Canada; and that the Linden congregation has been removed from Reformed Presbyterian rolls. The report goes on:

> These two congregations were the last of the many organizations effected in the Providences by the late Drs. Darragh and Clarke and their successors.
>
> Thus terminates the history of our Church in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The cause of the decline of these once prosperous congregations in different parts of each of these Provinces is certainly a matter worthy of careful thought. But whatever the cause it is not lack of fidelity to the doctrine and polity of our Church on the part of either people or pastor. No one, perhaps, is better able than the writer to testify authoritatively to the adherence to Covenanter principles by these congregations, in one of which he found the church home of his boyhood (1906 Minutes of General Synod). (The word 'Providences' in the first paragraph should surely read 'Provinces.')

The author was the Rev. Stephen Peacock Brownell.

I have no direct documentary evidence, but from his heavenly corner I hear no loud or sustained applause from the Rev. Alexander Clarke. Yet, by and large and his mother's opinion notwithstanding, Mr. Brownell did have a united and harmonious congregation, a congregation to which he faithfully ministered until his death in 1920.

Covenanterism Collapses--Some Concluding Comments

Why did Reformed Presbyterianism die out, and so fast? Was in because they were outsung by the Methodists and Baptists? Perhaps. Was it because of the narrow, somewhat exclusive Covenanter focus? Matters such as closed communion, the use of psalms only, the forbidding of instruments in church worship: that answer has often been given.[46] Another reason: the American "New Light" Synod was itself undergoing many problems, some of a self-destructive manner, so that the Eastern Presbytery, with problems enough of its own, had no certain back up at the synodical level.[47] Related to that was the oft cited problem of the lack of consistent ministerial support: and the cause most frequently given for this non-consistency was the weather. Clarke himself commented often on the intemperate climate; and many of his American helpers, after a stint in Chignecto, went back south. An American, who surveyed the whole "New Light" experience in Canada, has said: "the severity of the climate seemed to contribute to the illness, death, or need to move further south of some ministers."[48] Frank Archibald thought the movement faltered and failed because the Covenanters lived too much in the past.[49] I think that's a half truth. The Covenanters did spend a good deal of time enunciating, clearly and well, what the original Covenanter principles were. They failed to think through clearly a genuinely contemporary Canadian Covenanter theology and praxis. Clarke may have had that consideration in mind when he joined the "New Lights." But the whole matter of what it meant to be a Covenanter in British North America did not receive the hard thinking that such a move might well have elicited in Clarke. It wasn't that Covenanters spent too much time in the past; but rather that they failed to relate

that past convincingly to the contemporary situation. Their American counterparts did, and the Covenanter community there has had a very significant role to play. In the Maritimes, Covenanters--"Old Light" and "New Light" alike--were too firmly dependent on other places for leadership, other sources for funding--on Belfast, or on Philadelphia, to think through clearly what it meant to be a Covenanter in British North America from the 1830s to 1867, and in Canada from 1867 to 1905. I think it's Northrup Frye who has said that for too long Canadians were always looking to some other place for the important things to happen. The Covenanters were caught up in the story of Scotland and Ireland and Pennsylvania, and dependent upon money coming from those sources: so that they failed to enunciate what it meant to be a Covenanter in Chignecto, Shemogue and Goose River, what it meant to stand on soil that was neither Irish Covenanter nor American Covenanter.[50]

Yet in that glorious failure, they may yet speak to us. I am a Canadian, and a Christian. And I speak to Canadians and to Christians. What does it mean for us to be Canadian, and to be Christian, in Chignecto, in our time? What is to be our specific witness in our own day and age? That is <u>our</u> question; a question we cannot evade. And in answering the question; or better still, in living out our lives in response to our struggle with the question, we may certainly gain assistance and insight, seeing we are surrounded by so rich a cloud of witnesses. And among those witnesses are surely Alexander and Catherine Clarke, their colleagues and successors, and the Chignecto Covenanter congregations.

NOTES

Abbreviations: Publications

BC = Banner of the Covenant
CIHM = Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproduction
Cov = The Covenanter
G = Guardian
Min = Minutes of the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Presbytery
Presbyterianism = "Presbyterianism in British North America"
PW = Presbyterian Witness
RPA = Reformed Presbyterian Advocate
Sketch = Alexander Clarke, "Autobiographical Sketch"

Abbreviations: Archival and Registry Institutions

ACA = Acadia University Archives
MAA = Mount Allison University Archives, Sackville
MCA = Maritime Conference Archives, Halifax
PCA = Presbyterian Church in America, St. Louis
PHS = Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia
RPTS = Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh
UCA = United Church Archives, Toronto

1. "Rev. Mr. Clarke's Report," Banner of the Covenant, 1848, 350. Hereafter BC. PHS.

2. G.D. Henderson, The Kirk Through the Centuries (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland Committee on Publications, 1940), p. 23.

3. John H. Leith, An Introduction to the Reformed Tradition (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1977), p. 66.

4. John S. Moir, Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Toronto: Presbyterian Publications, n.d.), p. 54.

5. I cite Clarke, Lawson, Sommerville and Stavely.

   Alexander Clarke, "The Revolution Settlement," PW, 1862, 186, 187; 190, 191; 194; 197; 201-202; "The Magistracy and the Ministry of the Second Reformation," PW, 1863, 87.

   James Reid Lawson, The Solemn League Covenant (Saint John: Barnes and Co., 1963). CIHM, 25599.

   William Sommerville, The Social Position of Reformed Presbyterians or Cameronians (Londonderry: James MacPherson, 1869). CIHM, 33624.

   Alexander McLeod Stavely, The Historical Position of the Reformed Presbyterian Church: A Sketch. Found in Stavely's Sermons and Addresses (Saint John: Barnes and Co., 1878), pp. 63-70. Legislative Library, Fredericton, N.B.

6. Robert Shields, "The R.P. Congregation of Ramsay, Canada," Our Banner, 1877,

34, 35. RPTS.

7. For Reformed Presbyterianism in Scotland, see Matthew Hutchison, The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland, its Origin and History, 1680-1876 (Paisley: J. and R. Parlane, 1893).

8. For Reformed Presbyterianism in Ireland, see Adam Loughridge, The Covenanters in Ireland: A History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church (Belfast: Cameron Press, 1984).

9. For Reformed Presbyterianism in the United States, see W.M. Glasgow, History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America (Baltimore: Hill and Harvey, 1888); and David Carson, Transplanted to America: A Popular History of the American Covenanters to 1871 (Philadelphia: Board of Education and Publication, R.P. Church of N.A., c. 1979).

10. Robert J. More, Jr., Aurora Borealis: The Reformed Presbyterian (Covenanter) Church in Canada (Pittsburgh: The Board of Education and Publication, R.P. Church of N.A., 1967). MCA.

11. Glasgow, History, p. 165.

12. A. Clarke, "Autobiographical Sketch," pp. 1, 2. Written c. 1873, recorded by W.Y.C. MAA, J.C. Webster Papers, 7001/23. 'W.Y.C.' undoubtedly refers to William Young Chapman, Clarke's grandson.

13. Alexander Clarke, "Presbyterianism in British North America," The Guardian, 1846, 324. UCA. Hereafter, Presbyterianism. Later published as "Early Presbyterianism in Amherst," Amherst Daily News, Feb. 10, 1931, p. 2. MAA. Also published, with an additional opening paragraph, under the title "History of Presbyterianism in Amherst," in The Christian Instructor, 1856, 350, 351. MCA.

14. George Patterson, Memoir of the Rev. James MacGregor (Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, 1859), p. 165.

15. Glasgow Colonial Society, Feb. 15, 1826. The G.C.S. Correspondence, Vol. 1, No. 32. UCA. The document is described in the rubric as "a beautifully drawn up petition."

16. Ibid., No. 33. I have put in square brackets these parts of the text that are missing; and I have taken the liberty of 'filling in the text.'

17. Alex MacLean, "Letter," addressed to the G.C.S. Nov. 10, 1835. G.C.S. Correspondence, Book 5, No. 193. UCA. MacLean, a Church of Scotland clergyman from St. Andrew's, N.B., writes that a Reformed Presbyterian church has been built in Saint John, and "Mr. Alexr. Clark" obtained as its minister.

18. "Rev. Alexander Clarke," The Covenanter, 1831, 328. Monthly published by the Irish Synod. Hereafter, Cov. RPTS.

19. And where is Shemogue? In Clarke's day, it was more a district than a village or a hamlet. It was a smaller version of Botsford, the civil parish. The first church at Shemogue was built near the present day Murray Corner.

20. "Minutes of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod [of America], held in Philadelphia, 1831." Minutes of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod 1809-1831, pp. 179, 198. RPTS. Also found in Minutes of Reformed Presbytery, from 1798 to 1809, and Digest of the Acts of the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian

Church in North America, from 1809 to 1888, pp. 61, 67, 68. RPTS.

21. "Obituary Notice [of Mrs. William Sommerville]," The Monitor and Missionary Chronicle of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 1853, 289, 290. RPTS.

22. Alexander Clarke, "Family Record: Marriages, Births, Deaths," written c. 1867, in a Bible of Clarke's. Mary, born June 26, 1835, was the child Sommerville baptised. The Bible is in the possession of Lois Peacock Trenholm of Murray Corner, a direct descendant of Clarke's.

23. "Minutes of the Reformed Presbytery of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Presbytery from its first Constitution on the 25th day of April 1832," pp. 1-4. Hereafter, Min. Minutes in the possession of the Stated Clerk , Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America, Pittsburgh, Pa. In the original, pagination does not begin until page 126. The page numbers above are arrived at by numbering backwards from page 126.

24. See William Sommerville, "Report of Ministerial and Missionary Labours in Horton, Nova Scotia, and Parts Adjacent," Cov, 1842, 83f. Sommerville is talking about an Episcopal clergyman, about whom he writes in the following way: "Mr. ---------- (but there is no need to send his name abroad, or to hand it down to another generation,) was the Episcopal incumbent . . ."

25. "Minutes of the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Ireland, 1832," minute 22. These minutes were most helpfully made available to me by the Rev. Hugh Wright of Ireland.

26. See More, Aurora, 18f. More thinks that, after the presbytery was launched, "any tension soon passed." I disagree.

27. W.M. Glasgow, "Annals of the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Presbytery," Reformed Presbyterian and Covenanter, 1895, 127. RPTS.

28. W.M. Burns, A History and Story of Botsford, 2nd ed. (1933; rpt; Sackville: Tribune Printing Co., Ltd., 1962), p. 44. MAA, Bell collection.

29. Glasgow, History, p. 172.

30. Glasgow, "Annals," 126, 127.

31. "Minutes of the Eastern Reformed Presbyterian Synod [of Ireland], 1845," indicate that Clarke had been in touch with this group. "The Rev. Dr. Alexander calls the attention of the Synod to a communication which he had received from Rev. Mr. Clarke, of New Brunswick. It appears that, at present, there is a most encouraging opening in that country for missionary labours . . ." Minute 24. Kindly sent to me by the Rev. Hugh Wright of Ireland.

32. The division is fully discussed by Glasgow, History, pp. 89ff., whose stance is definitely "Old Light." For a "New Light" interpretation, see George P. Hutchison, The History behind the Reformed Presbyterian Church, Evangelical Synod (Cherry Hill, N.J.: Mack Publishing Co., 1974), ch. III. Though formally "Old Light," I commend the careful analysis and conclusions of Carson's Transplanted, ch. X: "Society Affects the Belief of the Church."

33. "The Church Property of the Eastern Presbytery," Reformed Presbyterian Advocate, 1870, 172-174. Hereafter, RPA. PHS. Although this article is not signed by Alexander Clarke, there can be little doubt that he was the author.

34. 'United Presbyterians,' and 'United Presbyterianism' were the titles given, in the Chignecto region to the Presbyterians who were not Covenanters, the Presbyterians who, beginning with Darragh, began to make inroads into Covenanter congregations.

35. Satis., "Letter," PW, 1859, 167. The letter later appeared as an article with the title "The Mode of Baptism," BC, 1860, 49; and has the initials 'A.C.' at the end. In the introduction to the article, the editor of BC notes: "We need not inform our readers who 'A.C.' is."

36. [William Elder], "Tri-Centennary Celebration," Christian Instructor, 1860, 348.

37. William Sommerville, A Dissertation on the Nature and Administration of the Ordinance of Baptism. In two parts. Part I (2nd ed.) and Part II. Paisley: Alex Gardner, 1866. ACA.

38. Londonderry: James MacPherson, 1869. ACA.

39. Sommerville, A Dissertation, pp. 2, 3.

40. From primary material made available to me by Mabel Ferguson Patton, of Maxville, Ontario.

41. See Eldon Hay, "Conflict at Goose River (Linden): Covenanters and other Presbyterians," to be given to the North Cumberland Historical Society, Linden, N.S., October 16, 1987. MAA.

42. See Eldon Hay, "Port Elgin Covenanters--Dr. Alexander Clarke and some of his Successors," address given at St. James Presbyterian Church, August, 1987. This address contains a good deal of the Robinson story. MAA.

43. J.R. Pugsley, 'Memorandum on Clarke and Murray Corner [Shemogue],' Nov. 24, 1927. Original letter in possession of Ronald Chapman of Moncton. Fascinating recollections about Clarke and Chignecto as told to the author of this letter when the author was a child.

44. The Rev. Ellis Boyd, a United Church minister who at one time served the area, gave me the information about the role of Blacklock in a telephone conversation in the spring of 1987.

45. The story was related to me by Mrs. Elsie Burris of Linden in the summer of 1987.

46. The classic Canadian statement on the strictness of the Covenanters was written by a Saint John Old Light Ruling elder, Robert Ewing, "Reformed Presbyterian Church," Olive Trees, 1899, 287ff.

47. See R.W. Chesnut, A Brief History of the General Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in North America. 1945. RPTS. See especially chapter XV for Chesnut's assessment of the reasons for the decline of the General Synod.

48. Harry H. Meiners, Jr., "Letter," written to Mrs. D.A. Huston of Truro, N.S., December 13, 1867. The two had a most interesting exchange of correspondence. PCA.

49. Frank Archibald, The Reformed Presbyterian Church in New Brunswick and Nova

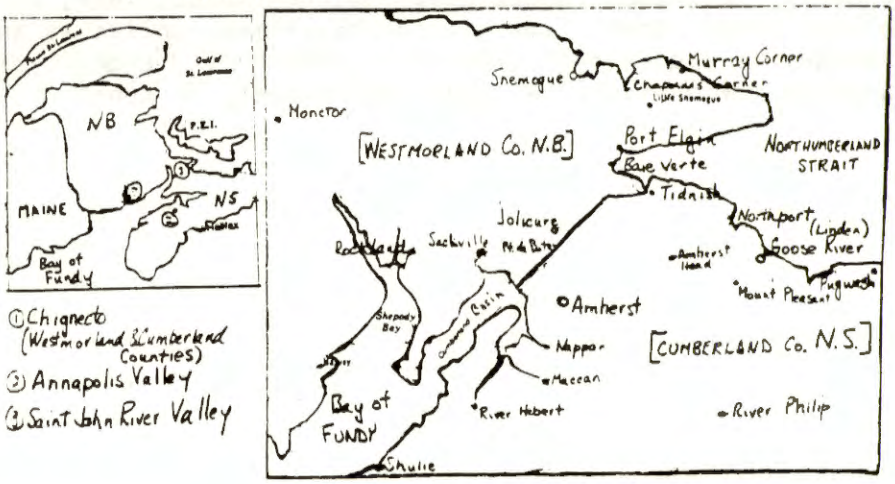
Scotia or The Covenanters in the Lower Provinces (Halifax, 1934), pp. 66, 67. MCA.

50. In this regard, see the very perceptive article by G. Kennedy, "The Church in the Maritime Provinces," Reformed Presbyterian and Covenanter, 1866, 177-180. RPTS. Kennedy, who had spent some time in the Maritimes, writes as an "Old Light." Yet what he says is significant for Covenanters--"Old Light" and "New Light." And for Canadians of whatever religious persuasion, or none.

APPENDIX I

COVENANTER SETTLERS IN THE CHIGNECTO REGION
The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History, Toronto, Oct. 3, 1987.
Address given by Eldon Hay, Mount Allison U., Sackville, N.B. E0A 3C0

Map of REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN (COVENANTER) congregations in N.B. and N.S.



CHIGNECTO COVENANTER CLERGY 1828-1905

Alexander Clarke (b. Ireland) 1828-1874 Missionary

Largely in Westmorland

Henry Gordon (b. Ireland)
1848-49 Missionary

Andrew R. Gailey (b. Ireland)
1849-1853 Lic.->Min., Shemogue

John Alford (b. U.S.A.)
1854 Missionary a few months

Alexander Robinson (b. Ireland)
1855-1862 Licentiate->Minister
Shemogue/Port Elgin.

Samuel Boyd (b. Ireland)
1865-1876 Shemogue/Port Elgin

Alexander Roulston (b. U.S.A.)
1882-1884 Shemogue/Port Elgin

Largely in Cumberland

Wm. Stavely Darragh (b. Ireland)
1849-1858 Lic.->Minister
Goose River, River Hebert

Archibald Thomson (b. Ireland)
1852-1870 Lic.->Minister
Goose River, River Hebert

Samuel D. Yates (b. Ireland)
1875-1885 Miss.->Minister
Amherst, River Hebert

George W. Brownell (b. Canada)
1876-1880 Lic.->Missionary

Samuel R. Stormont (b. U.S.A.)
1879-1887 Miss.->Minister
In area->Goose River (Linden)

Joseph Howe Brownell 1899-1905 Shemogue, N.B./Linden, N.S.

CHIGNECTO COVENANTERS who became CLERGY

CUMBERLAND

George W. Brownell, Northport, N.S. c. 1842-1911. Ord. 1877.
- only one spending entire career in RP congregations.
- short time as missionary in Chignecto area, then in U.S.A.

Hiram Huston Brownell, Northport, N.S. 1855-1924. Ord. 1879.
- RP congns; in 1891, joined UPCNA. Brother of J.H. Brownell.

Joseph Howe Brownell, Northport, N.S. 1858-1920. Ord. 1894, in Canada.
- studied in USA, entire career in Chignecto region.
- 1894-1905 RP minister; in 1905, he & Shemogue congn. joined PCC.

Stephen Peacock Brownell, Northport, N.S. 1866-1953. Ord. 1896.
- RP congregation; in 1908, he & congregation joined PCUSA.

William James Clarke, Amherst, N.S. 1845-?. Ord. 1877.
- short time in a RP congregation; in 1878 suspended; 1880 removed.

John Yates, Amherst, N.S. 1885-?. Ord. 1905.
- becomes minister of the RP Church of N.A.--'Old Lights'

WESTMORLAND

John Carritte Chapman, Chapmans Corner, N.B. 1853-1936. Ord. 1878.
- RP congregations; in 1888, joined PCUSA. Brother of W.Y. Chapman.

William Young Chapman, Chapmans Corner, N.B. 1859-1926. Ord. 1889.
- joined Shemogue RP congregation in 1876, given certificate 1884.
- undergraduate in Canada (Mount Allison U.), then to Princeton.
- distinguished career in the U.S.A., in the PCUSA.

Samuel Carruthers Murray, Murray Corner, N.B. 1857-1945. Ord. 1885, in Canada.
- joined Shemogue RP congregation in 1876, given certificate 1883.
- undergraduate in Canada (Mount Allison U.), then to Princeton.
- distinguished career in Western Canada, PCC & UCC.

John McCurdy Stephens, Murray Corner, N.B. 1859-1902. Ord. 1887.
- RP congregations; in 1891, joined PCUSA.

Some CHIGNECTO COVENANTER Sources

IRISH JOURNAL: The Covenanter--1830-1899. A monthly journal published by the RP Church in Ireland: "Old Light." Good for 1830-1844.

AMERICAN JOURNALS: Banner of the Covenant--1845-1870, and Reformed Presbyterian Advocate--1867-1965. Monthly journals, published by the American "New Lights."

CANADIAN Presbyterian Witness. RP views variously tolerated, patronized.

MINUTES: Minutes of the Reformed Presbytery of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, under the Synod of the RP Church of Ireland, 1832-1920. The sole copy is in the RP Theological Seminary in Pittsburgh.

BOOKS: W.M. Glasgow, History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America. Baltimore, 1888. A solid, massive, fact-filled book.

Frank Archibald, The Reformed Presbyterian Church in N.B. and N.S.. Halifax, 1934. Restricted to the Maritimes, and to sources.

Robert More, Jr., Aurora Borealis: A History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Canada (Covenanter), 1820-1962. Philadelphia, 1967. An American RP, serving the Almonte, Ont., RP congregation, surveyed the entire Canadian Covenanter movement.

W.M. Burns, The History and Story of Botsford. Sackville: Tribune Printing Co., 1933; 2nd prtg, 1962. Some material on N.B. Covenanters.

APPENDIX II

1827 — Clarke comes to Saint John

1828 — Clarke in Chignecto

1832 — Pby of N.B. & N.S. formed (under Irish Synod)

1847 — Clarke removed from Irish Synod roll

(Chignecto/Annapolis)

(Chignecto)

1848 — Clarke and congns join 'New Lights'

1859 — Darragh & some of Goose R. congn join 'U.P.s'

G.R. Presbyn congn formed

Darragh stays as minister

1859 — Eastern Presby formed

1874 — Clarke dies

1876 — Boyd of Shemogue joins UPs. Some Shemogue congn join U.P.s

Shemogue Presbyn congn formed

Licentiates only, for a time

1896 — Eastern Presby dissolves

1905 — Jos. Howe Brownell and Shemogue congn. join U.P.s. Goose River (Linden) folds

Shemogue Presbyterian congn increases

Joseph Howe Brownell stays as minister

1905 — Reformed Presbyterianism ceases

(Annapolis/Saint John)

N.B. & N.S. Presbytery under Irish Synod

1879 — N.B. & N.S. Presbytery transfer to American 'Old Light' Synod

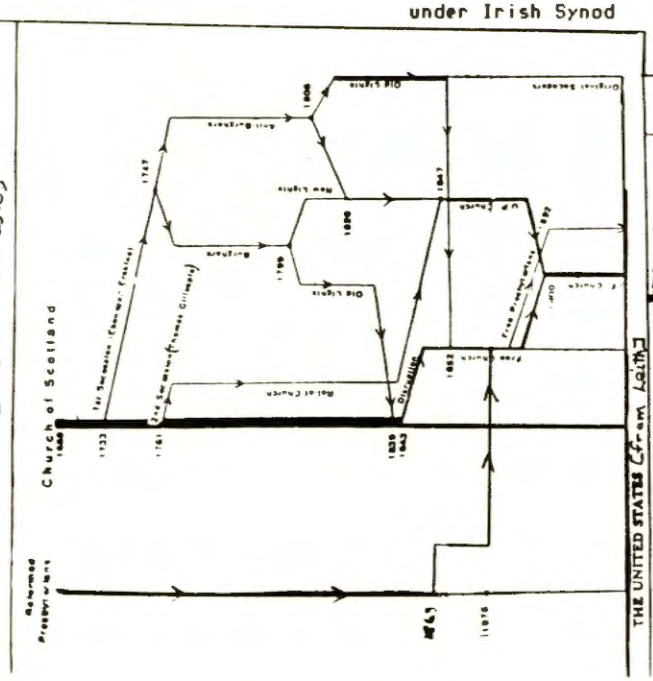
1923 — N.B. & N.S. Presbytery dissolves

1923 — Cornwallis to N.Y. Pby.

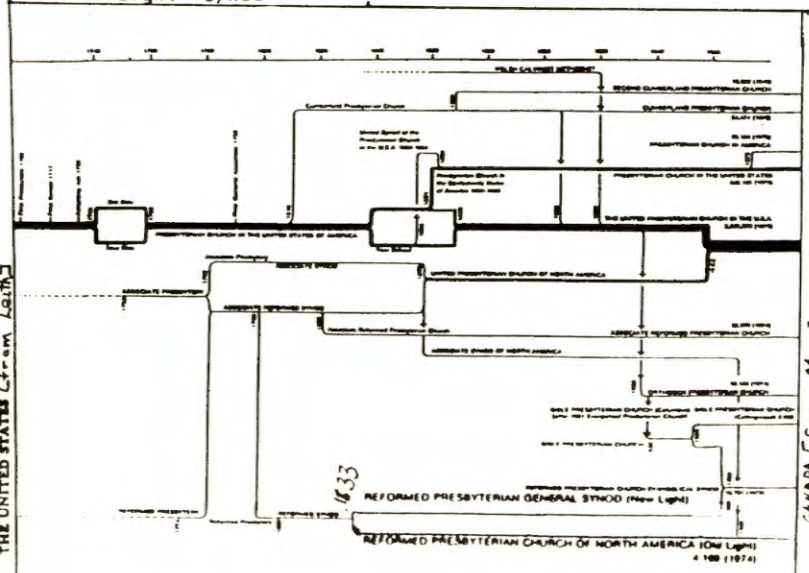
1965 — Cornwallis congregation dissolves

1965 — Reformed Presbyterianism ceases

SCOTLAND [from Henderson]



THE UNITED STATES [from Leith]



CANADA [from Moir]