

THE CANADIAN SOCIETY OF PRESBYTERIAN HISTORY

PAPERS

1994

AND

THE DOUGLAS WALKINGTON MEMORIAL LECTURES

ON

CONGREGATIONAL HISTORY

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INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

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"For the Sake of Peace." State Church or Community of Confessing Christians as Means of Evangelical Reform?¹

presented at the 1994 meeting of the Society of
Presbyterian Church History, Montreal Que., Sept 23
by E.J. Furcha

In facilitating evangelical reforms of the church in Zurich Zwingli was faced with a major dilemma. On the one hand were the directives he derived from his reading of the Gospel which called for radical change in head and members of the church of his day. On the other hand, he seems to have been keenly aware that the likely success of any reforms would require significant compromises with existing temporal authorities. In his reform work he had to contend with his fellow canons at the Greatminster and with powerful individuals and interest groups within the City Council. Furthermore, he had to satisfy some forceful allies in a handful of lay persons who would, as it turned out, not tolerate any compromise.

Zwingli's astute awareness of this dilemma is summed up succinctly in a most telling statement in his *De canone missae libelli apologia* of Oct 1523 where he claims, "We are concerned for peace; but it must be a Christian peace; we do wish to be concerned with the weaker members, but only with those whose restoration seems fairly certain" (ZII, 617).

What was at stake, of course, was the ability of the Christian community of Zurich to establish its own agenda for spiritual renewal without having to heed intermediary authorities, such as the Bishop of Constance, outside its political boundaries. At the same time it was paramount to the nature of the church as Zwingli understood it that a vital link be retained with christendom past, present, and future, the nature of which would be determined by the authority of Scripture under the guidance of the spirit of God. The one question that no one had clearly answered as yet was how such renewal could take place within the boundaries of a territorial or state church? Would radical renewal not require radical rethinking of current notions of christendom along lines demanded by Conrad Grebel and his

¹ This paper was given in German in a somewhat different form at the annual meeting of the Zwingliverein in Zurich, Switzerland, June 1993.

circle in Zurich and by similar individuals or groups elsewhere? Did the latter path mean separation of church and social community and would such separation be advantageous to the advance of evangelical teaching and living?

Scholarly opinions have differed in their respective readings of Zwingli's contribution to, as Burckhardt put it, the Christian republic which was governed by a Christian magistrate "to the praise and honour of Almighty God" and "in the name of a common (all-embracing) church" (see P. Burckhardt, *Die Katastrophe der zwinglischen Politik* in *Schweizerische theologische Zs*, (1909) p. 1-12, 50-61).

Zwingli and the magistrate, it would seem, sought to maintain the forms of external righteousness in Zurich by issuing mandates which were to govern the moral conduct of its citizens, by policing all public activities, and by establishing marriage and church ordinances.

The Grebel circle, on the other hand, called for a restitution of Christian communities as they were to have existed in the first or second century of the common era, admission to which would be limited to men and women who would openly profess their faith and whose commitment would be sealed by a public act of baptism. Their daily conduct would be under the vigilant eye of every member of the community.

The tension between this view of the church as gathered community and Zwingli's understanding led within a short time to the emergence in Zurich and elsewhere to two forms of church governance, each of which claimed to be body of Christ and in a real sense representative of his presence on earth.

One of these was an all-inclusive territorial church which saw itself independent of Rome yet somehow universal and one. Its advocates in Zurich did not intend to separate faith and lawful behaviour of its citizens; in fact, they encouraged the continuum with earlier forms of the church without their imperfections, of course, which were being cleansed through reforms under the authority of the word of God.

The other, were small confessing communities of believers intent on preparing themselves for the return of the bridegroom with no thought to dominating the socio-political community. At best, they would influence and persuade, insisting all the while to be free from and unfettered by any ties to

temporal authority or control.²

It must be said at once that the apparent legalism of these Swiss Brethren as well as rumours of a rather unfettered libertinism among followers of Hans Hut and Melchior Hofmann, to name but two, nurtured fears (not only among the leading families in Zurich, but also among ordinary citizens) that such "privatized" faith communities might undermine the social order of the day. To avoid potential chaos and certain fragmentation, communal peace had to be maintained at all costs.

We may never know all the reasons which led to the ultimate alienation between the Zurich reformer and his erstwhile adherents. To my knowledge no one has so far been able to advance an unchallenged answer. John Howard Yoder, for one, laid the blame largely at Zwingli's door by suggesting that he abandoned these kindred spirits when he changed his reform program. Robert Walton, in a reply to Yoder, doubted such turning point, ascribing the break to the theocratic notions in Zwingli's reforms (MQR, 1968). Krajewski, who carefully detailed the stages in the alienation between Zwingli and the Anabaptist leader Felix Mantz pinpoints the grouping of Swiss Brethren after 1523, thus implying that other than strictly theological reasons must have been at work in the gradual alienation. One of these undoubtedly was Zwingli's attitude toward the magistrate and the degree to which he became involved in the day-to-day decision making that shaped the religio-political situation in Zurich between 1520 and 1525. Unfortunately to reconstruct these events has so far proved impossible, despite the relatively rich archival material. Hence much of our assessment is still largely based on learned guesses.

The moment we turn to the relevant source material and assess the situation, the question raised at the outset of this paper comes to the fore, namely, to what extent did the desire to maintain peace and concord within the local community (which was perceived as a religious, political and social totality) play a prominent role in determining what reforms a city would undertake and who

² A third began to emerge outside Zurich in the community of Waldshut and at a later stage at Nikolsburg where Hubmaier attempted a blend of the territorial church advanced by Zwingli and the communal church of believers advocated by the Grebel circle among others. Unlike the "gemeinde" ideal of the latter group, Hubmaier's church of believers was to be fully involved in social and political affairs.

was to initiate and/or execute these?

It may be conjectured with some certainty then that Zwingli's distancing himself from the Grebel circle, at least at the outset of their alienation, is less theologically motivated as it is the result of Zwingli's decision to maintain peace and concord, to go easy on the weak consciences and, of course, to keep the majority of the Council on the side of moderate reforms.³ It seems that Zwingli was prepared to act "for the sake of peace" although he must have had no illusions about the limits the maintaining of peace would have.⁴ While he was all too ready to speak against mercenary service under a foreign flag, he would not speak out against the use of arms in settling religious conflict within the confederate states. Thus the Council could only have been too pleased when the peoples priest at the Greatminster spoke against the authority of the Bishop of Constance in matters pertaining to the citizens of Zurich, as long as he did not unduly challenge the authority of the local Council. Provided Zwingli's preaching of the Gospel did not threaten the religious and political structures in place at Zurich his brand of preaching would be encouraged and supported by the Council.⁵

³ However, a remark by Grebel in a letter to Vadian of January 14, 1525 would suggest a strong theological reason for the alienation. He states, "Gestern vor einer Woche wurde meine Frau entbunden.... Das Kind...ist noch nit in dem Römischen wasserbad getoufft und geschwemmt." (TQ Schweiz I. 33 and L. Harder, 1985, p. 332).

⁴ The first time the clause "for the sake of peace" appears in any of the documents of the time is in a decision by the City Council regarding the breaking of the fast laws on Ash Wednesday, 1522. It would seem that the clause was generally used whenever unruly social elements had to be settled down and the general order of the community was at risk. See, Potter, Zwingli, pp 17-18, Hillerbrand, 1964, pp 127-131 and Harder, 1985, p 166ff. See also H. Bullinger, Reformationgeschichte I, pp 258-59.

⁵ Although it came more than a month after Zwingli's untimely death at Kappel, a catalogue of demands issued at Meilen on Nov 26, 1531 by some 400 delegates of parishes within the Zurich confines is noteworthy. Article 4 states: Die Geistlichen dürfen sich nicht mehr mit weltlichen Angelegenheiten befassen.

The case was different for Conrad Grebel and his foreign friends. They had no acknowledged calling and their demands threatened the traditional socio-religious order of the city of Zurich. And yet, the Zurich Anabaptists derived from Zwingli their biblicism and, to a large extent, their awareness of the need to reform the church, as well as their understanding of the Lord's Supper as a memorial of the suffering and death of Jesus the Christ. Although they differed from Zwingli in the application of discipline in the community of believers and, unlike him, insisted on believers baptism, nonetheless, they were hesitant to identify fully with Thomas Müntzer, as is clearly apparent from their well-known letter to Müntzer of Sept 5, 1524.

Nor were they prepared to follow the revolutionary apocalyptic notions of Hans Hut and they did not share the universalist tendencies of the highly tolerant Hans Denck. The type of spiritual community they seemed to foster was a form of holiness church--not the church of and for everyone, but rather the society of a minority who were suffering and being persecuted because of their particular beliefs and convictions. On the basis of a spiritual interpretation of Matthew 18 they were convinced that there should be no baptism outside the rule of Christ pertaining to the binding and loosing of members. With this rigorous application of an alleged Scripture principle the Zurich Anabaptists had distanced themselves from Zwingli. Although they held many things in common with Zwingli, their orientation was different from his.

For the remainder of this paper I should like to sketch some of the perceived similarities and differences with reference to relevant material in the Zwingli corpus and to selected Anabaptist documents, foremost among them the Schleithem Articles of 1527.

There is little doubt that Zwingli was intent on expounding the Gospel when he began his ministry at the Greatminster on January 1, 1519. At the same time he seemed to assess the immediate impact of his gospel preaching quite soberly. Although he wished to work toward renewal of the entire Zurich community on the basis of the right proclamation of the word of God, he had to

Es sollen auch nur noch friedliche Geistliche angestellt werden." (Zurich St. A. A 95. 1, No 10). Articles 3 & 6 of the same catalogue of demands are directed specifically against "foreign loudmouths and rebellious priests and loudmouths." (Helmut Meyer, "Stadt und Landschaft Zurich..." in Gäbler & Herkenrath, ed.s, **Heinrich Bullinger I**, p 251ff).

guard against disrupting its social fabric, address error or falsehoods, and prepare the way for inner and outward renewal of the *corpus Christianum* by the activity of the spirit of God. His primary concern even at this early stage of his preaching in Zurich seems to have been renewal of existing structures rather than total disregard for the past. All that was to happen in Zurich was to be informed and judged by the pure gospel. Thus he would stem the reactionary forces and question the operative authority principle of the immediate past. In other words, Zwingli upheld the notion of the *corpus christianum* by stressing the unity of the local Christian community whose pastor/bishop he knew himself to be. The bond of Christian unity would then be expanded as neighbouring communities would be won for the gospel even when these were still under the influence of "false pastors." His guiding text in the matter seems to have been Mt 13:30 according to which both weeds and wheat were to be left growing together until the time of harvest (**Letter to Myconius**, 24 July, 1520). This approach to the nature and manifestation of the church, in line with Augustine if not with Paul, bears the mark of a certain degree of tolerance.

Conrad Grebel at the outset of Zwingli's pastorate in Zurich may be seen as a Euro-separatist and a confederate patriot--a position he shared with, among others, Myconius and Zwingli. They were proud to be eidgenossen--which inspired them with a sense of ethical responsibility and gave them a conscious solidarity with the other confederated localities. Thus the peoples priest at the Greatminster and the lay person Grebel held Christian views which were politically tinged (hatred of the French and defence of their territory against all comers), but religiously motivated.

It must have been easy for Grebel to be attracted to Zwingli's challenge, although we cannot establish whether, or to what extent, Grebel was aware of how precisely Zwingli perceived the renewal of the *corpus christianum* in Zurich. He must have known all too well, however, that it would not be possible to move the entire city toward such renewal, let alone the surrounding area or the friendly territories, even if in the initial stages of the reform activities in Zurich he might have hoped for such wholesale renewal.⁶ One might readily interpret Grebel's

⁶ In a second letter to Thomas Müntzer (sometime around Sept. 5, 1524, Grebel commented that there were no twenty persons in Z. who follow the Bible, but rather the teaching of people like Zwingli, Jud and other scholars. He had now come to the conclusion that these pastors were devils in sheep's clothing.

insistence on separation from the world not so much as a total separation of church and state, as more likely his attempt to further the new birth or regeneration of individuals in a close-knit christian community, thus to advance renewal of society from within.

It seems to me that such a reading of their similarities and differences helps us appreciate their point of departure from one another's views on the nature of the church. We should note in passing that Grebel's notion of church or *gemeinde* differed not only from Zwingli's but also from Hubmaier's. Zwingli sought to justify a rightful place for a Christian magistrate whose task it would be to further the Gospel effectively by their own example and through the enforcement of what he was to call "human righteousness." Hubmaier's christian community was patterned after Zwingli's but differed from it in one significant point: incorporation was to happen through an individual's profession of faith, which then would be sealed by baptism. Grebel's notion called for total separation of the spiritual and the temporal. For Zwingli the Gospel was to provide the substance by which a Christian people was to redirect its lives and activities--thus assuring the possibility of re-formation. Grebel and the ever-growing flock of biblically informed lay persons saw the Gospel, specifically the sermon on the Mount, as Christ's commandment for all who were prepared to walk on the narrow path and who did not put their trust in the socio-political structures of the day. The objective of the Swiss Brethren was not re-formation, as much as it was restitution of the pristine early form of "*gemeinde*."⁷ When in the course of the October disputation of 1523--probably to their great consternation--they realized the full extent of Zwingli's readiness to compromise, they concluded that his attitude "put the gospel on its head," (Grebel to Vadian, Dec 18, 1523 in *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer*, I, p. 8).

The group around Grebel concentrated all the more on Bible reading in small groups, establishing a parallel study group to Zwingli's *Prophezei*. Whatever insights they gained as a result of their reading of the gospel they attributed to divine revelation by which they were led onto new paths of community building. The newly-won freedom of the spirit gave the group a fair measure of independence, but weakened at the same time their confidence in Zwingli's leadership to the extent that Grebel would say in the above cited letter

⁷ For a similar interpretation of the situation see H-J Goertz, *Religiöse Bewegungen in der Neuzeit* (Munich: 1993).

to Vadian that "whoever thinks, believes or says that Zwingli acts in line with the pastoral office, thinks, believes and speaks godlessly."⁸

Even more significant than their different ecclesiologies and their respective views of the pastoral office seems to have been their divergent view of apostolic succession; in other words, the issue of the continuity or discontinuity of the *communio Christi*. Despite his criticism of the church militant Zwingli placed a certain degree of continuity with the church of previous generations in the local religio-political community; it would extend to likeminded reformed communities after the fashion of political covenants and contracts.

By contrast, the Anabaptists around Grebel saw it differently. Their communities of faith were to be associations of men and women who, having been renewed by the word of God, shared the same faith and aspired to the same lifestyle. Such commitment obligated every faithful member to readiness for suffering and to an uncompromising resolve to stand firm to the end in the discipleship of Jesus Christ--a resolve which incidentally gave baptism as a seal of that covenant a wholly new significance.

We know Zwingli's ecclesiology from at least three of his writings, namely, **Exposition of the 67 Articles, On Divine and Human Righteousness** and the tract **The Pastor**. Occasional comments may also be found in e.g. his discussions with Felix Mantz in the fall of 1523 or the spring of 1524.⁹ It would seem that Mantz stood for an exclusive community of believers in which "hury, git, eebruch und andres unter den christen nit sölte geduldet werden" (Ibid, p 127). However, the disciplining or banning was not to be done by lay persons but by the "bishop" of the flock--a notion similar to that of Zwingli, albeit more harshly applied. Is it satisfactory then to conclude with Krajewski in his study of Mantz,¹⁰ that their differences were less theological than they were the result of personal elements? I suspect that his explanation is somewhat too simple.

The final break between Zwingli and the Swiss Brethren did not come until the latter pushed their notion of a "free church," thus in effect challenging, if not

⁸ Ibid, p. 8.

⁹ von Muralt-Schmidt I, pp 120 & 127 reports on this conversation. See also Krajewski, **Felix Mantz**, pp 33,37.

¹⁰ See Krajewski, **Felix Mantz**, p. 33.

wholly rejecting, Zwingli's efforts to help renew the *corpus christianum*. But in advancing that ideal, personal as well as socio/political and religious elements played important roles. To illustrate the full scope of what this ideal of a community of believers entailed for them we must now turn to the seven points of the "Brotherly Agreement"

(Schleitheim Articles) of 1527.¹¹

The first point to be noted is the free association of several brothers and sisters who knew themselves to be "united in the Lord" in order to be able to face the attacks of the devil. The form this devil (whether one or many) had for them is no longer known. They might have had Hans Denck in mind whose spiritualist tendencies they feared, or the excesses of those brothers who claimed to be free of conventional moral constraints because they lived in the spirit. A mere continuation of a church within the unregenerate socio/political framework would also have been a major concern. Only a clear separation from the world and a conscious banding together as "children of God" gave them the necessary backbone to wait for the anticipated end of time and to stem the conflicting tendencies of the flesh. They were aware of false brethren who opposed divine order and threatened to destroy the unity they sought. The result of their deliberations were seven points on which they professed agreement. The first of these, believer's baptism, deals with an external sign of an inward renewal. It states that baptism can only be administered to those who, after having been instructed on the significance of "changing their lifestyle," do truly believe. Infant baptism is depicted as "the Pope's most heinous and foremost abomination."

The second article, too, addresses internal matters in its recognition that brothers and sisters are subject to "stumbling" and prone to fall to error and sin." Such erring brothers and sisters are to be reprimanded privately and, if continuing to be unrepentant, are to be brought before the assembled community. This act of reconciliation of the community is always to take place before the celebration

¹¹ A recent translation of the Schleitheim Articles may be found in the Appendix.

of the Lord's Supper.¹²

Remarkable is Article 3 on the right manner of breaking bread, which closely reflects Zwingli's understanding of the Lord's Supper as a memorial of the unique sacrifice of Christ. It would seem, however, that they more than he stress their becoming one body as they are called by the one God to one faith, one baptism and one spirit.

Also not unlike Zwingli are the sentiments expressed in Article 4, but in a more starkly stated dualism of divine and human, good and evil, light and darkness, God and idols, Christ and Belial, believing and unbelieving. The exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt serves them well as a symbol of their own separation from the world by means of which they hope to escape the "suffering and pain which God will bring onto Egypt." One is reminded of the Didache when one reads,

Whatever is not one with our God and Christ is nothing other but the abominations we must shun and flee. This means all papal and anti-papal works and acts of worship, all gatherings, church attendance, wine houses, federations and contracts of unbelief and the like, which the world esteems highly.

The fifth article comes to terms with the biblical manner of choosing their pastors. According to 1 Tim 3:7 their pastors must be of good repute in the larger community and according to 1 Cor 9: 14, the community of faith must sustain him. A pastor's specific task (again, it would seem, an echo of the Didache!) is to "read and admonish, teach and reprimand, and to ban. He must be able to initiate prayers and begin the breaking of bread, etc." The community, in turn, is to monitor a pastor's correct conduct.

Articles 6 and 7 address the relation of the brothers and sisters to the world. In the one they distance themselves from the existing socio-political structure, and in the other they state their refusal to swear oaths--a clear no to any ties whatever to worldly authority. We must note, however, that they did not deny validity to worldly authority outside the "perfecton of Christ." On the contrary, the use of the sword is seen as the means by which a magistrate would

¹² The purity of the table which they sought to assure in this fashion is a remarkable feature of their thinking and suggests a view of the Supper not unlike the one Calvin was to hold later.

maintain order outside that perfection. Interestingly, these two articles are the longest of the seven, probably because there may have been differences of opinion which needed to be addressed in some detail.¹³

Michael Sattler, who drew up these articles, and the group that had gathered on Feb 24 1527 in the small village of Schlatten, thus rejected the notion of a universal church while at the same time distancing themselves from the spiritualist notions of Denck as well as from the congregationalist community of Hubmaier. Their unmistakable dualism had led them to conclude that there are basically two types of people: the regenerate and the unregenerate--those who are in and of the world and those who have separated themselves from the world and its ideals and aspirations. The latter require encouragement and sustenance as they try to resist the onslaughts of the world. To this end some of their group are called to be pastors to the remainder of the believing community whose tasks of teaching and admonition are carried out in faithfulness to the word of God and in obedience to Christ. The group assumed no social responsibility for the world since its primary task was to prepare the bride of Christ for the return of the bridegroom.

How helpful was such an image of discipleship to the early 16th century and how applicable would their notion be today? This question takes us out of the realm of the church historian into that of the practical theologian. Zwingli himself could not follow their ideal. He seemed to have sensed that such a path would never maintain the corpus christianum (See Z VIII. 322). While he had to concede that "they went forth from us," he could assert with equal certainty that "they were not of us" (Z IV. 208). One should not judge him too harshly therefore when he used every available means such as preaching, mandates, dialogues and public disputations, and ultimately the force of the sword to bring a halt to these disturbers of the peace and welfare of the Christian community at Zurich. In his eyes and in the eyes of the civil authorities their notion of separate holiness communities contravened divine ordinances as well as human laws, and fostered anarchy. Bullinger, his successor was to employ equally harsh and uncompromising measures to stem the tide of what he perceived

¹³ In my reading the seven articles of Schleithem reflect a moderate anti clericalism and a carefully nuanced attitude toward worldly authority. Ecclesiastical and magisterial authority outside the perfection of Christ are validated and to some extent even respected.

as harmful sectarianism.

In fact, a decisive step toward a christian community in Zurich, open to everyone, informed by duly called ministers of the word, and governed by the magistrate, was undertaken soon after the disputations of 1523. In light of the close link of religious and social factors anything else would likely not have led to significant re-formation. People who had lived for centuries in a certain ecclesiological framework could hardly be expected to dismantle all visible signs of spiritual authority and venture into unfamiliar ground. Zwingli and the most far-sighted members of the Zurich City Council saw this correctly.

Furthermore, the odium of individualism and sectarianism attached to anyone who sought radical changes. They were distrusted and feared; hence, it might be argued that the radicals invited reaction rather than facilitating reform. Thirdly, "reform from below" was hardly feasible in a society which adhered to a clearly defined social framework in which changes might be accepted when initiated by church or magistrate, but not when brought about by lay persons and/or disgruntled former priests.¹⁴

Because of his theological vantage point, which according to Gottfried Locher started from the assertion that God is the original source of unity and community, Zwingli had to reject the radicals. Their vision was based almost exclusively on inner transformation and on Anselm's theory of justification thus implicitly rejecting Zwingli's Christology. Although Zwingli subordinated human to divine righteousness, he maintained, nonetheless, that a Christian magistrate would in accordance with the gospel contribute to the blossoming anew of God's kingdom after the ravages of war. He took a pragmatic view of God's kingdom being in some way recognizable in our daily affairs and opted for Christians taking responsibility one for the other in all aspects of human life.

It may be said that some of the ecclesiastical reforms Zwingli and others achieved were less radical than they might initially have envisaged. Through a continuation of the intricate relationship between church and state many of the intended reforms were aborted. On the other hand, the public acknowledgement of Christian duty and responsibility insured furtherance of Christian ideals and provided the checks and balances for relatively effective control of the exercise

¹⁴ In the confrontation between Luther and Carlstadt, incidentally, similarly divergent ecclesiologies seemed to clash with the result of the magisterial pattern being victorious.

of political power.

Postscript:

Having looked at some of the developments in Zurich during the fifteen twenties we may ask which of the two forms of being the church would have served best in reforming the Zurich church. To answer such a question we would have to know more about how people "on the sidelines of society" were being perceived by their contemporaries--in other words, how alternative Christian lifestyles like those advanced by Anabaptists and/or spiritualists affected the body politic.¹⁵ Access to such knowledge might help us to revise our reading of Zwingli's uncompromising stance toward the radicals in Zurich.

¹⁵ Among authors who have dealt with this issue are Luise Manz, "Der ordo-Gedanke. Ein Beitrag zur Frage des mittelalterlichen Ständedenkens" in *USWG Beiheft* 33, 1937 and Wolfgang Hartung, "Die Spielleute. Eine Randgruppe in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters," in *USWG Beiheft* 72 (Wiesbaden, 1982).

APPENDIX

Brotherly Agreement by Several Children of God on Seven Articles¹

Joy, peace, and mercy of our Father through the communion of the blood of Christ, together with the gifts of the Spirit (sent by the Father), be with all believers unto their strengthening, comfort and steadfastness in every distress to the very end. Amen.

We extend this to all who love God and who are children of light wherever they are dispersed, having been ordained to be there by God our Father, and who gather there with one mind in one God and Father. Grace and peace be in all your hearts. Amen

Dear brothers and sisters in the Lord; above all else we are intent on comforting you, and on strengthening your conscience which has been perturbed for some time, so that you may not always be strangers to us, or be almost totally excluded from us. Rather, may you once again turn to the truly engrafted members of Christ who are equipped with forbearance and self-knowledge² thus to be re-united with us in the power of a godly Christian spirit and zeal for God.

It is apparent with what tricks the devil has turned us aside that he might destroy and bring to an end the work of God among us which in grace and mercy has been partly begun in us. But Christ the faithful pastor of our souls who has begun the work in us will accomplish his purposes and teach us to his honour and to our salvation. Amen.

Dear brothers and sisters, we who have gathered in the Lord here at Schleithem near Randen,³ make known to all who love God that we have reached agreement in those things and articles which we are asked to hold fast in the Lord, so that we may be obedient sons and daughters of God who are and wish to be separated from the world in all our undertakings. To God alone be praise and glory that this was accomplished without the objection of a single brother and in total harmony. In all of this we have felt present with us the unity

¹ The translation was prepared from a copy of the Berne manuscript contained in B. Jenny, *Das Schleithemer Täuferbekenntnis 1527* (Thayngen: Karl Augustin, 1951), pp 9-18.

² The term "sein selbs" seems to refer to the kind of knowledge of oneself which Calvin refers to in the opening lines of the **Institutio**.

³ The name of the town in the document is Schlatten am Randen which Fritz Blanke first identified as being Schleithem.

of the Father and of the Spirit, and of Christ who binds us all together. For the Lord is a lord of peace and not of quarrelling, as Paul says [1 Corinthians 14:33]. So that you may know on what points this happened, give attention and note [the following].

Some false brothers among us have caused a great deal of offence [Ärgernis]. Some have turned aside from the faith by thinking that they exercised and used the freedom of the Spirit and of Christ when they [actually] failed to abide in the truth. They surrendered to the weakness and liberty of the flesh to their own judgement), thinking that faith and love could do and suffer everything and that nothing could harm or damn them since they believed in this manner.

You who are members of God in Jesus Christ must observe that faith in the heavenly Father through Jesus Christ is not like this at all. It does not bring about or do the things these false brothers and sisters do and teach. Be on your guard against such people. They do not serve our Father, but their father, the devil.

This is not so with you. For those who are Christ's have crucified forever the flesh with its passions and lusts. You understand well what I mean and know the brothers whom I have in mind. Separate yourselves from them for they are perverted. Pray the Lord that they may come to true knowledge and repentance and that we may remain steadfast in continuing on the path which we started to walk on to the honour of God and of Christ, his son. Amen.

The articles which we discussed and on which we agreed are these: baptism, the ban, the breaking of bread, separation from evil, pastors in the community,⁴ the sword, and the oath.

On Baptism⁵

First, note the following on baptism; baptism shall be given to all who have been instructed about repentance and amendment of life and who truly believe that their sins have been taken away through Christ. It should also be given to all who walk in the resurrection of Jesus Christ and who seek to be buried with him so that they may also rise with him, and to all who of their own

⁴ They use the term "gemein" rather than "kirche."

⁵ The headings throughout the text have been supplied by the translator; they are not found in the original.

accord seek to receive it from us with this understanding. This excludes all infant baptism--the Pope's highest and most heinous abomination. For this you find evidence and support in Scripture and in the practice of the apostles [Matthew 28:19; Mark 16:16; Acts 2:38; 8:36ff; 16:31,33; 19:4ff]. Let us hold fast to this in all humility, yet with confidence.

Concerning the Ban

Secondly, we reached the following agreement on the ban: the ban shall be used with all who have surrendered their lives to the Lord, to follow his commandments. It is further to be used with all who have been baptized into the body of Christ, who are called brothers and sisters, yet who on occasion falter and stumble into error and sin and are caught thereby unawares. These people should be admonished twice in private. The third time they are to be reprimanded publicly, or banned in the presence of the entire congregation, in keeping with the commandment of Christ, Matthew 18:15ff. This should take place before the breaking of the bread according to the instruction of the spirit of God, so that all of us may be of one mind, breaking and eating the one loaf in love and drinking of the one cup.

Concerning the Breaking of Bread

Thirdly, concerning the breaking of bread we agreed and decided upon the following: all who desire to break one bread in memory of the broken body of Christ and all who desire to drink of the one cup in memory of the shed blood of Christ must first be united through baptism in the one body of Christ which is the community of God, whose head is Christ.

For as Paul says [1 Corinthians 10:21], we cannot at one and the same time partake of the table of the Lord and of the devil's table. Neither can we at one and the same time partake and drink of the cup of the Lord and of the devil's. In other words, all who have communion with the dead works of darkness cannot participate in the light. In short, all who follow the devil and the world have nothing in common with those who have been called out of the world to God. All who have fallen into evil cannot share in the good. It follows then, as it ought to, that whoever is not called by one God, to one faith, to one baptism, to one spirit, and to one body, together with all children of God, cannot become one loaf with them, as it ought to be wherever we intend truly to break the bread according to the commandment of Christ.

Separation from the world

Fourthly, we agreed on separation. It ought to be separation from wicked [people] and evil things which Satan has implanted in the world, so that we have nothing to do with them, nor pursue their abominable deeds along with them. In other words, because those who have not come into the obedience of faith and have not united with God to do his will, are a great abomination in God's sight, nothing other than abominable things can and will grow and come out of them. There is never anything else in the world and in all creation except for good and evil, believing and unbelieving, darkness and light, world and those who have left the world, temple of God and idols, Christ and Belial--and the one cannot have anything to do with the other.

Furthermore, we know the commandment of the Lord in which he orders us to be separate and to become separated from the evil; he would then be our God and we his sons and daughters [II Corinthians 6:17ff]. In addition, he admonishes us [Isaiah 48:20, et.al.] to leave Babylon and the earthly Jerusalem, so that we do not also become partakers of their tortures and sufferings which the Lord will bring down on them. From all of this we should learn that everything which is not at one with our God and with Christ is nothing but the abominations which we must avoid and flee. These include all papal and anti-papal works and acts of worship, gatherings, church attendance, wine cellars, covenants and contracts of unbelief⁶ and things of this kind. The world esteems them highly, yet they are carried out in direct opposition to the commandment of God, in keeping with all the injustice that exists in the world. We must separate ourselves from all of these and have no part in them for they are sheer abominations which lead to being loathed in the eyes of our Lord Jesus Christ who freed us from the servitude of the flesh and equipped us for the service of God through the spirit whom he has given us. Thus the unchristian, indeed, the devilish weapons of force such as sword, armour, and the like and our use of these will undoubtedly fall from us--whether they be on behalf of friends or against enemies--by virtue of the word of Christ, "Do not resist evil" [Matthew 5:39].

Pastors in the Church

In the fifth place we reached agreement on the matter of pastors in the

⁶ The terms used is "bürgerschaften und verpflichtungen."

wholly in keeping with Paul's order [1 Timothy 3:7], namely one who is well spoken of by those who are outside the faith. His ministry [Amt] is to read, admonish and teach, to warn, reprimand and ban in the community. He should pray aloud for the betterment of all the brothers and sisters⁷ and begin the breaking of bread. He must show concern for the body of Christ in all things so that it may be built up and improved and blasphemers be silenced. The congregation which elected him must support him lest he suffer want, so that whoever serves the gospel also lives by the gospel, according to the admonition of the Lord [1 Corinthian 9:14]. But if a pastor does something which requires correction he ought to be dealt with in the presence of two or three witnesses only. However, when they sin they must be reproved in the presence of all the people, so that the others learn to fear. Should a pastor be exiled or through the cross be led to his Lord, another should be ordered to take his place immediately so that the small group and flock of God may not be destroyed, but be maintained and comforted through admonition.

Concerning the sword

Sixth, we agreed on the matter of the sword as follows: the sword is an ordinance of God outside the perfection of Christ. It punishes and kills the evil ones and guards and protects the good person. In the law the sword is instituted to punish and execute wicked persons; temporal authorities have been instituted to use it. In the perfection of Christ, however, the ban is used solely to admonish and exclusion of one who has sinned, not by killing the body, but simply through the admonition and command not to sin any more. Now there are many among those who do not recognize Christ's will for us who ask whether a Christian could and should wield the sword against evildoers to shield and protect the good or out of love. The answer is unanimously revealed to us as follows: Christ teaches and commands us to learn from him [Matthew 11:29]; for he is kind and humble of heart, and we would thus find rest for our souls. Now then, he says to the woman from Samaria who had been caught in adultery that she was not to be stoned according to the law of his Father--even though he says, "as the Father has commanded me, so do I" [John 11:50]. Instead he says, in keeping with the law of mercy, forgiveness and admonition, not to sin anymore, "Go then and sin no

⁷ One manuscript has, He is to lead the brothers and sisters in prayer, in the breaking of bread....

more," [John 8:11]. We, too, should maintain this in keeping with the rule of the ban.

A second question regarding the sword is whether a Christian should pass judgement in temporal quarrels and disagreements of the kind unbelievers often have among themselves. This is the answer: Christ did not wish to arbitrate or judge between brothers with regard to their inheritance; on the contrary, he refused to do so. We are to do likewise.

Thirdly, regarding the sword the question is often raised whether a Christian should be a magistrate if he is chosen for such an office. To this the answer is: Christ was to have been crowned king, but he fled and did not heed the order of his Father. We ought to do likewise and follow him; we will then not walk in darkness. For he himself says, "Whoever desires to follow me must deny himself, take up his cross and follow me," [Matthew 16:24]. He also forbids the power of the sword when he says, "Temporal rulers govern, etc, but you shall not act in that way," [Matthew 20:25ff]. Further, Paul says, "Those whom God foreknew he also predestined to be conformed to the image of his Son, etc," [Romans 8:29]. Peter too says, "Christ suffered; he did not rule, leaving us an example that you may follow in his steps," [1 Peter 2:21].

Finally, it should be noted that it is not becoming a Christian to be a magistrate for the following reasons. The rule of the magistrate is carnal; that of a Christian is spiritual. Their houses and homes are permanently in this world; those of the Christians are in heaven. Their citizenship is in heaven; the citizenship of Christians is in heaven. The weapons of their warfare are carnal and aimed directly against the things of the flesh; the weapons of Christians, however, are spiritual, directed against the fortifications of the devil. Temporal [authorities] are armed with iron and steel; the Christian, on the other hand, is armed with the breastplate of God, with truth, righteousness, peace, faith, salvation, and with the word of God. To sum up: as Christ our head is minded, so also the members of his body ought to be minded through him, so that there be no division in the body by which it may be destroyed. For every kingdom, divided in itself will be destroyed. Now, since Christ is just as it is written of him [in Scripture], so also the members have to be like that, so that his body may remain whole and unified for its own improvement and upbuilding.

Concerning the Oath

In the seventh place we have reached agreement on the oath as follows: the

oath is an affirmation among those who quarrel or who make promises. It is commanded in the law that an oath be sworn in the name of God alone--truthfully and not falsely. Christ who teaches the perfection of the law forbids his own to swear any oath (true or false ones), whether rendered by heaven or by the earth, by Jerusalem or by our own head for the reason he gives forthwith, "For you cannot change a single hair, either black or white," [Matthew 5:33-37]. Take heed. Therefore it is forbidden to swear any oath. For we cannot guarantee anything of that which is promised with an oath since we cannot change the least thing on ourselves.

There are some who cannot give credence to the simple commandment of God, but who say and ask instead, "Look, God assured Abraham through an oath sworn by himself because he was God (this was when he assured him that he was well inclined toward him and that he would be his God if he in turn would willingly keep his commandments); why then should not I swear also when I make a promise to someone? Answer: hear what Scripture says, "When God desired to assure the heirs of the promise in abundant fashion that his counsel would not falter he swore an oath so that we may have strong comfort through two unshakeable instances (hence it was impossible that God should lie), [Hebrews 6:17ff].

Observe the significance of this passage of Scripture. God has the power to do the very thing he forbids you to do, for all things are possible to him. God--according to Scripture--swore an oath to Abraham in order to prove that his counsel never falters. In other words, no one can withstand his will nor hinder its cause. Therefore he was able to keep his oath. We, on the other hand, are neither able to keep an oath nor to swear one, as was shown earlier of Christ. Therefore, we should never swear an oath.

Some others state further that it is not forbidden in the new Testament to swear by God; in fact, in the Old Testament it is even commanded. However, it is forbidden there to swear by heaven, earth, Jerusalem, and by our own heads. I answer: Observe what Scripture says, "Whoever swears by heaven, swears by the throne of God and by him who sits upon it," [Matthew 23:22]. Note that to swear by heaven which is the throne of God, is forbidden. How much more then is it forbidden to swear by God himself. You blind and foolish people. What is greater, the throne or the one who sits upon it? Still others say as follows: If it is wrong to use God to underscore truth did not the apostles Peter and Paul swear thus? I answer: Peter and Paul testify alone to that which has been promised to

Abraham by God through an oath. They themselves promise nothing, as our examples clearly indicate. But "to testify" and to swear an oath" are two different things. For to swear an oath is to promise things which are in the future, such as promising Christ to Abraham who then was received by us a long time after that. However, "to testify" is to affirm what is now present, whether it be good or evil, as Simeon spoke of Christ to Mary, testifying: "This one is set for the fall and resurrection of many in Israel and for a sign which shall be opposed" [Luke 3:34]. Christ taught us the same when he said, "Your speech shall be yea, yea and nay, nay: anything beyond that is evil" [Matthew 5:37]. He says: Your speech or your word shall be yes and no; which cannot be taken to mean that he permitted the swearing of oaths. Christ is simply yes and no and all who seek him in simplicity shall understand his word. Amen.

Dear brothers and sisters in the Lord; these are the articles which several brothers thus far have understood contrary to their true meaning. They have thereby misled many a weak conscience whereby the name of God has been severely maligned. Therefore it was essential to have reached agreement in the Lord as it happened. To God be glory and praise.

Since you now have understood the will of God in ample measure, as it has been revealed through us, it will be necessary for you to do the known will of God steadfastly and without delay. For you know well what kind of reward is coming to the servant who sins knowingly.

Everything you have done unknowingly and what you have confessed to have done wrong is forgiven you through the prayer of faith which is spoken in us in our gathering [versammlung] by the gracious forgiveness of God and through the blood of Jesus Christ on account of the shame and guilt of all of us. Amen.

Watch out for all who do not walk in the simplicity of divine truth which is contained in this letter from us here in this gathering, so that everyone among us may be governed by the rule of the ban and that from now on the false brothers and sisters may be prevented from coming among us. Exclude from among you whatever is evil and the Lord will be your God and you his sons and daughters.

Dear brothers, be mindful of the things with which Paul admonishes Titus. He speaks thus: "The wholesome grace of God has appeared for all, it trains us to renounce irreligious behaviour and worldly passion and to live sober, just and godly lives in this world, awaiting the same hope and appearance of the glory of the great God and of our Saviour Jesus Christ who gave himself for us to redeem

us from all unrighteousness and to purify for himself a people of his own who are zealous for good deeds" [Titus 2:11-14]]. Think of this and practice it and the Lord of peace shall be with you.

The name of God be blessed forever and highly praised. Amen. The Lord give you his peace, Amen.

Given at Schleithem, Randen, on St. Matthias's Day [February 24th], 1527.

translated by E.J. Furcha

Happy Childhood: an Examination of Chinese Christian Literature
for Children

by Geoffrey Johnston

The first issue of *Happy Childhood* (報幼福) appeared in Shanghai in March 1915, published by the China Sunday School Union. It continued publication as a monthly until 1935, when it became bi weekly. It ceased publication after Liberation. From 1917 to 1936, it was the particular responsibility of Mrs Donald MacGillivray.

Mrs MacGillivray was born Elizabeth Bovey, in Torquay, England, and went to China first under the auspices of the London Missionary Society. In 1900 she married Donald MacGillivray, a Canadian Presbyterian who had recently moved from Henan to Shanghai to join the staff of the Christian Literature Society. In addition to her work as editor of *Happy Childhood*, Elizabeth was deeply involved in other activities on behalf of women and children in Shanghai. When MacGillivray died in 1931, Elizabeth joined the staff of CLS and continued with the Society until her own retirement and death in 1936.

Happy Childhood was a magazine for Christian children. Its readers would have to be literate, and therefore eight or nine, but not yet interested in the opposite sex. There are no boy girl stories in *Happy Childhood*. The magazine consisted mostly of stories, but it also included puzzles, contests and games, along with a good dose of Bible study, one in every issue. The purpose of this essay is to compare the ethics of a Christian children's magazine, with literature for children from the Confucian period on the one hand, and the Communist era on the other.¹

From the Confucian literature I have selected four works. The most important is the San Zi Jing 三字經 the Three Character Classic, a work of some 350 lines each of which had three characters. It was the text by which generations of Chinese children learned to read. Like teachers of literacy everywhere Wang Ying Lin could not resist the temptation to use the process to improve his students. The San Zi Jing provides us with a model of the ideal Confucian youth. The comparable work for girls is called Nuer Jing, (女兒經) or the Classic for Girls. Di Zi Gui (弟子規) the Rules of Behaviour for Children is described by its translator as "the foundation of all Chinese etiquette". Finally we have Zhu Zi Zhi Jia Ge Yan (朱子治家格言) Mr Zhu's Guide to a Better Family. On the communist side I have chosen the three texts from the Cultural Revolution, "In Praise of Norman Bethune," "The Old man Who Moved the Mountain," and "Serve the People." and the "Life of Lei Feng."

The first point to note is the shift in the context of ethics. The Confucian classics move in the ordered world of the Chinese gentry, the only people who could afford to keep their children out of production long enough to educate them. Nuer Jing, of course, is clearest on this subject. The proper young lady is to stay at home and learn womanly ways.

When the wheel at ten is turning,
 You should never idle be,
 To the making of their clothing and the mending you should see,
 Your position should be daily sitting at your mother's feet,
 Nor excepting on an errand should you go upon the street.

When the wheel has turned eleven,
 You have grown to womanhood,
 And all culinary matters should be clearly understood,
 If for fancy work from cooking you can save some precious hours,
 You should spend them in embroid'ring ornamental leaves and flowers.²

Di Zi Gui begins with relationships, a basic notion in Confucian ethics, and most relationships are within the family

Rules of behaviour for brothers and sons,
 Teachings of ancient and virtuous ones;
 First you be filial and brotherly, then
 Try to be faithful and earnest as men.³

San Zi Jing is more blunt

Begin with filial piety and fraternal love
 And then see and hear⁴

So also Maître Zhu

... la déraison et l'erreur dans les cinq relations sociales et cinq vertus fondamentales entraînent immédiatement le désastre.⁵

By contrast, the families described in *Happy Childhood*, apart from the stories about princes and princesses, tend to be more nuclear, and a great deal poorer. In one of the earliest "How a Young Girl was Saved", (1915) the daughter is sold into prostitution. The same fate almost befell the mother in "The First Christmas" (1934). The father in "Treasure Outside Wan Li Village" (1929) is a weaver and something of a recluse. These are stories for children who lived in the cities and villages of twentieth century China, in a time when Confucian society was disintegrating all around them. Nor are the families necessarily well off. The household in "Contentment Always Makes for Happiness", (1917) or "Wearing Glasses" (1933) were reasonably comfortable. On the other hand little Loque (1929) worked in a textile mill and had one day off a year. The Shanghai newspaper boy (1933) lived on his mother's earnings as a washerwoman and his income from selling newspapers. Lei Feng the (probably) imaginary hero of post Liberation China was born to a poor peasant family in Henan, a family which suffered so much under the Guomindang that all the adults died, leaving Lei Feng an orphan.

The courtly and well mannered homes of Nuer Jing and Di Zi Gui were not a meaningful context for the Christians and positively evil for the Communists.

If the classic Confucian family had become either irrelevant or evil, the values that family had tried to inculcate were another matter. *Xiào*, (孝) or filial piety was central, the most important of the five relationships. *Xiào* is the correct attitude to one's attitude towards parents, a mixture of deference, thoughtfulness and affection. One of the texts for good behaviour circulating in Confucian China was a set of twenty-four tales of filial piety⁶. *Di Zi Gui* and *San Zi Jing* both refer to one of them explicitly. In this story Huang Xiang was so concerned about his father that he would warm his bed in winter and fan it in summer.⁷ *Happy Childhood* was anxious to avoid the charge that conversion meant the end of *xiào*, and published a number of piety stories including one from the set of twenty four paragons, "A Story About Piety" (1915). In this story the mother was sick and her son was extremely concerned. To help her recover he decided to make a fish soup. But it was winter and the river was frozen. He lay naked on the ice until he had melted a hole through which he could catch a fish. Having told the story the editors drove the point home with reference to "Honour your father and mother." Christian children should also demonstrate *xiào*. Updates on the idea appeared as "The Crown Prince Presents a Gift" (1927) and especially in "The Shanghai Newspaper Boy" (1933). In the second story Bob, the newspaper boy, saved a few pennies to buy eggs for his mother's supper. On the way home he bumped into a passerby and broke the eggs. He was so upset that he sat down on the curb and wept. He was discovered in his distress by a rich woman and her daughter. They were so impressed with Bob's love for his mother that they sent round a basket of food with the chauffeur. It is clear however, that by the later years of Mrs MacGillivray's tenure that the notion has lost its centrality, and indeed a good deal of the flavour that made *xiào* such a distinctive characteristic of Confucian ethics. Pulling one's weight in the family is a virtue commended to *Happy Childhood*'s readers. In "Wait a Moment," the girl in the story never does what she is supposed to when she is asked. Her mother went on strike, neglecting to make the breakfast or set out the clothes needed for a visit to grandmother. The daughter repented of her ways. In "Refusing Some Money," the daughter is told off to tend the sheep when she would rather fly kites with her brother. She is tempted to skip off anyway, believing she would not be caught. But she decided against it. Her grandmother used to tell her the story of a virtuous ancestor who was offered a bribe. "Take it," said the man with the money, nobody will know." "You know, I know, heaven and earth know." replied her ancestor. The girl did what she was told because she remembered the "four knows". The effect on the household of obedience and making a contribution to the common good may be similar to the effects of filial piety, but they are not the same thing as *xiào*. Lei Feng never had to think about filial piety; both his parents and his older brother had all died.

Even though *xiào* lost its centrality, and a good deal of its flavour there still remained a significant overlap between the virtues of Confucianists and Christians. Many of these virtues would be admired in any society.

Awake in the morning, arise with the sun
Retire late at night when your lessons are done⁸

You should rise from bed as early in the morning as the sun,
Nor retire at evening's closing till your work is wholly done.⁹

dès le point du jour levez-vous; arrosez et balayez le cour; nettoyez et rangez au dedans et au dehors: dès le crépuscule reposez-vous; assurez-vous en personne que toutes portes et fenêtres sont fermées et barrées¹⁰

Diligence is common enough in Happy Childhood; an example is "What You Plant is What You Get" (1933). In this story a man inherited a very sandy piece of land, and was so poor he was the subject of great derision by his neighbours. But he worked hard and managed to make a living growing flowers on his sand dune.

In "Brother Pig" (1922) the boy in the family is so dirty none of the animals will accept him except a very muddy pig. Cleanliness is recommended also for Confucian children, both boys and girls.

In your personal appearance,
You should ever take delight,
Ne'er depend upon cosmetics, whether they be red or white,
Comb and bathe at proper seasons; all the dirt remove with care,
In the washing of your clothing no exertion should you spare¹¹

In cleanliness beauty of clothing consists
But beauty in gorgeousness never exists.¹²

With cleanliness comes simplicity, a virtue much recommended by Maître Zhu

que vos utensiles soient simples et propres,
que la poterie soit préférée à l'or et au jade.¹³

buvez et mangez modérément, mais bien préférez les légumes du jardin aux mets recherchés¹⁴

Happy Childhood takes up the theme in "Fresh Air," (1915) and "The Best Food" (1923). In the first story the king, anxious about the health of his son and heir kept him locked up in an overheated room with the windows closed. He was denied exercise and fed only the finest of foods. Naturally he was chronically ill. A wise counsellor took the king for a walk in the country where they met a farmer who was the picture of health. He worked hard outdoors all day long, lived in a shack and ate rice and vegetables. If he was healthy under those circumstances, thought the king, he should thrive in my son's quarters. Naturally the farmer took sick at the palace, just like the prince. When that

happened, the counsellor was able to persuade the king to let his son lead a simple, healthy life. Lei Feng, we are told, made simplicity a fine art; he wore clothes with patches, even when he could wear new ones.

So also honesty;

When speaking, let this be your motto from youth-
The first in all things in importance is truth,
And words of deceit or expressions untrue
Should ne'er be reported as coming from you¹⁵

First of all a woman's virtues
Is a chaste and honest heart¹⁶

We speak of charity of heart and duty to one's neighbour
Of prosperity, wisdom and truth.
These five virtues
Admit of no compromise.¹⁷

Happy Childhood returns to the theme again and again, in "A Good Name" (1918) "A Dream on New Year's Eve" (1923) "A True Story" (1929) and "Rabbit, a Cheat" (1932). In the last story the rabbit got tired of the island he was living on and by a ruse, persuaded the crocodiles to line up, nose to tail so that he could get to the mainland. On reaching the other side he boasted how he had fooled the great reptiles. But the oldest crocodile replied. "You are not on the mainland but on an island not as good as the one you left. If you had levelled with us we would have told you." Lei Feng, naturally, was both honest and hard working.

Discretion, an important feature of the Confucian tracts, underwent a sea change in the twentieth century.

Of the virtues of a woman,
Conversation is the third,
By your friends 'tis often better to be seen than to be heard.
But to speak at proper seasons will incur no one's disdain,
And one fit word o'er a thousand will the victory often gain.¹⁸

Let others loquacity constantly teach
That for you it were well to be sparing of speech;
For the truth of whate'er you report to a friend,
For proof on your eloquence never depend.

You should never insult any person 'tis plain,
 Nor utterance give to expressions profane
 'Gainst market-place habits and street-talk keep guard,
 That your talk be not sullied, your manners be marred.¹⁹

à la maison éviter disputes et critiques
 qui mènent finalement au malheur.
 dans le monde évitez l'abondance de paroles,
 qui mènent inévitablement à l'erreur.²⁰

Cautious speech is recommended as seemly or prudent; it is appropriate behaviour for a well born person. But in *Happy Childhood* discretion is recommended because of the effect loose talk has on others. In *A Good Servant*, (1915), the hero was concerned about the loose talk in which his young master indulged. He prepared two meals, the best food and the worst food. Both consisted entirely of tongue. "Tongues can be good or bad," the servant explained, "depending on whether they help or hurt other people."

I will say more about this shift in emphasis in a moment, but first a word about sacred texts.

Basic to all these documents is the importance of right thinking through study of the canonical texts. The *San Zi Jing* leaves us in no doubt.

Men at their birth
 Are naturally good
 Their natures are much the same
 Their habits become widely different.
 If, foolishly, there is no teaching
 The nature will deteriorate²¹

même si les ancêtres sont loin respectez
 scrupuleusement l'observance des rites.
 même si les enfants sont benêts
 ne les dispensez en aucun cas l'étude
 des quatre livres et cinq classiques.²²

Nor is there doubt about what is to be taught. Maître Zhu's nine works are just the beginning. The central section of *San Zi Jing* sets out a complete book list, the curriculum of an educated Chinese gentleman. That which one must know to become a *jun-zi* (君子) a superior person, can be found in the Confucian classics. *Happy Childhood* is equally strong on education, as "Tran Sit and Da Hua" (1929) makes quite clear. These two boys played hooky one afternoon, but were shown the error of their ways in a dream. But the canon has changed. In *Happy Childhood* the source of right

thinking, and therefore right conduct, has become the Bible. Every issue, without exception, contained some kind of Bible Study. Lei Feng was also a conscientious student, but his canon was drawn from Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tzedong thought. The opening lines of the San Zi Jing state the fundamental optimism of Chinese thought, an optimism which the Christians could, with some reservations share, and which the Communists also stressed. Lei Feng was a self taught craftsman; he became the best truck driver in his company, and was assigned to teach the art to newcomers. The Chinese tradition, in whatever form, does not doubt the primacy of nurture over nature.

Not only do the canonical texts change, the focus of the good life changes as well. In Confucian thought education is for self improvement.

If a jade is not polished
It cannot become a thing of use²³

First be you filial and brotherly, then
Try to be faithful and earnest as men.²⁴

celui qui agit selon les préceptes
approche de la réalisation.²⁵

Nuer Jing sets out as of first importance the classic relationships, piety towards parents, respect for the elders, acceptance of dependence as a woman's role. It then goes on to spell out the virtues of domestic competence, discretion, cleanliness, chastity and so forth.²⁶

In other words a good person was defined primarily by the way he or she respected the standard relationships, between parent and child, husband and wife, elder and younger, sovereign and subject, friend and friend. It was an ethic for a small, face to face society, deliberately designed to ensure stability in hierarchy. There was a notion of benevolence or *rén* (仁) but it tended to be discussed last, or only mentioned in passing.

To the people around you, below or above,
Your duty is clear, every one you should love;
One circling heaven is over all spread,
One flowering earth produces our bread.²⁷

If a man does not learn
He cannot know his duty towards his neighbour

We speak of charity of heart and duty to one's neighbour
 Of prosperity, wisdom and truth.
 These five virtues
 Admit of no compromise.²⁸

ne pas appuyez pas sur la force
 et n'outragez pas le veuve et l'orphelin.
 ne soyez pas glouton
 et ne tuez pas inconsidérément bétail et volailles.²⁹

But compared to the amount of space devoted to proper relationships, benevolence doesn't get much attention. Nuer Jing doesn't mention it at all.

In *Happy Childhood* the emphasis is reversed. Children are, as we have seen, expected to be obedient, courteous and responsible members of the household. They were also expected to be humble. Pride of station was simply not acceptable, whether among aristocrats "A Very Proud Prince" (1929) or the bourgeoisie "Wearing Glasses" (1933). But above all, Christian children are to be altruistic. Stories like "The Happiest Thing is Doing Good" (1917) "A Boy Who Lost His Way" (1925) or "The Palace of the Rich Man" (1932) all make the same point in different ways. In the 1925 story the hero set out to find the happy country. On the way he met all kinds of people who asked for his help. He told them he was too busy looking for the happy country and they all told him he was lost. Then he met a girl with a basket of cakes. Since the boy was famished he accepted her offer to share the cakes. She told him he would find the happy country if he stopped to help people along the way. And so it turned out. But the Christmas editions provide the principle source of "serve the people" stories "Xa Du Sa" (1922), "The Red Cap" (1929) "A Boy Who Went to the Holy Infant in a Dream" (1933) and "The First Christmas" (1934) all come from December issues. In "The Red Cap" a girl was keen on having a particular hat. When she found she hadn't enough money, a woman in the store helped her out. Then the girl had qualms of conscience because many of her neighbours were even poorer than her family. She went to the woman who had helped her, Mrs Smith, offering to trade in the hat for the money. The woman was a wealthy recluse, but she had taken a shine to the girl. She asked why the child wanted the money instead of the hat. When the girl explained Mrs Smith sent for the car and together they went to see the neighbours. Of course one of them was Mrs Smith's long estranged daughter. They were reconciled and the other people in the tenement profited from Mrs Smith's largesse. All this happiness came because the heroine of the story wanted to use the price of the hat, two dollars at current rates, to help her poor neighbours. In "The First Christmas" the mother in the family told her life story. She had been born on a farm but a couple of years of famine drove the family to destitution. In desperation her father sold her, probably for prostitution. She ran, stowed away on a river boat and by good fortune fell in with a kind Christian woman who brought her up. She told this story because her children were complaining that Christmas wasn't shaping

up very well. "I didn't know about Christmas until I was ten," said their mother, "and then only because of the kindness of Mrs Wu" The children repented and went out to help the poor. The Communists continue the trend. Norman Bethune's spirit, said Mao Tzedong,

his utter devotion to others without any thought of self was shown in his boundless sense of responsibility in his work and his boundless warm heartedness towards all comrades and the people. Every Communist must learn from him.³⁰

The same theme is picked up in the 1944 funeral address "Serve the People:" "The Chinese people are suffering; it is our duty to save them and we must exert ourselves in struggle."³¹ and in Mao's use of the traditional story "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains"

It tells of an old man who lived in northern China long long ago and was known as the Foolish Old man of North Mountain. His house faced south, and beyond his doorway stood the two great peaks, Tai Hang and Wangwu, obstructing the way. With great determination he led his sons in digging up the mountains, hoe in hand. Another greybeard, known as the Wise Old Man, saw them and said derisively, "How silly of you to do this! It is quite impossible for you few to dig up these two huge mountains." The Foolish Old Man replied, "When I die my sons will carry on; when they die there will be my grandsons, and then their sons and grandsons, and so on to infinity. High as they are, the mountains cannot grow any higher, and with every bit we dig they will be that much lower. Why can't we clear them away?" Having refuted the Wise Old Man's wrong view, he went on digging every day, unshaken in his conviction. God was moved by this, and he sent down two angels who carried the mountains away on their backs. Today, two big mountains lie like a dead weight on the Chinese people. One is imperialism, the other is feudalism. The Chinese Communist party has long made up its mind to dig them up. We must persevere and work unceasingly, and we, too, will touch God's heart. Our God is none other than the masses of the Chinese people. If they stand up and dig together with us, why can't these two mountains be cleared away?³²

Mao's summary of the story does not make clear, as other versions do, that lowering the mountains was a species of public works designed to give the whole community access to the Han River. in the same way, the removal of feudalism and imperialism would give the Chinese people a chance at a much better life. What is at stake is not just the wellbeing of the party members, but Chinese society as a whole. One no longer serves just the elders of the family, but the people as a whole.

Each year at the beginning of March the posters appear in Chinese schools "Xue Lei Feng", study or learn from Lei Feng. Lei Feng was an incorrigible do gooder. Since his family had all died off in the depredations of the Guomindang period he was free to

help whoever came his way. And he did, with a vengeance. Thus, every March the remembering of Lei Feng is the signal for a festival of good deeds, of simple acts to help others with no thought of reward, and with no thought of the connection these people probably do not have with your family.

In this vision of society, the vision shared by both Communists and *Happy Childhood*, the Confucian circle has both shrunk and grown. The families have shrunk; for the most part they consist of parents and children with the occasional grandparent at home and cousins some distance away. It is the kind of family Elizabeth MacGillivray probably knew in England and saw developing in China. The Confucian gentry, with the extended family all under the same roof of a rambling country house has faded from the picture. But the rest of the world has replaced it, and the marginal notion of benevolence (仁 慈) has become central. An ethic of self-improvement, of the cultivation of mind and habit to become an exemplary Confucian person has been replaced with an ethic of altruism, of serving the people.

Consistent with this shift in emphasis is an appreciation of ordinary life. In "The Wisdom of the Poor" (1916) the nation decides to show their affection for a good king. Each of the estates chooses a representative to entertain the king on their behalf. The landowners choose a duke, the merchants a merchant prince, both of whom entertain the king as lavishly as they can. But the man the commoners choose simply takes the king for a summer afternoon in the country. The prize goes to the commoner. Similarly in "Choosing a Successor" (1917) the winner is a simple old man from the country. In "The Fruits of Study" (1933) the hero at first shows a typically Confucian disdain for the work his father does on the farm. But in due course he repents and studies hard to become a scientific farmer. The animal stories fit into this pattern, but they probably derive from a different source. Lei Feng, of course comes from the masses, from a family of poor peasants, but I don't know whether he made a point of being kind to animals.

The missionary intellectuals who contributed to the Chinese Recorder, the house journal of the Protestant missionary community took Confucian ethics very seriously. Many of them felt that the values of Confucian society were quite compatible with the gospel, as "noble" a system as any society had devised. But China in the late Qing lacked the will to put the ethic into practice. The necessary moral fibre as it were could be supplied by Christianity. Donald MacGillivray had made a similar argument in 1912.

The chief danger is the divorce of education and religion. A godless education we rightly fear in Canada. Is it not to be more feared in China? Godless teachers, school managers, pupils, what a fearful thing it would be for China, and for the world; assuredly China's great educational future sorely needs Jesus Christ.³³

A godless education was exactly what China got, but at one level it didn't seem to matter. Lei Feng turns out to be a Christian without the faith. If he had joined the

Scouts instead of the Young Communists, been a catechist instead of a truck driver in the PLA and read the Bible as assiduously as he devoured the thoughts of Mao Tzedong, he would have been an exemplary young Christian. The unstinting, unassuming altruism he showed was precisely what *Happy Childhood* recommended.

I do not suggest that there is any causal connection between *Happy Childhood* and Lei Feng. But it seems clear that the end of the Chinese monarchy brought with it a significant shift in the meaning of "junzi", a superior person, the orthodox role model. The similarity between the thinking of Elizabeth MacGillivray and Mao Tzedong is intriguing, even if the men of the Long March did not swap *Happy Childhood* stories over the camp fire.

1. *A relatively complete run of Happy Childhood was available in the library of the China Christian Council in Shanghai. I am indebted to Mr Shen Derong, the Secretary of the Council when I was in China for his courtesy in making the journal available to me. The translations were done by friends and colleagues in Suzhou, and in particular Zhang Lefoh, one of the ministers at the church we attended. I have added nothing to their work apart from clearing away ambiguities and grammatical mistakes.*

2. The "Nuer Jing: or Classic for Girls" translated from the Chinese by Isaac Taylor Headland, Professor in Peking University. The Chinese Recorder, December 1895, page 555.

3. "Di Zi Gui, or Rules of Behavior for Children", translated from the Chinese by Isaac Taylor Headland, Professor in Peking University. The Chinese Recorder, August 1895, page 368

4. The San Zi Jing, Herbert A Giles ed, Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, Taipei, 1972, page 21.

5. Michel Deverge et Tan Swie Han, les Préceptes du Bon Gouvernement Domestique de Maître Chu, Taipei 1982, page 14

6. Donald MacGillivray published an edited and somewhat irreverent version of the tract in the Presbyterian Record, October 1900, pages 357-360

7. San Zi Jing, lines 33-34, Di Zi Gui page 360

8. Di Zi Gui, 371

9. Nuer Jing, 554

10. Préceptes page 1
11. Nuer Jing, 557
12. Di Zi Gui, 371
13. Préceptes, page 5
14. Préceptes page 6
15. Di Zi Gui, page 373
16. Nuer Jing, page 557
17. San Zi Jing, lines 69-72
18. Nuer Jing, page 557
19. Di Zi Gui, page 373
20. Préceptes, page 19
21. San Zi Jing lines 1-6
22. Préceptes, page 10
23. San Zi Jing, lines 25-26
24. Di Zi Gui, page 368

25. Préceptes page 32
26. Nu Er Jing, 556-557
27. Di Zi Gui page 374
28. San Zi Jing, lines 27-28, 69-72
29. Préceptes, page 20
30. "IN Memory of Norman Bethune", in Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Tsetung, Foreign Languages Press, Peking 1971, page 180.
31. ibid. page 311
32. ibid. page 321

33. D. MacGillivray, "The Uplift of China", The Presbyterian Record, February 1912, page 66.

A MAJOR STIMULUS FOR BOTH QUEBEC ULTRAMONTANISM AND WORLD-WIDE
ANTI-CATHOLICISM: THE LEGACY OF CHINIQUY

by Richard Lougheed

A. Introduction

101 years ago, this Presbyterian College accorded the Doctor of Divinity degree to the most world-renowned Canadian Presbyterian of the 19th Century. In addition he was probably the most published French Canadian author of all time, although his writings were rarely available in Quebec. Few have received as much admiration and vilification as Charles Chiniquy.¹

This morning we will look at his impressive legacy. I have divided the presentation into three sections, according to the various contexts he participated in. We begin with his effect on French Protestantism, both in Quebec and elsewhere in North America. Then we will examine his quite contrary legacy in Catholic Quebec. After that, we turn to the international scene to find what lasting influence Chiniquy had on evangelicals worldwide.

B. Legacy for French Protestants²

Every French Protestant pastor in Canada knows at least part of the Protestant myth of Chiniquy.³ One would expect such continuity for the memory of the best known French Protestant leader in Quebec. Through the years converts from Catholic backgrounds have been amazed to find out about this inspiring character of whom they had heard nothing or had heard only abuse.

Among the families who became French Protestants in the 19th century and who have stayed in Quebec, the Chiniquy name has been conserved with honour. After all, many became Protestants through his ministry. While any estimate of his converts who persevered would require much more research,⁴ there is no doubt that they were numerous and widespread. Minorities such as immigrants from France and Franco-Americans appear to have been most open to his message.⁵ His Illinois parish constituted Chiniquy's major evangelistic success and provided the bulk of his convert numbers. Besides

¹ Refer to my thesis, The Controversial Conversion of Chiniquy, Université de Montréal, 1993, for more details.

² See chapter 2 of my thesis for a discussion of the vulnerable position of French Protestants in Quebec.

³ See Chapter 7 of my thesis.

⁴ Supporters mostly suggested tens of thousands of converts. Emmett McLoughlin, Famous Ex-Priests, NY, 1968, p.527, calculates their descendants in the millions. Chiniquy himself provided many estimates, as high as 25,000 in his Life and Work, 1897, p.18. This publication also links him with the total achieved by all denominations, of 45,000 French Protestant converts in Quebec.

⁵ See Montreal Witness, 25 March 1875, p.2, for testimonies of such converts; and MW, 25 July 1876, p.1, for a French-Canadian convert.

these there were many hundreds of native francophone Quebecers. There are also reports of French converts from as far away as New Brunswick, Manitoba and Oregon.

Converts of Chiniquy must have defied Catholic church authorities initially by going to listen to the apostate. When they returned with news of their transformation due to Father Chiniquy, one can imagine how they were received. Likely, Chiniquy's converts, experiencing greater rejection than other French Protestants, were even more prone to emigrate from Quebec. The dispersion of Chiniquy's converts makes the legacy even more difficult to trace.

The only prominent Quebecer to become a convert of Chiniquy was Louis Joseph Amadée Papineau, son of the rebel Louis Joseph. Despite Protestant claims, this announcement of conversion probably arose more as the end of a life-long anti-clerical process rather than as a truly spiritual transformation.⁶ Chiniquy appears to have been chosen as the symbol of rebellion, not as the catalyst for the conversion.

Although Chiniquy's evangelism proved relatively fruitful, French Protestants regret that their only major impact in Quebec came back in 1875-1877. Chiniquy's exhausting efforts in those years resulted in lists of over 2,000 abjurations of Catholics in the Montreal Witness. The Église St. Jean and the new Église du Sauveur in Montreal owed their fortune to work done during those years. In terms of concrete results, the success of Chiniquy and of French Protestants climaxed at that point. Bishop Bourget was very worried about the events.

After the ex-priest took a health break of several years, the tide swung back to a monolithic French Quebec. Even after returning from his Pacific voyage, Chiniquy became pastor in Illinois rather than in Montreal. From 1880 on Chiniquy rarely claimed more than several hundred converts in a year (as opposed to thousands in those three years of the mid 1870s). The brief sensation of heady optimism faded with the years.⁷ The Église du Sauveur was sold and the membership of other congregations returned to previous low levels.

At Chiniquy's death many dreaded the consequences of the loss of one who had chosen in Rev. A.J. Mowatt's words: "the maddest and foolhardiest thing a man of his ability ever set himself to do, to give the best forty years of his life to a thing so utterly hopeless as French evangelization."⁸ Nevertheless, Chiniquy had shown that a breach could be made in the Catholic wall and provided some

⁶ Marcel Trudel, Chiniquy, 1955, pp.267-70.

⁷ See MW, 1 May 1875, p.1, for a prediction of a Protestant Montreal 100 years later in 1975.

⁸ From his funeral, included in Chiniquy's 40 Years in the Church of Christ, 1900, p.495.

hope for a repeat of the same.⁹

Chiniquy was "the great champion of liberty and the Gospel"¹⁰, defending French Protestants against superior forces. His visits provided great encouragement and new vigour for the dispersed congregations and pastors. By his admirers he was pictured as a stubborn Daniel willing to face lions¹¹, a David against mighty Goliath¹², a Joshua willing to enter the strange new land¹³, a Moses leading his people out of slavery¹⁴, a second apostle Paul rejected by his people¹⁵, and of course the new Luther¹⁶. The inspiration of such a leader for those who were a small, isolated and harassed minority with no power and little future, was incalculable.

His single-handed combat inspired but it left none able to take over after his death. The Catholic Church could henceforth afford to ignore French Protestants or to permit harassment of them, without fear of repercussions. Here, even more than with his evangelism, the primary legacy was the eternal search for "another Chiniquy". The Aurore mourned, "will his spirit not be passed on to some friend at this time."¹⁷ Prayers were frequently made for a successor for their champion.¹⁸

In the 1850s Isaac Hellmuth had looked for an "Anglican Chiniquy". A century later Pastor Jacques Smith reports that Dr. Reid of the Presbyterian Church was still looking for "another

⁹ See Eugène Réveillaud (a Protestant from France), Histoire du Canada et des canadiens-français de la découverte jusqu'à nos jours, Paris, 1884, p.461.

¹⁰ John Herdt (Montreal) to Chiniquy, 17 September 1896 (Samuel Lefebvre papers (henceforth SL), c.1/5, McGill Rare Books).

¹¹ Aurore (henceforth A), 5 May 1894, p.6.

¹² MW, 24 January 1870, p.2; also, in his Catholic years, Avenir (henceforth Av), 18 April 1849.

¹³ 40 Years, pp.129,135.

¹⁴ A prophecy in MW, 4 March 1850, p.68; then MW, 22 January 1870 and 20 January 1877, p.1.

¹⁵ Converted Catholic (henceforth CC), New York, 2 (1885), p.50; 40 Years, p.494; 50 ans dans l'Église de Rome, 1902, vol.1, p.ii.

¹⁶ See pp. 249-50 of my thesis.

¹⁷ A, 2 August 1900, p.8 (my translation).

¹⁸ A, 11 February 1899, p.6.

Chiniquy".¹⁹ Ever since the 1830s every evangelical group has hoped for charismatic spiritual leaders in order to break through the wall in Quebec. Confronting such a homogeneous society with anti-Protestant beliefs, French Protestants often despaired of making any progress without an outstanding leader who possessed proven public credentials. Chiniquy was the obvious model. While most pastors were unknown and cautious, he was known by all and dared to challenge fearlessly. "For many he will remain the ideal prototype for evangelical French-Canadian pastors: 'Golden-tongued' (Chrysostom), tremendous preacher, a man of action and destroyer [pourfendeur] of Catholics."²⁰

Chiniquy was the last well-known French Protestant. Anglican pastor Victor Rahard stirred up some controversy with his polemical style in the 1930s²¹ but he lacked the impact and longevity of Chiniquy. The search for "another Chiniquy" proved fruitless while alternative models were very slow in developing. Chiniquy's granddaughter was one who wished that his successors had put more energy into the projects already in place²² rather than waiting for another champion.

Father Chiniquy helped entrench the natural cooperation of various Protestant groups which were all aiming to evangelize French Catholics. Although a few Baptists found his methods to be not spiritual enough²³, he maintained good relations with their denomination, accepted all offers to speak, even in isolated congregations, and regularly attended any interdenominational worship services, rallies or picnics. Chiniquy warned Protestants that they were less attractive as sectarian opponents of each other. He pressed constantly for visible signs of unity to ward off Catholic prejudices.²⁴

¹⁹ Interview with long-time Presbyterian pastor Jacques Smith, Montreal, 23 May 1992.

²⁰ Pierre Goldberger, "La main tendue" (3rd part of a series 'Comme un grain de sénévé'), Aujourd'hui credo, April 1992, p.15.

²¹ Although he produced many new members, according to Jacques Smith, he lacked the positive evangelical emphases of Bible study and prayer. His ministry was brief while his converts anglicized or joined other French denominations.

²² Violet Lefebvre manuscript, "Réflexions faites après avoir parcouru "diaries" 1891-92-95-96-97" (SL c.2/103). She was the grand-daughter of Chiniquy and source of the SL papers.

²³ "There is just now a larger, though more outward and more superficial agency at work in the presence and preaching here of Mr. Chiniquy" (Grande Ligne Annual Report of 1885, pp.93-4).

²⁴ "Chiniquy to Rev. M. Smith, Editor of the Standard", 16 April 1873, pamphlet, 7 pages (SL c.1/12).

Despite this interdenominational stance, his very membership in the Presbyterian church assured that this group would dominate French Protestantism. He, himself, raised large sums of money for French Presbyterian mission, which financed by far the largest number of missionaries of any group. Without doubt the presence of Chiniquy made the Presbyterians the natural option for converts, as opposed to the Anglicans, Baptists or Methodists. Imagine the impact of the 14 future pastors for French churches, whom Chiniquy raised up from his own St. Anne congregation, more than any Canadian Presbyterian church in that period.²⁵ Although they never formed an organized block in French mission, these 14 constituted a very large percentage of pastors in French work, all loyal to their leader.

The major problem with this legacy of endorsement of Presbyterian work was that this was one of the first denominations to officially reject proselytism²⁶ and thus to effectually undermine French evangelical churches. The influence of the Chiniquy-MacVicar brand of polemical anti-Catholicism declined rapidly after the deaths of these two. Impetus for French mission disappeared among English Protestants and, since they provided the finances, they also made the decisions.

While the memory of Chiniquy was fresh, there still remained an alternative to anti-clericalism or ultramontanism in French Canada. A writer in l'Aurore predicted, "truth will triumph, justice will soon shine again, and the dawn of a new day will come in Canada where the School of Chiniquy will prosper."²⁷ He had brought to light the intolerant aspects of ultramontanism and also opened a door for critics of Catholicism. This proved to be an ephemeral influence limited to those who managed to find and secretly read his banned writings.

Rev. Amaron wrote that "the book of the life of a man whom God designated to give a mortal blow to the giant of intemperance, and then to obscurantism and to moral and intellectual slavery ... can not be closed."²⁸ French Protestants prolonged the memory through literature. The 1913 history of French Protestantism by Duclos contained a huge section on the ex-priest. A condensed version of Chiniquy's two autobiographies was published in French

²⁵ A, 16 July 1909, p.5; 40 Years, p.147; Presbyterian Board of French Evangelization report, 1881 General Assembly, p.cxxii.

²⁶ John Moir, Enduring Witness, Don Mills, 1987, p.156; see the concluding chapter of Richard Strout, The Latter Years of the Board of French Evangelization of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, Diss. MA, Bishop's U., 1986, pp.53-4, 60-76.

²⁷ A, 30 December 1899, p.8 (my translation).

²⁸ Rev. Amaron in A, 3 March 1899, p.9 (my translation). This was in response to the Patrie, 17 January, p.8.

in 1946²⁹ and has been in print ever since 1976.³⁰

Prior to Vatican II, no Chiniquy book sold well in Quebec except Le prêtre, la femme et le confessionnal. Only a very few pamphlets were reprinted. Even the French version of his autobiography, Cinquante ans, was published, in its entirety, only in Europe. A few copies of Vol.1 (the first half) of Cinquante ans were Chiniquy's only publications in French in Quebec between 1876 and 1894. During that same period Chiniquy produced more than 25 tracts, pamphlets or books in English. The Roman Catholic "Index" of proscribed books must have been effective in limiting Chiniquy's readers in Quebec to the Protestant community or to Catholics who read English and risked their excommunication.

Chiniquy's involvement with the Orange Order opened the way for others. There is no evidence of sizable membership gains but French branches were established in Quebec by Rev. Jacques Smith while Pastor Ludger Émard became Grand Master for Quebec.³¹ The protection this group provided (e.g., for Rev. Rahard) encouraged accusations of treason against French Protestants. Such a legacy faded with the Orange Order itself.

Even though Chiniquy had facilitated freedom of speech about religion, this proved to be a precedent which required frequent repetition. Again his legacy is found in his inspirational example rather than in any durable results. On the other hand Chiniquy's penchant for political comment was not shared by his successors. This proved to be an unnecessary provocation by the declining French Protestant community.³²

After Chiniquy's death, with the disappearance of their most notable fund-raiser, French Protestant schools and congregations eventually closed or became bilingual. Chiniquy had tried to persuade French Protestants to become self-financing. He provided an exemplary personal model of giving but even his large Illinois congregation had trouble paying its expenses. Many Chiniquy speeches tended to stress the financial disadvantages experienced by converts and to appeal for English or American funds. Such an approach worked against French Protestant stewardship. Dependency on English money remains a major problem to the present day for French Protestants.

²⁹ Mes Combats: Autobiographie de Charles Chiniquy, Montreal, 1946. Rev. Jacques Smith and Plymouth Brethren pastor John Spreeman organized this condensation of 50 Years and 40 Years.

³⁰ Chiniquy: l'homme qui osa défier la puissante empire de Rome, 1976, 508p. This is the same book as Mes combats with minor changes. It has been a popular book with frequent reprintings.

³¹ A, October 1956, p.4.

³² The newspaper Aurore did make occasional comments, depending on the editors or correspondents but no notice was taken by outsiders.

The French Protestant group he helped establish, which seemed so strong in 1899, was too dependent on Chiniquy for fund-raising, and for leadership in Presbyterian meetings, to carry on long after his death. Chiniquy's converts and many other French Protestants had to live down the term *chiniquiste*.³³ An editorial in *l'Aurore* complained: "the *Courrier* [du Canada] pretends to believe that Mr Chiniquy is the founder of a sect of which the francophone protestants are all members. Surely it must know that this famous Canadian was Presbyterian and that francophone Protestants belong to many denominations which are as diverse as the waves but as united as the sea."³⁴

Although one Franco-American convert was proud to be called "*Chiniquiste*"³⁵, in Quebec it was a caustic label. The church in St. Anne, Illinois and many others were called the Church of Chiniquy.³⁶ *L'Aurore*,³⁷ the *Semeur canadien*³⁸ and the *Montreal Witness*³⁹ were each tarred by being called "the Chiniquy newspaper". This usage of Chiniquy's name for the purpose of discrediting French Protestants, long outlived its reference.

It is surprising that French Protestants have named nothing after their great hero. No church, group, publication or foundation in Quebec or Illinois has borne his name. Probably the name became too controversial.⁴⁰ The French Protestant community could not afford to further repel potential converts or facilitate Catholic propaganda.

Still when Chiniquy was maligned, French Protestants have always jumped to his defence.⁴¹ The epitaph from Heb. 11:4, "although dead, he still speaks" was applied to Chiniquy more than

³³ Rieul Duclos, *Histoire du protestantisme français au Canada et aux États-Unis*, Montreal, 1913, vol.2, p.211; Trudel, p.276.

³⁴ A, 21 February 1901, p.4.

³⁵ *Citoyen franco-américain*, Springfield MA, 18 May 1893, p.3.

³⁶ *40 Years*, p.123; Trudel, p.227; A, 13 August 1909, p.7; even in the 1950s - Maurice Nerny, *A History of Franco-Canadian Protestantism*, BD thesis, McGill, 1956, p.47.

³⁷ A, 28 December 1895, p.4.

³⁸ *Courrier du Canada*, Quebec, 27 July 1859, p.2 and 19 December 1859.

³⁹ *Le journal de Fraserville*, 31 July 1896, p.22.

⁴⁰ Lois Meier, *The Saga of St. Anne*, St. Anne IL, 1976, pp.6-7.

⁴¹ E.g., A, May 1865, p.1.

once, in hallowed tones.⁴² It was said in 1924 that "for French Protestants, he remains a great figure with a halo."⁴³ Over the years l'Aurore often reprinted his writings or stories keeping his memory alive. Even in 1993 when the play "Chiniquy, menteur de Dieu" was publicized in Quebec City, the local group of French Protestant pastors met to prepare a response.⁴⁴

The ex-priest was greatly honoured by French Protestants in St. Anne, Illinois as founder and benefactor of the colony, besides being the liberator of his people.⁴⁵ One French pastor in Kansas came close to un-Protestant prayer for the intercession of the dead Chiniquy.⁴⁶ Chiniquy's American influence even extended to a francophone Greek Orthodox priest in Florida who urged greater pride in their hero against Marcel Trudel's attacks.⁴⁷

It is true that the memory of Chiniquy has faded with the years, since his supporters possessed few means of reinforcing it. Still, a type of hero-worship for their champion remains very strong among many older Protestants and among those who have suffered marginalization in Quebec. While evangelical denominations in Quebec have spread Chiniquy writings and maintained his memory, the more ecumenically-minded Protestant denominations have been happy to forget the controversial ex-priest. For example Chiniquy mementoes here at Presbyterian College and Église St-Jean of the United Church are confined to closets. A recent article by Pierre Goldberger⁴⁸, provided a welcome insightful exception.

C. For Catholic Quebec

Although the horror, surrounding the apostasy of such an important figure, wore off with the years, Chiniquy remained the archetypical apostate. Goldberger writes: "Chiniquy became the caricature of new converts [vireux de capot]: excessive, revengeful, lacking in elementary charity towards his former church, untrustworthy ... having denied the faith, and perhaps even,

⁴² Duclos, vol.2, p.102; A, 23 December 1899, p.5.

⁴³ Primeau-Robert, La place des protestants dans la nationalité Canadienne-française, Montreal, 1924, p.37 (my translation).

⁴⁴ "Chiniquy, God's liar". The play closed too quickly to afford an opportunity.

⁴⁵ A, 17 February 1900, p.10; 3 March 1900, p.11; 3 September 1909, p.5; St. Anne Record, IL, 6 August 1909.

⁴⁶ A, 6 September 1900, p.6.

⁴⁷ Father J.J. Laliberté in A, June 1966, p.4.

⁴⁸ "La main tendue", Aujourd'hui credo, April 1992.

'betrayed' his people."⁴⁹

His name continued to be used by Catholic authorities to connote an immoral, proud, rebellious man. During Chiniquy's life the images of "wolf in sheep's clothing", Judas, Gavazzi,⁵⁰ and "fallen angel" continued to dog him. He was employed as a bogey man, to warn others who were tempted to take the first steps of rebellion, or to make contact with his followers. Archbishop Paul-Émile Léger, in a 1952 sermon, described Chiniquy as the epitome of *hubris*, a Prometheus who aspired too high and thus was doomed.⁵¹ As the primary clerical explanation of Chiniquy's apostasy, this concept of a fatal flaw of pride continued to dominate.⁵²

Most mention of the apostate priest after his death derived from clerical sources. Apart from the concern of a few as to the reasons for transformation, in the popular culture it was the results of the transformation which were most often mentioned. The newspaper *l'Événement* predicted correctly at his death: "Chiniquy leaves to history a soiled name, which will be sadly remembered for a very long time. For the future generations as for us, this name will evoke the painful memory of a double apostasy: religious and national."⁵³

Those who attended a Montreal play in 1971 were undoubtedly surprised that despite the title "Chiniquy", there was no mention of the 19th-century ex-priest.⁵⁴ "Chiniquy" had by then been a term of abuse for so long that it had entered popular culture, becoming a colloquial expression in Quebec to describe any rebel or accursed person.⁵⁵

Alphonse Villeneuve published one critique of Chiniquy approved by Bishop Bourget and then, in an anonymous pamphlet, surpassed even the *Courrier* and *Minerve* with his colourful vocabulary describing Chiniquy as a brute, imbecile, wretch, vile henchman of Hell, criminal, immoral and base scoundrel, hypocrite, sad fool: "a lying machine, for raving and vomit, which the spirit of Satan directs ... Soon no one will speak any longer of this man: Ridicule

⁴⁹ Ibid, p.15 (my translation).

⁵⁰ John Barrett, *Pastor Chiniquy, Illinois Apostate*, MA thesis, St. Mary of the Lake U., Mundelein IL, 1958, p.33.

⁵¹ Recounted by Paul Sylvestre OFM of Montreal in a personal conversation in August 1992.

⁵² See Th. Maignage, *Le témoignage des apostats*, Paris, 1916.

⁵³ *Événement*, 17 January 1899, p.2 (my translation).

⁵⁴ *Montreal Star*, 26 December 1970; *Le Devoir*, Montreal, 13 January 1971.

⁵⁵ Jeanne Desrochers, *La Presse*, Montreal, 29 April 1972, p.8.

will crush him; shame and contempt will be his shroud."⁵⁶ Ville-neuve's approach and abusive language⁵⁷ in reference to the arch-apostate were maintained for 80 years or so. Chiniquy's daughter, Rebeccah Morin, sued La croix for claiming that her mother was a concubine, since no priest could legally be married.⁵⁸ This case again attained front page coverage for the ex-priest long after his death.

A former nun reported having been obliged to teach a sarcastic anti-Chiniquy song at her Joliette school in the 1930s.⁵⁹ Jacques Smith remembers "scélérat"⁶⁰ as the common reference for Chiniquy. Even the *Société Historique Lemoine de Longueuil* in 1958, uncharacteristically, wanted to demolish an old building because: "it does not remind us of any interesting person except for the apostate Chiniqui[sic]; it is a sacrilege existing beside the house which commemorates Sister Marie-Rose."⁶¹

In his lifetime, Chiniquy revelled in polarizing and focusing opposition on himself. "Chiniquy having frequently mixed contempt with his preaching of the Gospel, it is not surprising that this same contempt would be turned later on French Protestants."⁶² The wicked reputation of Chiniquy was applied to all French Protestants since he was the only one well-known in Quebec history.⁶³ Somehow in Quebec whenever the name Chiniquy was mentioned, polemics, either for or against him, resulted.

In some opposition to this vilification approach, the notion developed that all mention of Chiniquy should be avoided or silenced in order to avoid the spread of scandal. "There is nothing to be gained, no religious or moral goal to be attained in evaluating, at this time, the career of Mr Chiniquy. Let us close, with his death, the book of his life!"⁶⁴, wrote an obituary in La

⁵⁶ XYZ, (pseudonym for Alphonse Villeneuve), Honte et Mépris, Montreal, 1875, pp.5-6.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 8p.

⁵⁸ She won in Morin versus Bégin over an article in La Croix of 18 November 1911 (Montreal Gazette, 11 and 21 June 1921).

⁵⁹ Mennonite Pastor Clyde Shannon in an interview in May 1993.

⁶⁰ This means a villain or blackguard.

⁶¹ From a clipping in VDL mss. See the whole file in SL c.2/106.

⁶² Goldberger, "La main tendue", p.15 (my translation).

⁶³ Similar stereotypes have accompanied followers of Ayatollah Khomeini, David Hubbard - the founder of Scientology, and even Ignatius of Loyola (for Chiniquy and anti-Catholics).

⁶⁴ La Patrie, Montreal, 17 January 1899, p.8 (my translation).

patrie. This was the extension of the enforced silencing of newspapers back in 1857.⁶⁵

It is not surprising that no street or place name in Quebec preserves the memory of the famous priest. Villains are not usually honoured publicly even if they formerly made some contributions. However more active steps were taken by the Catholic hierarchy such as the destruction of a Plamondon painting of Chiniquy in St. Anne de Beaupré.⁶⁶

Chiniquy correctly accused Catholic clergy of revisionist history that eliminated its opponents.⁶⁷ Chiniquy's role in temperance has certainly been down-played in history so that other priests received at least equal glory. The tenacious practice of the *croix noir* was attributed to others. In 1900 there was an attempt by Unitarians and Catholics to prevent Chiniquy books from being donated to the Boston Public Library.⁶⁸

Quebec historians, trained in Catholic schools have tended to this silencing approach more than to vilification. Until the 1950s, Quebec historians were silent (Groulx, Sulte, Bibaud)⁶⁹ or abusive and brief (Rumilly). Thomas Chapais combined the two, taking Louis Fréchette to task for a more positive account of Chiniquy⁷⁰ and later refusing to pronounce the name of the apostate priest since the name was so dishonourable.⁷¹ In 1939, Arthur Maheux wrote on "the Protestant problem" but: "there had been the possibility first of dealing with Chiniquy. I did not do it. ... because this person is well enough known; to say anything new it would be necessary to uncover unedifying subjects."⁷²

A Catholic priest who studied Chiniquy, observed that of the books written in Chiniquy's lifetime, "several have been printed

⁶⁵ Larocque pastoral letter of 15 February 1857, (Mandements des évêques de St-Hyacinthe, vol.1, p.300); Av, 1 June 1857 and 15 September 1857; Bourget circular to clergy, 18 March 1875 (Mandements des évêques de Montréal, vol. 7, p.103).

⁶⁶ 50 Years, p.332.

⁶⁷ MW, 18 August 1876, p.1. This specifically refers to an alteration of the monument at Beauport.

⁶⁸ J. Moore, Boston Public Library rejects Father Chiniquy's 'Forty Years in the Church of Christ'..., [1900], Boston, 8p.

⁶⁹ Jan Noel, The Errant Shepherd: Chiniquy and the Making of Ultramontane Quebec, unpublished ms., pp.3, 29 (CBA, Hamilton).

⁷⁰ Cour, 14 August 1900, p.2.

⁷¹ Chapais, Discours et conférences, Quebec, 1913, p.303.

⁷² Maheux, "Le problème protestant", RSHEC, 1939, p.43 (my translation).

with all references to his name blotted out, as if he had never existed, although, in one case, the original manuscript contains several citations."⁷³ Marcel Trudel mentioned in his memoirs the difficulty he encountered in getting access to files on the apostate. Pre-Vatican II historians who mentioned Chiniquy felt obliged to apologize for writing anything about him.⁷⁴

This silencing helped to convey the impression that no one significant ever left the Roman Catholics for the Protestants.⁷⁵ The counter forces, of silencing and denigrating, actually contributed to the creation of a durable myth. Although the Quiet Revolution in Quebec undermined the myth, the silence in sources remains. Most young Quebecers, including historians, have no more than a vague awareness of the name or have read only Trudel's polemical account.

Historian Jan Noel claimed that Chiniquy was instrumental in popularizing ultramontaniam in the 1840s.⁷⁶ Ironically Chiniquy's later rebellion and anti-Catholicism further spurred the spread of ultramontaniam in Quebec. Those aspects of traditional Catholicism which Chiniquy attacked most became the elements which were promoted most by clerics. Bishop Bourget urged:

The more he insults the divine Eucharist, the more you ... will show zeal to make up for the terrible insults, by your constant respect in the presence of the very holy Sacrament ... the simplest means for you to refute the monstrous errors [about Mary] of this unworthy priest, is to be inspired more and more by devotion, faith and piety towards the most holy Mother of God, by showing yourselves more zealous than ever for her honour, through all the pious observances which you know that she finds pleasing.⁷⁷

This is not to say that these practices were not well established already. However, due to Chiniquy's attacks, the Catholic church in Quebec was obliged to increase its teaching on the

⁷³ Barrett, p.2.

⁷⁴ Sydney Smith, Pastor Chiniquy, London, 1908, p.2; J.M. Lucey, The Business of Vilification, Brooklyn, n.d., p.1.

⁷⁵ Albert Close, Why 854 Priests Left the Church of Rome, London, 1936, p.i.

⁷⁶ Noel, op. cit.

⁷⁷ Bourget pastoral letter, 19 March 1875 (MEM, vol. 7, pp.122,123; my translation).

Roman Catholic distinctive doctrines.⁷⁸ Its faithful were henceforth better informed about Mary, the sacraments, the confessional and the Pope. Ceremonies became increasingly elaborate to focus even more on these aspects. Any questioning of this was vulnerable to the charge of "Chiniquism".

Roman Catholic discipline was tightened up after the rebellion of the isolated priest. Chicago bishops now saw even more reason for the centralization of the ownership of church property and an opposition to trusteeism. At the same time the church sought out more capable administrators who could diplomatically and effectively deal with dissidents. In light of other instances of episcopal authoritarianism, the recent revision of Canon Law in the Catholic church aims for more protection of the accused clergy until he is clearly found guilty by an impartial court.

Although Chiniquy would receive no credit, perhaps in the long-term, he raised enough problems with the confessional to be part of the movement encouraging the Catholic church to change its methods.⁷⁹ Bible distribution by the ex-priest certainly provoked the availability of Catholic translations. However, those who were too eager for Bible study and exhibited any similarities to positions of Chiniquy were suspect.⁸⁰

Chiniquy reinforced a strong religious reason for English Protestants to oppose separate schools and other Catholic rights. Anyone resisting these schools in Manitoba or elsewhere could now adduce francophone support for their opposition. Although Chiniquy was of marginal political importance overall, his standing outside Quebec in lay church circles was weighty when he pronounced on such political issues. This promoted in reaction an even closer link of language and religion by French Catholic leaders.

D. For Evangelicals Outside Quebec

The name of Chiniquy has been quite durable in evangelical Protestant circles. From India to Haiti to Finland, his admirers have publicized his feats and his writings. Due to the long life and many international tours of Chiniquy, he was well known in his lifetime. He profited from his distinction of having been, first, a celebrity in ultramontane Quebec, and then an ex-priest, who had taken virtually his whole parish with him. Mary Bird of England

⁷⁸ It is no coincidence that Alexis Mailloux, Chiniquy's main foe in Illinois later wrote Le petit arsenal du catholique ou traité élémentaire de controverse, Montreal, 1875, 422p.

⁷⁹ The preface of L'homme qui osa (his condensed autobiography), Beauport, 1976, p.iii, claims that he was influential in reversing Catholic positions on the confessional and Bible distribution, reduction of statues and medals, as well as the questioning of clerical celibacy.

⁸⁰ Mailloux, Le petit arsenal, pp.xv-xvi, uses St. Anne errors as an example of reading the Bible without the Church as guide.

called him "the most eminent convert from Popery, and the most successful missionary to Papists, since the days of the immortal Luther."⁸¹ This combination of experiences was seen to entitle him to speak of the horrors of traditional Catholicism from the inside and to suggest methods to counteract this body.

Chiniquy established the standard evangelical Protestant interpretation of Roman Catholicism for years to come, by renewing older interpretation with fresh facts and critiques (Paul Laverdure has performed more detailed evaluation of his anti-Catholic writings). Chiniquy provided knowledge of Catholic theology and sources and kept up a barrage of specific criticism of many Catholic practices. Having been asked by English evangelicals to combat the confessional, he provided what came to be a standard evangelical text on the "evils of that practice".⁸²

Chiniquy also made French Canada a *cause celebre*. The province came to be seen as a prime example of the Catholic aim for total socio-political control, employing a modern bloodless form of the Inquisition. The Chiniquy accounts were immediately identified with by evangelical groups in Quebec, complaining of persecution. These groups then republished the accounts. Brethren missionary John Spreeman had been forced out of the Lac St. Jean area⁸³ before he felt motivated to print Mes Combats.⁸⁴ Such "persecution" was only to be expected when viewed through Chiniquy's grid.

The hundreds of thousands, if not millions of dollars, which Chiniquy managed to raise for French mission was a major evangelical expenditure. After Chiniquy's death the donors switched their giving to overseas missions. Only a famous name and great oratory could manage to keep mission interest alive for an area where people were already attending an apparently Christian church and where thousands of dollars had already been poured in without any great transformation. Overseas missions had better conversion rates and less political and religious complications.

With the wane of anti-Catholicism at the end of the 19th century, Chiniquy had no easy task persuading people that Catholicism was still dangerous. It appears that, nevertheless, he single-handedly heightened anti-Catholic movements in England and

⁸¹ Mary Bird, A Few Reminiscences of the Life and Labours of that Eminent Servant of Christ, Pastor Chiniquy, Leeds, 1878, p.36.

⁸² The Priest, the Woman and the Confessional, 1875; see American Advocate, Mechanicsville Iowa, Feb. 1899, p.83.

⁸³ Claude Savoie, "'Les méchants protestants' du Québec": Magazine McLean, 8 (Nov. 1968), pp.76a-76c; Richard Strout, Advance through Storm: being the story of French Evangelical Protestantism in Roman Catholic Quebec 1930-1980, unpublished ms, Sherbrooke, Institut Béthel, 1980, pp.21-23 (quoting from the Brethren News of Quebec, 1946).

⁸⁴ [John Spreeman] to Joseph Morin, 15 March 1946(SL c.2/110).

Australia with his lecture tours. While these movements faded after his death, Chiniquy's writings still remained popular enough to perpetuate anti-Catholicism, even where there were few Catholics around.

The courage of the ex-priest drew constant admiration from evangelicals.⁸⁵ His exemplary calm in braving so much violence and persecution, at the frequent risk of death, made inspirational reading for subsequent generations. Those crusaders who were most concerned about Catholic dominance, such as Protestant militants T.T. Shields in Ontario, Perry Rockwood in the Maritimes and Chick Publications in the United States, have all distributed Chiniquy material.

J.P.A. Muhr, a Swedish admirer, suggested a full translation of all Chiniquy's works, abundantly illustrated. He continued: "Is there a Chiniquy Society? Is there a hallowed room where all his memoirs are preserved? What miles of thrilling paintings ought not to be exhibited and stored up for future generations."⁸⁶ While the Chiniquy Society never materialized, Chiniquy had passed into evangelical folklore. Poems and songs were composed in his honour.⁸⁷ He even became part of the Anne of Green Gables stories.⁸⁸

Many missionaries involved in French work attributed their call to Chiniquy.⁸⁹ Ex-priests were often his chief publicists, on finding someone who had passed through similar experiences to theirs.⁹⁰ An influential movement specializing in the aid of ex-priests in Paris, New York, and in Canada, was based on Chiniquy's work in Illinois.⁹¹ One notable convert outside Quebec was claimed by Chiniquy: the secretary of Cardinal Manning in England, who had been sent to convince the ex-priest to return to the fold.⁹²

⁸⁵ E.g. F. Marsault, De Rome à l'Évangile, Paris, 1908, p.124.

⁸⁶ J.P.A. Muhr, from Stockholm, Sweden to Joseph Morin, 28 May 1908 (SL c.2/110). The Vicar Apostolate in Norway wrote pamphlets to refute Chiniquy in 1893 (Montreal Archdiocese archives, ACAM 402.102, 893-1).

⁸⁷ MW, 11 May 1875, p.4; J. Moore, Rev. Charles Chiniquy, Boston, c1898, 2p.

⁸⁸ Lucy M. Montgomery, Anne's House of Dreams, 1981, pp.142-3.

⁸⁹ See e.g. CC, 6 (1889), p.234.

⁹⁰ E.g. L.H. Lehmann in foreword to W. Anderson's Father Chiniquy, New York, 1946, pp.3-6; Jacques Smith; J.L. Vinet, author of I was a Priest, Toronto, 1949, 143p.

⁹¹ A, 24 November 1894, p.5; CC, 13 (1896), pp.4-5.

⁹² A, 24 December 1898, p.7.

The militancy of Chiniquy's writings and actions eventually provided ammunition for his critics to pass resolutions rejecting proselytism.⁹³ Non-evangelical protestants had qualms about proselytizing Catholics. While Chiniquy and MacVicar were still alive, the opposition was weak. Though Chiniquy had powerfully striven for 40 years to stir up those at peace with Rome to join him in anti-Catholic battle,⁹⁴ peacemakers made great headway after his death. The English media and the moderates became more vocal. In an era when home mission was declining in any event, the absence of motivating speeches by Chiniquy accelerated the process to cease proselytism. The Chiniquy writings continue to horrify people from areas where the Catholic minority is respected as one of the many branches of the Christian faith.

A narrowing of the influence of Chiniquy did not prevent significant impact in other circles. H.M. Parsons warned just after Chiniquy's death that Presbyterians of liberal theology would try to undo Chiniquy's evangelical work.⁹⁵ His was a conservative evangelical theology that was increasingly sidelined in mainline Protestant churches. The ex-priest, if he had still been alive, would probably have joined those who wrote The Fundamentals. Today the evangelical denominations which are working in Roman Catholic areas are those which still value Chiniquy. Those who have responded least to modern pressures and are most sceptical of Vatican II, i.e., the fundamentalists (and I would urge great caution in attributing this label), prize him most.

Evangelical missionaries around the world have often turned to Chiniquy's writings. I have tracked down 21 translated documents in 14 languages, with reports of editions in four other languages.⁹⁶

Between them they cover all major European languages, besides being printed in native languages in Russia, India, Formosa, South America and Africa.⁹⁷ One wonders at the utility in India, Russia, Sweden and Formosa, where Catholicism was weak. It must be that the lively accounts of the courage and evangelical doctrine of the ex-priest were deemed worthy of translation. New converts in hostile areas often relate well to Chiniquy.

His major works, 50 Years and The Priest, the Woman and the

⁹³ Note Warden to Amaron, 27 January 1899 (United Church Conference Archives in Montreal, henceforth UCM) expresses the kind of critique that was more rare when Chiniquy was alive.

⁹⁴ Sydney Witness, Australia, 19 April 1879, p.1.

⁹⁵ Parsons to Amaron, 25 January 1899 (UCM, French Protestant collection, Amaron papers).

⁹⁶ 40 Years, p.415; Trudel, pp.262-3.

⁹⁷ On Africa see Étienne Hermillon of La Vérité, Farges, France to A, sent on 26 May 1952? (UCM, French Protestant Collection).

Confessional, have been constantly in print since the 1880s with well over 50 editions of each in English.⁹⁸ With brashness, the American Advocate proclaimed Chiniquy's 50 Years to be "a comprehensive and truthful picture of the designs and aims of the Roman Catholic Church upon the liberty of the people ... a complete library in itself ... the Book of the Century ... not a dull page in the volume".⁹⁹

In his will, Chiniquy stipulated that part of his inheritance should go towards publication of popular editions of his works.¹⁰⁰ His writings, including tracts, have probably sold well over one million copies.¹⁰¹ Even when his books are out of print, church or public libraries preserve his influence. Reprintings of his books have been the provocation for most Catholic critiques of Chiniquy.¹⁰² Hopefully a non-polemical portrait of his career can defuse some of the continuing anti-Catholicism which forms such a large part of the legacy of Chiniquy.

E. Conclusion

Chiniquy left no male heirs to carry on his name. It would have been a difficult name to live up to or else to live down. Chiniquy's financial resources were not large, especially after the burning of his Illinois home, but these were left to his daughters. His wife remained inconspicuous in the small apartment of her daughter Rebeccah and her husband, Joseph Morin, who was an ordained Presbyterian as well as Professor of French at McGill.

In the United States, Chiniquy's transformation of St. Anne likely sped up the assimilation of French language and culture. This assimilation proved unavoidable as Quebec links were cut by the Catholic excommunication.

In the field of art, Chiniquy inspired depiction. A miraculous cure and his temperance exploits led to two paintings by Antoine Plamondon in 1837 and 1842 as well as one by Théophile Hamel in 1848. Lithographs were made of this last to be widely sold and displayed on walls in French Canada. The French Protestant Aurore, naturally, picked Chiniquy for its first published photo in 1895.¹⁰³

On the other hand clerical journalist Auclair wrote in a private letter: "certainly for villainy [scélératesse] of every

⁹⁸ His 40 Years did not have the same success but has been reprinted.

⁹⁹ American Advocate, Feb. 1899, p.82 (SL c.1/23).

¹⁰⁰ A, 4 February 1899, p.8.

¹⁰¹ Axel Burman, Bibeln Segrar, Stockholm, 1958, back cover.

¹⁰² E.g., Barrett; S. Smith, p.1; Hull.

¹⁰³ A, 12 October 1895, p.6.

kind, Chiniquy is a genius [génie] inspired directly by Hell! He is infamous [une célébrité] and will pass into history with the deserved appraisal of having eclipsed the great cloud of villains and bandits who have shone through the centuries but who remain mediocre when compared to Chiniquy."¹⁰⁴

Chicago Diocese representative James McGovern maintained that there was no point in mentioning the Chiniquy affair since virtually all Chiniquy's followers had deserted the apostate, leaving him a miserable outcast.¹⁰⁵ In a more sympathetic analysis Quebec literary figure Louis Fréchette wrote: "one wonders where is the work of this man of such talent, who if he had gone in another direction, could have accomplished so much good. I do not see any results... from my point of view his long life which could have been so productive was wasted - a failure."¹⁰⁶

It is certain that Chiniquy did not single-handedly defeat the Roman Catholic church nor did he accomplish all of his many goals.¹⁰⁷ Yet though Chiniquy was an apostate in the sense of leaving his initial vows, his positive contributions deserve fair appraisal. Just as many abandoned alcohol and strengthened their attachment to the Catholic Church as a result of his Catholic crusades, many came to a more vibrant Christian faith through his Protestant crusades.

Overall, Chiniquy's legacy is diverse: a well-established but declining French Protestant church; a more traditional and intransigent Roman Catholic church; contrary mythical images and legends of him, used to further polarize both ultramontanist and Protestantism; a continuing worldwide influence promoting anti-Catholicism among evangelical Protestants; and best-seller status. Above all Chiniquy left his many writings which have been frequently republished.

Evangelical Protestants should pay more attention to the ex-priest's legacy of uncharitable language, exaggeration and polemics with their effects of polarization. One of my aims is to diminish his anti-Catholic influence by showing his faults. Then perhaps there could be wider appreciation for his example of courage in his campaigns to protect the French language in Illinois and the right

¹⁰⁴ Auclair letter to Mailloux, 5 August 1858 (Quebec Seminary Archives, ASQ 50:9b; my translation).

¹⁰⁵ James McGovern to Richard Clarke, 6 May 1887 (University of Notre Dame Archives, I-2-N).

¹⁰⁶ In 1900, reprinted in Mémoires intimes, Montreal, ² 1977, p.111.

¹⁰⁷ Article in A, 6 September 1900, p.6, refuting Fréchette's claim. The same writer would surely also refute the extravagance of McLoughlin, Famous Ex-Priests, p.127, who claims: "if it had not been for the dedication, energy and fearlessness of Charles Chiniquy, the United States would probably now be a Roman Catholic nation."

to free speech in Quebec.

Undoubtedly Chiniquy's French books have enjoyed better sales in Quebec since Vatican II, both because of the freedom to choose literature, and the anti-clerical climate in which many are looking for such heroes. A few of my Catholic clergy acquaintances have interpreted Chiniquy to be an early model for advocating democratization of church structures. In a new age with new sources, on the eve of the centenary of his death, the legacy of Charles Chiniquy is not yet complete. He deservedly remains a legend in Quebec.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ Even Trudel admits the legendary status but claims that it has been based on lies. Jan Noel ("Dry Patriotism: The Chiniquy Crusade": CHR 71,2 (1990), p.207) and Paul Laverdure ("Charles Chiniquy: The Making of an Anti-Catholic Crusader": CCHA Historical Studies, 65 (1987), p.55) agree that Chiniquy became a legend.

- 1809 Birth in Kamouraska. His father was a Roman Catholic notary of Basque ancestry.
- 1833 Ordained Roman Catholic priest in Quebec City. Served St. Roch, Beauport and then Kamouraska. **24 years**
- 1839 Began a temperance society. **30 years**
- 1844 Publication of 1st ed. of his Manuel de tempérance; most successful French book of 19th Century
- 1846 Moved to Montreal and concentrated on Temperance missions.
- 1847 Received a blessing and a crucifix from the Pope
- 1850 Standing ovation and large gift of money from the Canadian Parliament for his temperance efforts. Called the Apostle of Temperance by Bishop Bourget who claimed that half of French Canada had signed the pledge due to CC. **40 years**
- 1851 Became colonizing priest in Illinois (St. Anne).
- 1853-6 Disputes between Chiniquy and his Irish Bishops in Chicago
- 1856 Suspended for insubordination and violent language **47 years**
- 1856 Chiniquy ignored the order and continued on in his church and with his pastorate.
- Abraham Lincoln was his lawyer defending against Catholic opponents.
- 1856-8 Repeated attempts at reconciliation
- 1858 CC was definitively excommunicated but almost all his congregation supported his new Catholic Christian Church.
- 50 years** 1859 Almost stoned to death in Quebec City as he came to explain his actions. The Catholic bishops banned all contact with him or his writings at risk of excommunication. Chiniquy was later stoned at least 20 times, shot at, attacked with knives and almost kidnapped, besides many death threats.
- 1860 CC and his congregation, still in the same building, joined the Presbyterians of Chicago. Chiniquy took a 6 month speaking tour around England and the Continent.
- 1862 CC suspended by Chicago Presbytery over various misunderstandings. Cleared by Canadian Presbyterians to whom he and his congregation transferred. Pastor in St. Anne till 1888 except for 6 scattered years.
- 1864 Married to Euphémie Allard. They had 3 children **55 years**
- 1870 CC invited to Montreal by the interdenominational French Canadian Mission Society for a six month mission.
- 1875-8 CC back to Montreal as Presbyterian missionary and then pastor of Canning St. Church. **66 years at start**
- Wrote his first major Protestant book The Priest, The Woman and the Confessional.
- 1878-80 A lecture and rest tour around Australia and NZ.
- 1880-88 Pastor back in St-Anne IL **71 years at return**
- 1885 Publication of his most famous book, Fifty Years in the Church of Rome.
- 1888 Official retirement. **79 years**
- 1893 Received Doctor of Divinity here at Presbyterian College.
- 1896-7 Last major lecture tour of England and the Continent with lectures every day for 3 months. **87-8 years**
- 1899 Healthy until 2 weeks before his January 16 death in Montreal. Over 3,000 viewed the corpse. Huge funeral and procession to Mount Royal Cemetery. **90th year**

**Moderatism and the Evangelical Critique:
the crucicentric legacy of Scotland's conflicting response to
Enlightenment**

by Franceen Neufeld

Scotland: opposing visions of triumphant Christianity

The cross of Calvary - the shame and the glory of the gospel, and the heart of the Christian witness - has throughout its history endured distortion at the hands of those who would not submit to its scandal and reproach. Eighteenth-century Scotland struggled under the confrontation between two opposing visions of a triumphant Christianity, the intolerance of the one beating the cross into the sword of the Church militant, and the progressivism of the other beautifying it into the ascending ladder of the Church glorious. Out of this painful conflict there emerged for the Church a chastened understanding of the judgment of the cross upon both manifestations of human pride.

Seventeenth-century Scotland had exhausted itself in political turmoil and religious controversy which gradually, yet persistently, eroded support for the 1560 ideal of the Godly Commonwealth (Smout 94). A diminishing confidence in the tribal role of the church (Gay I, 399) as theological guardian of society (Cameron 117), and the weakening of the old Kirk after it was denied the support of civil law in 1690 (Smout 511), prepared the way for Scotland's unique response to the Enlightenment. Stunned by the 1697 execution of a questioning Edinburgh student, Thomas Aikenhead (Davie 9), Scotland entered the eighteenth century with a grim awareness of the darkness from which it must escape.

Yet Scotland's deliverance from dogmatic abuse was made possible by historical factors within its Knoxian heritage itself. The nation's eventual leadership role in the Enlightenment was built upon foundations contributed by the Scottish Reformation: emphasis on reason and truth (Sutherland 140), dedication to a broad-based educational system (McCosh 20), belief in individual freedom and responsibility as inherent in the priesthood of all believers (Smout 510-511), and finally, a fundamental moral seriousness (Smout 99-100). The Scottish Enlightenment was thus deeply indebted to its Calvinist heritage for its response to a specific historical catalyst:

a period of intensely painful discord followed immediately by "a time of peace and temporal prosperity" (McCosh 21). The Moderate leadership of the Scottish Enlightenment desired to ensure that the nascent "golden age" would achieve for the nation a permanent recovery from the religious oppression and political instability of the previous era.

Enlightenment: Ungrateful debtor to Christian faith and purpose

The general international movement which came to be known as the Enlightenment, was for the most part unaware of its debt to the Christianity against which it directed its attack. Peter Gay suggests that pride blinded the *philosophes* to their own illusions (Gay I, 27), preventing them from recognizing that much of the period's growing atmosphere of tolerance originated in the Christian faith itself, and "was exercised by Christians for Christian purposes" (Gay I, 325). Instead, the Enlightenment's military and medical metaphors against Christianity and its historical role (Gay II, 16), demonstrated the lack of objectivity involved in their reduction of the significance of Christianity to an ignorant superstition and a dangerous fanaticism (Gay I, 37).

The Christian humanism which had emerged in the Renaissance was radicalized in the Enlightenment, leaving no area of human life untouched. Historiography in particular was revolutionized in the process, experiencing a reorientation away from the sacred history of Jewish thought, to the secularized perspective of contemporary critical philosophy. Tertullian's famous dictum, "What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?" was turned on its head by the *philosophes* in their deliberate rejection of the Hebraic orientation expressed by "that African madman" (Voltaire, quoted in Gay I, 216). This Athenian perspective was to a large extent successful in luring Scottish theologians towards a cultured, optimistic philosophy which distorted, and at times undermined, the message of the cross.

Immoderate Moderatism: Battling Fanaticism and Scepticism

Such confidence is often born and nurtured in a time of prosperity. In 1707, Scotland's acceptance of the Act of Union caused both the demise of its political independence and the

flourishing of its economy (Brown xvii). The benefits of the country's growing prosperity were mostly experienced by the upper classes, however, while the lower classes were increasingly victimized by the effects of progress. This contributed to a curious duality within the Scottish Enlightenment: the progressive impetus in Scotland was urged by conservative political interests, while religious orthodoxy was defended by the democratic principles of the "most moral and intelligent peasantry in Europe" (Chalmers 265) who resisted having reforms imposed upon them. Poor rural communities in particular clung to the old Commonwealth Ideal, and were supported in their position by popular Calvinist preachers of the "old orthodoxy" (Brown xvii-xviii).

The Moderate party of the Church of Scotland, representing theological liberalism and political conservatism, faced opposition from the Popular party, which defended theological orthodoxy and political liberalism. Nowhere was this enigmatic contrast more apparent or significant than in the issue of Patronage, through which the Moderates defined their role as enlightened leaders, rather than humble servants, of the people (Sher 159). By enforcing unpopular patronage appointments, the Moderates made a concerted effort to guide the common people towards the refined virtue and tolerance which alone could firmly establish the golden age which they perceived to be dawning upon Scotland. Popular party members pointed out, however, that the "fierce" moderation involved in implementing this agenda of tolerance, allowed no room for tolerance of any view other than a moderate one (Witherspoon 59).

The Moderate party dominated the Church of Scotland under the leadership of William Robertson from 1766 to 1780 (Brown 45), transforming Scotland's reputation in a remarkably brief space of time from its stereotypical status as an insignificant fringe of "Highland barbarism" to its singular prestige as a cultural trend-setter for the international Enlightenment movement (Sher 3). The Moderates were far more successful than most other Enlightenment leaders at institutionalizing their values (Sher 328), causing Edinburgh to achieve recognition as the "Athens of Great Britain" (Thomas Sheridan, quoted in Sher 3).

Despite their significant accomplishments in the fields of literature, history, the social sciences, philosophy and religion, members of the Moderate party have been criticized by historians who have maintained that Moderate deficiencies severely compromised their worth. These critics, however, have occasionally failed to acknowledge Moderatism's continuity with

important elements of Scotland's moral and rational Calvinist heritage (Allan 1-16), and they have at times neglected to take into consideration the daunting task facing these clerical leaders in their particular historical situation. The Moderates were engaged in a battle on two fronts: on the one hand, they responded to the desperate need of their hurting society by throwing themselves into the struggle for a kind Christianity; and on the other hand, they sought to fortify the people against powerful sceptical forces threatening the very survival of Christian faith.

David Hume: The Shadow of the Avenger!

It has been said that the philosophy of Scotland in the Enlightenment lived under the shadow of David Hume (Sutherland 132) - "the avenger"! whose way had been prepared by a system of "error" originating with Lord Shaftesbury and Francis Hutcheson (McCosh 85-86). Hume's epistemological preoccupation was consistent with his Scottish intellectual inheritance (Sutherland 136), yet the failure of his search after arguments led him to a radical abandonment of the religious content of that tradition (Gay I, 66-67). Hume's fundamental antagonism towards Christianity is revealed in his portrayal of religion as a superstitious dependence bred by human weakness, timidity, ignorance and need (Hume 43, 62). He confronted the "logic of belief" itself (Gay I, 404), attempting to undermine the three props of religious confidence: rational argument, historical tradition, and revelation as proved by miracles (Wollheim 25-26). For Hume, no certainty is possible, therefore no system ought to be embraced (Hume 160).

Daunted by the abyss toward which Hume was leading both faith and reason, the Scottish clerics attempted to obstruct that Cartesian road leading to radical scepticism (Reid 390) by means of "the good sense of Locke, the analogies of Butler, and the 'Common Sense' of Reid" (*The Record*, 1863, quoted in Bebbington 143).

Reasonable Christianity: The Treason of the Clerks?

What the Moderates were seeking was a Christianity both reasonable in nature and reasonable in accessibility, one which would counter fanatics and sceptics alike. Their resulting compromise with modernity, however, has since been condemned as the "treason of the clerks"

(Gay I, 343). Certainly, their preoccupation with the philosophical defense of religion "in general" (McCosh 13) - whatever that might be! - led to a deemphasis on specifically Christian theological content, to the addition of supplementary goals, and to a lack of earnest devotion (Sher 35). The Moderates themselves remained "ostensibly if tepidly orthodox" (J.H.S. Burleigh, quoted in Rice 32), their leader William Robertson "astutely" resisting all efforts to discard clerical subscription to the Westminster Confession (Cheyne 10). Yet it is apparent that such orthodoxy often lacked warmth, conviction and depth, and occasionally appears to have represented little more than a temporary concession to ecclesiastical expediency.

The Moderates' reasonable Christianity concentrated on virtue, an emphasis which was both consistent with Calvinist tradition, and vital for the needs of their era. Yet in moving away from Christian theology towards a more classical delineation of moral philosophy, they failed to meet the desperate needs of the common people. Moderate sermons defined virtue mostly in terms of a polite and refined benevolence, an attractive blandness which failed to excite anyone in its yawning over divinity (John Macleod, quoted in Rice 32).

The anti-enthusiastic rationalism of the Moderates found itself unable to counter the deist reduction of Christianity to natural religion alone. Locke's reasonable Christianity, so applauded by the representatives of Moderatism, became extended by the deist writers, Toland and Tindal, to a repudiation of all supra-rational elements of the Christian faith. Ultimately the nation's underlying metaphysical scepticism would no longer support these expressions of optimistic confidence in natural theology (Sutherland 142), and the road branched in three directions - towards more radical scepticism, towards more intransigent dogmatism, and finally, towards an earnest appeal to divine revelation and redemption in the face of human sin and need.

Moderate Literati: The Politics of Polite Presbyterianism

Richard Sher's identification of Scottish Enlightenment leadership as the "Moderate literati of Edinburgh" narrows the focus of his study to five individuals: Hugh Blair, Alexander Carlyle, Adam Ferguson, John Home, and William Robertson (Sher 13). The friendship which these literati extended to David Hume demonstrated a tolerance of scepticism which contrasted sharply with their intolerance towards such individuals as Thomas Gillespie, who threatened

ecclesiastical authority structures. Through their skilful use of influence, the Moderates were able to advance Enlightenment values (and their own careers) by gaining control of academic and ecclesiastical positions. The Moderate regime's claims regarding the unifying power of tolerance were belied by the growing alienation within the Church which resulted from their policies of power. Waves of dissenting secession, reaching 100,000 by 1765 (Miller 13), served to empty the Church of any effective traditionalist opposition. Popular party members who remained within the Church were gradually domesticated under the "somnolent influence" (McCosh 15) of a Moderate leadership devoted to cultured pursuits and a "mellow Latitudinarianism" (Gay I, 345). Hugh Blair - Edinburgh preacher, and professor of rhetoric and belles lettres - articulated his "polite Presbyterianism" (Sher 63) in numerous sermons, which were to be judged a century later in less than complimentary terms:

As we read, or try to read, such specimens of their pulpit performances as have survived the general doom of dulness - ... *e.g.* the once well-known sermons of Dr. Hugh Blair - we can understand how evanescent was the limit that separated the teachers of this emasculated Christianity from the non-religious world; and how little, when they affected the society of men of letters, or even of sceptical philosophers, their presence would be felt as the intrusion of a foreign element.
(Caird 179-180)

Moderate Tolerance: Brother to Religious Indifference

Such dulness and cultural "correctness" must be understood, however, in terms of the context in which they played their part. The dangers of religious factionalism were not dead and buried in the distant past, but were a recent memory and a present threat - as witnessed in the anti-Catholic "hysteria" of 1779 (Sher 285). The Moderates launched their relentless campaign against these powerful religious passions, by attacking both enthusiasm and fanaticism as divisive, eruptive forms of religious expression. In their place, they recommended the meek and gentle spirit of the gospel (Campbell 135, 359), and the eloquent reasonableness of the New Testament writings (Hill 38-39). The Moderates insisted that Zeal must constantly be accompanied by "her amiable friend," Charity (Campbell 180). The primacy of love was stressed against the contracting, dogmatic and malign spirit of sectarianism (Campbell 194).

Ironically, however, their anti-dogmatic stance revealed a dogmatism of its own, permitting little sympathy or tolerance towards those who obstinately, and at times divisively, clung to their particularities as if they truly mattered (McCosh 13).

The essential error of the Moderate battle against fanaticism can be discerned in its rationalistic and moralistic opposition to all forms of religious earnestness (Rice 33). If David Hume was right in observing that tolerance is akin to religious indifference (Gay I, 341), then it is apparent that great care must be exercised in order to hold on to the one without surrendering to the other.

Patronage: Anti-factional Factional Power

The Moderates firmly believed that they were setting a tolerant course, yet their control of patronage appointments to achieve it, set them up as a ruling faction whose opposition to factionalism was thus compromised (Miller 13). As a factional power, their need for the approval and support of the upper classes introduced a grave ambiguity into their ideological program. Hugh Blair, for example, enjoined docility and submission towards authority (Blair 109), and suggested that religion "enables good men to enjoy their prosperity...without guilt" (Blair 24). George Campbell commended religion for exerting a "happy influence" on civil society (Campbell 231), with its system of rewards and punishments promoting the welfare of the community through the individual's subjection to authority (Campbell 235-244).

Elitism: Dispensing Christian Humanism to the Masses

This elitist recommendation of religion for its controlling function is reminiscent of Voltaire's suggestion that an enlightened, non-religious elite might need to encourage a form of moral religion in the lower classes for the purpose of social control, a sort of "deism for the mob" (Gay II, 526). While the Moderate clergy never advocated such a Machiavellian position, yet the Church of Scotland did come to be the domain of professional Christians (Gay I, 345), whose system of patronage appointments enabled them to exercise control over society.

Moderate Christians appeared to place theological issues secondary to the social goals

which they shared with the *philosophes*, a consideration which might partially explain the astonishing fact that arch-sceptic David Hume himself was for a time (1767-68) placed in charge of the patronage of churches (McCosh 129)! The humanist goals of the Moderate program were derived from a reformulated version of the classical tradition, one from which the "profound pessimism" of the ancient philosophers had been removed (Gay II, 84). In like manner, the Moderates lightened the burden of the cross, considering it more in terms of its triumph than of its shame and suffering, and portraying that triumph as definitive of the glorious spiritual kingdom which had already been ushered in (Blair 47-48).

It is apparent that for the Moderates, as for the *philosophes*, the Enlightenment signalled a growing cause for cautious optimism (Gay II, 99). Bacon's empiricism and Descartes' ratiocination converged in the Enlightenment's hope that the mastery of nature and of human destiny itself was a potentially realizable goal (Gay I, 311). Even a guarded optimism, however, needs to overlook certain aspects of historical and present reality. Such was the case in the elitist perspective of the Moderate establishment, whose "expansive sense of power over nature and themselves" was, for the most part, the exclusive possession of "the well-born, the articulate, and the lucky: the rural and the urban masses had little share in the new dispensation" (Gay II, 3-4). The moderate faith of the Moderate clergy was unable to accommodate its message to address the profound needs of the people. It articulated instead a somewhat detached magnanimity, a cheerful and affable religion (Blair 108-109) characterized by an amiable and beautiful spirit (Campbell 137). Polite refinement, social harmony, good-will and the social graces were the defining virtues of the Moderates' aesthetic model of morality (Miller 10). But, as James McCosh points out, such a genteel offering meant little to a people characterized by austere plainness and simplicity in spiritual and material needs:

... the great body of the people ... were perfectly prepared to believe the preacher when he told them that they were sinners, and that God had provided a Saviour, but felt little interest in refined apologies in behalf of God and Christ and duty; and they gradually slipped away from a religion and a religious worship which had nothing to interest, because they had nothing to move them. ... They complained that when they needed food they were presented with flowers....

(McCosh 14)

Christian Ethical Stoicism: The Excising of the Gude Auld Heart of the Gospel

Moderatism has been interpreted as a type of Christian ethical Stoicism formed through a blend of Scriptural generalities and philosophical classicism. Francis Hutcheson was particularly influential in transforming his native Calvinist moralism (Smout 481), through insights derived from Cicero and from Lord Shaftesbury (Miller 7), into a Stoical resignation to the will of God (Sher 179). His sermons are noteworthy for their omission of doctrines peculiar to the Christian faith.

The Moderates were accused of making little use of Scripture (Witherspoon 64), yet it is probably more accurate to say that the Scriptural passages and messages upon which they concentrated were those expressing truths shared by Christianity in common with natural religion (McCosh 17-18). In addition, in their attempt to deemphasize dogma, and in their recognition of the limitations of human knowledge of God, they advocated turning away from doctrinal speculation to a focus on virtue and duty (Blair 31, 38, 39). Their morality, however, was no more strenuous than their sense of human depravity was radical. It is here that critics have identified a pivotal deficiency in the Moderate system - has the heart of Christianity been removed? Does the judgment and mercy revealed in the Cross of Christ retain any significance in the Moderate system?

The End of the Moderate Regime: Spiritual Bankruptcy

The end of the Moderate regime was signalled by the death of William Robertson in 1793. The Moderate party, under the subsequent leadership of George Hill, allowed its political conservatism to develop into a "reactionary force in intellectual as well as political matters," and the next generation of Moderates "were mere shadows of their illustrious predecessors" (Sher 321). Ironically, this disintegration can be partially attributed to the Moderates' policies of power: patronage abuse and lower stipends led to a significant decline in the social status, educational qualifications, and spiritual commitment of the clerical profession (Sher 319). The spiritual bankruptcy of the Moderate system was exposed by Thomas Chalmers and other Evangelicals of the nineteenth century, who revived and expanded the earlier objections of Popular party members, notably John Witherspoon.

The Evangelical Critique: Submission to the Cross of Christ

John Witherspoon led the Popular party opposition against Moderate Presbyterianism until 1768, when he left Scotland to become president of Princeton College in New Jersey. This capable Calvinist was ironically responsible for introducing the democratic principles of the Enlightenment into America, the one country whose *Dream* can be defined as an experiment in practical Enlightenment. Witherspoon's entertaining *Ecclesiastical Characteristics* is a satirical look at the Moderate clergy of his day. Although obviously and polemically exaggerated, the kernels of truth in his *Maxims* are accurately directed against the essential flaws of the Moderate system.

William Wilberforce, an English Evangelical and politician, confronted the religious nominalism which had come to predominate in Britain as a result of Enlightenment influence. His *Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians* was written in a tone of grave seriousness which contrasts sharply with Witherspoon's taunting sarcasm. Wilberforce echoed many of the same themes, however, in this fuller and more solid critique of moderatism/nominalism. His incisive intelligence and socially-active Christian devotion enabled him to make significant contributions to British political life, notably in the abolitionist movement. His success in undermining the lethargy of the Church was partially accomplished through his impact on one Scottish Moderate in particular - Thomas Chalmers.

While Chalmers' early life was characterized by moderatism, a personal crisis between 1809 and 1811 led to his experience of an Evangelical conversion (Rice 34). Chalmers' significance has been described in superlative terms - he has been called "the greatest preacher which Scotland has produced" (McCosh 397), and even - a "second Luther" (Patrick Dove, quoted in Hilton 55)! Chalmers, like less well-known Scottish theologians David Welsh and John Abercrombie, wedded certain elements of Scottish Philosophy with the warmth of evangelical piety. Yet the submissive commitment of these theologians to the Cross of Christ introduced an essential ambiguity into their relationship with the Scottish Philosophy: the Evangelicals were insistent in rejecting the Moderate synthesis as striking at the heart of Christianity (Rice 34). Through a selective, non-compromising accommodation of wisdom and tolerance to traditional faith, Chalmers was able to assist the growing Evangelical movement

within the Church of Scotland, which finally achieved a majority in the General Assembly in 1833 (Smout 236).

Human Depravity: Profound Human Need

These Evangelicals were unanimous in recognizing the doctrine of human depravity as a fundamental element of the gospel message, for it witnesses to the profound human need which is met by the saving grace of God. Chalmers insisted that without this doctrine, Christianity would be entirely subverted, destroyed as a "scheme of reconciliation proposed to all, because needed by all" (Chalmers 467-468). He pointed out that unless the disease of sin is keenly felt, the medicine of atonement will hold little meaning (Chalmers 112). He suggested that moralistic Christianity faces one of two possibilities - the false peace of a lowered moral requirement, or the religious melancholy produced by despair in the face of unachievable moral perfection (Chalmers 447). Chalmers insisted that the gospel's witness to salvation as the free gift of God, judges all human claims to self-dependence, leading us instead "to the foot of the cross," where alone "hope and pardon and reconciliation emanate upon a guilty world" (Chalmers 444).

Moderate theologian George Hill was faithful to the Biblical witness regarding the gospel. He insisted that the gospel is more than a republication of the religion of nature (Hill 413), that it must also be recognized as a remedy for sinners (Hill 377). Biblically and realistically, Hill portrayed the human situation as a disordered state unable to be remedied by education or philosophy (Hill 380), but one which requires the forgiveness of God, without which there can be "no religion to a sinner" (Hill 429). Biblical faithfulness protected Hill from the humanistic betrayal of the Cross which tempted Enlightenment Moderatism. Nevertheless, in terms of the weight of emphasis, and the consistency of practical application, Hill's writings on the matter lack the decisive force of the Evangelical message.

Wilberforce insisted that the gospel must not be reduced to an ethical system, but rather that Christ crucified is *the* essential distinction of Christianity, and the only hope offered by the gospel (Wilberforce 106, 108, 109). He criticized the system of nominal Christianity as underestimating the malignity of sin, and therefore as failing to understand and receive the power of the gospel's remedy for it (Wilberforce 97-99).

The central problem with the Moderate position was its tendency to adopt the Enlightenment's humanistic anthropology, to which Christianity's message of redemption was alien (Rice 33). The Promethean confidence of the *philosophes* regarded Christianity as an ascetic and mystic pessimism which must be overcome by a recovery of nerve (Gay II, 5-7). The Christian anthropology assumed in the Evangelical critique of Moderatism, served to return grace and atonement to the centre (Rice 44) through its recognition of the absolute need for a "radical principle" (Wilberforce 328) capable of contending with human depravity and "the power of darkness" itself (Wilberforce 33-34).

The Christian Life: Piercing Holiness

The Cross was recognized by Evangelical theologians, not only as the location of forgiveness, but also as the centre of a Christian life devoted to active participation in Christ's work of redemption. Evangelical writings from the period are filled with metaphors of spiritual work and trial and warfare against sin, quite unlike the rather sedative Moderate imagery of an amiable Christianity.

The Evangelicals claimed that the professional Christianity brought into effect by the patronage system had resulted in a diminishing of pastoral commitment, that many ministers had become careless of their pastoral duties, self-indulgent, worldly-polite. They lacked the piercing holiness of heart and life (Witherspoon 295-297) that had characterized "the good old divinity of other days" (Chalmers 248). Chalmers turned on its head the Enlightenment allusion to the past golden age of classical antiquity, appealing instead to Scotland's past - to its golden period of zealous Biblical devotion (Chalmers 251)! Andrew Crosbie, at one point a lone voice against Moderate clerical priorities, asserted that the clergy need sincerity and practical divinity, rather than the polite and elegant erudition so prized at the time (Sher 158).

The Evangelical call for faithfulness in pastoral duties and in the Christian life itself, claimed for its foundation the passionate love of God as the "master-spring" of the soul (Wilberforce 238). Wilberforce insisted that to be a Christian means to have the name of Jesus engraved on the heart (Wilberforce 111). Amiability and useful lives cannot compensate for lack

of the devotion to God which is the essence of Christianity (Wilberforce 200-203). Chalmers warned that "there is no safe alternative between an entire Christianity and no Christianity at all" (Chalmers 570), and Wilberforce bluntly proclaimed that nominal Christianity "*is not Christianity*" (Wilberforce 328).

Was it for this that the apostles of Christ voluntarily submitted to hunger and nakedness and pain, and ignominy and death...? By what pernicious courtesy of language is it, that this wretched system [of nominalism] has been flattered with the name of Christianity?

(Wilberforce 115-116)

Spiritual Wisdom: Treasure in Earthen Vessels

The Evangelical critique of Moderatism often centred in a denunciation of its elitist secularism, because this was the primary issue involved in the Patronage controversy. Witherspoon devoted several of his maxims to the elitism of Moderate ministers. Speaking satirically, he commended clerics for their disdain of the common people whose stupidity (Witherspoon 101) makes them the "declared enemies of moderation" (Witherspoon 75), and whose degree of opposition to a patronage appointment is inversely proportional to the worth of the ministerial candidate (Witherspoon 86). Witherspoon's most haunting critique depicts the Moderates' goal of driving away "the whole common people to the seceders, who alone are fit for them," and of captivating instead "the hearts of the gentry to a love of our solitary temples" (Witherspoon 101).

In contrast, the Evangelical movement in Scotland identified itself from its inception with the country's common people, and consistently expressed respect for the "piety and the worth of its peasant families" (Chalmers 249). The Evangelicals believed that not only is God no respecter of persons, so that all stand "upon the same footing" (Witherspoon 125), but that pride and intellectual capabilities are often impediments to the reception of the Spirit of God. Wilberforce argued that the elitist clergy were cultivating a form of snobbery which blinded them to the inner spiritual value which is often hidden within the common person's humble, simple, sometimes vulgar, expressions of the gospel (Wilberforce 63-64).

Humility: Virtue or Vice?

Wilberforce accused elitism of being opposed to the essence of the Christian temper which is most truly characterized by humility (Wilberforce 159-160). He insisted that it is humility which "first disposes the sinner in deep self-abasement to accept the offers of the Gospel," and it is humility which is the proper "basis of his feelings and conduct, in relation to God, his fellow-creatures, and himself" (Wilberforce 346).

The Evangelical understanding of humility as the proper attitude of the creature, operated in direct opposition to the Enlightenment defense of pride (Gay II, 201), in which humility was removed "from among the number of the virtues and transferred...to the opposite column, that is to say the column of vices" (Witherspoon 61). Rather, as Witherspoon insisted, the condition of humanity, the entire Scriptural witness, the gospel record, and most significantly "the shame and reproach of the cross itself seem to conspire in obliging us to renounce" human pride (Witherspoon 116, 117, 139).

The Offense of the Cross: Judgment on Human Pride

Enlightened Moderates appeared to be embarrassed by traditional Calvinism (Rice 31-32). Wilberforce levelled at them the terrible accusation that their "thirst of glory" and "dread of shame" had become "the master passion" of their soul (Wilberforce 160-161). He wrote that such concern for society's esteem reverses the gospel's priorities and values, since the world's judgments are "for the most part...systematically misplaced" (Wilberforce 168). Moderate distaste for the shame of the Cross was apparent in their avoidance of the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, and in their emphasis instead on the principles of classical philosophy and rational virtue. Witherspoon suggested that the Moderates had replaced the Apostles' Creed with the "Athenian Creed" (Witherspoon 81). He accused them of rejecting orthodoxy as contemptible, while regarding heresy as the mark of worth and learning (Witherspoon 65, 69). Rather, as David Welsh maintained, true Christians will of necessity be called upon to share the contempt of the Cross, for we live in "a world that lieth in wickedness" (Welsh 297).

The Cross: Judgment on Human Wisdom

In their recognition of the limitations of reason, the Enlightenment and Christianity were in substantial agreement, with David Hume being even more radically pessimistic than the Christians. Responses to this acknowledgement varied significantly, however: the *philosophes* turned to a disenchanting critical scepticism (Gay I, 145); the Moderates developed a non-dogmatic, common-sense Christianity which could for the most part be supported by natural theology; while the Evangelicals appealed to revelation and spiritual guidance as the proper foundation upon which reason can exercise its limited function as faith seeking understanding (from Augustine through Anselm). In the Evangelical view, reason can safely submit itself to revelation, for the mystery involved in Biblical revelation is above our reason, not contrary to it (Wilberforce 47-48). With the apostle Paul, they recognized the foolishness of the Cross as the wisdom of God, which confounds human wisdom, judges human pride and demonstrates the poverty of all philosophical speculations.

Enthusiasm: Nurturing the Blossoms of Genuine Christianity

The Evangelical emphasis on Biblical revelation, particularly as fulfilled in the Cross, led them to a devotional intensity which contrasted sharply with the Moderate distrust of extremism. While the Moderates did not reject religious sentiment entirely, their fear of the twin dangers of enthusiasm and fanaticism made even their capitulations to heart-felt devotion seem predominantly rational ones. Blair, for example, recognized that sentiment must supplement reason, since arguments alone cannot "conquer the passions" (Blair 90); that religion must not be reduced to rationalism, for "it is both reproachful and criminal, to have an insensible heart" (Blair 97); and that virtue requires the regeneration of the heart (Blair 97-100). Yet he was careful to temper such admissions with a strong emphasis on the moderate nature of devotion (Blair 103) and on the controlling function which must be exercised by the understanding (Blair 108).

Chalmers suggested that such anti-enthusiasts are engaged in an over-pruning which results in barrenness - what is needed, rather, is more care and attention directed towards the

positive nurturing of the blossoms of genuine Christianity. The natural human tendency to dormancy requires that emphasis be placed on keeping zeal alive, rather than on keeping it in check. He wrote that the effort to "repress the pruriencies of religious zeal" may deliver the Church from "any laughable or offensive caricature of Christianity," but it may in the process deliver it "of Christianity altogether" (Chalmers 578).

Wilberforce portrayed nominal Christianity as "lost in generalities" and characterized by an indifferent liturgy, lukewarm composure (Wilberforce 53-56), and formal doctrinal assent (Wilberforce 51-52). This type of "cold and contracted" Christianity (Abercrombie 345) had been predicted a century earlier by Thomas Halyburton, who wrote that he dreaded "mightily" the coming of a rational, deistic religion based on outward duties, one which would have "no relation to Christ Jesus and the Spirit of God" (Thomas Halyburton, quoted in Cameron 121).

Compassion and Mercy: The Heart of the Gospel

Nevertheless, the Evangelicals were not unaware of the dangers of fanatical dogmatism. Their eagerness for unity in the work of the gospel enabled them to relativize the importance of creeds and confessions, subordinating divisive doctrinal standards to a unifying devotion to Christ (Bebbington 34). They emphasized that the Cross calls Christians not only to gratitude and utter devotion, but also to faithful articulation of the core of the Christian message - the compassion and forgiving mercy of God. At the foot of the Cross around which we must pitch our tents (Wardlaw 287), there is no room for the human wrath and pride upon which all intolerance is founded. It is through faithfulness to this heart of the gospel that the Evangelical defense of enthusiasm sought to distinguish and protect itself from fanaticism. Chalmers differentiated between the earnest love of the gospel (the vehemence of sentiment) and the hateful malice of fanatical excess (the vehemence of passion), suggesting that while earnest contention is needed for spiritual battle, human wrath hinders God's work (Chalmers 256-259).

Evangelicals insisted that the love and mercy which form the heart of the gospel, impel the Christian beyond tolerance to sacrificial love. The humanitarianism of the Enlightenment may be understood as merely a pale derivative of this Christian imperative (Gay I, 322). Whether judged by Enlightenment or by Evangelical standards, the elitist cultural pursuits of

Moderate clergymen led to fairly widespread misplacement of clerical priorities and neglect of pastoral duties. It is here that Evangelical pastoral devotion offered its most substantial critique of Moderatism. Proximity to the life and needs of the common people, caused Evangelicals to extend their earnest Christian devotion into a virtual "empire of philanthropy" by the nineteenth century (Bebbington 71), providing leadership in community relief work, in social activism, and in home and foreign missions.

Wisdom and Piety: Crucicentric Christianity

The Moderate party of the Church of Scotland served a vital function in confronting the darkness of dogmatic excess with an "enlightened" version of Christianity. Yet both extremes represented distortions of the Christian faith, for each in its own way failed to acknowledge the present reality of sin and darkness. The triumphalism of the Moderates is discernible in their optimistic elitism; the triumphalism of dogmatic reactionaries in their abusive certainties. In the contending of the one form of triumphalism with the other, a chastened crucicentric Christianity emerged. Evangelical vitality and gospel simplicity were infused into the Moderate party; a fresh spirit of tolerance and learning was reintroduced into the old Scottish theology.

Triumphalism never ceases to represent a danger to the Church, however, as it continually offers attractive alternatives to dwelling uncomfortably at the foot of the Cross. Nineteenth-century heresy trials signalled a reactionary resurgence, while the era's progressivism revealed an ongoing attempt to cling to Enlightenment optimism. Yet the Evangelical renewal within the established church provided an alternative to both those distortions of the Cross of Christ. As Thomas Chalmers expressed it, the combination of wisdom and piety is

... that rare and beautiful combination unknown to the world at large, yet realized by many a cottage patriarch Without the combination of these two, there has been nothing great, nothing effective in the history of the church....

(Chalmers 360)

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Daniel Coussirat (1841-1907): Apostle to the French
Roman Catholics or Closet Liberal?

by Dan Shute

Daniel Coussirat was French Professor of Theology at The Presbyterian College, Montreal from 1880-1907. His major task was the preparation of French-speaking candidates for the Presbyterian ministry in French Quebec. It might come as something of a surprise to us that such a job was even necessary. Today mainline Protestant denominations have only a token presence in French Quebec. Formerly however Canadian Presbyterianism challenged very briefly and in a very modest fashion the religious monopoly of Roman Catholicism in French Quebec. Largely because the Presbyterian Church in Canada inherited the congregations from an earlier evangelistic enterprise begun by Swiss Baptists,¹ by 1900 the Presbyterian Church in Canada could boast fifty-four French congregations or

¹ For an near contemporary account of how this happened see Presbyterian College, Montreal Professor John Campbell's A Concise History of French-Canadian Protestantism, (Montreal: Board of French Evangelization of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1898).

preaching points.² Naturally the size of the French work demanded French theological training. At the center of French theological education was a remarkable pastor of the French Reformed Church, the Rev. Coussirat.

Adrian Daniel Coussirat spent the first twenty four years of his life (upbringing, schooling and first parish) in southern France.³ He was born of Huguenot parents at Nérac in the Department of Lot-et-Garonne in the Province of Gascogne on March 5, 1841. By the age of eighteen he had completed his classical studies at Nérac and in the Académie of Toulouse and received a B.A. in 1859. For the next five years he then studied

² For statistic on French congregations, see the "Reports of the Board of French Evangelization: in the Appendices of the Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada; e.g. 1900, pp. 77-78.

³ His first name (which I have no record of him using) was apparently "Adrian," as records from McGill University, cited below, indicate. The following are sources for basic biography: (1). Presbyterian College Journal, vol. 1, no. 3 (Mar.1, 1881), pp. 21-22, "College Portrait Gallery, Our Professors--III, The Rev. Daniel Coussirat"; vol. 3, no. 7 (Apr. 1883), an attack of lumbago mentioned in "Coin de Lecteurs de Langue Française,"; vol. 5, no. 6 (Mar.1886), pp. [180], 183-185, early portrait and "Biographical Sketch"; vol. 26, no. 2 (Dec. 1906), pp. 61-62, an announcement of his impending death; vol. 26, no. 3 (Feb. 1907), a later photograph and obituary "The Late Dr. Coussirat," pp. [112]-117; "Partie Française, Service Commemoratif" etc., pp. 152-160. (2). The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: a Handbook of Canadian Biography, ed. by Henry J. Morgan, 1st ed., (Toronto: Briggs, 1898), s.v. "Coussirat." (3). Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-Third General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada (Montreal, Quebec: June 5-13, 1907), (Toronto: Murray Printing Co., 1907), p. 610 (his obituary).

philosophy, philology and theology at the Theological Faculty of Montauban, and having successfully defended a thesis on election he received a B.D. in 1864. That same year he was ordained to the ministry of the French Reformed Church and was appointed as assistant minister of the Reformed church in Bellocq.

In France at the time there were two Protestant theological faculties: one in Paris and the other in Montauban. Coussirat in a short account of his alma mater's course of study and the faculty members mentions in particular Prosper-Frédéric Jalaguier (1795-1864).⁴ It was from this systematic theologian that, as I would judge, Coussirat received his particular doctrinal stance. One of Jalaguier's students wrote that "[h]is theological perspective ... was clearly biblical and supernaturalistic."⁵ However he goes on to add that his orthodoxy on the inspiration of scripture and on several other points did not have the excessive rigor that was characteristic of many representatives of the evangelical revival that was then current in French Protestant churches. He blamed this misguided zeal "on ideas borrowed from England and Scotland," though I dare say that continental

⁴ Presbyterian College Journal, vol. 1, no. 4 (Apr. 1881), pp. 39-40.

⁵ Numa Recolin (1795-1864), "Jalaguier, Prosper-Frédéric," in vol. 7 of Encyclopédie des sciences religieuses (Paris: Sandoz et Fischbacher, 1880).

scholastic Protestantism of the seventeenth century was a factor as well. We learn that:

Jalaguier did not believe in the literal inspiration of the sacred scripture. He recognized the legitimacy of higher criticism. He resisted the idea of a divine canon. He proclaimed the presence of the personal and human elements in the sacred authors. He granted that there were even errors in science and reason in the Bible; besides he liked to recall the saying of Bengel: 'Feed contentedly on the pure wheat of scripture without getting worried about the grain of sand that might be mixed in it.'

Though Jalaguier resisted strict Protestant Orthodoxy, he wrote irenically against the rationalism that was beginning to overtake French Reformed Protestantism.

Thus Coussirat was from an intellectual background which could both affirm certain conclusions of modernism yet still be warmly evangelical.

Coussirat seems to have had something of the missionary spirit in him. He did not settle down to the life of a small town pastor in sunny Southern France. Instead at the age of twenty-four after only a year in his pastorate, he crossed the ocean and accepted a call to the French Church in Philadelphia. He caught the eye of the French-Canadian Missionary Society, which requested his services. Coussirat responded in the affirmative. This missionary society was at the forefront of the Protestant churches' effort to win French-Canadian Roman Catholics to the evangelical faith.

I am going to interrupt my narrative to make three remarks on this Protestant missionary work, so counter to the ecumenical spirit abroad today. First the

Catholic Church in Quebec in the second half of the nineteenth century was not the post-Vatican 2 institution with which we are familiar today. Many Roman Catholics today would grant that the French Quebec Catholicism of the day was mixed with a fair amount of both superstition and fanaticism. The obvious failing of that church made it an easy target for the Protestant churches which were still very anti-papist in both doctrine and practice. Second the Protestant churches, especially the Presbyterian Church, was not the accommodating pew which we find so comfortable today. Pick up a late nineteenth century copy of either the Presbyterian Record or the Presbyterian College Journal and you will find a mentality not all together different from the Billy Graham Evangelistic Associations' Decision Magazine. The world was filled with lost souls, destined to eternal hell if the Gospel were not preached to them. Third the French Reformed Church, though already more inclined to modernism than Scottish Presbyterianism, still had individuals in it of a warm evangelical persuasion. These three points must be kept in mind as we proceed.

Coussirat became a one-man theology department for the French-Canadian Missionary Society. The Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the French Canadian Missionary Society (January 23, 1868) contains this note:

THEOLOGICAL CLASS. The Committee have been able, after years of prayerful effort to form a class for the training of Missionaries. In April last they happily succeeded in securing

the services of the Rev. D. Coussirat, B.D., of Montauban, for this important work. ... An examination of the young men after the Christmas holidays fully corroborates the following report of Mr. Coussirat: "The course of study pursued in the class embraces Latin, Greek and Hebrew: French, including Grammar, Literature, Composition, Recitation, and Declamation; Mental Philosophy and Logic; Apologetic, Polemical, and Pastoral Theology, with Homiletics. The students for the ministry alone study the dead languages. My desire is so to train the young men committed to my care so as to fit them for giving an intelligent account of their faith, and to make them able expositors of the Word of God. The Reformers who changed the face of Europe were accounted by their fellows the wisest of their times. To produce any extensive movement in this country, it is necessary, under God, to have men of more than ordinary education. Nevertheless, we do not allow the students to forget that their studies are but means to an end, the true one of their future lives, that is, the bringing of souls to Christ. Nor do we allow them to lose sight of the fact that their efforts cannot be successful otherwise than when followed by the gracious influences of the Holy Spirit."⁶

These words of Coussirat demonstrate his abilities and his vision of mission. One is immediately struck by his pretensions to teach the entire theological curriculum. Who among our students of today, armed with an M.Div., or an M.A., or even a Ph.D., could hope to teach even two of the above subjects? Also note Coussirat's evangelistic zeal. Though (as we shall see) he was no scholastic Protestant as were his counterparts in the Presbyterian Church, he manifestly believed that

⁶ Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the French Canadian Missionary Society, presented at the annual meeting on Thursday, 23rd January, 1868 (Montreal: John C. Becket printer, 1868), p. 19.

the aim of mission was to bring souls to Christ and that the evangelical faith was more likely to accomplish this task than was the Roman Catholic.

Another indication that Coussirat was serious about his mission to the new world is his marriage soon after his arrival in Quebec. In fact, less than a year in the employ of the French Missionary Society in September of 1868 at the age of 27 he married Miss Sarah Quinn-Moret of Montreal.⁷ Was it love at first sight, or a practical marriage, or was Miss Quinn-Moret a reason for Coussirat's moving north to Montreal? Our sources do not say. Intentionally or not, her obituary in the Presbyterian College Journal gives the impression of a woman more formidable than lovable:

The readers of the "Journal" have just lost a faithful friend in the person of Madame Coussirat. She died Thursday, April 2 in her 45th year--even though anticipated several months, her death throws a veil of sadness over the circle of these numerous friends. In the natural course of things, it seemed that she was to complete a long career. Until several months ago, nothing pointed otherwise. But there are some lives that by nature use themselves up more quickly than others. Even when a very young girl, Madame Coussirat understood that life is not entertainment but a series of duties to accomplish. Her primary education was austere. Since from earliest childhood she subjugated herself to principles of an entirely Christian strictness, the application of those principles in daily life appeared to her to be entirely natural. She did not understand that one could depart from such principles, and the breaking of them

⁷ The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: a Handbook of Canadian Biography, ed. Henry J. Morgan, 1st. ed., (Toronto: Briggs, 1898), s.v. Coussirat.

produced in her entire mortal being a painful shock. She could never reconcile in her thought certain liberties permitted in certain quarters with the principles of a Christian education; that is to say, within the framework of the qualities of a devout and studious girl, of an amiable woman, and of a Christian spouse and mother, what stands out before our eyes in her life is the ideal of duty; Madame Coussirat was a slave of duty. Often in the case of a great number of very honest and even sincerely Christian persons, duty is only a counselor whose opinions are followed or rejected according to circumstances, but in the case of Madame Coussirat, duty was the absolute master. She never compromised. Brought up in an atmosphere of mission, she understood all its exigencies. When she became a pastor's wife we know that she consecrated to the duties of her new position precious hours taken away from the domestic care of her family. Add to all this that she took a lively interest in studies and subjects which filled the time of her husband whom she never ceased to surround with a jealous care and to watch over with a legitimate pride. To save him from any distraction--to leave him free to pursue his work--to relieve him of all domestic cares, such was her great ambition. However with sensitive natures all is used up more quickly than is the case with others. We all have a task to do--once done--God sounds the recall. He has sounded hers. He has said to her: "Ascend, come rest yourself."

Granted it is monstrously unfair to compare the Coussirats with the ideal of the modern liberated couple. Still we may hope that in her domestic life away from the public eye, Madame Coussirat showed a less grim face. Be that as it may, this obituary of his wife gives us a clue as to Monsieur Coussirat's extraordinary productivity: his wife took care of everything else for him so he could teach and write.

The year 1968 was a milestone in Coussirat's life for another reason. The standard French Protestant

Bible of the time was still Olivétan's translation. It had undergone several revisions, the most famous of which is Ostervald's. Ostervald's version, which appeared in 1744, was itself the subject of more revisions. For example in 1868 the Société biblique de la France undertook yet another revision of the Old Testament. "This revision, the work of five revisers, appeared in 1881. The translation of certain books, Job for example, was entirely new."⁸ It seems that Coussirat had already made his mark as an Hebraist and Aramaicist in his native land, since the Société biblique de la France fingered him to be part of the team of scholars to accomplish this revision.⁹ We learn that "...he personally revised the books of Ecclesiastes and

⁸ Daniel Lortsch, Histoire de la Bible in France suivie de fragments relatifs à l'histoire générale de la Bible..., (Paris: Agence de la Société biblique britannique et étrangère; Genève: M. Jeheber, 1910), p. 140.

⁹ The Canadian Men and Women of the Time, s.v. Coussirat. La Sainte Bible, ou l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament, version d'Ostervald révisée. (Paris: Société biblique de France, 1882): "The revision which we offer at last completed to the public is the product of a dual initiative: the New Testament, known and loved already for twelve years, is particularly the work of Pastor Ch.L. Frossard. The Old Testament, done under the auspices of our Society, is a collective work of theologians and pastors, most of whom were previously marked out by reputation for such a work. They are: Ch. Bois, professor of theology; P. Bornand, minister; Ch. Bruston, professor of theology; ch. Byse, minister; P. Chapuis, D. Coussirat, professors of theology; L. Favez, Ch. L. Frossard, the late H. Kruger, Ch. Laufer, E. Le Savoureux, E. Monnier, W. Monod, ministers."

Daniel."¹⁰ Coussirat's work in translation did not gain him eternal glory, in part because Louis Segond's version, which he produced 1873-1880, eclipsed all others in popularity among Protestants.

We are then fortunate to have a way to investigate Coussirat's Hebrew scholarship. In comparing Coussirat's version of Daniel with the previous version we may gain some understanding of his principles of translation and of his understanding of Hebrew idiom. For example Daniel 1:2 reads literally: "And the Lord gave into his hand Jehoiakim King of Judah, and he brought them to the Land of Shinar, the House of his God, and the vessels he brought into the treasure house of his god." The previous Ostervald version translated the second half of this verse: "and Nebuchadnezzar had them carried away to the Land of Shinar, in the house of his god, and he put those vessels in the house of the treasury of his god" (*et Nebucadnetsare les fit emporter au pays de Scinhar, dans la maison de son dieu, et mit ces vases-là dans la maison du trésor de son dieu*).¹¹ But Coussirat renders it: "and Nebuchadnezzar transported them to the Land of Shinar, in the house of his god, and he put the vessels in the house of the treasury of his God" (*et Nébucadnetsar les*

¹⁰ Presbyterian College Journal, vol. 5, no. 6 (Mar. 1886), p. 184.

¹¹ As cited in the fourth edition, Neuchatel, 1772.

transporta au pays de Shinear, dans la maison de son dieu, et il mit les vases dans la maison du trésor de son dieu). Coussirat introduces two small changes: instead of *les fit emporter* he has *les transporta*; and instead of *ces vases-là* he has simply *les vases*. The previous version's reading *et...les fit emporter* seems to mirror the causative idea in the Hebrew word וַיְבִיאֵם, which is from a causative conjugation (hif'il). Coussirat's rendering is both plainer and, it would seem to me, closer to the actual meaning of the Hebrew. When Coussirat changes *ces vases-là* to *les vases*, he is simply rendering the Hebrew more literally and preserving its ambiguity.

A literal translation of Daniel 1:3 would read: "And the King told Ashpenaz ... to bring boys ... good of appearance...." The Ostervald version before Coussirat's had, "And the King spoke to Ashpenaz ... that he should bring ... several young men ... handsome of face...." The earlier version's syntax here mirrors that of the Vulgate. Coussirat has: "And the King told Ashpenaz ... to bring several young people ... of handsome appearance..."--which is, as you may see, closer to the Hebrew. I shall not give more examples of Coussirat's revisions here, but I would say that he shows every evidence of wrestling with the Hebrew text, using tools better than those available to Olivétan-Ostervald. In general Coussirat tries to find French expressions which are closer to the literal Hebrew.

But to return to Coussirat's career. Coussirat stayed with the French Canadian Missionary Society for less than three years. He then accepted an appointment to the Presbyterian College, Montreal. "At the beginning of the session of 1869-70, Professor Coussirat with three Students ... removed to Montreal, where his services became available at the Presbyterian college."¹² This effectively brought to a close the Society's short-lived experiment in theological education. Henceforth Presbyterian College became the major center for training missionaries for French evangelization. The fate of the Society's theological education presaged its own fate. The Presbyterian Church was a major supporter of its work. In 1878 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada discontinued its support of the Society, and most of the Society's property and work fell like ripe fruit into the lap of the Presbyterian Committee on French Evangelization. It seems to me that Coussirat, as zealous as he was for the gospel, must have realized that the Society's work had no long term viability. The Society was entirely dependent on missionary offerings from Canada and abroad. It never was able to establish a self-sustaining church organization. At the same time, in my judgment, without an independent

¹² Thirty-Second Annual Report of the French Canadian Missionary Society, presented at the annual meeting, on Thursday, 26th January, 1871 (Montreal: printed at the office of John C. Becket, 1871), p. 2.

church such as the Society tried to establish, French evangelization was doomed to failure. The work under the Presbyterian Church never became "indigenized," as we would say today. (A truly self-sustaining French Protestant Church had to wait until the present day when the Pentecostal and Baptists churches have succeeded in taking advantage of the destruction of Catholicism's religious monopoly over Quebec.) I doubt that Coussirat had, after a few years work in Canada, any illusions that the Scottish Presbyterian Church would mount any serious challenge to the Catholic Church in French Quebec.

In 1869 then Coussirat took his French Canadian Missionary Society ministerial students with him to the Presbyterian College, and he served as Lecturer in French theology at the none too princely salary of \$1,200 per year.¹³ Evidently Coussirat needed an English equivalent of the French B.A. in order to be recognized as a lecturer. In any event he "...took the degree B.A. *ad eundem* at McGill University."¹⁴ This means that McGill recognized his work at the classical

¹³ Acts and Proceedings of the First General Assembly of the Canada Presbyterian Church, 1970. appendix LXXXI.

¹⁴ Presbyterian College Journal, vol. 1, no. 3 (Mar. 1881), p. 22. Thanks to a photocopy of a page from the Graduate Directory of McGill supplied by the Graduate Society, I note that of the ten candidates who received B.A.s in 1871, one was *ad eundem* (Coussirat), six became ministers, and one a doctor. Coussirat is styled "*Adrian Daniel Coussirat*" here and in his appointment as Lecturer of Hebrew mentioned below.

academies of France as equivalent to a McGill B.A. At the time I dare say that his French B.A. represented much more work than its McGill counterpart.

When Coussirat arrived at Presbyterian College the Rev. D.H. MacVicar was the only full professor of there. In 1873 General Assembly of what was then the Canada Presbyterian Church made certain changes in the college's faculty: the Rev. John Campbell was appointed Professor of Church History and Apologetics instead of merely Lecturer in Church History, and MacVicar officially became principal with a corresponding increase in salary. Coussirat remained only a Lecturer but his salary was increased to \$1,600.¹⁵ Why was not Coussirat given a full professorship at the same time as Campbell? Certainly his academic qualifications were superior to those of MacVicar and at least equal to those of Campbell. MacVicar's nomination to head the new college had been vigorously opposed in some quarters on the grounds that he lacked the academic qualifications;¹⁶ the objection was not entirely groundless, since he possessed neither B.A. nor B.D. and had no wide academic reputation on the basis of

¹⁵ Acts and Proceedings of the Fourth General Assembly of The Canada Presbyterian Church (Toronto: June 3-12, 1873), (Toronto: British American Presbyterian Printing House, 1873), pp. 43-44.

¹⁶ I recommend John A. Johnston's discussion of MacVicar's appointment: The Presbyterian College, Montreal, 1865-1915, M.A. thesis, (Montreal, 1951), pp. 41-44.

theological publications. Campbell was something of an eccentric genius and an intellectual loose canon. Was Coussirat a little put out at being subordinated to two Canadians with academic qualifications inferior to or no better than his own?

At any rate according to his obituary in the Presbyterian College Journal it was "family reasons" which led Coussirat to return to France in 1875. At the age of thirty-four then Coussirat moved back to his native France with his Montreal born wife "and was at once called to the pastorate of the Reformed church in Orthez (Basses-Pyrénées), and shortly afterwards was made permanent Moderator of the Consistory."¹⁷ We learn elsewhere that this church was at the time an "important" one,¹⁸ as his election to the moderatorship would indicate.

Meanwhile back at Presbyterian College, all was not well with the French Department. In 1879 the Rev. Benjamine Ourière due to sickness in his family had to resign as French Lecturer in Sacred Rhetoric and Homiletics.¹⁹ The Rev. A.B. Cruchet stepped into the void, but the next year MacVicar called to the General

¹⁷ Presbyterian College Journal, vol. 26. no. 3 (Feb. 1907), p. 114.

¹⁸ Presbyterian College Journal, vol. 5, no. 6 (Mar. 1888), p. 184.

¹⁹ Acts and Proceedings of the Fifth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, (Ottawa: June 11-21, 1879), appendix p. cvii.

Assembly's attention that the French theology department needed something more:

The Senate [of The Presbyterian College, Montreal] respectfully represent to the General Assembly that the time has arrived for extending the work of the French department of the College. In addition to missionaries such as have hitherto been prepared, the Board of French Evangelization [of the General Assembly] require a large number of Colporteurs specially trained for the work, and thoroughly instructed in Biblical knowledge and the Romish Controversy as it exists in Canada. For these purposes the services of a lecturer are inadequate. It is therefore recommended that the General Assembly appoint a French Professor of Theology, of high attainments and undoubted Missionary zeal, to devote his whole time to this department.²⁰

Now where could such one be found who had both the mind of a scholar and the heart of an evangelist? As it turns out, MacVicar had evidently already been in contact with just the man: the former Lecturer in the French Department, Daniel Coussirat, who was willing to move back to raw, cold city of Montreal from the civilized company of southern France. In the Minutes of this same General Assembly we read that the following recommendations of the College's Board of Managers were adopted:

That the Rev. Daniel Coussirat, M.A., B.D., formerly engaged in the Montreal College, be appointed French Professor of Theology.... This motion was carried with much cordiality. ...[T]hat his salary be two thousand dollars (\$2000), to be paid as theretofore by the Board of French Evangelization.

²⁰ Acts and Proceedings of the Sixth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, (Montreal: June 9-18, 1880) (Toronto: Presbyterian Printing House, 1880), appendix p. cii.

The phrase "with much cordiality" is not, I think, empty rhetoric; Coussirat had made a lasting impression on the Canadian church during his last stint of service. It is curious to note the designation "M.A." instead of "B.D." To my knowledge this is an error, deliberate or not; I have not yet found any evidence that he increased his scholarship during his stay in France, and even after 1880 his designation is as before "B.A., B.D."

Henceforth Montreal was to be Coussirat's home and his job was to be French Professor of Theology at The Presbyterian College, Montreal until his death in 1907. Thus he stayed in Montreal longer than in any other place in his entire life. He had found, as we would say, his "niche." During this long term of service at Presbyterian College he contributed regularly to the Presbyterian College Journal which was published from 1881 on. All his articles were written in French; he never gained sufficient confidence in English to write in that language. In fact, in his obituary on the College's Journal we read:

His knowledge of the ancient languages, both classical and Oriental was thorough, and he managed to keep them all up to the very end. His one regret was that he had not been able to continue his reading in German, owing to the multiplicity of duties.²¹

²¹ Presbyterian College Journal, vol. 26, no. 3 (Feb. 1907), pp. 114-5.

Perhaps we may infer that Coussirat did not make time to keep his German up. He was immensely proud of the French language.

In an series of articles entitled "The French Language in Modern Society," Coussirat tries to discuss dispassionately to what language the future belonged. He argues for the simplicity of French, since it is pronounced much as it is written. To be sure, there are exceptions to the rules. However Coussirat is quick to point out that "[t]here is another modern language far more capricious whose pronunciation could not be derived from simply reading it." After this dig at English, he dismisses other rivals to the status of French as the international language. He certainly did not think the tongue of the future was German:

...the German language is often so obscure, the German sentence is so long, habitually overloaded with so many subordinate clauses (except in poetry), it is so rich in consonants and gutturals that it will be sometime before the mouth of the Latins, Celts and maybe even the Anglo-Saxons, will get used to speaking it.²²

While we are on the subject of the French language we may well inquire how far Coussirat was sympathetic to the pronunciation of French in Quebec. In an article entitled "French Pronunciation" ("De la Prononciation française"), Coussirat affirms: "We want to pronounce French as one pronounces it TODAY in proper

²² Presbyterian College Journal, vol. 10, no. 4 (Feb. 1891), p. 277.

social circles" (*Nous voulons prononcer le français comme on le prononce AUJOURND'HUI dans la bonne société*). He affirms that *la bonne société* is Paris, and more specifically at the *Conservatoire* and the *Comédie-Française*. Since these are his authorities, in his discussion of rules for vowels and consonants he completely ignores the idiosyncrasies of Quebec French. For example the *i* in Quebec is pronounced like the *i* in the English word "it," if the *i* occurs in a syllable closed by all consonants except a voiced fricative. Thus, one pronounces *lisse* as [lɪs] but the name *Lise* as [liz]. It would have been nice had Coussirat at least mentioned some of these peculiarities, if only to identify them as faults. No doubt he expected his students to use standard pronunciation when they preached before him. Whether or not they continued this practice in the field is another question. Perhaps they did, and their hearers expected this. Or perhaps they did, and they alienated their congregations. At any rate I doubt that Quebec nationalism had reached the point where Coussirat's attitude toward French as spoken in French Canada differed much from the attitude of most university educated persons of his day.

Now that Coussirat began the final and longest stage of his life's work, to what intellectual pursuits did he especially turn his attention? We may answer by investigating three areas: Hebrew, apologetics and biblical criticism. Hebrew I have already covered to some

extent above when exploring his Bible translation. Coussirat was not content to simply be an Hebraist, he also was committed to teaching the language. Early on in his career as French Professor of Theology, he provided Presbyterian College students a list of rules derived from Fahn and Gesenius for learning Hebrew.²³ These rules are an interesting mixture of the inductive and deductive approach to language learning, and they anticipate some of the contemporary methods based on sound linguistic principles. For example, Coussirat counseled: "Let the teacher be careful that his pupil learn to read with facility, without any hesitating, stuttering or stammering." How many of our theological students can read with any facility even after they complete two years of Hebrew? Several years after acquainting the College's students with these rules, Coussirat wrote a two page article outlining "A New Method for Learning Hebrew." He introduces the problem of the theological student's study of Hebrew by this all too familiar complaint:

First the grammar, than the translation, that's the order generally followed. It's the logical order. The trouble is that most students, having little taste for a study which is arid and in their eyes sterile seize on literal translations provided with grammatical analyses. By an effort of memory pure and simple, they prepare themselves to pass the required exam. After that, the spirit at peace and the conscience in repose, they close their Hebrew Bible, sometimes sell it and hasten to forget the little Hebrew

²³ Presbyterian College Journal, vol. 3, no. 6 (Mar. 83), p. 66.

that they had learned.²⁴

As a proposed solution to this shameful state of affairs, Coussirat introduces a certain Dr. William R. Harper's application of the inductive method of learning language to the study of Hebrew. From the description of the rules he gave the College's students several years earlier, it is evident that Coussirat was not only in full sympathy with the inductive approach but had to some extent used it. Only recently this method has been rediscovered for the study of New testament Greek. Perhaps the writers of Hebrew textbooks would do well to dig out Dr. Harper's text to see if it has merit for teaching Hebrew today.

The fact that Coussirat was an excellent Hebrew teacher did not long escape McGill University's attention. In 1882 McGill appointed him Lecturer²⁵ and then in 1887 Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Literature.²⁶ This was no honorary title, and I cannot help but think

²⁴ Presbyterian College Journal, vol. 7, no. 2 (Nov. 1887), p. 162.

²⁵ McGill Board of Governors' "Minutes," 1882: "Principal Dawson presented letters and testimonials in application for the Chair of Hebrew: 1. from Mr. Dunlop, 2. from Professor Fenwick, 3. from Professor Coussirat. It was Resolved that the Rev'd. Professor Adrian D. Coussirat, B.A. be appointed Lecturer in Hebrew and Oriental Literature in the Faculty of Arts for the session 1882-83 with a Salary of Five hundred Dollars, \$500."

²⁶ Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women, s.v. Coussirat.

that his workload hastened his death. In his Presbyterian College Journal obituary we read:

In 1882, he undertook in addition the Semitic language department of McGill University, and though the double duty gave him quite an unusual number of lecture-courses to deliver, he carried them on to the entire satisfaction of all concerned. It may be added that during the past two years he has also given valuable assistance in the classes of the summer French school under the auspices of McGill University.²⁷

Coussirat was something of a workaholic.

A second area of academic concentration for Coussirat was biblical criticism. Then as today so-called higher criticism troubled the faith of theological student and lay person alike. Perhaps it is only human nature to run to the extremes, but I was struck in perusing thirty years of Presbyterian College Journals how rapidly informed Presbyterian opinion in Canada shifted from a shocked rejection to a smug acceptance of what were known as "the assured results of higher criticism." Coussirat on the other hand throughout his teaching career tried to steer for the golden mean. We do not find him strenuously defending the inerrant Bible of strict Calvinism. On the other hand his acceptance of the results of the historical-critical method was both selective and severely limited. For example, as he showed in a two part article he wrote on "The Chaldean-Assyrian Literature," he was well aware

²⁷ Presbyterian College Journal, vol. 26, no. 3 (Feb. 1907), p. 114.

of the Babylonian version of the story of the universal flood. Yet he makes this remark:

The stories of the Mosaic Genesis are reproduced there, but with a strong taint of polytheism. I am tempted to explain this fact with François Lenormant as a survival of primitive traditions of humanity preserved purely in the biblical Genesis and altered by later legends in the Chaldean Genesis.

What strikes us today is a naïve and totally unconvincing argument for the authenticity of the story of Noah's flood. But wait. Listen to what Coussirat says and does not say. He does not say that the flood story must be historical because it is found in the Bible. Nor does he even say positively that the flood story is a primitive tradition of humanity. He argues irenicly for the priority of the biblical flood story without being dogmatic about it.

His cautious attitude toward higher criticism did not stop him from reading it avidly. The year before he died Coussirat wrote an article on "The Principles of historical criticism according to Ernest Renan." Coussirat patiently examines these principles and offers critique of them one by one. For example, Renan said:

"The historian has but one preoccupation: art and truth. The theologian has one interest, and that's his dogma. The theologian is "a bird in a cage," while the historian is "as free as the air."

To this Coussirat responds:

A false principle because it generalizes. Everybody knows that there are historians more anxious to prove a thesis--another name for a dogma--than to find the truth. For

example, some exalt the French revolution as a blessing while others condemn it as a crime.

Coussirat ends his critique of Renan with these words:

And I know readers of [Renan's] Life of Jesus who, curious to know what they ought to think of it, studied the New Testament and there discovered the true Christ. This is an unexpected result for which we may thank Ernest Renan.

The last area of intellectual inquire I wish to mention is apologetics. I am no expert in this area, having been educated under of the long shadow of Karl Barth whose invisible ruler still slaps my hand when I reach for the forbidden fruit of natural truth. However in Coussirat's time apologetics was yet to be discredited and, we are told, "...all his studies have centered around the subject... and he is truly a master in this important branch of Theological Science."²⁸ This emphasis on apologetics is clearly seen in his publications in which he tried to answer positively the critics of evangelical faith. For example he published a remarkably sympathetic article on Louis-Auguste Sabatier (1839-1901), whom he had met and whose religious convictions were, by Coussirat's own admission, a strange amalgam of contemporary science and Christian piety.²⁹

²⁸ Presbyterian College Journal, vol. 5, no. 6 (Mar. 1886), p. 185.

²⁹ "M. Auguste Sabatier," The Presbyterian College Journal, vol. 18, no. 3 (Jan. 1898), pp. 242-248.

We do not have a book-length account of Coussirat's convictions from his own pen. In fact we are told that he never wrote a book, only articles for newspapers, magazines and journals.³⁰ However a book length manuscript in his own hand does survive in the library of The Presbyterian College, Montreal. Dated September 1871, it is entitled Cours de Théologie. It is striking that even in this course of doctrinal theology, there is a substructure of apologetics. Instead of beginning with the doctrine of scripture or the doctrine of revelation, Coussirat starts with "the idea of God," "the origin of the idea of God," "the proofs of the existence of God," "diverse forms of unbelief," and "the history of doctrine of God."

Let me end this short look at Coussirat's academic work in Hebrew instruction, higher criticism and apologetics by asking why he wrote so much but never a book. As far as I have been able to determine, Coussirat was not a creative thinker. On the basis of a fine classical and theological education, he sought out the best of contemporary religious and philosophical thought and taught it with verve and competency. But he realized, so I would argue, that his contribution lay in teaching rather than in bold new intellectual initiatives. All the same, should I live long enough,

³⁰ Presbyterian College Journal, vol. 26, no. 3 (Feb. 1907), from his obituary, p. 115.

I think his Cours de Théologie deserves the light of day.

As I said above Coussirat, once he became Professor of French Theology at Presbyterian College, found no inclination to move elsewhere. So was he a victim of the Peter Principle? An indication that this was not the case is found in the action of the French government which in 1885 honored him with the title of *Officier de l'Instruction Public* (O.I.P.). We learn that "[t]his title is one which is highly valued, seldom granted to men of the Professor's age and conferred for the first time on a French Protestant of this country."³¹ Evidently this title came to him in view of his work in education while he was a pastor in France³² and on account of his role in the revision of the French Protestant Bible.³³ Certainly his title from the French government carried more prestige than did the D.D. with which Queen's University honored him two years before.³⁴ One of his students recalled that he prized his honorific title from the French government "with an almost boyish delight."³⁵

³¹ Presbyterian College Journal, vol. 5, no. 6 (Mar. 1886), p. 185.

³² Ibid.

³³ Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women, s.v. "Coussirat."

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Norman A. MacLeod, "Historical Sketch of the College," in Presbyterian College Record (Mar. 1918), p. 73.

Time fails me to speak further of Coussirat's diverse interests. He wrote on Plato's Phedo, Victor Hugo's religion, public education in France, Charles Secrétan and Jeanne d'Albert, Queen of Navarre, as well as on all the other topics I mentioned in passing above. To close let me turn to a comment made by one of his English speaking students, the Rev. Norman MacLeod, some years after his death:

I have sometimes thought that had he attained to a proficiency enabling him to preach in English before some of the Presbyteries of our Church, he might have attained to the distinction of a heresy trial, for he was a man of broad and tolerant views and did not hesitate to encourage his students to dare to believe that tradition is not always infallible.³⁶

MacLeod's observations might well have been true for the first few years after his arrival in Montreal in 1869. However time caught up with Coussirat. In my estimation by the time of his death in 1907 strict Calvinism had so lost hold of the Presbyterian Church in Canada that Coussirat's mélange of evangelicalism and modernism was already a bit quaint. The evangelistic zeal that drove colporteurs to sell Bibles to French Catholics was fast evaporating, being quite crowded out by a vision of a unified Christian Church which in God's good time would include the Roman Church itself. The drive for a French Protestant Church in Quebec died

³⁶ MacLeod, "Historical Sketch," in March Presbyterian College Record, p. 73

even before Coussirat. His work and that of a French Protestant mission to practicing Roman Catholics remains a mere footnote in Church history, but to me a very interesting one. I would be so bold as to hope to author Coussirat's biography.

The drive for a French Protestant Church in Quebec
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