



The
Canadian
Society of
Presbyterian History

Papers 2005



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Edited by Elizabeth J. Millar

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Message from the President

2005 has been an unusually busy year for the Society. On the down side we lost T. Melville Bailey, one of the oldest and staunchest of our members. Dr John A. Johnston led a brief memorial service for him at the beginning of our AGM. Mel also was kind enough to remember the Society in his will. We have received a cheque for \$2000 and may get a little more when the estate is finally settled.

We also lost the services of our esteemed editor, David Elliott, who has been responsible for producing the annual volume of papers for a number of years. The Annual Meeting accepted his resignation with regret, and with sincere thanks. The new editor is Elizabeth J. Millar, daughter of our secretary-treasurer, who is a reference librarian at Mount Allison University.

Our members have been busy publishing. Paul Laverdure brought out *Sunday in Canada*, Don MacLeod saw his biography of W. Stanford Reid published by McGill-Queens University Press. The History Committee of the Synod of South Western Ontario, led by John Johnston, produced a history of Presbyterianism in the region *No Small Jewel*. Six of the chapters were contributed by John Moir, another of the founders of our society. I wrote the other four, and also managed to bring out a book on missionary literature *Missionaries for the Record*, a study of the letters Canadian Presbyterian missionaries wrote for the church papers.¹

The "Best of CSPH" project is moving along. We have established a list of the first papers to be posted on our new website: www.csph.ca. It will be linked to the Presbyterian church's website: www.presbyterian.ca when we have gathered the necessary clearances from the authors. We are indebted to Michael Millar and Ian MacCready for their work on this file.

We had two meetings again this year. The regular meeting was held as usual at the end of September, this time in the Presbyterian Museum in Toronto. Then on 22 October a second meeting was held in St David's Church, Halifax. The Halifax meeting was particularly successful. The papers dealt mainly, but not exclusively, with Atlantic Canada. Our thanks are due to Michael Millar and the Halifax people for organizing this event.

The next meeting will be held in the Presbyterian Museum, Toronto on 30 September 2006. There are still openings for papers, so if any of you have a project in hand be sure to let me know at the address below.

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¹ Paul Laverdure, *Sunday in Canada: the Rise and Fall of the Lord's Day* (Yorkton, SK: Gravelbooks, 2004); A. Donald MacLeod, *W. Stanford Reid: an Evangelical Calvinist in the Academy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 2004); John A. Johnston, ed., *No Small Jewel: a History of the Synod of Southwestern Ontario, The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (Toronto: Presbyterian Church in Canada, 2005); Geoffrey Johnston, *Missionaries for the Record* (Belleville, ON: Guardian, 2005).

Biographical Notes on Contributors

D. Laurence DeWolfe is minister of The Presbyterian Church of Saint David in Halifax. He is a graduate of Saint Mary's University, Knox College, and McCormick Theological Seminary. He lectures in homiletics at the Atlantic School of Theology.

Robert K. Anderson is a retired minister of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. He and his wife, Rev. Priscilla Anderson, served as missionaries to the Korean Christian Church in Japan for eighteen years. Robert's writings include *Kimchi and Maple Leaves Under the Rising Sun* and *My Dear Redeemer's Praise: the life of Luther Lisgar Young, D.D., Sometime Missionary in Korea and Japan*.

William Klempa is Principal Emeritus of Presbyterian College, Montreal and was Moderator of General Assembly, 1998–1999.

Michelle Fowler received her MA in History from Wilfrid Laurier University in Waterloo, Ontario in August 2005, and is currently the Research Co-ordinator at the Laurier Centre for Military Strategic and Disarmament Studies. She is also mum to three children.

Angus Sutherland has a BA from Wilfrid Laurier University, and an MDiv from Knox College. He was ordained in 1975, and is currently minister of Doon Presbyterian Church in Kitchener. He is married with four children.

Eldon Hay is Professor of Religious Studies, Emeritus at Mount Allison University. He is the author of *The Chignecto Covenanters: A Regional History of Reformed Presbyterianism in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, 1827–1905*.

Jack C. Whytock is the Dean of Studies for Haddington House in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, an evangelical Presbyterian study house, and also serves as Visiting Professor in theological colleges overseas. Recent teaching has been at theological colleges in Suriname, Kenya and South Africa.

John R. Cameron, a native of New Glasgow, NS, served congregations in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island from 1956–1999. He was Clerk of Synod, 1991–2000, and Moderator of the General Assembly in 1991. He is a great, great, great grandson of James MacGregor.

Alan Wilson taught at Acadia, was chair of History at Western and founding chair of History and of Canadian Studies at Trent. His continued interest in church history stems from his earlier work on the clergy reserves. In retirement he is a freelance editor, writes TV documentaries and has just finished a first novel and a biography of James MacGregor.

Allan Dunlop was formerly Associate Provincial Archivist of Nova Scotia.

Garry D. Shutlak is Senior Reference Archivist at Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management.

David R. Gladwell has a background in applied geochemistry, and recently completed an M.T.S. at the Toronto School of Theology. After working part-time as a chaplain and teaching at a Waldorf-style school in Grey/Bruce ON, he has returned to environmental geochemistry with a new position at Klohn Crippen Berger in Vancouver.

Why Walter Bryden Was a Presbyterian: Context and Influences

D. Laurence DeWolfe

Walter Williamson Bryden was born on a farm near Galt, Ontario, eight years after the great Presbyterian union of 1875. He entered Knox College in the fall of 1906, at the same time studying for an M.A. in Psychology at the University of Toronto. He spent the second year of his theological studies in Scotland, under James Denney and George Adam Smith. After graduation from Knox he was ordained and took up a pastoral charge in Lethbridge, Alberta. He also did post-graduate work in Strasbourg. He served congregations in Woodville, Ontario and Melfort, Saskatchewan. In 1925 Bryden returned to the church in Woodville, from which he was called to lecture at Knox College.¹

The dominant characteristic of Canadian Presbyterianism during Walter Bryden's youth and early ministry was confidence. In 1913, at the Pre-Assembly Congress, confidence was the order of the day. In the words of Chairman R. P. MacKay, it was "a new morn of Divine Grace [. . .]. The great Head of the Church has in store for the Canadian Presbyterian Church greater things than she has hitherto known, if she will but follow where he leads."²

C. W. Gordon, the popular novelist and western minister, addressed "The Canadian Situation." Gordon cast a vision of "a righteous Canada that will endure."³ The Church held three things "in trust for Canada" which would secure the future of the nation. The Church had a "Living Creed," which Gordon reduced to the classic affirmations of twentieth-century liberalism: the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

The Church was a "Living Church [. . .] of the tented field and of today's march and battle, this Living, Invincible Church of God is ours."⁴ And the Church had the Christ, "who is alive and with us [. . .] here and now; the Christ of the compassionate heart [. . .] who upholds, guides, inspires; this Living Christ who is to be with us all the days is ours."⁵

In those words Gordon encapsulated the muscular Christianity he popularised in his novels. It was a departure from Calvinism, offering a much more positive view of

¹ J. C. McClelland, "Walter Bryden," *Called to Witness: Profiles of Canadian Presbyterians: A Supplement to "Enduring Witness,"* ed. W. Stanford Reid, vol. 2 ([Don Mills, ON]: Presbyterian Publications, 1980) 119, 120.

² *Pre-Assembly Congress of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (Toronto, 1913) v.

³ *Pre-Assembly Congress* 88.

⁴ *Pre-Assembly Congress* 93.

⁵ *Pre-Assembly Congress* 93, 94.

humanity. This Liberal Evangelicalism thrived in rural Canada, in places like Gordon's romanticised Glengarry. Muscular Christianity exalted the potential of the individual, inspired by the example of Jesus, to contribute to the betterment of all by living a righteous life.

Social Gospellers described the sin of the world as a social problem, to be addressed through reformation of the structures within which the individual lived. The Social Gospel was an urban phenomenon. A. G. Sinclair of Winnipeg declared, "If we teach our cities to know themselves, if we bring home to them a sense of social sin and of social responsibility the rest will come. And this surely is the work of the Church."⁶ J. G. Shearer, of the Board of Social Service and Evangelism, called for "The Redemption of the City." "We must transform those general influences which are operative upon our city dwellers; we must socially save our cities."⁷

Census reports, charts, and graphs were everywhere at the Congress. Lantern slides and billboard-sized displays were the Power Point of the day. One speaker proudly compared the work of a modern minister to "the general managership of a major departmental store."⁸ Economy and efficiency were hailed as the key to fulfilling the Presbyterian Church's great mission in Canada.

Many of the leading figures of the Congress were advocates of Church Union. At the General Assembly that convened immediately after the Congress it was resolved that the Presbyterian Church in Canada (PCC) work "in the hope that union may be consummated with no unnecessary delay."⁹

Gordon was one of the Presbyterian delegates to the Methodist Conference in 1902, when Union was first, quasi-officially, proposed. The proponents of Union confidently saw it as a witness to the world that God was at work in Canada. As early as 1875, John Cook, Moderator of that first General Assembly, foresaw a "larger union," and the theological shift required to accomplish it. Speaking of the authors of the Scots and Westminster Confessions, he said:

they were not inspired prophets more than we; and no larger union will be accomplished if we hold in regard to them [. . .] that what they established is as little to be touched or altered as the words of the Evangelists or Apostles.¹⁰

At the climax of the Union controversy Walter Bryden published his first book, *The Spirit of Jesus in Saint Paul*. Based on Paul's Corinthian letters, the book is Bryden's analysis of the apostle's struggles and an attempt to see him as a pastor. Bryden found many aspects of the situation in Corinth comparable to his contemporary setting:

⁶ *Pre-Assembly Congress* 168, 169.

⁷ *Pre-Assembly Congress* 172.

⁸ *Pre-Assembly Congress* 32.

⁹ Cited in Ephraim Scott, "Church Union" and the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1928) 52.

¹⁰ J. T. McNeill, *The Presbyterian Church in Canada 1875-1925* (Toronto: General Board, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1925) 245.

The Church of God cannot hope to maintain herself long on relays of enthusiasm—even though that enthusiasm be Christian—nor can the Church of God maintain her prestige in the world by more perfected modes of cooperation [. . .]. [I]f the Church is to live it must be permeated with nothing less than knowledge, experience of God. No institution would seem to have as little reason for existence as the institution which assumes the name of God and cannot in some unmistakeable way verify the reality of its claims.¹¹

Bryden described two modern trends in the Church which he found wanting. One was the attempt to make the Gospel “palatable” by the use of modern techniques. He asked if the Church had lost confidence “in the efficacy of [the] Gospel, in its own power and appeal, that we engage so many aids to commend it?”¹² The other movement Bryden described as “The tendency [. . .] to stress the social aspect of religious experiences, ethics, salvation, and culture, rather than the individualistic, which it is claimed entirely possessed the outlook of the past.”¹³

Bryden shunned both what he called modern, “humanistic” preaching, and the preaching that arose from strict creedalism. He favoured the old-fashioned “theocentric” preaching of the Reformers and their Victorian Scottish heirs. Their preaching, he said, arose from the humility of the preachers and not their confidence in human things.¹⁴

This was Bryden’s first expression of his argument with both the proponents and the opponents of Union. Nine years later Bryden would step out of the shadow of St. Paul to advance his own vision of the church, and to explain why he was still a Presbyterian.

After the consummation of Union in June of 1925 no dominant theological force united the “Continuing Presbyterians.” John Moir comments:

Anti-Unionism had for a time brought together in common cause many people holding a wide spectrum of attitudes, from [. . .] liberal evangelicalism on the left to a few American-inspired fundamentalists and pre-millenarians on the extreme right. In the post-union generation no theological consensus appeared within the ranks of Canadian Presbyterianism.¹⁵

In the years immediately following Union the pages of the *Presbyterian Record* were filled with breathless reports of struggles and successes in continuing congregations. One such news item, dated 15 April 1926 from Woodville, Ont., is typical: “Our splendid church was saved 129 to 88. In July (1925) Rev. W.W. Bryden [. . .] was recalled and inducted and all has since gone well. Our Unionist friends left us with a debt of \$700 and

¹¹ W. W. Bryden, *The Spirit of Jesus in St. Paul: A Study in the Soul of St. Paul Based Upon the Corinthian Letters* (London: Clarke, 1925) 45.

¹² Bryden, *Spirit of Jesus* 46.

¹³ Bryden, *Spirit of Jesus* 47.

¹⁴ Bryden, *Spirit of Jesus* 55.

¹⁵ John Moir, *Enduring Witness: a History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (Don Mills, ON: Presbyterian Publications, 1975) 235.

a mortgage of \$7000.”¹⁶ By January of 1926 the debt had been cleared and the mortgage burned.

Through the pages of the *Record* we can also trace the attempts of those Moir called “Fundamentalists” to become the dominant voice in Canadian Presbyterianism. These men—perhaps better called Princeton neo-Calvinists—were encouraged by American Gresham Machen, who said, “Your church is a city set on a hill, that cannot be hid. You have stood for liberty and for truth [. . .]” and endured the “fire from which truth arises [. . .].”¹⁷

In 1927 Walter Bryden commented on the situation of the PCC in a pamphlet directed to candidates for ministry:

Accusations have been made that the Continuing Presbyterian Church is merely a provincial Church, and perhaps there are those among us who would be satisfied with such a lot; but it should be said with all emphasis at our command that a provincial Church, a sect, or an “other-worldly” institution has no future.¹⁸

Seven years later Bryden finally articulated his reasons for choosing not to enter the United Church of Canada. He also offered his critique of the main opponents to Union, and the loudest voices in the continuing Church. *Why I am a Presbyterian* is a record of addresses given to students in 1934, revised slightly, and published in 1935.

Bryden began and ended the book with his belief that a union of the Churches was to be desired and worked for. In the debates and paper wars surrounding Union, however, he could “scarcely detect a single argument, either for or against organic union, which seemed to entail any particular *Christian* obligation to decide one way or another in the matter.”¹⁹

He deplored the “highly disreputable propaganda” which the advocates of Union had employed (14). Bryden accused the anti-Unionists of “ignorant bigotry and factional prejudice,” and hypocrisy in claiming a loyalty to Presbyterianism not displayed before (18). He went on to criticise the “sectional and manifold selfish tendencies which have confessedly characterised our Church since 1925” (19).

Bryden identified three “insufficient reasons” for opposing Union. The first of these he called “denominationalism,” the assumption that “having been born and nurtured in the Presbyterian Church, it is something like a moral or religious duty to die in it” (23). Presbyterianism was, as a system of beliefs, an “historical and temporal expression of Christianity” which had a beginning and might very well have an end (29).

Bryden then discussed “ecclesiasticism,” the conviction that Presbyterianism was closer to the spirit of the Early Church than any other Christian tradition, and was in fact “to be identified with Christianity itself” (30). Bryden asserted that the “constitutive

¹⁶ *Presbyterian Record* [Montreal] May-June 1926: 179.

¹⁷ *Presbyterian Record* [Montreal] May-June 1926: 174.

¹⁸ W. W. Bryden, *The Christian Ministry* (Toronto: The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1927) 17, 18.

¹⁹ W. W. Bryden, *Why I am a Presbyterian: Based upon Addresses Delivered to Students in Arts and Theology in Knox College, University of Toronto* (Toronto: Presbyterian Publications, 1934) 13. SUBSEQUENT REFERENCES IN TEXT OF ESSAY.

principle” of a Church was not its solidarity with the principles and motives of the Early Church, but “that experienced spiritual union or fellowship which exists between Christ and his people” (38). Bryden admitted that Presbyterianism was an expression of the Church of Christ “as effective as any other known,” but certainly not the truest expression.

The third “insufficient reason” was what Bryden called “rational orthodoxy,” represented by those in the PCC who were “obscurantist in theology, ultra-conservative and even ‘fundamentalist’ [. . .] concerning religion and Scripture” (42). The exponents of rational orthodoxy advocated “an unreserved and almost servile adherence to the subordinate Standards” (43). This minority had played a very large part in the opposition to Union.

Bryden believed that Unionist leaders “had utterly failed to discern the depth of the religious sentiment, and the power of the religious traditions of their people. More important still, they had indeed failed to discern the fact that the reasons set forth on behalf of Union had never touched the springs of the people’s religious life” (60). These factors had, in Bryden’s opinion, led a “great many devoted people in the Presbyterian Church” who “did not consider this movement to be of a particularly *religious* character at all” instinctively to oppose Union (61).

This instinctive opposition had been nurtured by “tendencies and methods apparent in the Presbyterian Church in the previous years, of which a great many people, and not a few of the ministers, were becoming increasingly dubious” (61). His description of these tendencies and methods reads like a summary of proceedings of the Pre-Assembly Congress of 1913.

Perhaps most grave among the “tendencies” of the time was the state of the preaching ministry:

The ministrations of the pulpit [. . .] when not employed with giving information concerning the “work” of the Church, and rendering guidance to the manifold organisations which existed, were concerned very largely with the current problems and topics of the day. Purely expository preaching was the exception, and doctrinal preaching a thing taboo (64).

This Bryden called “a phase of a *modernistic* religious wave, emanating largely from United States sources, which influenced most of the Churches in Canada, but more especially the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches” (65). This wave tended “to *naturalise* Christianity, to completely *humanise* it, and thus to inoculate man effectively against the distinctive challenge of the Gospel” (66). Bryden referred to Karl Barth, who maintained that the modern Church had “largely succeeded in eradicating the ‘Offence’ which is the fundamental factor in the Christian Gospel” (66). Bryden was probably “the first theologian in Canada, and one of the first on the continent, to see the significance of Barth.”²⁰

Bryden saw in the failure of Union to avert the division of a vital Church the failure of contemporary Canadian theology, just as Barth had seen the inadequacy of

²⁰ D. V. Wade, “The Theological Achievement of Walter Bryden,” Barth Colloquium, Toronto, 1974. Bryden gives no footnotes for his quotations from Barth in *Why I am a Presbyterian*. See, generally, *The Doctrine of the Word of God*, Church Dogmatics, Vol 1, Part 1, various editions.

contemporary European theology to answer the Great War to end all Wars. But while Barth had once espoused that liberal theology, Bryden had always stood against its North American counterpart. Bryden was profoundly influenced by James Denney. He called Denney "the prince of Scottish theologians."²¹ Bryden stood with the post-1918 Barth, in continuity with Denney, in opposition to the Union movement, "In which the importance of doctrine was largely ignored" and, instead, "the 'task' of the Church was considered the paramount interest (66, 67).

Bryden could not find among the anti-Unionists any interest in discovering "what the peculiar witness of the Presbyterian Church actually was and signified" (76). Yet, Bryden asserted, it was a Church's peculiar witness to Christ which justified its existence. Continuing Presbyterians, Bryden said, must see themselves as a "small, but important, branch of the great Reformed Church of the world" (77), and attempt to discern the real meaning of the protest by means of which they existed as Presbyterians.

Bryden compared the *Westminster Confession of Faith* to both the Basis of Union and the working theologies of the anti-Unionists. The Confession, whatever its shortcomings, had been born of a new vision of God "in which God stands transcendent over all ecclesiasticisms, over all affairs of the lives of men" (83). Bryden's hero, James Denney, saw great value in the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, but he was opposed to a strict view of subscription to it. "Nothing creates a stronger prejudice against a creed [. . .] than the necessity of signing it as a condition of membership or of ministry in the Church." Denney believed that the influence of confessions would be greater if subscription were simply abolished.²²

Bryden insisted that no Reformed Church had ever prescribed the strict adherence to standards and confessions demanded by rational orthodoxy. Bryden quoted Karl Barth to conclude his argument. Doctrine, Barth said, was the church's word at crisis with the word of God; penetrated, purified, and cleansed by God's Word but still a human word. This, Bryden said, was the truly Reformed attitude to Confessions. Doctrine, expressed in Confessions, was essential to the life of the Church. It was "inevitable," Bryden believed, that the United Church of Canada would "in the near future acknowledge this claim" (103).

Bryden devoted the last two chapters of the book to a discussion of the various types and aspects of unions. He pointed to the "*highest of all unities* in which Christian personalities under the impelling constraint of the Holy Spirit find themselves, although in other respects often sharply differentiated, one in Jesus Christ" (131). This unity is the gift of God, and will never be of human creation. Bryden returned to Barth: "A will to unite cannot be developed by people who have not yet taken themselves, to say nothing of others, seriously; the peace of Christians cannot be served by understandings that lack content" (153).

To say that Bryden established his position in response to the trends of his time is not to suggest that his theology was reactionary. He stood against Union at first instinctively, then, after long analysis, he came to understand the meaning of his own protest. *Why I am a Presbyterian* shows Bryden's confidence in God. Bryden was

²¹ Walter Bryden, *The Significance of the Westminster Confession of Faith* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1943) 27.

²² James Denney, *Jesus and the Gospel* (London: Hodder, 1908) 388.

confident in the power of God and the truth of the Gospel. He called the Church to the same confidence, which he believed to be the Church's only hope.

Would Bryden's argument have carried more weight if he had offered it ten years earlier? Indeed he did, indirectly, within a book that was not widely-read. Yet it is unlikely that, in the heat of the controversy, either side would have listened to him. To those who proposed Union Bryden would have seemed too conservative, too academic. To many of those who opposed Union Bryden was too kind to the Unionists, and dangerously liberal in his approach to Scripture and the Confession. Indeed, the latter charge hounded him throughout his career at Knox College. Champions of rational orthodoxy continued to use "Barthian" as a slur within the PCC until the 1980s.

Bryden lived in a time when all ministers were men, most Presbyterians spoke only English, and the majority of Canadians were churchgoing Christians. In Bryden's time the ordination or marriage of homosexuals, or the need for Korean-Canadian presbyteries would never have come before the Church. Today's church is but one voice among many in Canadian society. We can no longer assume we will be heard just because we have spoken. Surely our context calls for renewed confidence in God, clarity of speech, and unashamed confession of our faith. Bryden's call to the church in 1934, and throughout his ministry, is certainly relevant to our time.

Bryden's critique of a church so focussed on its "task" that it does not hear God's voice should still echo among us. He insisted that any plan, any movement, any vision for the church must begin with a new vision of God. Today he offers us a third way, distinct from those who call the church to reiterate the old-time religion, and those ready to ride every trend into the future, confusing discernment with whim.

Two Bryden papers are in the Canadian Society of Presbyterian History mix this year, and publication of a Bryden book by John Vissers²³ is pending. Could these be signs of a modest renaissance for Walter Bryden in the PCC? Bryden's mid-twentieth-century neo-orthodoxy resonates with the late-twentieth-century post-liberalism of Lutheran George Lindbeck²⁴ and Presbyterian William Placher.²⁵ American homiletician David Lose defends the efficacy of preaching in the post-modern age, and echoes Bryden, Barth, and Denney when he defines preaching as confession.²⁶ Protestant evangelicals have long made peace with Karl Barth.²⁷ It is time for Canadian Presbyterians to recover the legacy of Walter Bryden.

²³ John A. Vissers, Principal, Presbyterian College, Montreal. His 1988 Th.D. thesis for Knox College, University of Toronto is entitled "The Conception of Revelation in the Theology of Walter W. Bryden."

²⁴ See George A. Lindbeck, *The Nature of Doctrine: Religion and Theology in a Postliberal Age* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1984).

²⁵ William C. Placher, *Unapologetic Theology: A Christian Voice in a Pluralistic Conversation* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1989).

²⁶ David J. Lose, *Confessing Jesus Christ: Preaching in a Postmodern World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003).

²⁷ British evangelical theologian and intrepid translator Geoffrey Bromiley is largely responsible for the late twentieth century conservative evangelical discovery of Barth. See *An Introduction to the Theology of Karl Barth* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979).

On the Unpublished Works of Walter Williamson Bryden

Robert K. Anderson

When members of the academic community write books and articles, it is generally as a result of two or three motives. Seen in the best light, it is an attempt to preserve in some permanent manner a lifetime of wrestling with ideas, and to record the results for posterity. It may also be a desire to promote argument, discussion, the tendering of theories to invite comment, criticism and response, all of which are commendable intentions. At the bottom of the scale it could be no more than response to the pressure exerted by the academic world to “publish or perish.”

It was not always so, and as we pass by the shelves in our libraries we may wonder what moved the authors to write the books before us—the rows and rows of books, some of which are never read, some of which will never be read. For some of them it may be that they were written for a certain moment and that moment has passed. For others, the moment may not yet have come. And there may be some which were written to catch the attention and capture the mind of a particular person, or a particular type of person, the kind of reader whom Kierkegaard described as “that single individual whom I with joy and gratitude call *my reader*.”¹ And we, as we read the writings of Walter Williamson Bryden, may be led to wonder if that were the person he was trying to reach, whether in printed or spoken word: “My reader.”

Before considering the unpublished works of Bryden, let us note the published ones. They are not many—very few, in fact, in comparison with other theological writers of his day. His revered teacher James Denney, for instance, in a shorter life span (61 years compared to Bryden’s 69) turned out an amazing amount of literature: fifteen books (one printed posthumously), twenty-seven articles in major dictionaries (e.g. the *Hastings Dictionary of the Bible*), forty-four magazine articles—many of them in *The Expositor*, and seventy-nine newspaper articles, mostly in the *British Weekly*.² Bryden’s output, by comparison, was more modest: four books (and one posthumous collection of papers), thirteen articles and pamphlets (six of which are re-printed in the collection *Separated Unto the Gospel*, six in the *Presbyterian Record*, and one in the *United Church Observer*), and seventeen book reviews in various publications. In addition to these there is a large corpus of unpublished material, including lecture notes, various fragments of writing, and one major manuscript, of which more below.

The lecture notes (which may be found in the Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives and Records Office) vary in quality and accuracy, but give us an insight into Bryden’s thinking and methodology over a period of a decade or more. They have

¹ Soren Kierkegaard, *Christian Discourses, etc.*, trans. Walter Lowrie (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1940) 359.

² For a detailed description of Denney’s writings see John Randolph Taylor’s *God Loves Like That!* (London: SCM Press, 1962) 191-196.

survived because of the diligence of a succession of students remembered among the participants as “The Note Mill.” In the preface to the notes on “The History of the Church in Scotland” Bryden records his appreciation, but also a quasi-disclaimer:

That these should appear in this mimeographed form is due entirely to the interest and labour of certain students of the first and second years enrolled in Knox College in the autumn of 1943. The typographical errors, misspellings and disjointed sentences—of which obviously there are many—are largely to be accounted for by two factors: (1) the sketchy nature of the original notes, written in a hand scarcely legible to anyone but myself. (2) circumstances which were such that there was no opportunity for revision, correction or proof reading [. . .].³

The recording groups (The Note Mill) had a number of scribes and a battery of typists who produced the final documents. The first group (1943) included Charles D. Henderson, Malcolm A. Mark, Willis A. Young, F. Norman Young, Allan L. Farris, and Russell T. Self. Later, a similar organization included William Lawson, Gordon Hamill, Wilbert L. Young, Joseph C. McLelland, Byron Nevin, James Grant, and Melvin V. Donald, among others.

Even considering the way in which the notes were preserved, they vary in quality and content. Like many university courses (which we have been subjected to, and—dare we say—given to unsuspecting students), in some cases they consisted of a “covering of the material,” giving a factual account of the subject, and references to and quotations from the works of various authors. There were others, however, where, from time to time, the brilliant mind of Bryden shone through the text—especially when the scribes recorded “asides” which were not in the original material, oral marginal notes as it were, which put a fresh slant on the subject and stimulated the students to think of it in a new way.

Some of the sets of lecture notes which have survived might still be considered publishable material—courses which no longer appear in the theological curricula of our seminaries, and which are still of permanent value. Lectures such as those on “The Word Made Flesh,” dealing with the *logos* motif in neo-Platonism and St. John’s Gospel, and the course called: “St. Augustine: Ecclesiastic, Philosopher and Theologian” still reward the reader, as does the series on “The Religions of Greece” subtitled by the students “No Grace in Greece.” (These might be considered by some enterprising desktop publisher as material for a series of E-books.) I have included these in the list of “unpublished” material because they were circulated in very limited numbers in what is really a non-permanent form, mimeographed on poor quality paper.

The major “unpublished” manuscript, in the exact sense of the word, and to which I will invite your attention for the rest of this paper is one entitled “After Modernism... What?” The manuscript for many years was kept privately by Bryden, but after his death (23 March 1952) it, and two or three cartons of “Bryden Papers” were entrusted to Prof. Donald V. Wade of Knox College, a close friend and colleague of Bryden. Wade perused the piles of material, and published a selection of papers to which he gave the

³ W.W. Bryden, preface, “History of the Church in Scotland.” The complete manuscript is to be found in the Wilbert L. Young fonds, box 1, Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives and Records Office, Toronto.

title "*Separated Unto the Gospel*."⁴ The book was moderately successful, but did not call for a second printing. Shortly afterward Wade moved from the faculty of Knox College to Victoria University where he served as associate professor of religious studies for several years. The manuscript of "After Modernism" remained buried in the stored Bryden papers.

Some time later, when a group of Bryden enthusiasts purposed to renew interest in Bryden's role in Presbyterian theology, the manuscript was "re-discovered." A search among other papers revealed a letter from Charles Scribner's Sons in New York, dated 23 March 1934, to Mr. J. McLelland of McLelland and Stewart in Toronto, from whom they had received the manuscript, and in which they turned down a request to publish the book. In a very courteous letter from Scribner's, Mr. William L. Savage gives their reasons:

Our difficulty lies in the fact that we feel the book would be pretty stiff reading for the average minister and that it would attract chiefly the highly trained ministers, who are too few in number. It would be of interest to academic groups, both students and professors, but this is not a wide market unless a publisher can count on its being used year after year. In the case of this particular manuscript we feel that we could not count on such a continued demand because the subject by its very nature is a contemporary and a timely one.⁵

Mr. Savage did make a constructive suggestion however:

I might make one suggestion for what it is worth. I think it would be unfortunate to use the title *After Modernism, What?* because I think it does not give the reader quite the right impression. Would it not be better to call it something like *The Decay of Modernism in Christianity*? Most of the author's emphasis is placed on the situation that has been developing in recent years rather than what will be the result of these developments. [. . .] Incidentally, it so happens that we are publishing next month a book which bears the title *Beyond Fundamentalism and Modernism* and while there is not exactly a duplication some elements of the same field are covered even though it be in different ways. It would be a case of both authors being tremendously influenced by Karl Barth.⁶

Apparently discouraged by this negative response, Bryden did not pursue the matter. The manuscript then remained unnoticed for several decades. It was not entirely neglected, however, for Bryden re-shaped some of the ideas contained in it, and

⁴ Bryden, W.W., *Separated Unto the Gospel* (Toronto: Burns and MacEachern, 1956).

⁵ William L. Savage, letter to Walter W. Bryden, 23 Mar. 1934, Walter Williamson Bryden fonds, Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives and Records Office, Toronto.

⁶ Savage. The book to which he refers is by George Warren Richards, *Beyond Fundamentalism and Modernism* (New York, London: C. Scribner's Sons, 1934).

embodied them in his later work *The Christian's Knowledge of God*, which met with greater success.⁷

The title gives us little more than a hint as to the content. "After Modernism... What?" implies that "modernism" as Bryden conceived it, is a passing thing, a phase which will give place to another. But what does he mean by "modernism?" The answer is given in the first of the eight chapters that make up the book. In the first chapter he sets out the parameters of his terms. Under the title "The Modern Religious Viewpoint" he differentiates between the "modern" and "traditional" points of view. He sees "modernism" as having its roots in human idealism, indeed as idealism written large and deified. He writes:

The religion which has issued from this attitude [. . .] may be defined [. . .] in the following terms. It has come to consist largely of the highest impulses, the deepest intuitions and resultant values, ideals and religious appreciations, which human beings may possess, together with the conviction that these represent what men can know of God; because, it is assumed that if anything is, these are integrally and vitally related to the intricate nature of ultimate reality itself. The self-evidencing reality and self-revealing truth of the ever emerging, developing and enriching values and insights of life, and the supra-temporal character of life's ever more challenging and compelling ideals, vouch, it is claimed, for the objective, eternal validity of the same. We are assured, that is to say, that such values and ideals can, by no means, be considered as mere creations of man's mind, nor can they be understood as mere products of his environment, but rather to be conceived as the veritable revelation of God to man.⁸

In such a scheme, practical religious faith, if consistent, takes the form of a sublime, spiritual wager—a "beautiful risk"—a wager, moreover, which must needs address itself to the totality of life's experience in two directions [. . .].⁹

In this last paragraph, we hear echoes of Pascal.

In later chapters, he rings the changes on this initial theme, as we shall see. At this point he is emphasizing the fact that this approach, indeed the philosophic approach of any kind, really begins with man's ideas about God, or man's search for God, or man's imaging of God. Now, coupling that with the doctrine of the fall, he avers that any rational search for God on the part of man, that is to say, any search which depends on reason as its starting point is using a defective means, for human reason is also fallen, and therefore defective.

Beginning with what is for Bryden the "Bottom Line" and working backwards, we find that the last forty-two pages of the manuscript out of a total of 196 pages (over

⁷ W. W. Bryden, *The Christian's Knowledge of God* (Toronto: Thorn Press, 1940).

⁸ Bryden, "After Modernism" 4.

⁹ Bryden, "After Modernism" 4.

one-fifth of the book) deal with what he calls “The Challenge of Karl Barth.” It was this emphasis on Barth, here and elsewhere, that earned for him the title of “Barthian”—a title which he declined to accept. The one thing that dominated his thought was not the teachings of any one theologian, but the conviction that in Jesus Christ, God had revealed himself; indeed that Jesus Christ was God’s full and final revelation of himself, and that through the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament God the Holy Spirit testified to that revelation. He found that conviction echoed in the writings of Karl Barth in a way that he had not heard it in others. Remember that Bryden grew to his theological maturity during the heyday of “Modern” theology. He had studied under James Denney and Thomas M. Lindsay in Glasgow. In post World War One Canada he went through the traumatic experience of the Church Union movement, and opted for the Presbyterian Church, to the astonishment of many of his colleagues. He witnessed the sweep of post-war optimism epitomized in the philosophy of “inevitable progress.” But in all of these he did not discern that note of hope, that note of authority which spoke to Him as The Word.¹⁰

Just at that time, the name of Karl Barth exploded upon the theological scene. The first German edition of his *The Epistle to the Romans* in 1918 was followed quickly by a second German edition in 1921. By 1928 the sixth German edition had appeared. It seems that Bryden had read the latter. It was not until 1933 that the first English translation became available,¹¹ but by that time scholars on both sides of the Atlantic knew the name of Barth. In the early 1930s the first volume of Barth’s massive *Church Dogmatics* was being translated and read,¹² and the theological world was dividing into camps of pros and cons and interested onlookers.

Set in this context, Bryden’s chapter on “The Challenge of Karl Barth” was timely and necessary. In the preceding chapters, Bryden had laid out a background of philosophical and theological thinking, tracing out the course by which the church had arrived at the point which he claimed “modernism” could be recognized. It was not a simple straight line of development, but could be distinguished as a number of paths, sometimes woven together, sometimes developing separately.

Bryden recognized three basic patterns. There was the path of authority, the path of reason or rationality, and the path of feeling. In all of these he discerns to a greater or lesser degree, the basic thrust of humanism.

The path of authority he recognised as epitomized in the claims of the Roman Catholic Church. Bryden had great respect for RC theologians, he himself being well grounded in the writings of the fathers, especially St. Augustine of Hippo. But despite his admiration for the disciplined and deep thinking of RC theologians, he would not see authority as being a means of bringing people to faith. This could only come about by the power of the Word, that is, by God’s self-revelation in Jesus Christ, as testified to in the Holy Scriptures.

Regarding the claim of the Roman Catholic view of the Church to be the true source of authority he wrote:

¹⁰ Examples of “modern” theologians are: Albrecht Ritschl 1822-1889, Adolf von Harnack, 1851-1930, and Wilhelm Herrmann, 1846-1922.

¹¹ Karl Barth, *The Epistle to the Romans*, trans. Edwyn C. Hoskyns (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1933).

¹² Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1936).

The Roman Catholic faith conceives the Word of God as essentially a revealed datum of divine truth, which has been entrusted by God to His Church, i.e., the Roman Church. This divine truth is to be accepted by the individual believer without question as to its form, origin, or indeed its manner of affecting the souls of men unto salvation. This Church is identified with a visible institution on earth, constituted as a graduated hierarchy culminating in the Papacy. In its possession alone, are the powers of defining and interpreting the Word of God in Christ, as well as the full administration of the saving efficacy of God's grace, which grace of God is made effective for individuals through seven holy sacraments.¹³

For the same reason, but from a somewhat different angle, he could not support the claims of Fundamentalism. He saw the claims of plenary inspiration, inerrant, cover-to-cover, as a type of authority that does not lead to faith, but is another form of legalism. He wrote:

The Protestant Fundamentalist, or the orthodox rationalist, as he is sometimes called, especially in Europe, derives his lineage [. . .] not so much from the original Protestant religious experience, as from its intellectual aftermath, i.e., from Protestant Scholasticism. He believes the Word of God to be identical with the written Scripture, including both the Old and New Testaments; and he interprets this in an absolutely literal way. Such a view, of course, involves a very rigid conception of revelation and inspiration. Scripture, in its entirety is the infallibly inspired and revealed Word of God, and therefore constitutes an absolute authority for the believer, and calls for implicit belief and obedience.¹⁴

As a matter of fact, Bryden saw any of these methods—the reliance on authority, and the approach of philosophy and nineteenth-century theology as being examples of man's search for God, whereas the roots of faith are only to be discovered in God's search for man, through the Divine Word which He speaks, the Word which judges and saves. He believes that this was the note sounded by Calvin, but obscured in the period of the "enlightenment."

As an example of nineteenth-century philosophy or theology (it is difficult to know exactly where to draw the line) he focussed on the writings of Daniel F. Schleiermacher, who has been called "The Father of Modern Theology." Bryden had great respect for his erudition, but strongly disagreed with his final thesis. He summarized his opinion of Schleiermacher thus:

¹³ Bryden, "After Modernism" 13.

¹⁴ Bryden, "After Modernism" 14. Bryden sees each of these as "missing the mark" and for the same basic reason; that they rely on a rational approach, and because "the word of God is not bound." Given that Jesus Christ is God's complete revelation of Himself, no other authority can be permitted to stand between him and the believer. God reveals *himself*. God speaks His *word*. While He chooses to do so through the Scripture, it is God Himself who is the authority, and who makes the choice. When He chooses to speak through the Church, the assembly of the saints bound in fellowship by His Spirit, it is God again who is the authority. On both of these ways the authority of the Church and of the Scripture is elevated above that of any authority based on the rational approach, whether philosophical or ecclesiastical.

That popular but tragically superficial modern estimate of the Christian man, namely "that it is not what a man believes, but what he is, which constitutes him a Christian," may be definitely traced to a view of religion which finds more adequate expression in Schleiermacher's *Addresses* than in any other book which one could name. The possession of certain fine appreciations, of intuitions for the good, the beautiful and the true, these without particular distinction, or without any definite relation to God, His Character, or what He may have done for the world—all this, is what chiefly constitutes a religious man. As Schlegel has truly said of the *Addresses*: "It is a work of infinite subjectivity."¹⁵

Another great name in nineteenth-century theology was that of Albrecht Ritschl. If Schleiermacher's views could be summed up in the word "Feelings," Ritschl's might be epitomized in the word "Brotherhood." He saw the Kingdom of God on earth as coming into being when universal brotherhood would prevail, and Christian values and ideals alone would rule. Here the "basis of Christian authority" is the historic Jesus, the inner life and mind of Jesus as portrayed in the Synoptic Gospels.

It can easily be understood why Bryden's reactions to these views of the origin and nature of the Christian faith were so strong. A few years earlier, in his first book *The Spirit of Jesus in Saint Paul* he had written:

I take it that when we are thinking of the "Spirit of Christ" we have in mind chiefly certain ethical and spiritual qualities of the mind and soul of Jesus which He exhibited in the days of his flesh in his associations with men, His fellowship with God and His disposition to life and its values in general.[. . .] Now these qualities of life are not absent from the Epistles of Paul [. . .] but when Paul uses that term or some equivalent he is not thinking so much of qualities of heart and mind as of a Power or Presence in the world and in men's hearts which effects or creates these other things. He is not thinking of results, but causes."¹⁶

The claims of "modernism" were far removed from this view of the faith. But the writings of Karl Barth were much closer to it. It is not surprising that Bryden would feel a kinship with the mind and thought of Barth who, like himself, felt the drawing power of the Word and the Spirit, and spoke with such power and persuasion.

The manuscript of "After Modernism... What?" is not dated, but it is possible to determine its date from internal evidence. The letter from Scribner's written in March 1934, was in reply to McLelland's letter and the manuscript, which would likely have been submitted a few months before. Among the references in the endnotes, there is one from John McConnachie dated 1933. That would fix the final date of writing sometime late in 1933.

A few years later, in 1940, Bryden published his *magnum opus*: *The Christian's Knowledge of God*. It gained a good response and a second edition was produced

¹⁵ Bryden, "After Modernism" 150.

¹⁶ W. W. Bryden, *The Spirit of Jesus in Saint Paul* (London: James Clarke, 1925) 13.

in 1960, eight years after his death. The content of this book paralleled in many places that of "After Modernism... What?" with one major exception. While there were references to Karl Barth throughout, there was no chapter on "The Challenge of Karl Barth." Bryden was not yet principal of Knox College, but was becoming known in the Church through his lectures and writings. His address to the General Assembly of 1943 entitled "The Significance of the Westminster Confession of Faith" was printed and circulated in pamphlet form. His earlier book *Why I am a Presbyterian* was widely read.¹⁷ Barth, in the meantime, had been turning out volume after volume of his *Church Dogmatics* and no longer needed an introduction. Bryden, meanwhile had been tagged a "Barthian" which title he sometimes backed away from, preferring not to be identified with a specific school of thought, though still in agreement with the principles that Barth advocated. He constantly warned his students to be careful about being identified with any particular movement, but to hold to the Scripture and its witness to Jesus Christ as Lord.

As we read through the pages of his unpublished "After Modernism... What?" we recognize arguments which appear in his other writings. It is possible that the manuscript remained unpublished because Bryden thought of better ways to employ the material, and, perhaps, better ways to advance his arguments. In any case, the "moment" for the book had passed, and it was time to move on. As for "Modernism" itself, while its form may have changed and other philosophical and theological movements have come and gone "Modernism" wearing different garments still remains. And as long as it continues, the question is valid: after modernism... what?

¹⁷ W.W. Bryden, *Why I am a Presbyterian: Based upon Addresses Delivered to Students in Arts and Theology in Knox College, University of Toronto* (Toronto: Presbyterian Publications, 1934).

Church And Nation Declaration Revisited

William Klempa

A half-century milestone in 2005 for The Presbyterian Church in Canada's *Declaration of Faith Concerning Church and Nation* is reason enough for a revisit. Yet two other related considerations make a review of it compelling. First, it was the product of the theological recovery that took place in the Canadian Presbyterian Church in the 1930s through the early 1950s. This story is not sufficiently known and needs to be told. Secondly, the *Declaration's* adoption opened the floodgates of confessional revision, redefining the Church's relation to its subordinate standards, and opening the sluice-gate to the formulation of new statements of faith. This also merits more attention than it has received.

The aim of this paper will be to explore the theological renewal that preceded and gave rise to the *Declaration*. We will examine its purpose, content, and argument, and the consequences of its adoption. Finally, the paper will argue that the partnership of church and state has altered radically during the past five decades and it will raise the question of the adequacy of the *Declaration* fifty years later.

The 1942 Memorial and Overtures

Before examining the theological movement that lay behind it, I propose to begin with the petition and the two overtures to the 1942 General Assembly which issued in the 1955 *Declaration*. Overture 24 from the Presbytery of Toronto asked whether the state had the right to call the churches to religious observance. Since the outbreak of the Second World War the Canadian government had proclaimed "Days of Prayer" and encouraged inter-faith religious services. Did the Presbyterian Church approve of these services and the suggested forms of prayer that not only did not confess Jesus Christ but were notable "for the omission of all references to His Name?"¹ The deliberate avoidance of the name of Jesus Christ in the Peggy's Cove Memorial Service in 1999 and in the 9/11 Memorial Service on Parliament Hill in 2001 was evidently not without precedent. The Toronto overture was also vexed about the fact that Moderators and Clerks of General Assembly referred to themselves as "Right Reverends" and "Very Reverends" and that they acted without consultation with church courts to help organize such services.

The Paris Presbytery Memorial and Synod of Hamilton and London Overture 18 noted that the 1875 Basis of Union had qualified the acceptance of the *Westminster Standards* with a proviso that nothing "regarding the power and duty of the civil magistrate, shall be held to sanction any principles inconsistent with full liberty of

¹ *Acts and Proceedings of the Sixty-Eighth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada (1942)*: 116-117.

conscience in matters of religion.”² This qualification, they argued, had left the Presbyterian Church without a clear and defined doctrine of Church and State, and so they called on General Assembly to produce a confession of faith “with respect to the powers and duties of the Civil Magistrate and the relation which exists, under the Lord Jesus Christ, between the Church and the State.”³

In view of the importance of the memorial and two overtures, Assembly appointed a strong committee to study them and to report. Stuart C. Parker of St. Andrew’s Church, Toronto was named convener. It was an odd choice since one of the overtures was from his presbytery and it is highly probable he was one of the “Very Reverends” named in the overture. As a former Assembly moderator he loved to refer to himself as the “Very Reverend Stuart C. Parker.” Committee members were: Prof. R. D. MacLennan of McGill University, Judge A. G. Farrell, Clarence M. Pitts, and J. C. Brown.

The committee’s response was carefully argued and moderate. With respect to the Toronto overture it said that the State did not claim the “right” to call the Church to prayer but simply invited its members to do so. Persons were not obligated to obey. Nor was the church bound by the action of voluntary organizations in which its ministers participated. The committee concluded that “in general, the Church cannot officially approve of ‘Divine Service’ that is not distinctly Christian in character. Yet its ministers are free to participate or not just as they do in societies and fraternal orders where the name of Jesus Christ is not in evidence.”⁴ The committee recommended that no general “declaration” was required and that the answers given in the report were sufficient.

With regard to Overture 18 and the Presbytery of Paris Memorial, the Special Committee recommended that their prayers be not granted since:

- (a) no issue as to the relations of Church and State exists in this land; (b) the said relations as they are among us, are founded upon mutual respect and goodwill, requiring no formal declaration by the Church as to delimitations or respective rights, other than those already set forth in Chapter XXIII and Westminster Confession of Faith, and interpreted in Art. II of the Basis of Union of 1875; and (c) to make formal pronouncements or claims in such circumstances would provoke, without any good purpose being served, controversy and division, not only between Church and State, but within the Church itself.⁵

It was a response that might not be unfairly described as espousing the view, so characteristic of the Church of Scotland Moderate party, of church and state as “bosom-buddies,” one in accord and for the most part having each other’s best interests at heart.

Others at General Assembly did not see a simple co-incidence between civil and religious loyalty. They envisaged the possibility of conflict between the claims of church and state as had occurred recently in Germany. As might be expected, a vigorous debate

² “Basis of Union (1875),” chapter 10, section 406.2, *The Book of Forms* (Don Mills, ON: The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1993) 71.

³ *Acts and Proceedings (1942)*: 112-13.

⁴ *Acts and Proceedings (1942)*: 42-43.

⁵ *Acts and Proceedings (1942)*: 43-44.

ensued. The Rev. Gordon A. Peddie, author of the Paris Memorial and of the Synod of Hamilton and London overture moved an amendment that they be sent down to presbyteries for study. His motion was seconded by the Rev. George L. Douglas. It was moved in amendment to the amendment that the Assembly appoint a committee to consider the matter and to bring in a finding at the next General Assembly. The amendment to the amendment prevailed and the motion as amended was adopted. Also referred to the committee was the Presbytery of Toronto overture. It was this committee that recommended the establishment of what came to be known as the Articles of Faith Committee.

Beginnings of the Articles of Faith Committee

This was a curious beginning for this committee, now known as the Committee on Church Doctrine. During the sixty-eight years since 1875, the Church had managed its affairs without a standing committee on church doctrine. To be sure, from time to time it was constrained to deal with doctrinal issues, for example, in the 1875-1878 Rev. D. J. Macdonnell heresy case, the 1889 qualification of Chapter XXIV.4 of the *Westminster Confession of Faith (WCF)* regarding degrees of consanguinity and who may marry, and, of course, the 1904 joint Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational Committee which produced the Basis of Union, a confession that was mainly derived from two non-Canadian statements of faith.

Apart from these instances, church doctrine was not a consuming interest. Immigration, western expansion, church growth, and social action tended to dominate the agendas of presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies. In his book, *Why I am a Presbyterian*, Walter W. Bryden spoke of superficial views of Scripture and disparagement of creeds that prevailed on the Canadian scene since the end of the nineteenth century.⁶ Although not unfriendly to the United Church of Canada, as he believed it was destined to play an important role in Canadian life, Walter Bryden was nevertheless a strong critic of the Church Union movement for its lack of theological concern. He was of the opinion, as James D. Smart has said, that “[. . .] the union movement sought to solve the problem of the Church’s weakness by a merger of organizations in which questions of doctrine were regarded as decidedly secondary in importance.”⁷ While this may seem to be a partisan Presbyterian “sour grapes” judgment, a similar verdict has been pronounced by the Canadian historian, David Marshall, who has written: “The United Church of Canada was born into a period of theological depression in which there was little vision or vitality. The new church lacked a statement of faith suitable for the age.”⁸

More than any other single individual, W. W. Bryden was responsible for giving the post-union Presbyterian Church in Canada, to quote the words of John Webster Grant,

⁶ Walter W. Bryden, *Why I Am A Presbyterian* (Belleville, ON: Essence Publishing, 1997) 46.

⁷ James D. Smart, “Canadian Presbyterianism Since 1925,” *Presbyterian Record* [Midland] Feb. 1954: 19.

⁸ David B. Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief 1850-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992) 254; see also 203-204.

“a theological base on which not merely to survive but to stand proud.”⁹ Drawing upon the theological recovery that was taking place in Europe under the leadership of Karl Barth, Bryden inspired a new generation of younger Presbyterian ministers to do theology. It was this theological work that issued in the *Declaration of Faith concerning Church and Nation*.

In a 1941 article in *The United Church Observer*, entitled “Continental Movements and the Theological Thought of Tomorrow,”¹⁰ Bryden focused on the German Church conflict and defined the theological issue which prompted the Paris Memorial and led to the formulation of the *Declaration*. The Confessional Church in its struggle with Nazism, he noted, discovered that the battle was between Christ as Creator and Redeemer and an absolute state that arrogated to itself divine character and powers. Redirected thereby to the Scriptures and the Reformed Confessions, it made its confession in the form of the *Barmen Declaration*. Article I affirmed: “Jesus Christ, as he is attested to us in Holy Scripture, is the one Word of God which we have to hear, and which we have to trust and obey in life and in death.”¹¹ It thus rejected “the false doctrine that the Church could and should recognize as a source of its proclamation, beyond and besides this one Word of God, yet other events, powers, historic figures, and truths as God’s revelation.”¹² Bryden took his cue from Barmen and insisted that confession on the Canadian scene must be christologically oriented:

The great question today is not whether we are religious—all people are religious—but whether we are Christian; not whether we believe in God—everyone can get under that canopy, even Hitler—but whether we believe in God in the Christ who was crucified for the sin of man and is risen, is alive for evermore.¹³

He sought, as did his student and follower, Gordon Peddie, a christological view of Church and State.

The groundwork for the Paris Memorial had been carefully laid not only by Bryden’s 1941 *Observer* essay but also by a number of articles on the German Church and State conflict that appeared in the pages of the short-lived *The Presbyterian Student*. In its December 1936 issue M. M. MacOdrum, minister in Sydney, Cape Breton wrote on “The Present Impasse Between Church and State in Germany.”¹⁴ He noted with alarm

⁹ John Webster Grant, *Divided Heritage: Canadian Presbyterianism As It Was*, unpublished manuscript, 194.

¹⁰ Walter W. Bryden, “Continental Movements and the Theological Thought of Tomorrow,” *The United Church Observer*, 15 June 1941: 11, 28.

¹¹ Douglas S. Bax, “*The Barmen Theological Declaration: A New Translation*,” *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 47 (June 1984), Eberhard Jüngel, *Christ, Justice and Peace: Toward a Theology of the State in Dialogue with the Barmen Declaration*, trans. D. Bruce Hamill and Alan J. Torrance (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1992) xxiii.

¹² Bax xxiii.

¹³ Bryden, “Continental Movements” 28.

¹⁴ M. M. MacOdrum, “The Present Impasse Between Church and State in Germany,” *The Presbyterian Student*, 2.2 (Dec. 1936): 2-4.

the Nazi deification of the State and its readiness to claim the totality of the soul of the German nation. It would have all Germany—the Christian Church—brought under the will of one man, Adolf Hitler. Only the Confessional Church had stood firm, unwilling to bend to this totalitarian claim. The second article by Wilfred F. Butcher, an associate editor of the journal, was devoted to the memorandum which the German Evangelical Church addressed to Hitler in June 1936, and the manifesto which was read *from* its pulpits in August of the same year.¹⁵

Preoccupation with the German Church situation continued in the February 1937 issue, with two more articles on the subject. The first one was by James D. Smart entitled, “The Conflict Within The Church.” A graduate of Knox College and a Ph.D. from the University of Toronto in Semitic languages he had spent 1929-1930 studying at Marburg and Berlin in Germany. His article drew upon his knowledge of Barth’s theology and the series of forty-six pamphlets on the German Church crisis, edited by Karl Barth and Eduard Thurneysen. Concerned about the implications of the German Church conflict for the Canadian church, Smart noted that in Canadian and British patriotism, loyalty to God was considered inseparable from an unquestioning loyalty to one’s country. Yet, had not an identical mind created the German Christians who idolized Hitler and his Third Reich? All things in the church’s life and message, as Barth had insisted, needed to be brought to the touch-stone of the Word of God, especially issues relating to church and state. Theology had received short shrift from both sides in the important decision of 1925. “One lesson of the German situation” he wrote, “is that a church whose ministers are disinterested in discussing upon a theological basis the matters pertaining to its life, has its doors wide open to error and courts disaster at every turn.”¹⁶

The second article, “Karl Barth and the Confessional Church” was by Arthur C. Cochrane.¹⁷ After studying in Germany, where he married a German, he took his doctorate at Edinburgh. In contrast to Smart’s carefully-balanced article, Cochrane’s was pugnacious. The German Confessional Church is the only true Church in Germany, he asserted boldly. All others are false. True confession always involves a negation, a *damnamus*. The Protestant church in Canada and the U. S. has so strayed from the Bible as its sole authority that it can “no longer claim to be the true Evangelical Church of Jesus Christ” and is dangerously near to being the Church of the Anti-Christ.¹⁸ We will do well, Cochrane said, to study closely Karl Barth’s theology for he is to the Church today what Calvin and Luther were in their day.

Not surprisingly, the next issue of *The Presbyterian Student* carried a dissenting voice. It was that of Frank W. Beare, Professor of Theology at Presbyterian College, who was later to leave not only the college but also the Presbyterian Church because of its presumed take-over by the Barthians. He went on to become an Anglican priest and to have a distinguished career as a world-class New Testament scholar at Trinity College,

¹⁵ Wilfred F. Butcher, “Manifesto of the Confessional Church,” *The Presbyterian Student* 2.2 (1936): 4-5, 16.

¹⁶ James D. Smart, “The Conflict Within the Church,” *The Presbyterian Student*, 2.3 (Feb. 1937): 4.

¹⁷ Arthur C. Cochrane, “Karl Barth and the Confessional Church,” *The Presbyterian Student* 2.3 (Feb. 1937): 8-10.

¹⁸ Cochrane 8.

Toronto. He was clearly provoked by the four articles. In a “first blast of the trumpet” against the monstrous regiment of Barth and the Canadian Presbyterian Barthians he issued a declaration of war.¹⁹ It was time, he felt, to raise the voice of warning against the intolerable spiritual and intellectual tyranny of the Barthian teaching and what he dubbed “its semi-Mohammedan creed that ‘There is one God, and Karl Barth is his prophet.’”²⁰ Barthianism was “not truly Calvinist, or catholic, or orthodox; it is a narrowly sectarian presentation of Christianity which falls far short of doing justice to the warm spirit of comprehensiveness which is the glory of our faith.”²¹ He believed Barth was wrong in insisting that the Word is contained only in Scripture. In an unembarrassed espousal of natural theology, Beare stated that God’s Word can be heard in the sublime poetry of Virgil, the philosophical writings of Plato and Aristotle, and the religious teaching of Buddha and Confucius as well as in the lawgivers and prophets.

In the December issue of *The Presbyterian Student*, Professor W. Stanford Reid wrote a letter criticizing Beare’s doctrine of Scripture. In doing so he distanced himself from what he called Barthianism, stating that in his opinion it is “very far removed from the Reformed Faith as set forth either by Calvin, or any of the great Reformed Creeds of the Church.”²² This is a judgment that would be very difficult to sustain today in the light of recent Calvin and Barth scholarship and there is reason to believe that Reid modified his judgment somewhat later. Beare cavalierly dismissed Reid’s letter by saying that he did not know the history of the Canon and had not given any serious thought to the Christian doctrine of revelation and inspiration.²³ The same issue carried an article by James D. Smart called “Defence and Counter Attack” in which he defended Barth against the charge of the “dogmatic intolerance.”²⁴ While admitting that some Barthian enthusiasts assume a pontifical attitude, Smart spoke without naming names of “the apostle of tolerance [who] becomes vehemently intolerant of any other view of Christianity [. . .] [and] that which offends is not ‘dogmatic intolerance,’ but the existence of a point of view contradictory to his own personal point of view. [. . .] The real issue,” Smart said, “is between two irreconcilable views of Christianity. Let these two views be debated in the Church so that it can be seen which view is truly Reformed in character.”²⁵ This was followed by a second article, “Is Karl Barth’s Theology Extremist?”²⁶ It was not extreme or unpresbyterian on Barth’s part to re-establish the authority of the Bible in theology, Smart wrote. This was nothing other than the re-assertion of the reformers’ scripture principle. God’s Word is spoken in the Bible as nowhere else. He explained

¹⁹ Frank W. Beare, “Against the Barthian Theology,” *The Presbyterian Student* 2.3 (Feb. 1937): 9-10.

²⁰ Beare 10.

²¹ Beare 9.

²² W. Stanford Reid, letter, *The Presbyterian Student* 3.1 (Dec. 1937): 4.

²³ Reid 4-5.

²⁴ James D. Smart, “Defence and Counter Attack,” *The Presbyterian Student* 3.1 (Dec. 1937): 6. Jim Smart had earlier defended Barth against the charge of “other-worldliness” in the pages of *The Expository Times* 45 (1933-34): 525-526.

²⁵ Smart, “Defence and Counter Attack” 6.

²⁶ James D. Smart, “Is Karl Barth’s Theology Extremist?,” *The Presbyterian Student* 3.3 (Mar. 1938): 9-14.

the reason for Barth's rejection of natural theology. When Scripture is seen as only a part of God's revelation and voices heard elsewhere are obeyed as revelations of God, these auxiliary revelations soon assume primary authority. This was clearly the case with the German Christians who claimed to hear God's voice in German history and the rise of Hitler to power. The Confessionalists responded saying that the Church dare not obey any voice except that of God's Word, Jesus Christ, who is attested in Scriptures. Those who regard Barth as un-presbyterian must show where his teaching is not in line with this accepted standard. "It is strange," he said in conclusion, "that the points in his theology which have been felt to be most extreme are those points in which he is most characteristically Presbyterian—the Scripture principle of revelation, the sovereignty of God including predestination, original sin, justification by faith alone."²⁷

As the Second World War was threatening, this concern about the German Church Conflict led to an official statement by the Presbytery of Paris in April 1939.²⁸ This "Deliverance," as it was called, was read from every pulpit in the presbytery, given to the press, and sent as a memorial to the Synod of Hamilton and London and to the General Assembly. The "Deliverance" spoke of the Christian gospel being attacked by German State leaders, of a pagan philosophy and religion being taught in schools and universities, of the faithful witness of the Confessional Church, its pastors being imprisoned and seminaries being closed. It went on to confess that "Jesus Christ is the sole Lord of the Church and of the State." The State has the responsibility to establish and maintain justice, freedom, and peace. It denies the Lordship of Jesus Christ when it becomes a tyranny. The statement concluded with a "call to repentance." There is no record of General Assembly dealing with this "Deliverance." It was not a petition and as such could not come before it. The Presbytery of Paris's 1942 Memorial embodied the concern of the "Deliverance" and went beyond it, by petitioning Assembly for a doctrine of church and state from the perspective of the Lordship of Christ.

Statement of Faith Committee

Let us now return to the 1942 Memorial and overtures. The Special Committee named by the General Assembly with E. G. Thompson as convener and George Douglas as secretary, met and recommended "that a larger committee comprising the ablest men in the Church be appointed for the purpose of re-examining our whole confessional position [. . .]."²⁹ The 1943 Assembly adopted the recommendation and appointed a larger committee. A merry-go-round ensued because this larger committee in turn thought that a smaller committee was more suited for such a task. It so recommended to the 1944 Assembly and added that this committee should consist of "specially selected members who are representative of the various views in regard to the Church's Confession [. . .]"; and that it work out, if it were thought advisable, a brief statement of the faith of our Church and as based on the Westminster Confession of Faith and Holy

²⁷ Smart, "Is Karl Barth's Theology" 14.

²⁸ "A Deliverance Of The Presbytery Of Paris," *The Presbyterian Student* 4.4 (Apr. 1939): 5-9.

²⁹ *Acts and Proceedings of the Sixty-Ninth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada (1943)*: 131.

Scripture.³⁰ In 1944, General Assembly appointed the following persons to this committee: Peter Dunn, Joseph Wasson, Arthur C. Cochrane, W. Stanford Reid, T. Wardlaw Taylor, W. W. Bryden and E. G. Thompson.

Peter Dunn of St. Paul's Church, Hamilton, became convener and Joseph Wasson of Calvin Church, Toronto, served as secretary. During the next year the committee worked assiduously to write a statement of faith. What it produced resembled discussion papers more than a concise confession and the committee modestly admitted as much, saying that its work was purely tentative and partial at best. A number of doctrines were selected: Knowledge of God, Grace of God, Human Nature, Person of Christ, Election, Church, Word and Sacraments. The longest section of the report was devoted to the doctrine of Church and State and the Social Order, the specific concern of the petition and the two overtures. It contained *in nuce* the later *Declaration*. As I will argue later, one wishes that at least in part the formulators of the *Declaration* had kept more closely to this original statement.³¹ The committee also addressed the Paris Memorial and the Synod Overture. It agreed that the 1875 "forbearance" did have the effect of leaving the church "confession-less" regarding the doctrine of Church and State and thus defenceless in the event of encroachment upon its rights. It criticized the 1875 Basis of Union for making the natural conscience a judge in matters that pertain to God.³²

It is not our purpose here to follow the course which the Statement of Faith Committee pursued from 1945 to 1950, as this has been discussed in A. Donald MacLeod's fine CSPH paper of last year.³³ Suffice it to say that the committee's name was changed to "Articles of Faith Committee" in 1946, that the Assembly continued the committee's existence year after year until it became a standing committee and that its membership changed. After Peter Dunn's illness, George Douglas became the convener. Arthur Cochrane left to teach at Dubuque Seminary in Iowa, and W. Stanford Reid left the committee.

³⁰ *Acts and Proceedings of the Seventieth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada (1944)*: 57.

³¹ *Acts and Proceedings (1945)*: 304-06. This section may be summarized as follows: God has ordered the state, as a consequence of human sin, for the public good and the freedom of the gospel. The power of the sword has been given to the state for its defence against menace from within and without. Christians are citizens of both heaven and of the secular realm upon which they depend for justice and peace. They have the same responsibilities as other citizens and when necessary should serve in armed forces. Church and State are directly related and subject to Jesus Christ. Both the view that the Church is the agent of the State or that it is the instrument of the Church must be rejected. So also is the view that Church and State can be absolutely separated and disassociated. The functions of the State are fundamentally protective and temporal; those of the Church are fundamentally redemptive. While these functions cannot be separated they must not be merged. The relative claims of State and Church will always be in a state of tension. The Church is to be humble and yet it must pronounce judgment against palpable injustice and call the state to its divine obligation. Under tyranny, oppression, anarchy or presumption, it is the duty of the Church to encourage and support active opposition to the false state, even to the use of arms. No civil ruler can assume the administration of Word and Sacraments or the power of the keys. Similarly, no ecclesiastical authority may interfere in the laws of the secular realm or claim jurisdiction over its people.

³² *Acts and Proceedings of the Seventy-First General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada (1945)*: 308.

³³ A. Donald MacLeod, "The Formation of the Articles of Faith Committee: Ascendent Barthianism in the 1940s in the PCC," David Elliott, ed., *The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History, Papers 2004* (Thornbury, ON: The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History, 2004): 11-20.

In 1949, a Presbytery of Montreal Overture argued that the present world situation was such as to cause grave concern to the Christian Church, and since the Presbyterian Church did not have a clear confessional position on Church and State, it asked the Assembly to instruct its Articles of Faith Committee to give constitutional recognition to the work already accomplished in 1945 and to prepare a “declaratory clause” avoiding the ambiguity which now exists. Significantly, the motion was made by Charles C. Cochrane, the brother of Professor Arthur Cochrane, and it was seconded by W. Stanford Reid.³⁴ The Overture was referred to the Board of Evangelism and Social Action. It recommended that its prayer be granted in the following terms:

That the Committee on Articles of Faith and this Board’s Committee on Church and Nation be instructed to act as a Joint Committee to prepare a “Declaratory Clause” for the Westminster Confession of Faith, Chapter 23, in terms of the 1945 statement on Church and State and the 1949 resolutions on Church and Nation, to be sent down to the Presbyteries for Constitutional adoption under the Barrier Act.³⁵

The Joint Committee began its work in the fall of 1949 and during the next four years it held upwards of forty meetings before it completed its task. Some twenty-six ministers served on the Assembly’s joint committee. The theological work was burdensome and exacting, as the committee did not hesitate to point out. Three members of the joint committee did not live to see the completion of the task. Principal W. W. Bryden of Knox College and T. Wardlaw Taylor, Principal Clerk of General Assembly, died in 1952. Principal J. Bernard Rhodes of Toronto Bible College died in 1953.

In its 1950 report to Assembly, the Joint Committee noted that the ambiguity created by the 1875 Basis of Union rider could only be removed by a newly-formulated doctrine of Church and State rather than an interpretive clause. What was proposed, the 1951 Report stated, was a *Declaration of Faith*.³⁶ If and when adopted by the Church, such a *Declaration* would supersede Chapter XXIII of the *Westminster Confession of Faith* and the Basis of Union rider. The Joint Committee realized that this would involve changing the ordination vows. To allay any unfounded fears, it stated that this was not an attempt to rewrite the *WCF* much less to “tamper” with it. The Confession was a historical document and if it were changed it would cease to be the *Westminster Confession of Faith*. “What we are free to do as a Church” it stated, “is to review our subscription to the Westminster Confession, in whole or in part, and declare our doctrinal position accordingly.”³⁷ In such a divisive issue, it was important that the Church move slowly. It therefore recommended that the “Preamble” and “Articles of Faith Concerning Church and Nation” be sent to presbyteries for study and report. The term “nation” had been chosen as having a broader meaning than the term “State.” It drew attention to the

³⁴ *Acts and Proceedings of the Seventy-Fifth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada (1949)*: 110.

³⁵ *Acts and Proceedings (1949)*: 61.

³⁶ *Acts and Proceedings of the Seventy-Seventh General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada (1951)*: 87-88.

³⁷ “Report of the Joint Committee on Church and Nation,” *Acts and Proceedings (1951)*: 88.

disastrous unguardedness of Chapter XXIII.3 of the *WCF* which gave authority to the civil magistrate to preserve the peace and unity of the church, suppress heresies and blasphemies, to call synods, and to be present at them. Whenever the German Nazi or Soviet Communist powers, it pointed out, have sought to domesticate the church to their totalitarian aims, they have claimed this kind of authority.³⁸

A number of points are arguable in its presentation. The committee was inclined to waver on the meaning and effect of the 1875 proviso. It spoke on the one hand of Chapter XXIII being virtually removed from subscription to the *WCF* and on the other hand, of the unguardedness of Section 3. If the first were true why bother about Section 3? What actually did the qualifying clause have in mind? It seems that the authors of the 1875 Basis of Union were guided by a similar proviso made by the Free Church in 1846 and by the revision of the northern Presbyterian Church to repudiate the view that the civil magistrate had authority to call Church councils and to interfere in the Church's affairs. The Joint Committee also tended to misinterpret the phrase "freedom of conscience" which the authors of the 1875 Basis of Union probably did not use in its contemporary meaning but in the sense of Chapter XX.2 where "freedom of conscience" is asserted in matters on which Scripture is silent. Moreover, to confess that Christ is Lord of both Church and State does not mean that the State is an aspect of the Body of Christ, as the Report stated. This phrase is invariably used in the New Testament to describe the Church, which is seen as an entity called out of the world and distinguished from it. When queried on this point by presbyteries, the committee stated that it was not offering its own view but that of Luther and Calvin. This was a lame response since Luther and Calvin nowhere speak in those terms. The Committee had been caught with its pants down. It promised to make a statement on this matter following further research but the subject was never mentioned again.

The 1952 Report contained a glowing tribute to W. W. Bryden which acknowledged his imprint upon all the work of the Joint Committee since its inception, and also on the Articles of Faith Committee of which he was a charter member.³⁹ It presented a revised *Declaration*.⁴⁰ A long section of the report was devoted to a study of presbytery reports. Of the twelve presbyteries that reported, the most prevalent criticism centred on the doctrine of the Trinity and particularly what some thought was an over-emphasis on the role of the Son in creation, redemption, and providence. While the committee admitted that certain statements in the 1951 report invited that criticism, it would not retreat from its basic christological focus. Without minimizing the work of the Father and of the Holy Spirit, the committee would not concede for an instant that "the Church can be satisfied with general statements about God which could be accepted by Judaism or Islam, when Christians must mean the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."⁴¹ Faithfulness to be biblical witness⁴² means that the Lordship of Christ rather than the Godhood of God ought to be emphasized.

³⁸ "Report of the Joint Committee on Church and Nation" 91.

³⁹ *Acts and Proceedings of the Seventy-Eighth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada (1952)*: 154.

⁴⁰ *Acts and Proceedings (1952)*: 152-154. The Report included a brief discussion of the matter of Loyal Addresses, the subject of a 1950 Overture from the Presbytery of Algoma and North Bay on which it failed to reach a finding.

⁴¹ *Acts and Proceedings (1952)*: 155.

In an effort to provide a clearer Biblical basis, the committee provided a statement with Biblical references on three major questions: (1) Is Jesus Christ Creator? (2) The Extent of Christ's Lordship, and (3) May the Church Aid Rebellion?⁴³ The Joint Committee was continued, Professor Keith Markell was added to its membership, and presbyteries were asked to study the statement and to report.

The following year, the Joint Committee reported the death of T. Wardlaw Taylor and paid tribute to his work on the Joint Committee.⁴⁴ Stuart B. Coles was named convener and Mariano Di Gangi vice-convener. Gordon Peddie had been called to the Banff, Alberta charge and D. W. Kerr had accepted a position at Gordon Divinity School in Boston. James G. Berry had resigned for health reasons. More comments had been received from presbyteries and these had been analyzed and assigned to the sub-committee for consideration.

Before presenting its final report to Assembly in 1954,⁴⁵ the Joint Committee held a conference in December 1953 when all the church's professors and Assembly officers who were not on the Joint Committee were invited to study the proposed *Declaration*. A revision had been produced in October 1953 and circulated to the presbyteries with request for their study and comments by 31 January 1954. In its report, the committee acknowledged that there might be another interpretation of the 1875 proviso than the one they had continually offered. By "liberty of conscience" the Basis of Union may have meant what antecedent Church documents had meant by it; namely freedom from tyrannous intervention by the civil authorities in the affairs of the Church.⁴⁶ On the other hand, it may well be as the Joint Committee had tended to argue that the term "liberty of conscience" was equated with the modern concept of the right of individual judgment. Whatever the true interpretation, there were crucial aspects of the relation between

⁴² The Report cited Philippians 2 and Matthew 28:18.

⁴³ *Acts and Proceedings (1952)*: 156-159. On the first question the committee cited a number of biblical passages, particularly John 1:1 and asserted that the Eternal Word or Son is the Creator and that Jesus of Nazareth is this Eternal Word made flesh. Where western culture speaks of a divine being without definition, Christians must not hesitate to confess without equivocation that not any "God" but Jesus Christ is Lord. On the second question, the extent of Christ's Lordship, the committee had no doubt that the weight of biblical testimony to Christ's Lordship included the civil state. The committee acknowledged, in accordance with 1 Corinthians 15:24-28, the termination of Christ's Lordship when the Son would hand over his sovereignty as Mediator and his sovereignty would be merged with the Sovereignty of the Triune God, so that He may be all in all. On the third issue, the committee must have been aware of the difficulty of finding support in Scripture for its position on the legitimacy of the church aiding rebellion against tyranny. The passage cited was 1 Timothy 2:1-2, calling for prayers and intercessions for kings and for all who are in high positions. It argued that the church fulfills its priestly task by praying not for the support but the downfall of the tyrannical power. This means that the Church might well be expected by both God and the world to fight for that for which she would pray. This seems to be nothing but a specious argument, for nowhere does the New Testament counsel us to pray for the downfall of kings. In an afterthought, the committee stated that it must be remembered that we still adhere to the Old Testament where so much blood was shed, which was a rather gratuitous remark.

⁴⁴ *Acts and Proceedings of the Seventy-Ninth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada (1953)*: 305.

⁴⁵ *Acts and Proceedings of the Eightieth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada (1954)*: 241-45.

⁴⁶ *Acts and Proceedings (1954)*: 242.

Church and State which were left untouched. It was these unresolved questions which the 1949 overture and the earlier documents from the Presbytery of Paris in 1939 and 1942 had brought to the Church's attention. It was the judgment of the committee that a proper doctrine of Church and Nation depended upon a recovery of the full Biblical doctrine of the Kingship of Christ. This point was strongly made by two articles that appeared in the February and April 1953 issues of the *Presbyterian Record* by the convener, Stuart B. Coles, and the sub-convener, Mariano Di Gangi. Not only were the titles similar, "Christ's Lordship Over Church and Nation" by Coles, and "Christ The King" by Di Gangi, but their argument was essentially the same; namely, that international, civil, social, economic, and political problems must be approached from confession that Jesus Christ is "King of kings and Lord of lords" (Rev. 19.16).⁴⁷ The Joint Committee concluded its 1954 report stating that the *Declaration* "should be judged by its treatment of this issue: the doctrine of the person and office of Christ the King."⁴⁸

The final report was presented by Stuart B. Coles, the convener. The recommendation that the *Declaration of Faith* be adopted "as setting forth the teaching of Holy Scripture on the subject of Church and Nation," was moved by Mariano Di Gangi and seconded by J. Stanley Glen.⁴⁹ Kenneth M. Glazier, minister of Glenview Church, Toronto moved in amendment, seconded by Professor F. Scott Mackenzie of Presbyterian College, Montreal, that the *Declaration* be remitted to presbyteries under the Barrier Act procedure.⁵⁰ W. Stanford Reid of McGill University, moved in amendment to the amendment, seconded by H. Lloyd Henderson of Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, that the recommendation be referred back to committee members present at Assembly so that those who disagreed may have the opportunity to present objections and to propose amendments. This became the judgment of the court. On the basis of this procedure, several minor changes were made in the text.⁵¹

The amendment that the *Declaration* be remitted to Presbyteries under the Barrier Act procedure became the main motion when the original motion was withdrawn. Mariano Di Gangi moved in amendment: "(a) That the *Declaration of Faith Concerning Church and Nation* be adopted [. . .] as an interim Statement setting forth the teaching of Holy Scripture on the subject of Church and Nation."⁵² His amendment prevailed over the motion by a vote of 129 to 1 thus establishing it as an Interim-Act. It was also agreed that the *Declaration* be sent to Presbyteries under the Barrier Act procedure.⁵³ There was only one dissent, that of H. L. Henderson of Portage la Prairie, Manitoba who stated his preference for "Lord" instead of "Head of Church and State" and who thought that the

⁴⁷ S. B. Coles, "Christ's Lordship Over Church and Nation," *Presbyterian Record* (Feb. 1953): 25-26; and Mariano Di Gangi, "Christ The King," *Presbyterian Record* (Apr. 1953): 28-29.

⁴⁸ *Acts and Proceedings* (1954): 242.

⁴⁹ *Acts and Proceedings* (1954): 42, 242.

⁵⁰ *Acts and Proceedings* (1954): 42.

⁵¹ *Acts and Proceedings* (1954): 64-65.

⁵² *Acts and Proceedings* (1954): 65.

⁵³ *Acts and Proceedings* (1954): 65.

Declaration's statement "beset by sin in every private and public relation" inferred [*sic*] a doctrine worse than "total and complete depravity."⁵⁴

The Eighty-First General Assembly meeting at St. Andrew's Church, Toronto received the report of the Committee on Remits regarding the vote of the Presbyteries.⁵⁵ Twenty-eight Presbyteries approved while eight disapproved and twelve Presbyteries did not vote. This meant a two-thirds majority in favour. Appropriately Gordon A. Peddie, whose Paris Memorial and 1939 Deliverance had initiated the process, moved the motion, seconded by Stuart B. Coles, that it be enacted. It was carried by a two-thirds majority vote.⁵⁶ Walter Jackson was the only person who dissented.⁵⁷

The Declaration of Faith Concerning Church and Nation

The *Declaration* was a remarkable achievement for a small national church with limited theological resources. It came about as a result of solid theological work in response to a situation which had arisen in Germany and there had taken the theological form of denying the Lordship of Jesus Christ. Accordingly, the Canadian Presbyterian Church was challenged by persons such as W. W. Bryden, Gordon Peddie and many others to "do theology" by thinking through the relationship of Church and State from a christological perspective and it did so. In an article entitled "A Declaration of Faith Concerning Church and Nation" in a *Festschrift* for Karl Barth on the occasion of his seventieth birthday in 1956, Arthur C. Cochrane wrote the following:

Although the [. . .] *Declaration* may not be described as a "Barthian" document and was not prepared exclusively by "Barthians"—whatever may be meant by the term—it nevertheless clearly reflects the tremendous influence Karl Barth has had upon the Canadian Presbyterian Church. His influence is discernible not only in a christological doctrine of the State, but in that Church's awareness of her responsibility for the purity of her doctrine and for her Confession of Faith.⁵⁸

One must then modify David Marshall's categorical statement that "The theology of crisis did not become the harbinger of a revitalized church; rather, it was largely ignored in the councils of the churches."⁵⁹ On the contrary its voice was heard and heeded in

⁵⁴ *Acts and Proceedings (1954)*: 66.

⁵⁵ *Acts and Proceedings of the Eighty-First General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (1955)*: 288.

⁵⁶ *Acts and Proceedings (1955)*: 46.

⁵⁷ *Acts and Proceedings (1955)*: 90-91. Jackson thought that the *Declaration* made the state subordinate to the Church in respect of revelation, that the *Declaration* failed to acknowledge that Christ would surrender his Lordship, and also that Presbyteries were not given adequate opportunity to make changes before the *Declaration* came to them under the Barrier Act.

⁵⁸ *Antwort: Karl Barth Zum Siebzigsten Geburtstag Am 10. Mai 1956* (Zollikon-Zürich: Evangelischer Verlag AG, 1956) 458.

⁵⁹ Marshall 255.

Presbyterian Church courts by producing the *Declaration*, the *Preamble and New Ordination Vows*, and, years later, *Living Faith*.

The Content of the *Declaration*

The *Declaration of Faith Concerning Church and Nation* consists of twelve articles.⁶⁰ Within an explicit trinitarian context, Article 1 confesses the Lordship of Christ in Church and State using language reminiscent of the Free Church emphasis that Christ is “both Head of the Church and Head of the Civil State.” This emphasis on the universal lordship of Christ or the “crown rights of the Redeemer” was, it should not be forgotten, an important theme in the Scottish Reformation and the succeeding century.⁶¹ Article 2 speaks of the respective powers which Christ has entrusted to the Church and the Civil State. He has ordained the Church “to serve Him in the proclamation of His word, in the administration of His sacraments, and in the life of faith which works by love.” The State has been ordained “to serve Him in the administration of justice.” This is simply a repetition of the traditional doctrine of the two swords. The distinctive function of the Church is not elaborated on while the next three articles expand on the distinctive function of the State by emphasizing that civil authority has been commissioned by Christ and has “the right and duty of using force under law against internal disorder and external aggression.” This stewardship of power must not be abused for God alone is absolute Lord and must be obeyed against all authorities whether civil or ecclesiastical when they claim absolute power. Here the *Declaration of Faith* is indebted to Article 2 of the *Barmen Declaration*. Article 6 gives the Church the right to denounce and resist every form of tyranny—political, economic, and ecclesiastical—especially when it becomes totalitarian. A citizen is not barred from disowning any government that usurps the sovereignty of Christ and may be obliged to rebel against it. In giving citizens the right to resist tyranny, the *Declaration* was inclined to follow John Knox’s view rather than Calvin’s, who held that only elected magistrates may collectively resist tyrants.⁶² Article 7 on “The Relation of Church and State” asserts that both church and state are subordinate to Jesus Christ and so must mutually support each other. Neither one is to dominate the other. The church is not the religious agent of the state and the state is not to be the political agent of the church. This article explicitly denies the separation of church and state. This was a doctrine the 1890 Assembly had flirted with in a series of resolutions on the separation of church and state in reaction to the Jesuit Estates Act, expressed in the slogan “A Free Church in a Free State.”⁶³ Instead

⁶⁰ For the full *Declaration*, as provided in the Presbyterian Church in Canada’s *The Book of Forms* (Toronto: The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 2005) 123-126, please see the Appendix which begins on page 34.

⁶¹ See Duncan B. Forrester, *Truthful Action: Explorations in Practical Theology* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000) 169.

⁶² For John Knox’s views see Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978) 230-238; and for John Calvin’s view see *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, ed. John T. McNeill (London: SCM Press, 1961) 1518-1519; 4.20.31.

⁶³ *Acts and Proceedings of the Sixteenth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (1890)*: 55, Appendix 32.

Article 8 says clearly: “We reject all doctrines which assume [. . .] that the Church’s life should be or can be completely dissociated from the life of the Civil State.” The Article also states that in serving the state the church must not merge the Gospel with any political, economic, cultural, or nationalistic creed. It must not hold itself aloof from the affairs of the nation but serve it through its manifold mission of preaching, sacraments, discipline, prayer, and in works of Christian love. Christians have the duty to honour the civil laws and to fulfill all statutory obligations as unto Christ the Head as well as to work to remedy unjust laws.

Article 10 on “The Civil Government’s Duty toward the Church” is problematic. This article rightly speaks of the state’s responsibility to maintain peace and justice. One wishes that it had also mentioned freedom as in the Paris Deliverance. But problems arise in what follows: To the Church in all its branches the state owes the recognition of the church’s office and its “consequent right to due resources, time and opportunity for the public worship of God, for the education of her children in His truth and for the evangelizing of the Nation.” John Moir has aptly described this view—the position of the Free Church—as the state paying the piper but being forbidden to call the tune.⁶⁴ It is not altogether clear what is meant by “consequent right to due resources” especially with regard to worship, religious education, and evangelizing. Did the authors of the *Declaration* actually hold on the basis of Ezra 7:11-25 and its theocratic understanding that the Canadian State was somehow obliged to provide funds for religious enterprises? Fifty years later this strikes us as an incomprehensible view. It is surprising that it was not questioned in 1955. What follows is even more brazen: “It [the state] must pay serious attention whenever its office-bearers are addressed by the Church in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ [. . .].” The words “must pay serious attention” are definitely ill-advised.⁶⁵ One wishes that the more careful language of the 1945 statement had been used here:

[. . .] it is the duty of the Church to be ever humble, patient, long-suffering, to respect and above all to pray for the State and its officaries believing in the power of God and His Word. But it is also the supreme responsibility of the Church [. . .] to pronounce judgment upon palpable injustices, to call the State’s attention to its subordination to God and its divine obligation.⁶⁶

It would also have been wiser to follow Barmen more closely. In its Article 5, it speaks of the Church’s responsibility to draw “attention to God’s kingdom, God’s commandment and justice, and with these the responsibility of those who rule and those who are ruled,” without prescribing that the state must give serious attention to the Church’s pronouncements, as if these always promoted “the kingdom of God and his

⁶⁴ John S. Moir, “‘Who Pays the Piper...’: Canadian Presbyterianism and Church-State Relations,” *The Burning Bush and a Few Acres of Snow*, ed. William Klempa (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1994) 77.

⁶⁵ I am indebted here to John W. Morden, formerly Associate-Chief Justice of the Ontario Court, and our conversation and correspondence on Article 10.

⁶⁶ *Acts and Proceedings (1945)*: 307.

righteousness.”⁶⁷ This would also been more in accord with Article 11 of the *Declaration* that “The Civil State and the Church are constantly in need of reformation by the Word of God.” One also wishes that this had been spelled out by saying that church, society, and the individual need to be continually reshaped in accordance with Christian truth.

Consequences of the *Declaration*’s Adoption

An immediate consequence of the adoption of the *Declaration of Faith Concerning Church and Nation* as a subordinate standard was to raise the question of the Church’s relation to its subordinate standards. As noted earlier, the Joint Committee had no intention of re-writing or changing the *Westminster Confession of Faith*. The latter was a historical document and if changed it would cease to be the *Westminster Confession of Faith*. “What we are free to do,” it said, “is to review our subscription to the Westminster Confession, in whole or in part, and declare our doctrinal position accordingly.”⁶⁸ A 1955 Overture No. 30 from the Presbytery of East Toronto had asked that the *Declaration* not be adopted as a subordinate standard but as a comment on Chapters XX, XXIII and XXXI of the *WCF* and to proceed with making a “complete Declaration of Faith” of which the said *Declaration* would be a part. Stuart B. Coles dissented from this overture as a misunderstanding of the action of the 1954 Assembly.⁶⁹ A second overture from the same presbytery, No. 46 (1955) asked for clarification of the terms of subscription to the subordinate standards and spoke of the Church’s continuing confessional task.⁷⁰ The latter overture had been referred to the Articles of Faith Committee and it recommended that its prayer be granted and that the whole matter of ordination and induction vows be referred to the committee for study and report to a future Assembly.⁷¹

In its 1956 report to Assembly, the Articles of Faith Committee made two important points: first, that to say that the *WCF* is “founded upon and agreeable to the Word of God” does not imply any doctrine of infallibility of the said Confession; and secondly that the Church has a continuing confessional task.⁷² It also presented three ordination and induction questions and asked that they be remitted to presbyteries for study and report.⁷³ The three questions were long and complex. In a *Knoxonian* editorial in 1957 two theological students, Donald Corbett and Bill Klempa, wrote: “If brevity, simplicity, and exactitude are the marks of an adequate confessional statement, then certainly the present questions are to be preferred. It is with the utmost seriousness that

⁶⁷ Bax xxiv.

⁶⁸ *Acts and Proceedings (1951)*: 88.

⁶⁹ *Acts and Proceedings (1955)*: 340.

⁷⁰ *Acts and Proceedings (1955)*: 347-348.

⁷¹ *Acts and Proceedings (1955)*: 67.

⁷² *Acts and Proceedings of the Eighty-Second General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (1956)*: 502-503.

⁷³ *Acts and Proceedings (1956)*: 503.

we suggest that the most probable answer to any of these proposed questions would be, "[Moderator, Sir,] would you please repeat that?"⁷⁴

Work on the ordination questions continued during the next few years. Since this was the subject of a previous CSPH paper⁷⁵ suffice it to say here that it was finally decided to work with both a Preamble and Ordination Questions, to put the main content in the Preamble, to make the questions as few and short as possible, and to ask them in terms of the Preamble. The task was completed in 1969 and the Preamble and New Ordination Questions were remitted to Presbyteries under the Barrier Act that same year. It was reported to the 1970 Assembly that thirty-one presbyteries approved, while twelve disapproved.⁷⁶ Before the remit was voted on, Overture No. 6 from the Presbytery of Cape Breton questioning the constitutionality of the new ordination questions came before the Assembly.⁷⁷ Assembly voted that this overture not be granted. Upon being put to a vote the remit was approved.⁷⁸

Like the *Declaration*, the Preamble and Ordination Questions reflect the strong influence of Barth's theology. This is evident in the Preamble where three different levels of authority in the church are spoken of: the authority of Christ, the authority of the Bible, and the authority of church confessions. The binding to Jesus Christ is primary, then to the Scriptures which witness to him and thirdly, to the creeds and confessions of the Reformed Church, in particular, the subordinate standard, the *WCF*. While there was some opposition to this, the criticism being that it was a unitarianism of the second person of the Trinity, nevertheless, it won acceptance.⁷⁹ The adoption of the *Declaration of Faith Concerning Church and Nation* in 1955 added another subordinate standard. Moreover, the concluding sentence of the second paragraph of the Preamble, after describing the Church's subordinate standards, added these words "and such doctrine as the Church in obedience to Scripture and under the promised guidance of the Holy Spirit, may yet confess in the Church's continuing function of reformulating the faith." The effect of this was to open the door to new confessions of faith. After much use and acceptance within the Presbyterian church, the confession *Living Faith* was adopted under the Barrier Act in 1998 and it too became one of the Church's subordinate standards.

⁷⁴ Donald Corbett and William Klempa, "Editorial," *The Knoxonian* 3.1 (1957): 3.

⁷⁵ See William Klempa, "Canadian Presbyterianism and the Westminster Standards," *Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers* 23 (1998): 38-51.

⁷⁶ *Acts and Proceedings of the Ninety-Sixth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (1970)*: 401.

⁷⁷ *Acts and Proceedings (1970)*: 599.

⁷⁸ *Acts and Proceedings (1970)*: 69.

⁷⁹ See *Acts and Proceedings (1970)*: 100 for the dissent by E. H. Bean, Gordon Cameron, Murray Graham, and Wm. Fitzimons, and the Synod of Atlantic Provinces Overture No. 9, 1971. It was answered in the Church Doctrine 1972 Report (*Acts and Proceedings of the Ninety-Eighth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (1972)*): 341-343.

Concluding Remarks

In his 2001 Bampton Lecture, David Fergusson of Edinburgh University remarked: “The relationship of church to state has often been cast in terms of the relations that obtain between two dominant institutions existing in a close and exclusive partnership. With the end of Christendom, this is now outmoded. A more differentiated approach is required [. . .].”⁸⁰ His point is well-taken. The decline of the mainline churches in Canadian society means that the church is no longer the dominant institution that it was in the past. Even in 1942 it was clear to some within the Canadian Presbyterian Church that with respect to church and state *Tempora mutantur nos et mutamur in illis* (the times are changed and we are changed with them). It is to the great credit of the authors of the 1942 Toronto overture and to ministers such as Gordon Peddie, W. W. Bryden, James D. Smart, Arthur C Cochrane, M. M. MacOdrum, and many others that they saw that the times were changing and for whom the possibility of tension between the claims of the state and the claim of God in Christ was not beyond their field of vision. The German Church Conflict served as a helpful catalyst. We should be grateful to those who drafted the *Declaration of Faith Concerning Church and Nation*. They did their work well and much of what they said will endure. At the same time, they would have been well-advised to heed the words of the apostle: “Don’t cherish exaggerated ideas of yourself or your importance but try to have a sane estimate of your capabilities by the light of the faith that God has given to you all” (Romans 12.3; J. B. Phillips). To demand that the state listen to the church when it speaks misconceives the church as a dominant institution and smacks of an unhealthy church triumphalism. A more sober way of speaking would have been to say that both “rulers and the ruled” are addressed by the Word of God regarding their responsibilities without prescribing which one must listen. Yet the greater problem today is that of an omni-competent state that does not always respect the limits it has been set and as far as the future is concerned we can expect more tension and conflict of the state with the churches and vice versa. Relations between church and nation will keep on an even keel when governments recognize that they cannot take the place of the church and the church remains true to itself by taking good care not to take the place of the state. To employ the language of Barmen and also of the Bible: “in the not-yet-redeemed world” the church must seek “[. . .] the welfare of the city where I have sent you [. . .], and pray to the Lord on its behalf, for in its welfare you will find your welfare” (Jeremiah 29:7).

⁸⁰ David Fergusson, *Church, State and Civil Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 1.

Appendix

THE BOOK OF FORMS¹

APPENDIX E

DECLARATION OF FAITH CONCERNING CHURCH AND NATION

The Lordship of Christ in Church and State

1. The one holy triune God, sovereign Creator and Redeemer, has declared and established his kingdom over all powers in heaven and earth. (Hebrews 1:12:10; Isaiah 44:24-28; Acts 4:24-28; cf. Psalm 2; Daniel 7:13-14, 27; Zechariah 9:9-10; Matthew 28:18) By the incarnation, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, and by his exaltation to the right hand of the Father, all things have been made subject to Him, so that even age-long evil is overruled for good. (Luke 1:31-35; Isaiah 52:13-53:12; Romans 14:9-12; Colossians 2:15; Philippians 2:5-11; Acts 2:22-36; I Corinthians 15:24-28; cf. Psalm 100; I Peter 3:21-22; Romans 8:18-23, 31-39) We worship and obey Jesus Christ as Lord of lords and King of kings, Judge and Governor among the nations. (I Timothy 6:13-16; Revelation 1:5, 11:15-18; 17:12-14, 19:11-16; Psalm 22:28) He is both Head of the Church and Head of the Civil State, although their functions under him are to be differentiated, and their relationships to him are not to be confused. (Ephesians 1:10-11, 19-23; Colossians 2:10; Matthew 28:19-20; Isaiah 10:5-19, ch. 45; Jeremiah 27:111)

The Respective Functions of Church and State

2. Jesus Christ, in the administration of his Father's will, employs all the heavenly and earthly powers he may choose to serve Him. (John 3:35; I Corinthians 15:20-28) He employs the Church and the Civil State, entrusting to each its own distinctive function. (Jeremiah 1:9-10; Deuteronomy 4:32-40; Isaiah 45:1-7; John 19:11) He has ordained the Church to serve him in the proclamation of his word, in the administration of his sacraments, and in the life of faith which works by love. (Ezekiel 33:1-9; Matthew 16:18-19, 28:18-20; II Timothy 4:1-5; James 2:14-17) He has also in his grace ordained the State to serve him in the administration of his justice and benevolence, by discerning, formulating, and enforcing, such laws and policies as will promote the well-being of all its citizens and curb license, discord, and destitution. (Romans 13:1-7; Luke 3:12-14; Genesis 45:5-8; I Kings 3:3-28; I Timothy 2:1-2; Amos, e.g. 2:6-8, 5:11-12, 24, 8:4-8)

The Authority of the State

3. Christ, the eternal Word of God, through Whom all things consist and from Whom by the Holy Spirit all men receive their gifts and powers, calls and appoints men to the offices of civil government. (John 1:1ff.; cf. Psalm 33:6; Hebrews 1:1-3; Colossians

¹ *The Book of Forms* (Toronto: The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 2005) 123-126. Copyright 2002 by The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Used with permission.

1:15-17; Ephesians 1:3-14; Genesis 45:5-8; Jeremiah 27:5-11; Isaiah 9:6-7; Daniel 2:21) He commissions the civil authorities with the right and duty of using force under law against internal disorder and external aggression. (Isaiah 10:5ff; 45:1-6; Romans 13:3-4; Nehemiah 4:7-20)

The Stewardship of Power

4. The righteousness of God, which came to decisive triumph in the cross and resurrection of Christ, is the sole foundation of national justice, development, and destiny. (Colossians 2:14-15; I John 5:4-5; Revelation 1:18; Hebrews 1:3, 8-9; Psalm 72:1-4) Every organ of power in the nation, whether cultural, political, or economic, is a stewardship under Christ, and can properly function only by obedience to his revealed word. (Romans 13:1, 6-7; Nehemiah 5:15; Matthew 24:45-25:30; John 12:35-36; Romans 14:23b) Every abuse of power constitutes a breach of trust, destructive to the abuser and injurious to the glory of God among his creatures. (Deuteronomy 28:58-68; Daniel 5:17-28; Deuteronomy 8:11-20; Acts 12:20-23)

The Limits of Earthly Authority

5. It is high treason against the Lord Jesus, and deadly both for the Church and for the Nation, to attribute to any man, group, or institution, the total power that belongs to Him. (II Thessalonians 2, esp. vss. 3-4; Acts 4:23-30; cf. Psalm 2; Revelation 13 and 14:9-11, 17:13-14) God alone is absolute Lord of the bodies and consciences of men, and he demands that we obey him against all authorities, whether civil or ecclesiastical, whenever they claim absolute power, especially the power to control men's thinking on right and wrong. (Romans 14:7-9; I Corinthians 4:1-5; 6:15-20; John 5:22-23; James 4:12; Acts 4:18-20, 5:27-32; Daniel ch. 3; I Kings 22:13-14; Jeremiah ch. 26)

The Church and Tyranny

6. It is the Church's duty to denounce and resist every form of tyranny, political, economic, or ecclesiastical, especially when it becomes totalitarian. (II Samuel 12:1-14; I Kings ch. 21; Amos 7:10-17; Daniel 3:8-18; Exodus 1:17) A citizen is not barred from disowning any government or organ of power which usurps the sovereignty of Jesus Christ, and indeed may be obliged by God's word to rebel against it. (I Kings 11:26-40; II Kings ch. 9; Acts 4:18-20, 5:25-32) But if involved in such action, the Church must remember that the weapons of her warfare are finally out of this world. (Matthew 4:1-11; 10:16-22, 26:51-54; II Corinthians 4:7-11, 10:3-5; II Kings 6:15-17) Led by the Holy Spirit she will in any situation bear public witness to the absolute Lordship of Jesus Christ and to the freedom of all men in Him. (Acts 2:32-36, 5:25-32, 7:51-60, ch. 26; James 5:1-11; II Timothy 2:8-9)

The Relation of Church and State

7. The Church and State are intimately related, with manifold overlying concerns and common responsibility to their Lord. (Amos 7:10-15; Acts 22:22-29; Deuteronomy ch. 8; Malachi 2:10-16; Jeremiah 1, esp. vss. 5, 9-10) Their true relationship derives from the subordination of each to Jesus Christ. (Matthew 28:18-20) Each is bound to

aid the other according to its appointed power and functions, but neither is given any right thereby to attempt domination over the other. (Daniel 3:16-18; I Timothy 2:1-5) We reject any doctrine which misconceives the Church as the religious agent of the State. (Matthew 22:15-22; Luke 12:13-14) We reject any doctrine which misconceives the State as the political instrument of the Church. (John 18:28-37) We reject all doctrines which assume, whether on sectarian or on secular grounds that the Church's life should be or can be completely dissociated from the life of the Civil State. (Matthew 5:13-16, 17:24-27)

The Church's Service to the State

8. The Church must not merge or confuse her Gospel with any political, economic, cultural, or nationalistic creed. (Mark 12:28-34; cf. Exodus 20; Matthew 6:24; Daniel chs. 3, 6) At the same time the Church may not hold aloof from the affairs of the Nation, whether the authorities be of the faith or against it, for she must fulfil the ministry laid upon her by her Lord who became one with man for man's redemption. (The Prophets, passim, e.g., Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah; Romans 13:1-6; I Peter 2:12ff.; Matthew 25:31-46) She owes a manifold service to the State. (Romans 13:7-14; Matthew 5:13-16) Her preaching, sacraments, and discipline confront the Nation with Christ's judgment and grace. (Jeremiah 1:5; Acts 3:12-21; I Peter 2:11-12, 4:1-5) She offers thanksgiving and supplication to God on behalf of all men, with particular intercession for those in authority, praying that the overruling power of the Holy Spirit may fructify what is good and uproot what is evil in national and international life. (I Timothy 2:1-2; Daniel 9:9-19; II Chronicles 6:21-40, 7:14) In discharging her commission to evangelize she promotes righteousness and peace among men. (Amos 5:14-24; II Corinthians 5:14-21) As her Lord may lay it upon her, she declares and commits herself to his will by public proclamations of her courts or agents. (Acts 4:13-20; II Samuel 12:1-15a) In fulfillment of the law of Christ, she engages in special work of Christian love. (II Corinthians 8:11-15; Philippians 4:10-17; Luke 10:25-37) Her members take full share as their Christian calling in commerce, politics, and other social action. (Luke 3:10-14; John 17:15-18; Ephesians 6:5-9)

The Christian's Civil Duty

9. Christians must always do their utmost to honour the civil laws, and to fulfil all statutory obligations whether financial or personal, as unto Christ the Head. (I Peter 2:13-25; Titus 3:1-2; Romans 13:5-10; Mark 12:14-17) Nevertheless, no citizen is thereby relieved of his constant responsibility to work for the remedy of any unjust statute, or iniquitous assessment, or violation of conscience. (Acts 5:27-29; Isaiah 1:17; Amos 5:14-15; Micah 6:6-8; Esther 4:12-14)

The Civil Government's Duty Toward the Church

10. In its ordained service of God, the State has a three-fold duty to the Church. It has the duty of establishing public peace and providing protection, guarding impartially the rights of every citizen. (Acts 19:28-41, 21:30-39, 22:24-29) It owes to the Church in all her branches, without partiality, the recognition of her office and of her consequent right to due resources, time and opportunity, for the public worship of God, for the education of her children in his truth, and for the evangelizing of the

Nation. (Exodus 5:1-4; Ezra 7:11-25) It must pay serious attention whenever its office-bearers are addressed by the Church in the name of the Lord Jesus concerning the kingdom of God and his righteousness. (Acts chs. 25, 26)

Reformation by the Word of God

11. During the present age, while the Lordship of Christ is not yet openly disclosed nor perfectly acknowledged, men are beset by sin in every private and public relation. (II Thessalonians 2:1-12; Mark 13:21-23; Luke 18:8b; II Corinthians 4:3-18; Romans 1:18-32, 3:9-18, 7:15-25; Jeremiah 17:9) Our existence in this world is continually threatened by anxiety, covetousness, imperfect justice, and proneness to corruption. (I Kings 12:25-33, 13:33-34) The Civil State and the Church are constantly in need of reformation by the Word of God. (James 4:1-3, 5:1-6; Isaiah chs. 55, 59; Hebrews 4:12-13) Wherefore it behooves all civil and ecclesiastical persons to seek the grace of Christ without which they cannot rightly know or do his will. (John 12:25-26, 35-50)

The Final Manifestation of Christ's Dominion

12. The Lordship of Christ, in the midst of the evil and sorrow of this present world, must be discerned by faith, with the full assurance of our hope in Him. (John 5:17-29; I Corinthians 12:26; Hebrews 10:37-12:3; Romans 8:18-25; I John 3:2-3; Colossians 3:3-4) He is coming again for the healing of the nations and the perfecting of the Church. (Acts 1:11; II Peter ch. 3; Luke 12:35-40; Revelation 7:9-17, 22:1-2; Ephesians 5:25-27) In that day when he reveals the New Jerusalem, his sovereign dominion over the universe will be made openly visible to all, causing every knee to bow and every tongue to confess that JESUS CHRIST IS LORD, to the glory of God the Father. (Revelation ch. 21; Romans 2:11-16; Philippians 2:10-11; Revelation 1:7-8, 5:11-14, 19:11-16; I Corinthians 15:20-28)

Keeping the Faith: The Presbyterian Press and the Great War

Michelle Fowler

In his book, *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War*, historian Ian Miller tells of the story of a funeral for Captain Robert Darling of the 48th Highlanders held at St. James' Presbyterian Church on Gerard Street in Toronto. The unit had sustained large losses at Second Ypres and had many Presbyterians in its ranks. Miller goes on to describe the church as being filled with 48th Highlander comrades, while the coffin was piped in and the royal flag of Scotland was front and centre at the lectern. The minister, Reverend Dr. Robertson comforted the grieving with the passage "Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends." Recognizing Captain Darling's sacrifice, Robertson suggested, "He laid down his life when life was opening for him, holding everything he hoped for or could desire. I am not sure any of us would have it otherwise. It is good to die so. Death is not the worst thing that can happen to a man."¹ This message of comfort aimed at Presbyterians touched by the loss of young lives was not atypical of the Presbyterian response to the magnitude of death and destruction brought on by the Great War.

A study of the ideas expressed by a Canadian Protestant church on the issues of war and peace during the First World War, must inevitably address the questions raised in the influential article "The Methodist Church and World War I" written by Michael Bliss. The essay, which appeared in the *Canadian Historical Review* in 1968, argued that the Methodist Church turned away from the social gospel because "it was taken in by atrocity stories."² The Methodist Church, according to Bliss, accepted what he regards as "the paradox of fighting for peace"³ and did so because its leaders were misled about the nature and purposes of the war. The argument presented by Bliss and echoed in many subsequent studies of Canadian attitudes towards conflict⁴ was influenced by post-war

¹ As quoted in Ian Hugh Maclean Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002) 42-43.

² Michael Bliss, "The Methodist Church and World War I," *Canadian Historical Review* 49 (1968): 230.

³ Bliss 231.

⁴ Thomas Socknat's book *Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987) is a survey of the Canadian pacifist movement. Socknat fully agrees with Michael Bliss concerning the contradictory nature of Christian pacifist ideals. He offers a brief assessment of the Protestant reaction to the Great War and suggests that many pre-war pacifists had come full circle, with the onset of the war they regarded peace as an end rather than a means (see p. 54). In order to explain this radical change in outlook by many pre-war Christian pacifists, Socknat relies heavily on the belief that traditional just war theory including justice and moderation in warfare was altered to reflect a crusading spirit which was fed by stories of German atrocities in Belgium and government-controlled war propaganda (see p. 50). Thus Socknat asserts the Great War began as an idealized fight for liberty but turned into a

revisionism about the origins and significance of the war reinforced by anti-war attitudes that developed during the 1960s.

More recently a new generation of historians have challenged this approach insisting with Fritz Fischer that Germany sought war in 1914 and pursued a policy designed to bring much of Europe under German control,⁵ precisely the view held by most Canadians between 1914 and 1918. A similar transformation of scholarly research on war-time atrocities has also challenged the revisionist consensus. Bliss's seminal article represents one of the very few examinations of the Canadian Protestant experience during the Great War. His approach raises some interesting questions about academic analysis of the church experience. He attempts to explain the Methodist transition from a pacifist position just prior to the war, to "critical acquiescence" at the outbreak of war, and finally, in 1915, to all out support for the war, which by then had become a crusade.

In light of recent scholarship which would suggest that while some atrocity stories were exaggerated others were underreported, Canadians who reacted to the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the use of poison gas at Second Ypres did not need "stories of German atrocities in Belgium and government controlled propaganda"⁶ to believe the war was a crusade against evil. Recent scholarship has established that their view of overall German behaviour in Belgium and Northern France was largely correct.⁷ Moreover, Bliss's assumption that Methodist support for the war represented a transformation in opinion during the course of 1914 and 1915 does not address the questions raised by Methodist support for the Boer War a little over a decade earlier. The very same sources cited and used as evidence in Bliss's argument overwhelmingly supported Canadian involvement in the South African conflict.⁸ Therefore is it not possible that Methodist support for the war was simply a continuation of a traditional belief in just war? Bliss determines that even the problems posed by the literal words of Christ such as "turn the other cheek" did

crusade to save Christendom. The identification of Germany as evil was a part of this movement. Socknat refers to the "church" in a very general sense when he questions "should the church, for instance, automatically endorse and defend the state at war? Or is its first priority to serve as a constant reminder of the moral basis of society, even if it runs counter to official policy?" (296).

⁵ Fritz Fischer, *Germany's Aims in the First World War* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1961).

⁶ Socknat 50.

⁷ See Helen McPhail, *The Long Silence: Civilian Life under the German Occupation of Northern France, 1914-1918* (London: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 1999) 180. This book describes forced labour of civilians in occupied Northern France. McPhail argues conditions in the labour camps such as lack of proper clothing in the winter, as well as meagre meals, and beatings with rifle butts meant hundreds died. Also see John Horne and Alan Kramer, *German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001) 234-235. Horne and Kramer discuss the Bryce Commission. The Bryce Commission led by Lord Bryce, former UK Ambassador to the United States, produced a report which investigated allegations of German atrocities in Belgium. The report had been discredited as over exaggerated and questioned because evidence from Belgian refugees was accepted at face value. Horne and Kramer establish that while the Bryce Commission exaggerated incidents of torture and rape amongst women and children (although this was never presented as factual in the report itself) the Bryce Commission report accurately portrayed German military behaviour and in some instances underestimated the number of civilian atrocities.

⁸ Gordon L. Heath, "A War With A Silver Lining: Canadian Protestant Churches and the South African War, 1899-1902," diss., Knox College, University of St. Michael's College, 2004, 39.

not deter the Methodists from their pro-war position. He also contends that if it were not for the fundamental Christian belief in eternal salvation, Canada, the profoundly Christian country that it was, would never have gotten through the horrendous years of war. In absolute fact this is probably true, but Bliss's tone suggests that eternal salvation was a convenient solution to help sustain Methodist support for the war, an oversimplification of basic Christian fundamentals.

This examination of the Presbyterian press between 1913 and 1919 attempts to avoid the use of temporal snobbery, that is the belief that our morality changes for the better simply by the passage of time, and examines the Presbyterian dialogue during the Great War in an effort to understand the beliefs and values that dominated Protestant life early in the twentieth century. The experience of the Presbyterian press demonstrates support for the war was a last resort after attempts to avert such a catastrophe had been exhausted. The Presbyterians also demonstrate what amounts to a consensus and belief in just war tradition, the providential nature of the British Empire and a strong Canada within the Empire. That is, a consistent set of beliefs which take the Presbyterians from the Boer War through to the Paris Peace Conference. This unwavering belief in just war tradition was complemented by a changing pattern in Presbyterian thought throughout the course of the Great War. This thought process mirrored the debates in the secular press and demonstrated a continuous need to reconcile the Christian spirit and war. Crusading language was often present in Presbyterian dialogue, however it did not suddenly just appear in 1915 after the reporting of atrocity stories, nor did it replace the just war values of liberty, truth and righteousness. Instead just war and crusading jargon were used continuously and interchangeably throughout the war. Opinion leaders who displayed a crusading spirit were at other times tempered by language which suggested moral restraint and a need to rectify injustice.

Presbyterianism is a reformed Protestant church which follows the teachings of John Calvin.⁹ Rather than depending on the intervention of a hierarchy of clergy like the pope or a priest, Presbyterians talk to God and can be forgiven directly. Calvin believed that everyone in the church, not just clergy, was responsible for the affairs of the church,¹⁰ which is governed by elders elected by members of the congregation.¹¹ A Presbyterian minister may help interpret secular issues such as war but it is up to individual church members to develop an understanding of such issues and reconcile their own views with their faith. The Presbyterian Church is a confessional church supported doctrinally by adherence to the *Westminster Confession of Faith*. This doctrinal standard, established by the English Parliament in 1647,¹² states: "it is lawful for Christians to accept and execute the office of a magistrate, when called thereunto: [. . .] they may

⁹ *Who We Are: Presbyterians in Canada*, The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 2 Dec. 2003 <<http://www.presbyterian.ca/whoweare/incanada.html>>.

¹⁰ *Who We Are: Presbyterians in Canada*, The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 2 Dec. 2003 <<http://www.presbyterian.ca/whoweare/incanada.html>>.

¹¹ *Who We Are: Our Church Government*, The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 2 Dec. 2003 <<http://www.presbyterian.ca/whoweare/government.html>>.

¹² *Our Confession of Faith and Catechisms*, Orthodox Presbyterian Church, 14 July 2004 <<http://www.opc.org/documents/standards.html>>.

lawfully, now under the New Testament, wage war, upon just and necessary occasion.”¹³ Calvinist tradition holds that for a war to be just it must be fought in love and with the intention of peace.¹⁴ Presbyterians, according to the 1911 census, were the second largest Protestant denomination in Canada, at 15.5% of the total population.¹⁵ Presbyterians by contrast, made up 21.1% of the whole Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF).¹⁶

Of the four periodicals examined, the *Record*, a 28-page monthly based in Montreal, was the official organ of the General Assembly, to which the editor was responsible. Throughout the war years Ephraim Scott served as editor and his regular editorials provide a clear exposition of quasi-official church views. In addition to the official organ of the church there were independent papers. *The Presbyterian Witness*, a weekly published in Halifax, Nova Scotia, included editorials as well as stories republished from the British Presbyterian press. *The Presbyterian* and *The Westminster*, both produced by the same Toronto company were also significant publications.¹⁷ The first was a weekly which positioned itself as a more socially progressive paper than the *Record*, though it had a much smaller circulation¹⁸ and the second, a monthly magazine. Eventually war-time conditions made it necessary for these two publications to merge in January 1917.¹⁹

Early on in its history, the Presbyterian Church in Canada faced the challenge of reconciling war and faith at the time of the Boer War. Presbyterians at this time tied their belief in a just war with their belief in the providential nature of the British Empire. A recent doctoral dissertation by Gordon L. Heath examines the Canadian Protestant denominational press during the Boer War. Heath suggests that the Canadian churches viewed themselves as nation-builders within the British Empire, and therefore concludes that a threat to the Empire was both a threat to worldwide peace and a direct threat to Canada.²⁰

¹³ *The Westminster Confession of Faith (with Scripture Proofs)*, Center for Reformed Theology and Apologetics, 15 July 2004 <http://www.reformed.org/documents/wcf_with_proofs/ch_XXIII.html>.

¹⁴ Donald K. McKim, “War and Peace In Calvin’s Theology,” *Peace, War and God’s Justice*, ed. Thomas D. Parker and Brian J. Fraser (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1989) 58.

¹⁵ *5th Census of Canada, Vol II* (Ottawa: C. H. Parmelee, King’s Printer, 1913). In 1911 the total population of Canada was 7,206,643; of that number 15.5% or 1,115,324 were identified as Presbyterians. The breakdown by province or territory was: Alberta 66,351; British Columbia 82,125; Manitoba 103,621; New Brunswick 39,207; Nova Scotia 109,560; Ontario 524,603; Prince Edward Island 27,509; Quebec 64,125; Saskatchewan 96,564; Yukon Territory 1,603; and Northwest Territories 56.

¹⁶ Desmond Morton, *When Your Numbers Up: The Canadian Soldier in the First World War* (Toronto: Random House, 1993) 279.

¹⁷ Brian Fraser, *The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988) 66. Fraser suggests that these publications “offered the church a wide range of reporting and commentary on religious and secular affairs in keeping with the Free Church tradition of the lordship of Christ over all human affairs” (66). Robert Haddow became the editor of the Westminster publications in 1903 replacing his former Knox College classmate James A. MacDonald.

¹⁸ Dr. John Johnston, personal interview, Aug. 2004.

¹⁹ John Thomas McNeill, *The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1875-1925* (Toronto: General Board, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1925) 200.

²⁰ Heath 171.

Heath suggests that the Presbyterians, like those of other Protestant denominations, believed that the fate of the Empire was tied up in events in South Africa. He notes that the *Presbyterian Record* stated in January 1900 that the war had been fought for “the integrity of the Empire, and through that for the best interests and peace of the world.”²¹ During the Boer War the Presbyterian press, like other Protestant journals, deliberately and publicly supported a war effort from a conviction that an examination of the evidence clearly proved that Britain was right and the Boers wrong. The belief that the maintenance of the British Empire was the key to the future of such a young nation as Canada heavily influenced the support of the Presbyterian press for the Boer War, but church leaders felt compelled to justify their support for the war in terms of just war traditions.²²

Between 1902 and 1914 the Presbyterian Church promoted the peaceful resolution of conflict but most Presbyterian press editors and contributors understood peace in the context of the preservation of the Empire for the well-being of Canada. Even one of the more pacifistic elements within the Presbyterian Church, the Westminster, British Columbia Presbytery, understood peace in the context of safeguarding the Empire.

In January 1913 the Westminster Presbytery transmitted a “Peace Manifesto” to Prime Minister Robert Borden, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, leader of the Liberal opposition, and the other Presbyteries of the Church in Canada.²³ The manifesto questioned the necessity of war and set out a three-step procedure to lessen the opportunity for war. The Presbytery concluded that Great Britain should exhaust every possibility to avoid war, but added that if war should occur Canada should be prepared to stand with the Empire.²⁴

The reaction to the Manifesto appears to have been mixed. The *Presbyterian* provided the only example of open debate on the document and the context in which it was written. While militarism and peace movements were all being discussed and debated in the *Presbyterian* the other periodicals of the denomination were surprisingly silent on the same issues. The *Witness* occasionally printed a relevant article or editorial, but a review of the *Record* for the year revealed no articles or editorials aimed at the debate over Canada’s naval role nor did it discuss “The Peace Manifesto.”

In February 1913 J. F. McCurdy, a Presbyterian who taught at University College, University of Toronto, suggested in the *Presbyterian* that it was about time an ecclesiastical body broke the rule and concerned itself with the affairs of the state.²⁵ Although the *Presbyterian* was the paper of the progressive or liberal pacifist wing of the church the manifesto was not without its critics among readers. On 10 April 1913 MacDougall Hay, a prominent Presbyterian minister in Elora, Ontario suggested that the manifesto was “foolish pacific[sic] propaganda.”²⁶ He believed Britain and the Empire to

²¹ As quoted in Heath, 174-175; “Peace Declaration,” *Westminster* 7 June 1902: 693; and “Another New Year,” *Presbyterian Record* [Montreal] Jan. 1900: 1-2.

²² For Full quote see Heath 53. Quoting “The Westminster and the War,” *Westminster* 9 Feb. 1901: 173.

²³ “Presbyterians and World Peace,” *Presbyterian* [Toronto] 30 Jan. 1913.

²⁴ “Presbyterians and World Peace.”

²⁵ J. F. McCurdy, “The Westminster Peace Declaration,” *Presbyterian* [Toronto] 6 Feb. 1913: 168.

²⁶ MacDougall Hay “Justifiable War,” letter, *Presbyterian* [Toronto] 10 Apr. 1913.

be morally right in the context of the naval race, and that these morals should be upheld by the manhood of the nation and not depend on a court which would not necessarily be infallible in judgment.²⁷ A second correspondent, Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. Mitchell, stated it was, “the most wishy-washy, meaningless conglomeration of words without practical ideas that has been drawn up for some time.”²⁸

The affairs of the nation in 1913 were focused primarily on the Canadian naval debate between a Conservative government proposal to provide a \$35 million contribution to Britain for more Dreadnoughts and the Liberal policy of further developing the enlarged Canadian navy that the Liberals had established in 1910. The *Presbyterian* disagreed with both sides, arguing in favour of international peace and disarmament.²⁹ Again this issue was hotly debated in the *Presbyterian*, briefly mentioned in the *Witness* and not mentioned at all in the *Record*.

In the matter of the naval debate, letters to the editor reveal a division of opinion on Canada’s role in the Empire. As early as 1913 rationalization of support for Britain in a potential war was evident even amongst readers of the *Presbyterian*:

The fate of Canada is irrevocably bound up with that of the Empire. Were the empire to cease to be there would be no more a Canadian land or a Canadian people. Such a defenceless land, such a defenceless people would be too rich a plum.³⁰

William Mayhew of Toronto, by contrast, wrote:

I am a Briton through and through, but as I see my duty as a Christian citizen in this country I ought to do all in my power to keep Canada out of the tangles that the old land is in with nations far from us in distance and in ideals.³¹

In the months leading up to the outbreak of the First World War many Presbyterians, prompted by the issuance of the Peace Manifesto, openly debated the role of their country in Imperial military affairs, the growth of militarism in general and the role of the church in promoting peace. The discussion in the Presbyterian press in 1913 demonstrates that there was a desire to avoid war, yet there was a general consensus on a strong Canada within the Empire and a willingness to go to war for a just cause.

On 1 August 1914, as Europe descended into war, Canadian Prime Minister Robert Borden telegraphed the British government to declare “a common resolve to put forth every effort [. . .] to ensure the integrity and maintain the honour of the Empire.”

²⁷ Hay “Justifiable War.”

²⁸ Fraser, *The Social Uplifters* 157.

²⁹ Fraser, *The Social Uplifters* 158.

³⁰ J. M. Wallace, “The Peace Manifesto,” letter, *Presbyterian* [Halifax, NS] 27 Mar. 1913.

³¹ William Mayhew, “Moral Elements in the Naval Question,” letter, *Presbyterian* [Toronto] 1 May 1913.

Prime Minister Borden also offered “a considerable force for service abroad.”³² The Presbyterian press offered immediate support of the war effort and presented a quasi-official position on the front page of the *Record* in early September. Ephraim Scott described the great question as being a choice between peace at all costs and the idea of fighting for peace:

The great question is whether a considerable part of the human race is to be crushed under the Power of a cruel and inhuman military despotism; or whether the arm of the oppressor shall be broken, and the world come out more fully than ever before into the larger freedom, hoped and promised long, with sword and spear reforged to plough and pruning hook.³³

As early as September 1914 the *Record* had established that there was no paradox in fighting for peace, this war was just. The state of war had been declared by a civil government, after all other options had failed, and was aimed at restoring a just peace. Scott also proposed an imagery of soldiers serving God, suggesting this war was also a religious one. He referred to the soldiers as “bearing their cross of toil and suffering for a redemption of the race; and that her cause is in full harmony with that greater Redemption, once purchased by Cross and suffering and death for men.”³⁴

The periodical of the socially progressive leaders of the denomination, the *Presbyterian* supported the cause but with a call for reflection and restraint. The lead editorial in the 13 August 1914 edition suggested to Presbyterians to be wary of the tide of patriotism as it may be discovered that all participants are guilty.³⁵ This restraint was reinforced when the editor, Robert Haddow, proposed the war was a fight between good and evil. The Germans had been “led by evil counsellors,”³⁶ making a distinction between the German people and the German military caste.

Prior to the atrocity stories of 1915, Presbyterian editorials demonstrate that the British Empire meant security and freedom for Canadians. At the same time other editors guarded against the unchristian action of being swept up by either pacifist or patriotic zeal. The complicated question posed by the fact the war was being fought against a fellow Christian nation was not avoided. It was understood that individual faith was the most important element in the war. While it was presumed one side in the war was right and the other wrong, an individual Christian’s position on the war was not the only determining factor in one’s hope for an everlasting life. Robert Haddow suggested,

For some of the official acts of the German army it is impossible to find adequate excuse. The burning of Louvain, the dropping of bombs among the sleeping inhabitants of Antwerp, without warning or opportunity for non-combatants to take refuge [. . .]. But we must not allow ourselves to

³² G. W. Nicholson, *The Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914-1919* (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer, 1962) 5-6.

³³ Ephraim Scott, “The War and Duty’s Call,” *Presbyterian Record* [Montreal] Sept. 1914: 385.

³⁴ Scott, “The War and Duty’s Call” 387.

³⁵ Robert Haddow, “In Time of War,” editorial, *Presbyterian* [Toronto] 13 Aug. 1914: 1.

³⁶ Haddow, “In Time of War” 1.

be driven by the one-sided stories we read to the conclusion that the Germans are a barbarous and unfeeling people [. . .]. Even in those armies for whose defeat our brothers are fighting and we are praying, there are thousands who in all the personal relations of life are at least as gentle-hearted as ourselves [. . .]. That there are among the ranks of those we call ‘the enemy’ many who are really our brethren in Christ Jesus. How strange when those who have met as enemies upon the battlefield meet again, among the great multitude of all nations, and kindreds, and peoples and tongues, before the throne of God!³⁷

In November 1914, Charles W. Gordon, a notable leader and liberal evangelical, contributed an article to the *Presbyterian* titled “Canada’s Duty.” Gordon, famous throughout the British Empire as the author Ralph Connor, could find no excuses for the Prussian military caste, and he was forthright in his explanation of why war was the only answer to German militarism:

For this enterprise the Kaiser believes himself God anointed and God appointed. With him to-day stand the haughty aristocracy of Prussia and all the war caste of Germany, and behind them, united in a mad and deluded enthusiasm, stand as yet the German people to a man. Victory for the Allies, therefore, means the dethronement of the Kaiser and his military brood, the annihilation of the war caste and the smashing of the war machine. No peace is possible. Two sets of principles are locked in death grips—Force as an empire builder against the Will of a free people.³⁸

Gordon believed the actions of the German government strongly reflected the increasingly popular teachings of Treitschke and Bernhardi.³⁹ This, combined with a statement issued by the Christian churches in Germany which suggested a web of conspiracy levelled against Germany,⁴⁰ indicated that notions of German superiority severely hampered the ability for Christianity to flourish. This understanding of the situation, evident as early as October 1914, suggests that not only was the war just but it was being fought in defence of Christianity. Thus ideas of just war and crusade were used together. In some cases they are used interchangeably, the war was being fought both as a last resort and tragic necessity as well as in defence of Christianity. This is apparent again in the *Record*:

³⁷ “Thinking the Best,” *Presbyterian* [Toronto] 10 Sept. 1914.

³⁸ “Canada’s Duty,” *Presbyterian* [Toronto] 12 Nov. 1914: 438.

³⁹ Heinrich von Treitschke, 1834-1896, official historian of the Prussian state, was a fervent German nationalist and anti-Semite. General Friedrich von Bernhardi, 1849-1930, was the author of *Germany and the Next War* which advocated expansionism for Germany. His phrase “world power or decline” was much quoted.

⁴⁰ “Churchmen Pro and Con,” 22 Oct. 1914: 368.

To the last her (Britain's) leaders sought by every honourable means to preserve peace. Their words are worthy to be written in letters of gold. But all their effort was in vain, and Britain had to draw the sword for truth and freedom [. . .]. Her flag is made up of the blended crosses of St. Andrew, St. Patrick and St. George, massed symbol of the Christian faith and she can fling that flag to the breeze at the head of her legions as they march to war against oppression and wrong, with the consciousness that its symbolism is not dishonoured [. . .].⁴¹

The Presbyterian press stressed that the Empire best represented and secured Christian values such as truth, righteousness and liberty. These types of editorials also demonstrate the importance and belief that the Empire was Christian in its foundations and traditions.

The use of crusading jargon still did not deter contributors to the Presbyterian periodicals from addressing the difficulties of fighting a Christian nation. *Presbyterian* contributor Marshall P. Talling stated:

The Germans are praying for the victory and so are the British. Both sides cannot have it, so what is the use of their praying? [. . .] Both sides cannot have victory; but both sides can win the thing that God wants them to enjoy—His larger Kingdom, and life forevermore. That is the important matter.⁴²

Talling's emphasis was on the over-riding importance of individual faith. Again, participation in the war would not be the only matter of judgment. It was possible that both a British believer and German believer could be saved. On the issue of the war an individual might be wrong but if faithful, that person could still be saved.

It was not lost on Presbyterians that scripture, taken literally, would suggest that Christian values might only support a pacifist position. Presbyterian periodicals took up this challenge and debated the interpretation of Christ's words. The May 1915 edition of the *Record* asked these pertinent questions:

The soldier trains on Sunday in the highest ideals of love to God, and trains on Monday to shoot, to kill. He hears on Sunday—"Love your enemies;" and on Monday—"Charge." Are these consistent? Does the one who bids the former approve the latter? Would Christ, if on earth, commend this war? The question simply is—"Does Christ approve." Most of us will have no difficulty in deciding that He cannot approve the selfish aggression of Germany, in forcing war. But does He approve our men when they train and fight to hinder evil, to right wrong, to save the life of our Empire and of the world?

Who can know the mind of Christ, save as declared, and yet some points may be noted as gathering around this question. (1) All such commands

⁴¹ Scott, "The War and Duty's Call," 1914.

⁴² Marshall P. Talling, "War-Difficulties About Prayer," *Presbyterian* [Toronto] 8 Apr. 1915.

as—“Love your enemies”—refer to attitude of mind and heart; to the aim, the motive with which men do what seems the duty of life, even though it be the duty of stopping evil and death, by stopping the life that is wrongfully causing that evil and death [. . .].

The Sunday service in the Church and the Monday service in the trench are one, and upon the man, not the place, depends the character of both.⁴³

The Lord’s injunction to “Love your enemies” was often discussed in Presbyterian sermons and periodicals. An article entitled the “Perils of War,” in the November 1915 issue of the *Presbyterian*, concluded “it is right that we should hate wrongdoing and cruelty wherever they appear [. . .]. But if we are to be true to Christ we must not allow our hatred for the evil action to extend even to the person who is guilty of it.”⁴⁴ The article argued that Christians could resolve apparent contradictions of a just war through prayer “we should pray also that God’s help and comfort may be given to those who have to suffer among our adversaries as well as among ourselves.”⁴⁵

The belief in eternal salvation is, for believers, one of the most important aspects of Christianity. All Christians recognize that at some point they must reconcile their faith and death. The war put death front and centre in the minds of many Christians. As a result the Presbyterian periodicals addressed the Christian concept of immortality, usually the domain of Easter Sunday services, more often. In light of the first Canadian casualties at the front, the September 1915 *Presbyterian* addressed the issue of death in a forthright manner. The editorial understood the apprehensions young people would have in reconciling death, “it is rather the thought of leaving the good earth with its affections and delights and abandoning the plans and ambitions which one had formed. But these are false alarms.”⁴⁶

Ephraim Scott, the same *Record* editor who insisted emphatically that Britain was a symbol of the Christian faith marching to war against oppression and wrong, balanced the appeal for military resolve in 1916, with profound sympathy for the mounting numbers of families grieving the loss in battle of their loved ones:

But the price! The price! How little those can realize who have not paid that price! The price of victory? What is it? Go ask the wife whose husband’s home-coming when his work was done made bright the day with hope and the evening with that hope fulfilled; but whose days and evenings alike are shadowed now, for that strong step will be heard no more. Ask the children who wonder why daddy does not come, and who are beginning to realize with a nameless dread that he will not come again. Ask the father and mother whose son, perhaps an only one, in whom

⁴³ “Khaki at Church,” *Presbyterian Record* [Montreal] May 1915: 194.

⁴⁴ “Perils of War,” *Presbyterian* [Toronto] Nov. 1915,

⁴⁵ “Perils of War.”

⁴⁶ Robert Haddow, “Why Fear Death,” editorial, *Presbyterian* [Toronto] 9 Sept. 1915: 246.

centred the love and hopes of the home, lies “somewhere” in an unknown grave. All these know something of the price.⁴⁷

The idea that the war was a campaign in support of Christianity and that German militarism was a threat to Christianity continued to be debated in 1916. An editorial in the *Record* entitled “Germany’s Wanderings” discussed Germany’s journey away from Christianity under the influence of Prussian nationalism and militarism.⁴⁸ The *Witness* stated, “We shall think of the time before the war broke out—of the general unrest, of the nations armed to the teeth, of the lowering of moral and spiritual ideals, of the gradual break from Christianity on the part of Germany.”⁴⁹ The theme of German militarism as the enemy of Christ was also developed in the lecture delivered by Principal Gandier at the opening of Knox College and reprinted in the *Presbyterian* in September 1916:

The German militarists are doomed to failure because they are fighting against those things for which Jesus Christ stands in human history. Their conception of the Kingdom and of the methods by which it comes are pagan and false; and, not only has this perverted their morals, it has destroyed their moral discernment.⁵⁰

Gandier cited the German historian Treitschke’s philosophy of the state’s moral duty to safeguard its power, because there is nothing higher than the state in the history of the world. He noted that Treitschke’s lectures were filled with German students, suggesting the growing threat to Christianity from within Germany.⁵¹ Gandier was not alone in his belief that the teachings of many educators in Germany posed a great danger to Christianity. Although the exact date during the war is unknown similar fears were found in the handwritten notes of Charles W. Gordon.⁵²

For Canadian Presbyterians the notion that teachings in Germany represented anti-Christian values was very real. While the Presbyterian periodicals spent much of war-time underscoring that God was the highest power, the most important element in the destiny of the world, Germans were being taught that there was no higher power than the authority of the state.

As 1917 began, the Presbyterian periodicals were filled with reactions to President Woodrow Wilson’s peace proposals, including the problems that would arise from a premature peace without a clear allied victory. The *Record* continued to describe

⁴⁷ “Victory and its Price,” *Presbyterian Record* [Montreal] Sept. 1916.

⁴⁸ Ephraim Scott, “Germany’s Wanderings,” editorial, *Presbyterian Record* [Montreal] Sept. 1916.

⁴⁹ “The Sword on the Wall,” *United Free Church of Scotland Record, Presbyterian Witness* [Halifax, NS] 8 July 1916.

⁵⁰ Principal Gandier, “The Challenge of this War to the Church,” *Presbyterian* [Toronto] 5 Oct. 1916: 273.

⁵¹ Gandier 275.

⁵² University of Manitoba, Archives and Special Collections, Charles W. Gordon Fonds, MSS 56, Box 29, Folder 10, 13 May 2005
<http://www.umanitoba.ca/libraries/units/archives/canada_war/gordon/Website/Box%2029/Folder%2010-Sermons_and_Notes_Wa-JtoZ/thumbnails.shtml>.

the war in terms of the defense of basic principles and the triumph of freedom over tyranny:

What issues hang upon it? It is not merely a question of victory or defeat for one nation or another. It means freedom or bondage to the world. Were tyranny to triumph, it would mean the human race turned backwards for centuries; for the ideals of this despotism are those for which in a cruder form the world began to emerge centuries ago.⁵³

The *Record* insisted that no matter how long and bloody the struggle was it was fought for principles, and in terms of peace those principles had to be realized. Charles W. Gordon was yet another prominent Presbyterian to suggest that peace without victory would be foolish. In a January 1917 speech to the Empire Club of Toronto Gordon addressed the issue:

Our claim is that a peace without victory is an impossibility, an absolute impossibility, because a peace without victory is insecure [. . .] but it is not worth while fighting for an additional day for more glory. Nor do we fight for revenge. I do not even think France wants to fight another day in revenge for the great outrage wrought upon her by Germany some 40 years ago. But, gentlemen, we must look facts in the face. We cannot disregard the great, outstanding, stupendous fact of the injuries done to unoffending small nations. You may forget Belgium but you cannot change its face today. [. . .] Her little homesteads are desolated and empty of women and of children, many of whom have been outraged and slain. I have talked to them and know the truth of what I say. And although many of the tales which have been circulated may be untrue, there is no tale of outrage, however horrible, that has not been paralleled in actual fact. [. . .]

We must have from them some definite evidence, first, that they no longer cherish the pan-German dream of world-empire over-riding all rights of nations. Could we but obtain some definite proof of such change of heart we would be willing to talk peace right away, and oh, how gladly, for we loathe this war, those men on the front line trenches loathe it, loathe it with all their hearts and souls. We are not warriors. We are home-loving citizens who want to get home, but first we are men of honour and men of sense, and honour demands and sense compels us to stay at our posts until our work is done, until victory is achieved, until peace is secure.⁵⁴

In addition to his unwavering belief in a secure peace, Gordon dismissed the exaggeration of certain atrocities from Belgium, suggesting that others were under-reported. It would

⁵³ "The New Year," *Presbyterian Record* [Montreal] Jan. 1917.

⁵⁴ Charles W. Gordon, "Address to Empire Club of Toronto," 25 Jan. 1917, University of Manitoba, Archives and Special Collections, Charles W. Gordon Fonds, MSS 56, Box 29, Folder 14, 13 June 2005 <http://www.umanitoba.ca/libraries/units/archives/canada_war/gordon/Website/Box%2029/Folder14-Addresses_War/EmpireClubToronto_1917-Jan-25_pg06.shtml>.

seem Gordon understood the context in which he spoke, he knew what was at stake and knowing that, fully believed justice would have to be served if this war were to be a righteous one.

As the secular papers began to call attention to new issues, the Presbyterian periodicals addressed these same questions. Death, conscription and premature peace were discussed because the secular press in 1916 and 1917 emphasized these subjects. From the outbreak of war the Presbyterian press were consistent in defending the justice and righteousness of the cause. Time and again they believed in the need to defend Christian values such as liberty and the need to fight evil, be it in the form of German atrocities, German militarism or German nationalism. Throughout the long struggle the Presbyterian journals above all attempted to assist their readers in reconciling their faith and war, where the teachings of the denomination or Christianity in general were put to the test by the conflict, the papers attempted to address these issues. Presbyterian periodicals did not shrink from either the agony of death or its magnitude.

The renewed interest in the hope of eternal life inspired by the conflict continued to be addressed. In the Easter 1917 edition of the *Witness* the need for Christians to reconcile death as a basic reality of Christianity was restated:

If death closed forever the drama of our earthly existence, then such words as honour, love, patriotism, truth, freedom, duty would be meaningless terms and there could be no warrant to throw our lives away for any such empty shadows. It is because we believe that the earthly life is but a brief moment of our existence and that what we call death is the portal of life which is life indeed, that we are reconciled to give up our loved ones to die in a just and holy cause.⁵⁵

The notion that eternal salvation was the reward for a faithful life lived brought comfort to many Christians at home in Canada. The belief in immortality, in the Christian sense, provided comfort and hope to many believers. For those historians who would conclude that emphasis on immortality was discussed so as to sustain the war effort, Presbyterians clarified that these messages of hope were for believers only. In the August 1917 edition of the *Presbyterian Record* Ephraim Scott stated:

A recent sermon “somewhere in Canada,” had as one of its leading thoughts in substance, this, that soldiers at the front, by their bravery and unselfish sacrifice are saved.

While no words can do justice to the heroism and self-denial of the men who have risked and sacrificed so much, yet the attempt to glorify their self-denial by such teaching as the above, is wrong in itself and can only be evil in its results. Such teaching takes no account of a man’s past or present or future attitude towards God.

⁵⁵ “Easter and the War,” *Presbyterian Witness* [Halifax, NS] 7 Apr. 1917: 4.

Many soldiers are Christians. They know their own unworthiness. They know whom they have believed. They trust not to their own sacrifice but to the sacrifice of Christ. But many of them, splendid men, are not Christians and do not claim to be, and to lead even one of these to rest in slightest upon any other foundation, instead of pointing him to Christ as his only hope and trust does that soldier an infinite wrong.⁵⁶

The country could not come to rely on the fact it was a nominally Christian nation in order to get through the war. It was not simply sacrifice that was rewarded with eternal salvation but a soldier's true faith in God that brought him home.

Again and again during the course of 1917 several Presbyterian sources outlined the proposals for peace, acknowledged the desire for peace and an end to war. They emphatically refused to accept terms that did not ensure the security of the Empire and a lasting peace for the world that could be achieved only through the elimination of Germany's anti-Christian militarism. In August 1917 the *Record* commented:

One fact is that it is a case of victory or death. Germany is fighting for world supremacy. The Allies are fighting for world liberty. These principles cannot live together [. . .]. The war is not merely a conflict between nations, but between right and wrong, between God and the Adversary, between the Kingdom of light and the Kingdom of darkness.

A fact that only a few people even yet have realized is the extent to which departure from God was a part of the more than forty years' preparation of Germany for this war. His Word had largely ceased to be the "Word of God." The Gospel of Right had gradually given way to the Gospel of Might, sinful man to the superman.⁵⁷

As a profoundly Christian country, many Canadians found the notion of the state as supreme and the utmost power unsettling. The anti-Christian teachings of the Prussian military caste not only appeared as a threat to Christendom itself, but were perhaps an indication that the German people were unable to freely practice Christianity in a way that Canadian Presbyterians understood.

As the debates over mandatory service continued in the Canadian secular press throughout 1917, Presbyterians wholeheartedly embraced the idea of conscription in their periodicals and in a resolution of the General Assembly:

The Assembly desires to express its approval of every legitimate effort to rouse the laggards among the youth of Canada to a consciousness of duty and to enroll those who are available as soldiers in a great crusade for the world's freedom.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ "False Teaching," *Presbyterian Record* [Montreal] Aug. 1917: 226.

⁵⁷ "Three Years of War," *Presbyterian Record* [Montreal] Aug. 1917.

⁵⁸ *Acts and Proceedings of the Forty-Third General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1917): 37.

The *Witness* also came out in support of conscription after hearing Major Andrew Macphail, a physician who would in 1918 become Sir Andrew Macphail, the former editor of McGill's *University Magazine* and the founder and first editor of the *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, explain how the Canadian Expeditionary Force was desperately in need of reinforcements because of the sheer volume of casualties at the front.⁵⁹ "Canada must not retire from the conflict until the monstrous ogre of Prussian militarism is laid helpless in the dust."⁶⁰ The *Record* added to the conscription argument and put it into a Christian context:

Is it right to fight? Yes, it is right to fight wrong. "Resist the devil" is a command of Scripture, and he is in all wrong. Wrong is of varied kinds, and each kind has to be fought after its kind.

The first line trenches of Canada's liberty are in France and Flanders. Our liberties are there most easily and surely maintained. If lost there they could not be maintained here. If youth and strength that shares the safety of our country will not take its share of responsibility for maintaining that safety, then the only thing, as with all other national burdens, as with taxation, etc., is that it should be compelled to take its share.⁶¹

The Church's decision to support conscription did not mean that it had abandoned the quest to persuade the faithful that eternal salvation was found through Jesus Christ.

The news media in 1918 continued to report on the Military Service Act which came into force after the victory of the Unionist Government in December 1917. These reports included news of draftees reporting for military service and "the campaign to catch defaulters."⁶² The 30 March 1918 edition of the *Globe* told Canadians of the disruption and mayhem caused by members of a mob in Quebec City allegedly trying to destroy exemption records.⁶³ The beginning of the last German offensive of the war in March 1918 was also discussed. Although it had originally been decided that men would be exempt from mandatory service to work on farms, the Canadian Prime Minister Borden decided that given the renewed threat of a German victory the need of the army was greater. This decision sparked intense debate.⁶⁴ It was in this environment of war-weariness that the Presbyterian press came to discuss such issues as the length of the war and the need to examine individual sin and the righteousness of the conflict.

The implementation of mandatory service raised the issue of conscientious objectors, most of whom based their refusal to serve on the words of Christ. Editors of

⁵⁹ "The Tragedy of Delay," *Presbyterian Witness* [Halifax, NS] 1 Dec. 1917.

⁶⁰ "The Tragedy of Delay."

⁶¹ "Save, Give, Fight, Pray," *Presbyterian Record* [Toronto] Dec. 1917: 357.

⁶² Miller 163.

⁶³ "Quebec Mob Quelled by Soldiers", *Globe* [Toronto] 30 Mar. 1918: 1.

⁶⁴ Miller 177.

the *Presbyterian and Westminster* clarified the Presbyterian position on Christian based conscientious objection in a 21 March 1918 editorial:

In a war like the present, it is extremely difficult for the so-called “conscientious objector” to maintain his ground. Whatever interpretation may be given of the injunction to “turn the other cheek,” however it may be possible to argue in favour of submission rather than opposition to violence when one’s own person and rights are concerned, it is surely impossible to make out a case for non-resistance on Christian grounds when we are dealing with the defence of others. And the latter is really the fundamental issue for the British people in the present war.⁶⁵

In 1918 the *Presbyterian and Westminster* suggested that whatever interpretations were given to the literal words of Jesus, it was the higher Christian duty to defend others, which was the fundamental reason why Britain and her allies had gone to war. Those who chose to support the war did not do it in spite of the words of Christ, quite the reverse. Presbyterians, after careful analysis of the meaning and context of those words, believed they were obliged to support the war.

The notion that war was not an accident and had a purpose led Presbyterians to question why, if they were on the side of God and right, did the bloody battles and their accompanying death and destruction continue? In response the denominational press continued to emphasize the righteousness of the cause, that no person could know God’s plan, and reiterated the key distinction between being on the side of God, as the Allies hoped they were, and the arrogant belief that God was on the Allied side. Presbyterians like all Christians in peacetime or wartime hoped they were doing right by God. The unwillingness to state that God was on the Allied side recognized that Presbyterians knew there was a chance they were wrong. The *Record* commented, “the result is entirely in His hands, and that result, being in His hands, must be a right one. And yet, on the whole, is He not less considered than any other important factor in this great world struggle?”⁶⁶ The *Presbyterian and Westminster* stated:

The fact is, God belongs neither to Germany nor to the Allies. He stands for righteousness and truth in the earth. We cannot hope to bring Him over to our side. All that we can do and the best that we can do is to come over to His side. Great as German atrocities have been, our hope of Divine aid must rest eventually not on their unrighteousness, but on our own righteousness.⁶⁷

The frequent discussion about the righteousness of the allied role in the conflict was perhaps an indication that Presbyterians were becoming weary of the prolonged battles and unrelenting death and sorrow. At this time when the average Presbyterian was sick of

⁶⁵ “Christianity and War,” editorial, *Presbyterian and Westminster* [Toronto] 21 Mar. 1918.

⁶⁶ “God on War,” *Presbyterian Record* Apr. 1918: 4.

⁶⁷ “On Which Side is God To-Day?,” *Presbyterian and Westminster* [Toronto] 18 July 1918.

the conflict and destruction, the denominational press stepped in to assure that the fatigue would not lend its readers to support an insecure and early peace.

In order to demonstrate the just nature of the allied role in the war, the *Presbyterian and Westminster* used a memorandum written by Prince Lichnowsky, the former German Ambassador to Britain, to remind readers that Britain did its utmost to prevent the war and that the war was forced upon the Allies:

The question which Christian people ought to be most concerned about in connection with the war is the question of right and wrong. Are we justified in the sight of God for taking part in this terrible conflict? Is the responsibility for launching this devastating curse upon the world ours or our enemy's? As President Lincoln said, what matters is not so much to be sure that God is on our side as to be sure that we are on God's side.⁶⁸

In March 1918 the editor of the *Witness* warned readers to "Stand Fast" and addressed the war-weariness experienced on the home front in the context of reaffirming the righteousness of the conflict, restating the threat posed to Christianity by German militarism and cautioning against a premature peace:

A general war weariness, in which all the nations are sharing, is creeping over our people, affecting to some extent the resolution of some and inclining them to considerations of peace on almost any terms. There is danger of the morale of the nation weakening as the effects of the war at home become more accentuated [. . .].

That which was right three years ago is not wrong today. A duty which was imperative when a small nation was ruthlessly ravaged by a powerful and unprincipled military organization and the liberties of the whole world threatened, is no less a duty today when this same infamous sea of war-lords continue to struggle for the domination of the world [. . .].

[. . .] it is pre-eminently a struggle between the forces of truth and right on the one side, and the powers of falsehood, tyranny and ambition on the other. Not only our liberty but our civilization and our Christianity are in peril [. . .].⁶⁹

In an effort to curb the growing fatigue with the war and its effects, the denominational press denounced any notion of a peace that was negotiated before the principles for which so many Canadians and Presbyterians went to war were met. The June 1918 *Record* forcefully restated its well-established position that peace without victory would be wrong:

⁶⁸ "The Breakers of the Peace," *Presbyterian and Westminster* [Toronto] 11 Apr. 1918.

⁶⁹ "Stand Fast," *Presbyterian Witness* [Halifax, NS] 9 Mar. 1918: 4.

Hence it follows that any suggestion to cease warring against that evil—so long as it remains—is wrong. To be at peace with evil-doing is to share in that evil-doing. To consent with a thief or a murderer is to assume complicity in his guilt. To cease fighting the German wrong, while that wrong remains, is to be partner in the wrong. In “pacifism” we become shares with Germany in her guilt. Such pacifism is a crime against humanity and against God.⁷⁰

In the Presbyterian view, the Allies recognized that good did not necessarily triumph over evil quickly or easily. The long, costly struggle was part of God’s plan. Presbyterians continued to remind themselves that they could not know God’s intentions but victory helped them reconcile the deaths of good people in cause of the ultimate moral triumph. The end of the war raised other questions about death, such as why some men died so close to the end of hostilities and why others survived. Through the medium of the periodical, church leaders tried to address these new questions. The *Witness* provided the following words of wisdom in December 1918:

If His way for some of our boys was that they should finish their work in a few brief and strenuous days, and for others that they should go on to the end of the struggle and then join their brave companions on the other side, we cannot question either His wisdom or His love. He hath done all things well.⁷¹

The failure of nations to be dominated by the spirit of Christ was examined in the *Witness* in December 1918. The focus was not the secular nature of Germany but rather the failure of nominally Christian nations to put Christ above militarism:

The very contrast between the spirit of Christmas and that spirit by which the war-loving leaders of Prussian militarism were animated in their assault upon the rights and liberties of free nations should make a deep impression upon every thoughtful mind. We have had an appalling exhibition of the fruits of selfishness, greed and ambition in the world. The present war would have been an impossibility if all the great nations—even the nominally Christian nations—had been dominated by the spirit of Christ.⁷²

The Presbyterian press believed that never again should any country put state authority or nationalism as the supreme power, as nothing was greater than God. Even the rise of secularism at home had to be kept in check in order to avoid the rise of narrow nationalism and other anti-Christian behaviour.

⁷⁰ “Three War Questions,” *Presbyterian Record* June 1918.

⁷¹ “In the Wilderness,” *Presbyterian Witness* [Halifax, NS] 7 Dec. 1918: 4.

⁷² George S. Carson, “The Christmas Message,” editorial, *Presbyterian Witness* [Halifax, NS] 21 Dec. 1918: 4.

Thousands of Canadians had died fighting the evil criminals of the German military caste. In January 1919 the *Globe* reported that the final casualty figures for Canada were 220,182 with deaths numbered at 60,383.⁷³ As the months went on, more soldiers returned home and the country began to reflect on the past four years. Death and its role within Christianity continued to be a major topic of Presbyterian discussion. Perhaps one of the most poignant messages appeared in the February 1919 edition of the *Witness*, in George S. Carson's editorial "Who Are the Dead." He brought a simple faith to those Christian soldiers returning from war and those Christian families watching all but their own loved ones return:

In the face of these solemn and indubitable facts, it is well that we should revise our conceptions of death and see how far the popular imagination is in accord with reality. We speak of those who have fallen on the field of battle as dead, and we associate with this term the idea of loss—not ours alone, but theirs. We think of the brilliant and happy future that was before some of these men in life, and we find it hard to overcome the feeling of regret that they had not been spared to see the end of the war, to share in the joy of victory and to take their part in the building up of a new and better order of things in the world. In the popular mind the dead are those who have dropped out of the great throbbing life of the world and who lie sleeping in lonely graves "where poppies grow" [. . .]. But this is not the conception of death which has come to us through Christ and His apostles. To our Lord the unseen world was as real and as full of life as that in which we live. He Himself had come from it and was soon to return. He spoke of the heavenly abiding-places and of the holy and happy fellowship of those who dwell in them. He talked to His disciples of His departure as we would speak of a journey and a brief absence from home. To Him there was but one life, though some provinces of it were veiled from human eyes; and He passed beyond our vision that we might better grasp the reality of His continued presence with us.⁷⁴

The thousands of deaths that had to be reconciled were, for Presbyterians, deaths in the name of a just cause. Now that the war was over justice and security had to be ensured. The first few months of 1919 saw the slow progress and frequent conflicts among Allied leaders of the Paris Peace Conference detailed in the papers. "Disarmament Essential" and "Milder Terms for Germans: Fear that Bolshevism May Spring from Harshness"⁷⁵ were among the stories in the *Globe*. Beginning in March 1919 a series of columns called "The Making of Peace" appeared in the *Globe*. This coverage tells us that the secular press in Canada was concerned about Germany's lack of sincerity in terms of demilitarization⁷⁶ and the rise of Bolshevism in parts of Germany such as Bavaria.⁷⁷

⁷³ "Total Canadian Casualties 220,182," *Globe* [Toronto] 4 Jan. 1919: 1.

⁷⁴ George S. Carson, "Who are the Dead?," editorial, *Presbyterian Witness* [Halifax, NS] 8 Feb. 1919: 4.

⁷⁵ "Disarmament Essential," *Globe* [Toronto] 1 Mar. 1919: 1.

⁷⁶ "The Making of Peace," *Globe* [Toronto] 12 Feb. 1919: 1.

Upon the signing of the Treaty of Versailles in June 1919 the *Globe's* banner headline quoted Psalm 147:13-14 "For He Hath strengthened the bars of thy gates [. . .] He maketh Peace in they borders."⁷⁸ The headline suggests that the *Globe* recognized the profound Judeo-Christian character of Canadian society and the comfort brought to Canadian society by God who ultimately brings security, peace and order to a chaotic world. The same edition reported that uncertainty about the treaty remained: "Peace has come to the warring world—the peace of the sword. Germany has signed under compulsion, and only by compulsion will she carry out the agreement [. . .]."⁷⁹ The debates over the severity of the terms to be imposed on Germany provided the backdrop for denominational writing in 1919.

The ideals of the Paris Peace Conference were dealt with in the 20 February 1919 issue of the *Presbyterian and Westminister*:

Among the men who went to war and those who gave their sons were many thousands whose conviction was that in that great conflict, involving such stupendous sacrifice, they were really fighting against war. The military spirit that takes delight in battle, that seeks to dominate other men by force, that has no regard for any rights but its own, they believed to be incarnated chiefly in Germany, and they were convinced that in order to banish that spirit from the world it was necessary, first of all, that Germany be thoroughly defeated. Victory was not so much an end in itself as a means to an end, the great end being the establishment of a new order to which violence would be replaced by injustice and war by peace.

The war has been fought and won. Germany has been defeated. The task which now confronts the Allied statesmen is to see that all the effort and sacrifice has not been made in vain, that the causes which have produced war in the past are, as far as possible, removed [. . .].⁸⁰

For the editorial staff at the *Witness*, forgiveness could be countenanced only after Germany repented:

The unforgiving spirit which persists in remembering past deeds, and refuses to take account of a new state of mind and character is indeed immoral, because it refuses to look at things as they are. But immoral also, not less dangerously immoral, is the refusal resolutely to face the fact that the wrongdoer is still a wrong-doer, and for various selfish reasons coming to terms of peace with him. The judgments of God are according to truth, and those of righteous men must be so likewise. There is no virtue, but rather immorality, in shutting our eyes to facts.

⁷⁷ "Bolshevism....," *Globe* [Toronto] 9 Apr. 1919: 1.

⁷⁸ "For He Hath Strengthened....," *Globe* [Toronto] 30 June 1919: 1.

⁷⁹ "For He Hath Strengthened..." 1.

⁸⁰ "What Did We Fight For?," *Presbyterian and Westminister* [Toronto] 20 Feb. 1919.

Germany, for her own sake, as well as for the security of the nations which she has wronged, must be made to expiate her crimes; and she must bring forth the fruits of repentance before she is again admitted into the fellowship of peace-loving nations.⁸¹

Presbyterian leaders understood the war as a struggle fought for a just cause, against an evil enemy and in support of Christian values. Their initial reaction to the war was measured support for a just war fought in defence of Belgium and the honour of the Empire to which they belonged. As the nature of the Empire's enemy became evident through the burning of Louvain, the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the use of poison gas at Ypres, Presbyterians sought to understand how a Christian country could commit such acts. Evidence of the influence of anti-Christian secularist and nationalist teachings in Germany was discussed as was the formal statement of the German churches on the origins of the war, a statement that suggested Christians in Germany had been misled about the origins of the conflict. The repeated discussion of death in the Christian context as well as the analysis of the threat posed by the Prussian military caste to Christianity reveal that Presbyterians had a clear understanding of why the war was being fought and its consequences.

The news of the loss of so many Canadian soldiers at Second Ypres in April 1915 led to the first detailed discussions of the significance of death in the Christian tradition. The Christian belief that death is the door to eternal salvation, for those who believed in Christ and repented their sins, was a comfort to many readers dealing with the large loss of life. The Protestant emphasis on the resurrection, the belief that one's life should prepare a person for death and a more rewarding life with Christ liberated from sin, was a message of hope for many Presbyterian believers. The Presbyterian Church also struggled with the problem of God's role in a war which seemed to have no end. The distinction was made between God being on the side of the Allies and the Allies believing they were on God's side. Church leaders also emphasized that individual faith in God and salvation through Jesus Christ was not dependent on the results of the war.

Presbyterian editors and authors defended their opposition to a premature peace by re-emphasizing the reasons why Presbyterians went to war in the first place. The Presbyterian idea of the meaning of the war was also re-emphasized during the conscription debate. Towards the end of 1917 and into 1918, when the Military Service Act was implemented as a direct result of a victory for the Unionist government in December 1917, the idea that the war was being fought for Christian values was reinforced. With the rise of conscientious objectors, mostly on religious grounds, the Presbyterian press emphasized that going to war for a just cause was acceptable within the teachings of Christianity. The debate on conscription also led to renewed discussion of the responsibility of the individual and the importance of decisions on faith made by individual Christians. Ultimately what was in one's heart would be the basis of God's judgment.

As the war continued on well into 1918, the Presbyterian papers focused on the growing problem of war-weariness. The temptation to give in to demands for a premature

⁸¹ George S. Carson, "In the Hour of Victory," editorial, *Presbyterian Witness* [Halifax, NS] 23 Nov. 1918: 4.

peace was countered by reminders that the war was righteous and was fought against evil on behalf of Christian values. Throughout the last phase of the war, Presbyterians were consistently told that eternal salvation came to those who were faithful. For believers, the losses were softened by a firm belief that their loved ones, if they had been faithful to Christ, were in a better place.

The coming of peace saw the Presbyterian denominational press reflect on the war and engage in a debate over the terms of a future peace. The majority of Presbyterian contributors reiterated their belief in the righteousness of the cause using the achievement of victory to demonstrate that, as hoped, the Allies were on the side of right.

In addition to bringing messages of comfort and hope, the Presbyterian papers were also cautionary in tone. The popularity of secularist teachings both in Germany and at home was thought to be indicative of anti-Christian behaviour. The war had taught Presbyterians the evils of putting the state above God. The Presbyterian leaders strove to ensure that Canadians remembered that the reasons for going to war were legitimate and justice was served. In this vein the significance of a just and lasting peace was emphasized, and the notions and importance of individual sin and repentance as well as the need to punish the enemy and the degree of severity were debated.

Not only did the Presbyterian publications present their ideas in a forthright manner, they attempted to address many of the tests to their faith presented by the long and bloody nature of the war. The complexity of the views of the Presbyterian leaders, whether clergy or layman, were evident in the articles, editorials and letters to the editor presented in the four denominational publications. While the *Record*, with its emphatic editor Ephraim Scott, stood firm on the Christian values and just reasons for going to war, other publications offered more open debate. The *Witness* remained fairly steadfast in its support for the war but did provide its readers with some varied opinion on the war and the possibility of peace. The *Presbyterian* presented the most open debate on the subjects of war and peace, militarism and pacifism, as well as the need for a national as well as an imperial outlook. The differing nature of the periodicals is evidence of the complex nature of the church but also the intricate character of the Christian faith as practiced by Canadian Presbyterians. Any analysis that would suggest the Christian response to the war in Canada was a result of government propaganda, does not take into account evidence of German atrocities, which was all many Presbyterians needed in order to understand the evil nature of the enemy. Emphasis placed on the literal words of Christ to prove that war was “criminal and unchristian” fails to recognize the context of scripture as interpreted by many of the faithful.

The nature of Presbyterian theology was evident throughout the war through the emphasis on individual faith. No matter how wonderful the character of an individual soldier, unless that individual had faith in his heart there would not be everlasting life. The Presbyterians consistently emphasized the importance of individual faith to the extent that it was clear that even enemy soldiers would achieve eternal life if they had faith and good intent in their hearts. Presbyterians understood that fighting a Christian enemy was not necessarily a fight against individual Germans who might indeed be true to God, but rather against German militarism and the Prussian leadership who represented evil. Presbyterians did not have to struggle with the paradox of fighting for peace for they understood that war was the only means to obtain peace consistent with Christian principles when evil threatened their world. War was not the most heinous thing

in their Christian universe for there were times and instances where “war was never wrong when it was against wrong.” Truth and honour were more important than peace.

It was not blind patriotic fervour that led the majority of Presbyterians to reject Christian pacifism in support of the Great War. Rather it was their consistent belief in the righteousness and justness of the cause. Presbyterians were cautioned to be mindful of becoming fanatical one way or another and forgetting their basic faith relationship with God.

Suggestions that a pacifist view especially towards a war against evil and on behalf of Christian values, was “more Christian” fails to recognize that fighting for liberty and righteousness is completely compatible with Christianity. In fact, many Presbyterian leaders clearly believed that what was not sensible was the belief that war was the worst thing that could happen. For Presbyterians submission by a modern-day democracy to a militaristic despot was a far greater error. C. S. Lewis, one of the most prolific Christian writers of the twentieth century and a veteran of the Great War, emphasizes this point when he suggests “The question is whether war is the greatest evil in the world, so that any state of affairs which might result from submission is certainly preferable.”⁸² According to their press, Presbyterians during the Great War believed that a Europe dominated by an autocratic and militaristic despot was more evil than war itself.

Most of the Presbyterian discourse was about understanding the war within the framework of Christian principles. The Presbyterians tackled tough faith issues and were able to reconcile the war and their faith in a way which was compatible with deeply-held Christian beliefs. The more secularized views of today should not colour our understanding of the faith of our forefathers. There is room for both the pacifist and just war tradition within Christianity, as indeed there was within the confessional structure of the Presbyterian Church. The suggestion that pacifism is the only true Christian position, and that support for war—as in the case of the majority of Presbyterian church members between 1914 and 1918—compromises Christian ideals, ignores fundamental tenets of Christianity. It assumes that war is so morally reprehensible in any and all circumstances that any alternative is preferable. It also assumes that Christians are indeed so worldly that they consider death the ultimate tragedy.

Presbyterian churches across Canada are filled with bronze memorial plaques, rolls of honour and stained glass windows commemorating the members of their respective congregations who gave their lives in the Great War. These memorials are precious, admired and integral parts of the Church and its history, and reflect an understanding and belief in the Christian values for which the war was waged. Today, many Presbyterians regard these memorials as symbols of futility and waste. In fact some would even suggest that these symbols only romanticize and disguise the true horror of war. But this is a presentist perspective and the evidence in this paper would propose otherwise. Presbyterians who erected these commemorations were only following the next logical steps in their deeply-felt belief in the causes of the war. Presbyterian men who fought for the defence of the weak, for liberty and righteousness, against the evils of German militarism, in the defence of Christianity, deserved recognition.

⁸² C. S. Lewis, *Compelling Reason* 9.

The Rev. Dr. John Bayne: Founder of the Free Church in Ontario

Angus Sutherland

Ministry in the mid-1800s in Canada presented challenges with which we are not familiar today. The Rev. A. Cunningham Geikie writes:

These were the times of hardship for Canadian ministers outside the towns; and, to their credit be it spoken, they faced their troubles manfully, said little about them, and neither got nor looked for pity. They were serving a struggling people, and they were generally very willing to share the struggle with them. The stipends were very small, and the physical wear and tear very great. Many a gallant fellow then carried an older cross than the Victoria one, and received damages which he never got over.¹

The subject of this paper is one such minister, but also one who stood out in his contributions to the Presbyterian witness in early Canada, the Rev. John Bayne of Galt.

John Bayne was born on 18 November 1806 to the Rev. Kenneth B. Bayne and his wife Margaret (Hay), a daughter of the manse. His father was minister of the Gaelic Church in Greenock, though he never taught his son that language. Bayne was the seventh child of the family and the first son. In his early years he wanted to be a sailor, having enjoyed a few trips he was able to take with his father.

When Bayne sensed a call to ministry is unknown, but the deaths of family members certainly touched his life. His mother died when he was just five years old, and his four-year-old brother two years later. At fifteen, while he was a student in Glasgow, his father died. Before he left Scotland, three of his sisters died. The first, Eliza, died when he was twenty-two. Before she died she told him of her confidence that her life was in the hands of Jesus, and encouraged him to trust in the Saviour and to give his life to Him. If this were not a point of calling, it certainly affected Bayne's direction in life.

Four years later, two of his sisters drowned on the same day. Shortly afterwards he wrote:

Their sudden and unexpected death I have felt as a very deep affliction, and a solemn call from God to live more as a Christian, and to be ever ready for the coming of the Lord. I desire to improve, for God's glory and my own good, this very solemn dispensation, and would now, as in the presence of the great "Searcher of hearts," record several resolutions, to which I purpose, in the strength of divine grace, hereafter to adhere.

¹ A. Cunningham Geikie, "A Colonial Sketch, Dr. John Bayne of Galt, printed for the hundredth anniversary, Nov. 3, 1935," (N.p.: n.p., 1935) 3-4, *The British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, 93 (1875).

To this record I intend, God willing, in time to come frequently to refer, that I may never forget the impression of this solemn season, or violate the obligations under which I have come, or cease to hear the voice which seems to say, so loudly from the grave of my departed sisters, "Be ye also ready, for in such an hour as ye think not, the Son of Man cometh."

I resolve in the strength of divine grace:

- I. To have eternity ever before me, and to seek to have in **Time** the same views of the nature and value of things that I shall have of them in **Eternity**.
- II. To keep a continual watch over my heart and members, lest sin, sense, Satan, or the world, should gain, insidiously, any dominion over me; and in particular, to attend to the state of my heart in secret prayer.
- III. To engage, from time to time, in solemn self-examination, in order that I may ascertain how far I have watched successfully against the assaults of sin, and whether I have been progressing or declining in the divine life.
- IV. To repent and humble myself before God on the discovery of sin, and to do so **without delay**, while my conscience is tender and my feelings are warm, ere fear and suspicion of God have begun to intrude, and before sin has acquired the strength and relish of habit.
- V. *Never, in my intercourse with others, myself to forget, or to let others forget, that I am a **Christian**.*
- VI. Never to meet with an acquaintance or friend, without asking myself, how I may do good to his soul—how, if he be a **sinner**, I may recommend Christ to his acceptance, or, if he be a **Christian**, I may stir up the love of Christ in his heart.
- VII. Never to defer, till another opportunity, doing for the good of another, what may be done **now**, remembering always that we may never meet again.
- VIII. Always to remember that God is near, and never to think, speak, or act, without first considering whether it is consistent with the presence of Majesty so awesome, and Holiness so pure.
- IX. Always to approach God, and to transact with Him, **through the Mediator**.

- X. Always to make **love to God**, as much as possible, the **spring** of my actions.
- XI. Always to seek the **glory of God** as the great **end** of my life.
- XII. To think much of heaven.²

Bayne received his education at the universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh and was licensed by the Presbytery of Dingwall, Orkney, on 8 September 1830. After serving as an Assistant, ministering on the island of Shapensay, he was prevented by the patron, Lord Dundas, from remaining there as minister, an event that would affect his choice for the Free Church in future years. Eventually, Bayne was ordained by the Presbytery of Dingwall for service in Canada on 3 September 1834. He received an appointment from the Glasgow Colonial Society a month later.

Arriving in Canada late in 1834, Bayne was first appointed to fill the pulpit at St. Andrew's Church in Toronto while its minister, the Rev. William Leach, was on leave in Scotland. Upon Mr. Leach's return the following summer, Bayne was called and inducted into St. Andrew's Church, Galt, the second minister of that congregation. Galt, a bush settlement in the township of Dumfries, was home to a large number of Scottish immigrants. A Presbyterian congregation had existed in the village since 1824, but this was begun by missionaries from the United States.³ Dumfries Kirk, in association with the Church of Scotland, was founded on the other side of the Grand River in 1831, eventually taking the name St. Andrew's.

Bayne came to a town that had been ravaged by the cholera epidemic of 1834, which had claimed the lives of a fifth of the population,⁴ but he quickly revived the spirits of the congregation, gaining the reputation of being a strong and able preacher. During his time at St. Andrew's he was eager for changes to be made that would promote the Kingdom of God. In 1836 he had a bell installed in the tower of the church, to call the people of the town to worship. In the same year, he chaired a meeting at which the first lending library in Galt was established. It was his desire to get books written by faithful and devout authors into the hands of the people.

As Bayne established himself among the people of Galt, he also became well known among his peers. In 1842 he travelled to Scotland, having been commissioned by the Church in Canada to recruit preachers for the newly settled territory in the west, and especially for the Presbytery of Hamilton. While there he heard the first rumblings of discontent and concerns about governmental interference with faith that would lead to the formation of the Free Church of Scotland.

News of the formation of the Free Church reached Canada, and the Synod of Canada passed a resolution that expressed sympathy for the Free Church as well as concern for the Church of Scotland. At that time, a proposed Act was read in the Provincial Legislature to provide for the management of the temporalities of the

² Geikie 8-9. The words in bold print are John Bayne's own emphasis.

³ *A Century at Central: 1882-1982: Central Presbyterian Church, Cambridge, Ontario* ([Cambridge, ON: The Church], 1982) 5.

⁴ *A Century at Central* 5.

Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland. In October 1843, the Kirk Session and Trustees of St. Andrew's Galt petitioned the Synod, seeking through the church court that the Legislature might expunge from the act the words "in connection with the Church of Scotland." When the petition was defeated by the Synod meeting in the spring of 1844, Bayne and thirty-seven other commissioners left to form the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada.⁵

Returning to Galt, Bayne explained his actions, then took hold of the pulpit Bible and walked out of the church. Almost the entire congregation followed him. He and the congregation, once they had cleared the building, then returned for a service of worship. A general meeting held on 23 July 1844 re-formed the congregation in connection with the Free Church of Scotland. Bayne's congregation believed that they had a right to the building and glebe, but, as in many other localities, the Church of Scotland held on to its claim. On 3 March 1845 the congregation learned it had no choice but to give up the keys to the building. While St. Andrew's continued as a small struggling congregation for another thirty-five years, the Free Church congregation quickly found the funds to erect a building, which opened for worship a year later. The congregation took the name Knox's Church.

In defending the decision to be part of the Free Church, Bayne was adamant that the church in Canada could not support the Church of Scotland, which, he declared, had sinned by "submitting to encroachments on her spiritual jurisdiction."⁶ He further maintained that by remaining with that Church, the Church in Canada shared in that sin. He travelled throughout Canada West declaring his conviction, debating and arguing in public discussions. The Free Church Synod, meeting in Hamilton in July 1846, elected Bayne as Moderator. In 1847, the Synod appointed him to travel to Scotland to find an able professor of theology for the Free Church College in Toronto, and he returned in December of that year in the company of the Rev. Dr. Willis, who later became the college's principal.

In 1853 Union College, in Schenectady, New York, honoured Bayne by conferring on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity (DD) as the founder of the Free Presbyterian Church of Canada. However, it seems the degree was not a matter of pride to him. Some time later, when asked about his DD, Dr. Bayne remarked that he still hadn't "gotten over the shame of it."⁷

Before the founding of the Free Church Synod, Bayne was not very good at attending meetings of the courts of the church. Before 1844, he is only recorded in attendance at two meetings of the Synod, "the one at Kingston in 1839, and the other at Toronto in 1840."⁸ Following the establishment of the Free Church, however, he was rarely absent. We are told that he would not speak in the court as long as things were going along to his satisfaction. However, if he wished to correct a wrong or solve a difficulty, he would make sure he was right in the middle of the discussions.

⁵ Knox's Presbyterian Church, Centennial Historical Committee, *Knox's, for the extension of the Redeemer's Kingdom: the Story of Knox's Presbyterian Church of Galt* (N.p.: n.p., 1969) 5-6.

⁶ G. Smellie, *Memoir of the Rev. John Bayne, D.D.* (Toronto: James Campbell and Son, 1871) 23.

⁷ Smellie 30.

⁸ Smellie 18-19.

While his fame grew as an acknowledged leader of the Free Church, and while one of his biographies reads like a hagiography,⁹ it is comforting to know that Bayne was also a pastor and very much a human being. He is still remembered with pride and affection by all who love the history of Knox's Church in Galt Cambridge, especially for some of his innovations. For example, while in Edinburgh he had worked with interest in the new Sunday School movement. At the establishment of Knox's Church, he instituted the program in Galt, apparently one of the first in Canada. He was committed to the ministry in Galt, turning down a call from the large congregation of Côté Street in Montréal. At the death of Principal Esson of Knox College, the Free Church Synod urged Bayne to accept the appointment, but this he also declined.

As a pastor he gave instruction to young people, led prayer meetings, visited the sick and sat with those who were dying. An indication of his compassion remains in one of his few surviving writings, a poem entitled "A Mother's Lament for her Withered Flower," written after the death of a child in his congregation.

When he preached, which he loved to do, he spoke with conviction, firmly declaring what he believed. His sermon preparations apparently were done in this way:

He would lie down on the sofa for hours together ruminating on his subject; then get up in haste, taking writing materials, and jot down what he had cogitated, ample space being left on the paper for interlineations and additions, during further meditation [. . .]. He might be seen with his sermon before him, his pencil in hand, and his tobacco pipe, to which he was excessively addicted, in his mouth, conning over his theme until the hour of service arrived.¹⁰

Add to this that Dr. Bayne was not known for punctuality, often being late for worship. Whether he was late or on time, the service would often go on for over three hours with two-thirds of that time given to the sermon. The fact that the congregation at Galt increased steadily during his ministry attests to his preaching skills, and to a love of learning, and perhaps patience, in the congregation.

Geikie writes, "Taken altogether, I believe he never had his equal as a preacher in the colony; but he almost scorned 'popularity' in any form or from any quarter. As a debater, he had every qualification: a manly presence, a good voice, a ready utterance, unflinching logic, keen sarcasm, great pathos, vehement invective, exceeding quickness, and above all, intense honesty."¹¹

Bayne, for all the loftiness that history has given him, enjoyed the presence of children. He would watch them and talk softly to them, and he would wonder at the person a child was to become. He listened to youths and found them fascinating. "He was fond of young people, greatly given to hospitality, and very liberal to the poor."¹² Although Bayne never married, he also very much enjoyed the company of women. "A bachelor ('safe,' as he used to say, 'until I am sixty, but after that age no man can be

⁹ The author's own opinion of Smellie's biography.

¹⁰ Smellie 58-59.

¹¹ Geikie 7.

¹² Geikie 7.

accounted for'), he was fond of the society of the other sex, and carried himself amongst women with all the courtesy of a cavalier. With ladies who knew him well, he was a great favourite; for, while he loved to quiz them, they felt that he honoured them."¹³

Even before his involvement with the Free Church in Canada, Bayne had a strong missionary zeal. He travelled the area around Galt to found new congregations. The present congregations of Paris Presbyterian Church (founded 1836), Duff's Presbyterian Church south of Guelph (1837), Knox Presbyterian Church Crieff (1840), Knox United Church, Ayr (1842), Doon Presbyterian Church (1851), St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Kitchener (1854), and St. Andrew's Hespeler Presbyterian Church in Cambridge (1855), owe their existence, in whole or in part, to this man's tireless work of promoting the gospel of Jesus Christ. (Those congregations founded before the formation of the Free Church all became part of that denomination, following their founder.)

However, if he had a passion apart from the gospel it was a love of horses, on which he declared himself to be an expert, and a love of speed. One story told by Geikie gives an insight into another side of Bayne:

I got out of the "bush," and found myself on the main road, close to an inn. Here I met three ministers, of whom one was Mr. Bayne. Green tea was then the universal beverage in the country, and after tea my three companions got into their wagon and we all set off in the same direction. I remember their vehicle to this hour. It was the old fashioned hickory-sprung wagon, then thought good enough for anybody. Mr. Bayne was driver, though not owner, for he was very fond of both riding and driving [. . .]. The road was of the old-fashioned Canadian sort, nowhere macadamised, or gravelled, or planked, but simply "graded" with patches of "corduroy" at the wet spots. The moon was bright, the air warm, and the company in the wagon so diverting that the ride was one of the pleasantest I can recall. Mr. Bayne was in splendid spirits, and had conceived the design of frightening the owner of the wagon, who, as I discovered, was holding on with both hands, and, in a remittent way, helplessly remonstrating with his companion for his style of driving. Remonstrance was useless: all that came of it was that at the very next patch of "corduroy" the horse was touched up and sent over it at a rate which made wheels, seats, wooden springs and passengers fly about more wildly than before. I suggested that a few more performances like the last would leave them all in the road. The answer Mr. Bayne made was, "Very likely, but the wagon isn't mine!"¹⁴

Regarding his love for horses and riding, it was Bayne's custom to leave the road and take his journeys across country, jumping the fences as they came. Geikie relates another story in which a member of Knox's congregation saw Bayne riding toward him at a greater speed than normal, having lost control of his horse. As the preacher careened by, the man shouted, "Whaur are ye gaun, sir?" Bayne laughed and replied, "Why John,

¹³ Geikie 7.

¹⁴ Geikie 4.

that's the very thing I don't know myself."¹⁵ "One man even left the congregation because the minister rode so fast, muttering something about 'cruelty to dumb brutes.'"¹⁶

It was his unflagging service for the Church, and certainly his many journeys on rough roads and in all kinds of inclement weather, and perhaps also his love of speed, that helped bring about the decline of Bayne's health. In 1853 he was severely ill, and although he survived this illness, his health never fully recovered.

As Galt grew into an industrial centre, Bayne became convinced that an evening service was needed in the city. For a time, he conducted both morning and evening services, but found them wearing. When his health took a turn for the worse, he offered to resign his charge and considered moving to Australia, but his congregation preferred to keep him and asked the Presbytery to obtain an assistant for him. The Rev. Archibald Cunningham Geikie, minister in Berlin (Kitchener), and writer of one of the monographs on Bayne's life, was called to Galt to lead the evening services while Bayne continued to preach in the mornings.

On 3 November 1859, Bayne was prepared to go to fill the pulpit of the Rev. Mr. Maclean at Knox, Crieff, for a service of Thanksgiving, but felt a wave of weakness and went to his bed. After the service at Knox's Church, Geikie dropped by and spoke with him briefly. A little while later, he looked in on Bayne and was shocked to find that he had died in his sleep. The Rev. Dr. John Bayne was not yet fifty-three years of age.

At the close of his life, talks were proceeding between the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church, a union to be finalized less than two years later.

A few days before he died, [Bayne] expressed himself as having left the older portion of the Presbyterian Church in the colony with deep regret, and he very deliberately added, that if it were in his power, he would at once reunite with that older church. He was anxious for union, but his wish was to have union with the ecclesiastical body he had been constrained to forsake in 1844; this first, and any others afterwards.¹⁷

He would have been overjoyed to see the union of the Presbyterian Churches that was accomplished in 1875.

It is said that the attendance at the funeral of the Rev. Dr. John Bayne was far greater than the population of Galt. People gathered on verandahs and sidewalks all along the route of the hearse to the Presbyterian burying grounds. The hearse was followed by elders and office bearers of Knox's Church, Bayne's closest friends, all the members of the Presbytery of Hamilton, and by Principal Willis of Knox College, Toronto, and other friends and dignitaries. It was a fitting remembrance for a man who had a powerful influence on the church in and around Galt, and who was instrumental in the founding and development of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

¹⁵ Geikie 6.

¹⁶ Geikie 6.

¹⁷ Geikie 11.

Differing Mission Strategies behind Canadian Covenanters

Eldon Hay

In Canada, the Reformed Presbyterian (RP) or Covenanter movement was founded in three regions: 1) New Brunswick/Nova Scotia (1820s and 1830s); 2) Ontario/Quebec (1830s); and 3) Western Canada (early 1900s). The denomination has a continued existence in a few small congregations in Ontario/Quebec. In this paper I look at mission strategies in all three; but preeminently in the first two; that is New Brunswick/Nova Scotia and Ontario/Quebec. The matter is considered under three headings:

- I. American contacts and Mission Board initiatives.
- II. Mission Board strategies: comparisons and contrasts.
- III. Conclusions.

I. American Contacts and Mission Board Initiatives

In the three areas of Canada there were scattered Covenanters, but in almost all cases visiting American clergy brought some initial cohesion and possibility of growth. In the Maritimes, for instance, the Covenanter story begins in Saint John, New Brunswick. There in the early 1800s, a group of Covenanters were undoubtedly worshipping together. "Application having been made to the Northern Presbytery [of the American RP Synod], by church members resident" in the city of Saint John,

for the dispensation of ordinances, the Rev. Messrs. James R. and S. M. Willson were sent on a mission to that region in 1821. They found seven families certified from the Church in Britain. These were organized into a fellowship meeting [. . .]. Letters were written by the missionaries to members of the Scottish and Irish Synods, informing them of the organized society and of the numerous scattered families, and requesting attention to them.¹

The brothers Willson wrote in 1821. In 1823 the Irish synod established the Missionary Society of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Ireland,² but the chief

¹ *Reformation Principles Exhibited by the Reformed Presbyterian Church, in the United States of America* (New York, 1835) 167-8; W. M. Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America* (Baltimore, 1888) 165-6.

² The beginnings were made earlier: Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Ireland in 1820 resolved "that a minister and a layman attend the next meeting of the regular Synodical Committee for the purpose of

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concern was still missions in the Old World—money was expended, for instance, to support the Covenanter cause in Liverpool. It was not until 1825 that the synod enjoined each presbytery to seek out missionary volunteers to answer the call from New Brunswick.³ Finally, the 1821 letter of the brothers Willson resulted in "the Rev. Mr. Clark being [. . .] sent," in 1827, first to Saint John, then to Amherst, NS, in 1828.⁴ Rev. Alexander Clarke visited the American Synod in 1831, the first Canadian-based clergyman to attend an American Synod meeting.⁵ On his way back from synod, he met "the Rev. Mr. Sommerville [who, coming from Ulster was] sent to the same field of labour," landing in Saint John in 1831, but a few years later going to Horton, NS.⁶

In Ontario and Quebec (then called Upper Canada and Lower Canada respectively), initial ministerial contact was made with scattered Covenanters by American clergy. Upper Canada was closer to American RP assistance; and the first three recorded RP missionary clergy came from south of the border for visits to that province. The first was Rev. Robert McKee (1798-1840),⁷ who visited Lanark County early in 1830; second, Rev. James Milligan (1785-1862),⁸ then of Ryegate, Vermont,⁹ visited Lochiel in Glengarry County and Ramsay in Lanark County in 1830. At Ramsay, Milligan "organized the members into a congregation; admitted several others into the communion of the church; and preached on the first and second Sabbaths of July, on the latter of which he dispensed the Lord's Supper to 28 Communicants, with the usual week-day sermons."¹⁰ In October of 1831, the third missionary visited Lanark county: Mr. Symmes (1801-1874), "a probationer from the Reformed Synod in the States, preached in Ramsay three Sabbaths."¹¹

In fact, considerable thought was given by Lanark County RPs to the possibility of looking to American RPs for permanent clergy. Two things stood in the way. One, financial resources were scarce in Upper Canada, though it was felt that should "one of the preachers, expected from the States [. . .] come, [that] influence would very

forming themselves into a Missionary Society for the sending of the Gospel to places destitute of the same, and that Society to be called 'The Missionary Society of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Ireland.'" Cited by Adam Loughridge, *The Covenanters in Ireland: A History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church* (Belfast: Cameron Press, 1984) 5.

³ *Statement of the Constitution and Proceedings of the Reformed Presbyterian Home and Foreign Missionary Society, First Established in 1823, and Re-Modelled, According to Appointment of Synod* (Belfast, 1828).

⁴ Eldon Hay, *The Chignecto Covenanters: A Regional History of Reformed Presbyterians in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, 1827-1905* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1996).

⁵ The Synod met in Philadelphia in August 1831, *Minutes of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod, 1809-1833*: 179, 188.

⁶ *Reformation Principles* 168; Glasgow, *History* 171.

⁷ "Reformed Presbyterians in Canada," *Scottish Presbyterian* 1 (Mar. 1835): 26. For further information on McKee, see Glasgow, *History* 559.

⁸ Glasgow, *History* 630-2.

⁹ *Reformation Principles* 168, where it is claimed that Milligan visited Lower Canada; Glasgow, *History* 187 and 630.

¹⁰ "Reformed Presbyterians in Canada" 26.

¹¹ "Reformed Presbyterians in Canada" 26.

considerably further the object contemplated."¹² The second factor proved more daunting. The American RP church and its clergy were convulsed in the early 1830s in a controversy which would lead to an actual schism in 1833 between Old School Covenanters and New School Covenanters (The New School opting for a more liberal compromise with the state—allowing voting and holding civil office—the Old School standing by previous standards disallowing these practices.). "During the excitement consequent upon this [controversy], the Covenanter[s] [. . .] in [Upper] Canada received no further supplies of preaching."¹³ So recourse was made to the Scots RP Synod and missionaries sent out by them.

In 1831, the Scots Reformed Presbyterian Synod "virtually declared itself a *Missionary Society*, and became pledged to *new and more vigorous* efforts, for extending the kingdom of the Messiah,"¹⁴ though it would be 1833 before its first missionary was sent to Upper Canada. As we have seen, the brothers Willson wrote to both Irish and Scots Synods about the situation in New Brunswick in 1821; but the Irish Synod alone responded, if somewhat tardily. Clearly, the Irish Synod's missionary effort pre-dates the Scots.¹⁵ Indeed, the Scots Synod resolved "that a donation of £20 should be granted to the synod in Ireland, to assist in carrying on their missionary exertions in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick,"¹⁶ before the founding of their own Scots Mission society.

In the early 1830s, the old world synods divided the mission: "the Irish will cultivate Nova Scotia and New Brunswick," the Scots will cultivate "the Canadas."¹⁷ By the time of its establishment in 1831, the Scots Missionary Society had clearly received representations from Upper Canada,¹⁸ undoubtedly Lanark County.¹⁹ A couple of years

¹² "Reformed Presbyterians in Canada" 25-6.

¹³ Robert Shields, "The R.P. Congregation of Ramsay, Canada," *Our Banner* 4 (15 Feb. 1877): 38.

¹⁴ *First Report of the Missionary Society in connection with the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland, Adopted February 28, 1833, Scottish Presbyterian Magazine* 2 (Sept. 1850), at the back of the volume, 1-7. The Missionary Society (later called the Committee on Missions), published an annual report. The following are extant: First - 1833; Second - 1834; Sixth - 1838; *Report of the Synod's Committee on Foreign Missions, July 9th, 1845*; and *Report of the Synod's Committee on Foreign Missions, 1846-47*. Efforts to locate the third, fourth, and fifth reports have been unsuccessful. There were no reports for 1839 to 1844, and none after 1847.

¹⁵ "The Synod of the Reformed Church in Ireland too—though consisting of fewer members than the Scottish Synod—had several years before, successfully established a mission among the settlers in the inhospitable regions of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick" (*First Report of the Missionary Society* (1833): 3).

¹⁶ *First Report of the Missionary Society* (1833): 3.

¹⁷ Letter from Rev. Alexander McLeod (1774-1833) (leading American RP minister visiting Ireland and Scotland, written from Aberdeen) to James R. Willson (fellow leading American RP clergyman in America), 4 May 1830: "The Scottish Synod have formed a Missionary Association for England & the Canadas. The Irish will cultivate Nova Scotia & New Brunswick, both in union with our American exertions. We will, thus, have our three churches in the neighbourhood of each other" (David Carson, letter to the author, 7 Nov. 1988).

¹⁸ *First Report of the Missionary Society* (1833): 2, where it is specifically noted that "in 1831, the committee received instructions to make immediate inquiry, whether any of the preachers in connection with the Synod [. . .] was willing to accept an appointment [. . .] as a missionary to Canada."

later, representations were forthcoming from Lower Canada, specifically from Megantic²⁰ and Pontiac counties.²¹

The Committee on Missions wished to commence a "Mission to Upper Canada,"²² but a suitable candidate was not immediately at hand. Then, James M'Lachlan (1798-1864)²³ volunteered to be a missionary.²⁴ M'Lachlan's designation as missionary took place in Edinburgh, 10 July 1833.²⁵ Just before he left to go to Ramsay in Upper Canada, the Missions Committee received a communication from Megantic County in Lower Canada.²⁶ So the Committee "ordered Mr. M'Lachlan to visit the townships [of Inverness, Halifax and New Ireland in County Megantic], on his landing in Quebec, and preach for a short time to the people before he proceeded to [. . .] Upper Canada."²⁷

When he arrived in Quebec,²⁸ Rev. M'Lachlan preached several times in Megantic County,²⁹ then left Montreal on 4 September, arriving at Ramsay in Lanark County on 13 September 1833. Since there had been no public ordinances in Lanark for three years, many had fallen by the wayside; so Mr. M'Lachlan's "arrival was a great joy to the few who still adhered to the Testimony of the [RP] Church."³⁰ M'Lachlan then embarked upon a missionary career, centring in Ramsay, but extending west to Toronto and Hamilton, and eastward to Pontiac and Megantic Counties. We know a good deal about

¹⁹ Shields 38. On the same page, Shields notes that in 1831 the Ramsay prayer society "authorized Mr. James Waddell [. . .] to write to the Committee of the R.P. Synod, in Scotland, and ask that a minister should be sent to them."

²⁰ *Scottish Presbyterian* 1 (Jan. 1836): 114: "On the 10th July, 1833, there was laid on the table of Committee, a copy of resolutions passed at a meeting held in the Township of Inverness, Lower Canada, on the 13th day of January the same year, together with a petition founded on these resolutions, subscribed by 38 individuals, residing in the Townships of Inverness, Halifax, and New Ireland, in the County of Megantic, Lower Canada, earnestly praying for a Missionary from the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland, to preach among them the everlasting gospel."

²¹ "Foreign," *Scottish Presbyterian* 1 (Sept. 1835): 77: Precise date not given, but "since the meeting of Synod in April [1835] last, the Committee on Missions have received the following petition:—"To the Moderator and remanent members of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Scotland; the petition of the undersigned inhabitants of the Townships of Bristol, Clarendon, and Litchfield [County of Pontiac] [. . .]."

²² *Second Report of the Committee on Missions in connection with the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland, May, 1834*: 1.

²³ Glasgow, *History* 606-7. The name M'Lachlan is variously rendered, by Glasgow as 'MacLachlane', by others McLachlan, etc. I have used 'M'Lachlan', the Scots RP Reports use it, and apparently it was the way the man signed his own name.

²⁴ *Second Report* (1834): 1-2.

²⁵ *Second Report* (1834): 2.

²⁶ *Second Report* (1834): 3.

²⁷ *Second Report* (1834): 3.

²⁸ *Second Report* (1834): 3.

²⁹ M'Lachlan gives an account of his labours just completed in Megantic County, in a letter written from Quebec, 29 Aug. 1833, found as Appendix II in the *Second Report* (1834).

³⁰ "Reformed Presbyterians in Canada," *Scottish Presbyterian* 1 (Mar. 1835): 27.

this missionary activity, because M'Lachlan was a prodigious letter-writer. A very busy missionary, M'Lachlan had his hands full in Upper Canada,³¹ yet he also made forays into Quebec, especially into Pontiac County.

The Quebec Covenanters in Megantic County were again heard from, by the Scots Committee, in 1835.³² The Synod's Committee was finally able to respond to these pleas from Lower Canada; early in 1837 it was announced that James Geggie (1793-1863) "had consented to go [. . .] as a Missionary."³³ But whereas M'Lachlan's career was long and distinguished, Geggie's sojourn as a Covenanter in Lower Canada, from 1837 to 1840, was short and very disappointing.³⁴ There can be little doubt that James M'Lachlan was the earliest Scots Covenanter missionary, the longest serving, and perhaps the most able.³⁵

In Western Canada: there were three Canadian congregations: Content/Delburne, Alberta; Regina, Saskatchewan; and Winnipeg, Manitoba. In the first two, it is quite clear that mission personnel from the American Synod were instrumental in establishing Covenanter communities.

Content/Delburne was the site of Covenanter activity in the early 1900s.³⁶ The first Covenanter family in the region were the Ulster-born Campbells³⁷—three brothers, who "moved a lot—the Covenanter congregations with whom they had been involved were Lake Reno, Minnesota [. . .] Denison, Kansas," and Long Branch, Iowa.³⁸ The chief spokesperson of the Covenanter Campbells was the first brother to arrive, Clark (1850-1917). He wrote a letter published in an RP paper, in March 1905. Clark was bidding other Covenanters to follow his lead and come to the area. Among other things he wrote: "I would like to say to any Covenanters who think of looking for a home in Canada, that

³¹ As some of his letters note, M'Lachlan visited Toronto and Hamilton, in what is now Western Ontario.

³² "Foreign. Canada," *Scottish Presbyterian* 1 (Jan. 1836): 114. Townships of Inverness, Halifax, and New Ireland in the County of Megantic are involved. "More than two years have now elapsed since Mr. M'Lauchlan visited the petitioners, and still they are looking with the deepest anxiety for a minister from the Reformed Presbyterian Church" ("Foreign. Canada" 114).

³³ Committee on Missions, "Meeting of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod in Scotland," *Scottish Presbyterian* 1 (July 1837): 287.

³⁴ Eldon Hay, "The Reformed Presbyterians of Quebec," *The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History, Papers 1996*, ed. Paul Laverdure (Montreal, QC: The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History, 1996): 10-33.

³⁵ The other Upper Canadian missionaries were Thomas M'Keachie (1810-1840), who served very briefly in Upper Canada (1843-44) before his untimely death ("M'Keachie, Thomas," "Cameronian Fasti," *Reformed Heritage: Studies in Presbyterian Church History*, ed. James Robb [Edinburgh: J. Robb, 1977] 18); and John M'Lachlan (no relation of James's) (ca. 1805-1870), who served in the RP cause in Upper Canada from 1847 to 1851, demitting after four years of service ("M'Lachlan, John," "Cameronian Fasti," 19).

³⁶ Eldon Hay, "Covenanters in Alberta," *Canadian Society of Church History: Historical Papers 1994*: 165-91.

³⁷ Their widowed mother had emigrated from County Antrim, Ireland, with eight children, ca. 1852 (Jean Campbell Sibbald, letter to the author, 5 May 1994).

³⁸ Sibbald. W.M. Glasgow's *Reformed Presbyterian Record* ([Pittsburgh], 1902) 396 has Clark Campbell as elder in Denison, KS; David and James Campbell as elders in Lake Reno, MN; and James Campbell as elder in Long Branch, IA.

they ought to give this country a visit."³⁹ Campbell was also in touch with the Central Board of Missions of the American RP Synod.

In Content, AB, for the next few years, missionary activity was carried on under the aegis of the Central Board of Missions.⁴⁰ Later, the same missionary endeavour was sponsored by Colorado Presbytery.⁴¹ It was during the stay of Rev. Byron Melancthon Sharp (1847-1930) that "the Content RP Mission was organized into a congregation," 25 March 1910.⁴² The name of Content was later changed to Delburne.⁴³

Covenanter work in Regina began in earnest some time before 1910. In that year, Colorado Presbytery was granted a sum of \$800 for the work in Regina.⁴⁴ Rev. William John McKnight (1865-1951) visited in May 1910 and, after describing the area, opined that "it is not to be wondered at that a country of such a description should succeed in inducing some Covenanters to cross the line [from the USA]."⁴⁵ The family of James Smith Bell (1848-1912) already figures in these early Regina Covenanter reports.⁴⁶ Rev. William Cochran Allen (1874-1933), conducted the first communion season there in the same year: "so far as we know, it was the first Covenanter conventicle observed in the Province of Saskatchewan, and we hope it is the first fruit of an abundant harvest to follow."⁴⁷ On 20 May 1911, the congregation was formally organized under Rev. Thomas Melville Slater (1869-1951), acting as a commissioner of Colorado Presbytery.⁴⁸

³⁹ C[lark] Campbell, letter, "Penhold, Alberta," *Christian Nation* 29 Mar. 1905: 13.

⁴⁰ In 1906 the Central Board appointed Rev. Thomas Melville Slater (1869-1951) to visit the area: "Rev. T. M. Slater, by appointment of the Board, visited this field in August, 1906" ("Central Board of Missions Report," *Minutes of the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America [Synod Minutes RPCNA]* (Pittsburgh, 1907): 40). Later, the Board appointed Rev. William McFarland (1844-1938) to settle for a time in Content ("Report of the Central Board of Missions," *Synod Minutes RPCNA* (Pittsburgh, 1907): 40). He was followed by Rev. Wilbur John McBurney (1874-1858) ("Report of Central Board of Missions," *Synod Minutes RPCNA* (Pittsburgh, 1908): 78), then Rev. John McLaughlin Armour (1825-1917) ("Report of Central Board of Missions," *Synod Minutes RPCNA* (Pittsburgh, 1908): 78).

⁴¹ The Colorado Presbytery sponsored Rev. Thomas James Allen (1848-1924); see "Content, Alberta," *Christian Nation* 20 Oct. 1909: 11. Rev. Byron Melancthon Sharp (1847-1930) came to live in November 1909 and stayed until May 1910. Rev. Isaiah Faris (1846-1930) spent a short time in Content, from July 1910 until 30 April 1911.

⁴² "New Covenanter Congregation," *Christian Nation* 13 Apr. 1910: 11; and B. M. Sharp, "Church Letters: Content Mission," *Christian Nation* 18 May 1910: 9.

⁴³ With the coming of the railroad and a post office, the new town of Delburne was established in 1911: "Delburne is to have its own post-office. The post-office, formerly known as Gaetz Valley, will be transferred to the new town the first of June [1911], and the name changed to Delburne" (*Red Deer Advocate* 2 June 1911: 4). This led, a decade later, to a name change of the *congregation* from Content to Delburne Reformed Presbyterian. The change in the name of the congregation was officially made in 1922: "Central Canada Presbytery Minutes," 19 May 1922.

⁴⁴ "Report of Domestic Mission Conference," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1910): 133.

⁴⁵ W. J. McKnight, "Work in Regina," *Christian Nation* 18 May 1910: 16. McKnight came 1 May 1910, and stayed a short time.

⁴⁶ W. J. McKnight, "The Work in Canada," *Christian Nation* 29 June 1910: 6.

⁴⁷ W. C. Allen, "Letter from Regina, Canada," *Christian Nation* 21 Dec. 1910: 11. Allen came for a short time in late 1910.

⁴⁸ T. M. Slater, "Regina, Canada," *Christian Nation* 5 July 1911: 10. Slater spent a short time in Regina in early 1911.

In Regina, "transplanted Iowans made up the original congregation."⁴⁹ Rev. Paul Coleman (1884-1955), serving as a licentiate in Regina, commented that "except for the discussion of Canadian politics, one might almost imagine himself in Iowa."⁵⁰

In 1911, the Domestic Mission Conference recommended that

owing to the encouraging outlook in Regina, Winnipeg [. . .] and other points in the North and West, the Conference recommends that Synod appoint a Home Mission Secretary to look for openings in new fields, and report to the Central Board the possibilities of establishing permanent congregations in these fields [. . .]. The Conference recommends that the Central Board be authorized to enter new and peculiarly promising fields, and to expend so much money, as is their judgement, may seem wise.⁵¹

The Synod took up the matter and Rev. John Slater Thompson (1858-1940) was appointed Home Mission Secretary. It seems clear that the Home Mission Secretary was working largely, though not exclusively,⁵² as a missionary in points North and West, some of which points, were, incidentally, in Canada—Content/Delburne and Regina. And, a bit later, Winnipeg.

Winnipeg's founding differed quite markedly from both Content/Delburne and Regina. Content/Delburne had its Clark Campbell and his American associates; Regina had James Smith Bell and his fellow Iowans. Winnipeg had neither—instead, they had persons from Ulster. Winnipeg seems to be sole exception to the dictum that Canadian communities were energized, if not organized by American initiative. This is hardly the case with Winnipeg. Certainly, the first recorded visit to that city was made by the American, Rev. William Cochran Allen, who had previously been to Content/Delburne and Regina. "I think it very strange that I did not find one Covenanter from the States nor from Scotland [. . .] [but I did] find about twenty persons [. . .] who had been members of our Church in Belfast, Ireland."⁵³ Among those Allen found was layman Samuel Richard McKelvey (*ca* 1876-1950) who was to gather the first Covenanters together there; and who was to prove such a strong and stalwart force in much Winnipeg Reformed Presbyterian history. He became one of the first elders when the congregation was organized, 23 October 1914.

⁴⁹ Robert M. More, Jr., *Aurora Borealis: A History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Canada (Covenanter) 1820-1967* (Pittsburgh: Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America, Board of Education and Publication, 1967) 47.

⁵⁰ Paul Coleman, "Impressions of Regina," *Christian Nation* 13 Sept. 1911: 11.

⁵¹ *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1911): 118-20.

⁵² Thompson "served as Home Mission Secretary of the Church at large from 1911 to 1913" (Owen F. Thompson, *Sketches of the Ministers of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America, 1888 to 1930* ([Blanchard, IA, 1930]) 335.

⁵³ Thomas Patton, "Winnipeg," *Christian Nation* 11 Nov. 1914: 6.

The three Western congregations—Delburne, Regina and Winnipeg—together with Lake Reno (Minnesota) formed a presbytery in 1917—its name The Central Canada Presbytery. It requested its own dissolution in 1934.⁵⁴

II. Mission Board Strategies: Comparisons and Contrasts

The Irish Synod had a sharp missionary focus on New Brunswick and Nova Scotia and the Scots Synod had a clear missionary focus on Upper and Lower Canada: these missionary endeavours were clearly directed to specific parts of Canada. The American Synod had a much more vague geographical area. When the Synod appointed a Home Missionary Secretary in 1911, that secretary worked largely, if not exclusively, as a missionary in points North and West, some of which points were, incidentally, in Canada—Content/Delburne, Regina and later Winnipeg. "Regina is our second congregation [Content/Delburne being the first] recently established in the Northwest Territory."⁵⁵

The American Synod's vague missionary focus stands in quite strong contrast to the Irish in Maritime Canada and the Scots in Ontario/Quebec. It is surprising to find that these two old-world Covenanter Synods had sharply divergent stances when it came to the missionary effort in Canada. There are two differences.

First, the Irish Synod made clear that missions in the new world were secondary to missions in Ireland. An 1828 statement by the Irish Synod says that efforts are "chiefly to direct the bent of the Missionary Society's exertions to the extension of Reformation principles, throughout these Covenanted lands [i.e., Britain]."⁵⁶ Home missions came first, foreign missions last—as the name of the Society ("Irish RP Home *and* Foreign Missionary Society") itself indicated. It is not surprising, therefore, that the annual reports of the Society normally placed the home mission field first, and that of the British North American colonies last. By contrast, once awakened to the missionary impulse, the Scots Synod made no such hierarchy of priorities: "from the first formation of the Society [. . .] the views of the Synod were directed to Canada, as a most inviting field for missionary labour."⁵⁷ There is no suggestion, at least in a formal sense, that the Canada mission was secondary.

The *second* difference is in some respects a reverse of the first. The Irish Synod sent out its missionaries, kept strong ties with them, and financially supported them consistently, if not generously: the mission was underwritten over the long haul. On the other hand, the Scottish Synod sent out its missionaries, but told them to swim quickly for there would be no continuing life-line from Scotland. A clear letter was written by Stewart Bates (1794-1856), the Secretary of the Scots Mission Board, which accompanied the first missionary. That letter offered this pointed advice to the Canadians greeting and hosting that first Scots missionary:

⁵⁴ Regina disappeared in 1933, Delburne in 1941, Winnipeg in 1967. See Eldon Hay, "The Central Canada Presbytery: Prospects, Perplexities, Problems," *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1998), ed. Bruce L. Guenther 29-43.

⁵⁵ "T.M. Slater, "Regina, Canada," *Christian Nation* 5 July 1911: 10.

⁵⁶ *Statement of the RP Home and Foreign Missionary Society* (Belfast, 1828) 15.

⁵⁷ Stewart Bates, *Address to the Reformed Presbyterians and Other Christians in British America* (Edinburgh, 1834). Canadian Institute of Historical Microreproductions [CIHM], 41751.

God helps them, it is said, who help themselves [. . .]. While your *supreme dependence* [. . .] should be on God, and the exalted Mediator; your *next* should be on your own exertions. For some time to come, it will probably be a matter of unavoidable necessity, that ministers should be sent to you by churches existing in other lands. But in regard to the *support* of those who labour among you, we have the firmest persuasion, that *wherever it is practicable, it should be chiefly or entirely furnished by yourselves* [. . .]. Its [Canada's] own inhabitants are [to be] awakened to some appropriate exertions in providing religious ordinances for themselves. If we are not greatly mistaken in our judgment of *the signs of the times*, every other source of supply will prove INADEQUATE, TEMPORARY, and PRECARIOUS.⁵⁸

The Covenanters in the Maritimes formed a presbytery, the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia presbytery, in 1832. Because of distance from Covenanter congregations in the USA, it looked to Ulster for support, both financial and to fill the pulpits. Attempts to raise up an indigenous clergy were not entirely fruitless, but very weak.

In 1847/1848, one part of the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia presbytery—the Covenanter congregations of Westmorland County in NB and Cumberland County in NS—split, mirroring the earlier 1833 schism in the United States. Their mother Synod was then the Reformed Presbyterian (New Light) Synod in the USA. This new schismatic group, forming the Eastern Presbytery in 1859, turned to the United States for clergy assistance and, to some extent at least, this happened. Moreover the New Light Eastern Presbytery was more successful than the Old Light New Brunswick and Nova Scotia presbytery in raising up Canadian-born clergy.⁵⁹

It is not entirely surprising that the Irish Synod held on to its presbytery in the Maritimes until 1879. At that time it handed over its work, a bit reluctantly, to the American Synod. True, William Sommerville (1800-1878) had long held tenaciously to the Irish Synod, obviously supported by his Nova Scotia congregations.⁶⁰ As soon as Sommerville died in 1878, Rev. Alexander McLeod Stavely (1816-1903) of Saint John, who had long-favoured the American connection, speedily led the Maritime congregations into the American Synod fold.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Bates 9-11.

⁵⁹ Hay, *Chignecto Covenanters* 46-102.

⁶⁰ The successor of Rev. William Sommerville was Rev. Thomas McFall (1848-1929), who came to Cornwallis in 1881. While McFall was still working in Philadelphia, the Covenanter churches in Canada were transferred from the Irish to the American synod. The following comment comes from McFall family tradition: "[This transfer] didn't bother most of them [the Canadians] too much, but the people in the churches around Grand Pré were furious, as they were almost all of pre-Loyalist stock [. . .] but they didn't like the U.S.—period. They finally agreed to go along with it [only] if they could have an old-country minister. [Rev. Thomas McFall] was the only one among the young ministers who filled the bill, so [. . .] in 1881 he was sent to Nova Scotia" (Alice Marjorie Carr McFall, "The McFall Family," [ca. 1970] 1-3, 12). Alice Marjorie Carr McFall is a daughter-in-law of Rev. Thomas McFall.

⁶¹ The actual move took some negotiation between Irish and American synods, the transfer becoming effective on 2 June 1879: "Transfer of N.B. and N.S. Presb. to U.S. Synod," *Covenanter* 12 (Aug. 1879): 266.

By contrast, in Upper Canada, both Canadian congregations and the Committee of Missions in Scotland were wearying of the relationship by the late 1840s. The New World RPs kept petitioning for more clergy. The Scots committee was less than enthusiastic: "The Committee do not entertain any strong opinion on the subject [of sending more missionaries]."⁶² Was there a way out? What about the Upper Canadian RPs joining with the American RPs? The Canadians suggested it first, and the Scots applauded the transfer of the Ontario congregations to the American synod in 1851. At the Synod that year, the Committee on Missions looked back on its efforts, and noted the changes that had transpired:

It was the understanding of the Committee from the beginning, that temporary assistance only should be allowed to the missionaries proceeding to Canada." [The course of events for a considerable time past,] "has led your committee to the conclusion that it would be better on many accounts were the societies, and also the united congregations under the care of Rev. James M'Lachlan, placed in ecclesiastical connexion with the Reformed Presbyterian Church of the United States [. . .]. Such a result, the Committee, and it is believed, the entire church in this country, would greatly rejoice."⁶³

The Ontario Covenanters were closer geographically to the United States, and kept looking there, having never, or not yet, formed a Canadian-based presbytery.

III. Conclusions

First, in the Maritimes and in the West, Covenanters did not become truly or sufficiently Canadian. Obviously, the Canadian system of government is different from that of the United States or that of Ulster.⁶⁴ Historically, those coming from Ulster and those coming from the United States did not always appreciate that. So what is the distinctive stand of Covenanters in Canada, for Canadians? In 1885, Rev. George Kennedy (d. 1918), professor of Greek at Geneva College, made a trip to Nova Scotia, at the behest of the Central Board of Missions of the American Synod: he was to prepare "a report for the information of the church." Kennedy writes: "A member of the church at Horton expressed to me a wish that some one would take in hand an examination of the Constitution of the Dominion for the sake of the church in Canada."⁶⁵ Kennedy didn't try, but I take it that the member at Horton didn't try either.

Secondly, Kennedy wrote, "The church [in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia] bears the marks of its existence as a mission. It was in the year 1878 [*sic*: 1879], that the

⁶² "Mission to Canada," "Report of the Committee on Foreign Missions," *Scottish Presbyterian Magazine* 2 (June 1849): 204.

⁶³ "Canada Mission," "Twenty-First Report of the Synod's Committee on Foreign Missions," *Scottish Presbyterian Magazine* 3 (June 1851): 208-09.

⁶⁴ See Shelley Bond, "Some Differences Between Canadians and Americans," *Covenanter Witness* (Nov. 1988): 5.

⁶⁵ George Kennedy, "The Church in the Maritime Provinces," *Reformed Presbyterian and Covenanter* 24 (June 1886): 178.

Presbytery of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia became a part of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America. Up to that time it was a principal part of the Colonial Mission of the Church in Ireland."⁶⁶ It was possibly a combination of the tough love attitude of the Scots Synod to its Ontario daughter missions—its desire and demand that Canadian missions survive on their own—and the proximity of that Ontario mission to the United States, that the church has survived in Ontario. Although the Ontario Covenanters have never, not yet, formed their own Canadian presbytery, the existence of the Ottawa Theological Hall, founded in 1982, is significant.⁶⁷ One may look forward soon to an all-Canadian or largely-Canadian presbytery.

Thirdly, Kennedy wrote, "members are scattered over a great extent of country. It is not that the congregations are far apart, but seldom will one find congregations in which the members are farther from the church building and from each other."⁶⁸ Kennedy thought that attendance of more delegates to Synod would help and there were a few other stratagems mentioned. It is hard to improve on the words of then Barnesville student M. K. Carson in 1918: "There are some congregations in the Church [in Canada] about which very little is known. It is not because these congregations are not witnessing for Christ, that they are not known. It is not because they are not interested in the work of the Church and salvation of souls, but it is because these congregations are practically isolated."⁶⁹ Isolation, the bane of Covenanters everywhere, led to its demise in New Brunswick/Nova Scotia and in the West.

Finally, Kennedy found that the Nova Scotia church was not outgoing in its support of Church schemes, in brief: mission. Kennedy wrote: "The mother church in Ireland did not insist on contributions from its mission for general church work. The first settlers were not able to do much, but their children and grandchildren have become prosperous [. . .]. However [. . .] the *defect through weakness* of their fathers has become, in [too many] cases, the *habit* of their children."⁷⁰ I suspect that this grows out of a theology not clearly enunciated for the Canadian scene, the self-perception of itself as a recipient of mission rather than a source of mission. Ontario seems not to have fallen into this self deception. Its proximity to the USA was also a factor, as in Ontario/Quebec, the Covenanter movement survives and thrives.

⁶⁶ Kennedy 178.

⁶⁷ H. B. Harrington, "Ottawa Theological Hall: A History and Report," *Covenanter Witness* (Nov. 1988): 8-9: "Ottawa Theological Hall is an instrument for the revival and expansion of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in North America. There are several reasons why a Reformed Presbyterian theological seminary in Canada is useful and needed." See Eldon Hay, "Ottawa Valley Covenanters," *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1993), ed. Bruce L. Guenther 57-79.

⁶⁸ Kennedy 178.

⁶⁹ Melville K. Carson, "New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Congregations," *Christian Nation* 9 Oct. 1918: 8.

⁷⁰ Kennedy 179.

Gaelic Hymnody: An Auld World Beat with a New World Tempo

Jack C. Whytock

A neglected area of Presbyterian history has been Gaelic hymnody in both Scotland and North America. Generally, studies have focused upon the singing of psalms in the period c.1750–1850, and if there is a deviation in discussion, it would be to the *Scottish Paraphrases*. It is not really until after c.1850–1900 that serious historical studies emerge beyond psalm singing with the rise of instrumental music and hymn issues.¹ The result has thus been an assumption that there was little creativity in singing by the many Scottish Presbyterians in the period prior to the second half of the nineteenth century.² This paper is a small effort to challenge this stereotypical portrait by exploring the place and role of Gaelic hymnody amongst those of the Scottish Presbyterian tradition. I will begin with a very brief sketch of the evangelical faith in the Highlands, then proceed to select Gaelic hymn writers, first in Scotland and then in the New World. Once in the New World, I will explore the widening circle and I will conclude with select examples.

Context: Evangelical Faith in the Highlands (c.1750–1850)

Efforts to precisely define “the Highlands of Scotland” have not always resulted in unanimous definitions. It is certainly more than geology and geography. It is also that elusive matter of ethnology. Should “the Islands” be included? Where exactly is that line between “lowlands” and “highlands”? Such are the issues for definition. I will leave it to others to continue the discussions, but for the purposes of this paper, there is a common Highland trait which defines our Highland scope—the use of Gaelic and the employment of a Gaelic way of expression. And this, too, has a certain allusiveness about it!

Historians for generations now have studied the coming of the Reformation to Scotland along the Lowland/Highland divide. I feel no compulsion to challenge that method of division, but neither can I chronicle here the full story of the coming of the Reformation to the Highlands in the sixteenth century. Suffice it to say that from 1690 onwards the Church of Scotland (Reformed) continued in various ways and with varying success to extend its influence over the Highlands. Clearly what did emerge were parties, and for this paper the party which chiefly concerns us is the emergence of the evangelical movement in the Highlands from the 1750s to the 1850s. The chief study on the subject still remains John MacInnes’s *The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland*

¹ See Duncan Forrester and Douglas Murray, *Studies in the History of Worship in Scotland*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1996) 98-99 for evidence on this characterization of the second half of the nineteenth century.

² The Forrester and Murray text remains the standard text on Scottish Worship and sadly makes no mention of Gaelic hymnody. The argument that it was not part of “formal public worship” does not explain this because the book contains much on music which goes beyond public worship.

1688 to 1800.³ The chronicle he gives is straightforward. The Highland parishes grew by the employment of missionary-ministers, itinerant catechists, the teachers/schoolmasters of the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), probationers, the erection of more church buildings (e.g. after 1824 the Telfore churches), plus the publishing of Bibles, catechisms, psalters, and hymns in Gaelic. This can all be summarized by saying that this one-hundred-year period was a time of Protestant growth and consolidation of the evangelical party. It was also a time when there emerged strong evangelical ministers who assumed positions of significant leadership. Donald Meek refers to them as coming to possess “heroic status” as the tradition aged.⁴ I will mention two such leaders. Lachlan MacKenzie (1754–1819) was the parish minister of Lochcarron on the Black Isle between 1776 and 1819. He ranks as a bright light in the galaxy of renowned evangelical Highland ministers.⁵ Another was John MacDonald (1779–1849) of Ferintosh, known as the “Apostle of the North” and likened as a preacher to George Whitefield of the Great Awakening. He probably was the most popular and influential Highland preacher of the early nineteenth century.⁶

The broad characteristics of this movement were its evangelicalism and revival features, its value of the experimental or experiential, and its loyalty to the leadership. Only by properly understanding this evangelicalism and their acquaintance with revival/awakening is a context established for understanding certain features of the immigrant colonial Highland community. Donald Meek notes that these movements:

were generally known to Highlanders as *dūsɡaidhean* (“awakenings”). The Gaelic equivalent of the English word “revival” is *ath-bheothachadh*, but it is much less frequently applied to the Highland movements. The keynote of the “awakenings” was the “awakening” of unbelievers who became conscious of their need of salvation. The evidence does, however, indicate that the “revival” of those who were already believers was sometimes a prelude to an “awakening.”⁷

I cannot stress too much this aspect of Highland Protestantism from c.1750–1850 as it relates to this paper. Meek even asserts that there is a “geography” to these evangelical movements—basically an arc or band from Perthshire to Kintyre and Arran. Then after the 1820s, they are found as far north as the Outer Hebrides. This was the primary “revival route.” The second included the glens of the northern mainland and the Black Isle, then east to Banffshire, south to Perthshire, and also across to Skye and the Outer

³ John MacInnes, *The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland 1688 to 1800* (Aberdeen: The University Press, 1951). There are several other works which deal with the Highland revival movements, such as those by Alexander MacRae, Douglas Ansdell, and W. J. Couper. See Donald E. Meek, “Gaelic Bible, Revival and Mission: The Spiritual Rebirth of the Nineteenth-Century Highlands,” *The Church in the Highlands*, ed. James Kirk (Edinburgh: Scottish Church History Society, 1998): 114, footnote 1 for full bibliographic data.

⁴ Donald Meek, “Highlands,” *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology* [DSCHT], org. ed. Nigel M. de S. Cameron (Edinburgh: T.&T. Clark, 1993) 405.

⁵ J. F. McIntosh, “MacKenzie, Lachlan,” *DSCHT* 522.

⁶ R. MacLeod, “MacDonald, John,” *DSCHT* 511.

⁷ Meek, “Gaelic Bible” 118.

Hebrides. Lewis thereby became a focal point of the two revival routes as a converging point.⁸ Sociologically this evangelical Highland movement grew amidst the incredible changes which emerged from the post-Jacobite rebellions, the clearances, and the tide of immigration of the period.

What I have examined here was a movement within the confines of the Church of Scotland in the Highlands, but by the 1790s this evangelical movement was beginning also to fragment and extend beyond this with the emergence of Congregational and Baptist churches in the Highlands.⁹ These were fruit chiefly of the labours of the Haldane brothers and their preachers. They were part of the evangelical movement in the Highlands and share many features in common with those within the Church of Scotland while also representing a fracturing of the church structures.

There was one other group which I need to recognize as part of this Highland evangelical movement to set the context for what I will discuss next. This is a group known as “The Separatists.” They were loyal to the Church of Scotland and never formally left Mother Kirk yet were also somewhat aloof. They were under the leadership of “The Men.” At the Disruption some went into the Free Church, but not all. They were known for their piety, doctrinal astuteness, and experimental and evangelical faith.¹⁰

Thus, these were the strains of the main evangelical movement in the Highlands during this one-hundred-year period, c.1750–1850. The movement expressed itself in a variety of ways, one of which was through hymnic poetry. I turn now to the great Gaelic religious hymn writers within the evangelical Highland communities.

The Great Gaelic Religious Hymn Writers

The eighteenth century has been described by John MacInnes as “the golden age of Gaelic secular poetry.”¹¹ Yet as the century advanced, one could equally say this for Gaelic religious poetry of a hymnic nature. This religious poetry borrowed much from the style and forms of Gaelic secular poetry. The Highland community knew well about a bard. He was the one in the clan who wrote praise poems for the clan chief, laments and elegies, and descriptions of battles fought or incitements to battle.¹² But following 1745 there were certainly many changes in the Highlands. Kurt Wittig says that before 1745 there was little religious emphasis to be found in Gaelic poetry, but this changed in the second half of the eighteenth century.¹³ Gaelic hymnody arose at this time and became a vehicle for biblical instruction and an aid in evangelism in forms familiar to the people, thus helping in memorization. The use of popular Gaelic tunes showed a cultural adaptability, now using the familiar for a religious purpose—devotion. With the passing of each revival, one sees the experimental emerging as a consistent theme.

⁸ Meek, “Gaelic Bible” 119.

⁹ MacInnes, *Evangelical Movement* 149-153.

¹⁰ MacInnes, *Evangelical Movement* 218-219; K. R. Ross, “Separatists” *DSCHT* 768. I have not included the Seceders as a separate strain of evangelical Presbyterians in the Highlands in this period.

¹¹ MacInnes, *Evangelical Movement* 6. A helpful reference work on things Gaelic is D. S. Thomson, ed., *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993).

¹² Trevor Royle, *The MacMillan Companion to Scottish Literature* (London: Macmillan, 1984) 22.

¹³ Kurt Wittig, *The Scottish Tradition in Literature* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1958) 194.

In continuing to generalize about this Gaelic hymnic literature, we often find that it contains verse narrative of scenes from the life of Jesus Christ, a particularly constant theme being the passion. At other times the theme might be more autobiographical—telling of the writer’s own personal spiritual struggles. Thus, though they may have a very vague relationship to the *Scottish Paraphrases*, they do not conform to the convention here either. It is a scriptural canvas of a “freer” spirit, more like one telling a story.¹⁴

Two of the leading Gaelic hymn writers were Dugald Buchanan and Peter Grant.¹⁵ Buchanan (1716–1768) belonged to what Donald Meek appropriately called the “foundational stage of the evangelical movement in the Highlands.”¹⁶ In 1742 he heard George Whitefield preach at Cambuslang, although he did not claim to be converted at this point but rather two years later in 1744. In 1753 he became settled as an SPCK teacher at Kinloch Rannoch and also served as a catechist.

Buchanan’s poetry, according to Meek, does possess an indebtedness to Isaac Watts. Meek sees four prominent themes in his poetry: God’s majesty and Christ’s sufferings, judgment, repentance, and Christian warfare. Here is a sample from Buchanan’s “The Day of Judgment:”

- 1 Asunder shall the clouds be rolled,
 Like to God’s golden palace gate.
 Then shall our eyes the Judge behold
 In glorious and solemn state.

- 2 The rainbow’s splendour for His crown:
 His voice like torrents in the glen:
 His glance like lightning flashing down
 From dark clouds to affrighted men.

- 3 The sun, that bright torch of the sky,
 Shall pale before such radiant light;

The blinding flashes from His eye

¹⁴ K. D. MacDonald’s article “Hymnology, Gaelic” is a wonderful overview on this subject. See *DSCHT* 423-425.

¹⁵ I have been highly selective. There are many names I would have liked to pursue to show the breadth of the evangelical Gaelic hymn movement, such as the noteworthy Tíree Baptist Gaelic hymn writer Duncan MacDougall. See *The Songs of Duncan Ban MacIntyre*, edited by A. MacLeod (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd for the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, 1952); Duncan MacDougall, *Laoidhean Spioradail a chum cuideachadh...* (Glasgow, 1841). A noteworthy fact about Duncan MacDougall was that his sister Mary wrote the Gaelic hymn “*Leanabh an Aigh*,” now known as a Christmas carol, “Child in the Manger.” See also Donald Meek’s excellent article showing one region in the Highlands and the Gaelic literature there: Donald E. Meek, “The Gaelic Literature of Argyll,” *Laverock*, vol. 3, 1997 <<http://www.arts.gla.ac.uk/ScotLit/ASLS/Laverock-GaelicLiterature.html>> (10 September 2005).

¹⁶ Donald E. Meek, “Buchanan, Dugald,” *DSCHT* 106.

Shall hide its brilliance from our sight.¹⁷

The allusions in part may be to the book of Revelation, but there is also clearly allusion to the world of the Highlanders.

Buchanan's hymns were popular for the informal setting of the home meetings, but not for the formal worship service. This brings us to a curious reality in Gaelic evangelical piety. There was place for the set form of psalm singing but also a place for those compositions which had a different purpose. There thus starts to emerge in Gaelic Presbyterian Christianity this theme of form and freedom held together in spiritual life. We can generalize then beyond Buchanan to say that usually these Gaelic hymns were composed for the Fellowship Meetings and the family. For formal worship the psalms were used, or, in Argyll and the southern Highlands, the psalms and the paraphrases were employed.¹⁸

Dugald Buchanan ranks at the top of the list as the most popular of all Highland evangelical poets. Magnus MacLean wrote: "No Gaelic book was printed so frequently as these (Buchanan's) poems, and no book (outside the Bible and the Catechism) has exercised such a profound influence upon all classes of Gaelic-speaking Highlanders." To this statement John MacInnis adds, "Highlanders have never questioned Buchanan's primacy among their religious poets. Debate there has been, but only as to whom should be given the honour of being next below him."¹⁹ From my limited understanding, both statements are surely correct. Alexander Duff, the noted missionary to India, expressed great admiration for Buchanan's hymns, and in 1873 was one of the subscribers for the erection of a monument to his memory in Rannoch.²⁰

Peter Grant (1783–1867) was probably the most popular of the nineteenth-century Gaelic hymn writers. Grant was born near Grantown-on-Spey and served as a precentor in the Church of Scotland. He was converted under the Haldane preacher Lachlan MacKintosh, who founded the Baptist church in Grantown-on-Spey. After MacKintosh left this pastorate, Grant became the pastor and was ordained in 1829. A skilful fiddler, he claimed to have been aroused spiritually by Dugald Buchanan's hymns:

His (Grant's) own hymns owe something to Buchanan, but are noticeably different in style and content. Their focus is the 'pilgrim's progress' in the life of faith. The Christian pilgrimage is followed from conversion until the believer's arrival in heaven. Grant extols the efficacy of Christ's blood, emphasizes the inevitability of death, and anticipates the joy of the eternal home [. . .].²¹

¹⁷ Hugh MacDiarmid, ed., *The Golden Treasury of Scottish Poetry* (London: MacMillan, 1948) 304-305. The original poem contains 500 lines.

¹⁸ MacInnes, *Evangelical Movement* 274, referring to D. MacKinnon's *The Hymns of the Gael*, 76.

¹⁹ MacInnes, *Evangelical Movement* 280. For the quotation of Magnus MacLean, MacInnes is quoting from MacLean's *Literature of the Highlands*, 2nd ed., 114.

²⁰ MacInnes, *Evangelical Movement* 264.

²¹ D. E. Meek, "Grant, Peter," *DSCHT* 378.

Meek sees in Grant's hymns the experimental emphasis and thus draws the conclusion that they are "reminiscent of Methodist hymnology." There are some parallels, in piety perhaps and certainly as expressions of spiritual awakening, but I do not believe so in structure and form.

Grant's hymns were very popular well outside of his Haldane/Baptist circle, so much so that MacInnes claims that "multitudes who knew his hymns by heart were probably unaware of his denominational affiliation."²² Since Grant used popular Gaelic tunes, this allowed for quick learning and easy access. Grant in essence set a standard for the Highland tradition of hymn singing—experiential, popular, and poetic.

These evangelical Highland poets had links to an older Celtic tradition while still having their evangelical emphases. Many made use of singing in narrative form of Christ's passion, many were certainly engrossed with the doctrine of the Last Things. The poets themselves represented a myriad of social stations: gentlemen tacksmen, blacksmiths, weavers, schoolmasters, ministers, catechists, soldiers, and elders. It also seems very few of these Gaelic evangelical poets were both secular as well as religious poets. The one exception was John MacLean of Tiree, later of Pictou, who managed to be both the secular bard and the religious poet. "In his songs, he sang the praises of the Lourd of Coll; in his hymns, he sings the praises of his Saviour."²³

I have only highlighted the most significant of the Gaelic religious hymn writers, in part selected as they will relate to what follows—those of the New World. Gaelic scholars often try to classify the Gaelic hymn writers chronologically and by region. MacInnes sees three groups: the southern poets of Argyll and Perthshire, the poets of the Northern Highlands, and "the spiritual bards" influenced in some way by the Haldane movement.²⁴ The problem with these three divisions is that there are marks of exchange and relationship which make division somewhat arbitrary.

The last point to make here about the Gaelic hymnists is that as the Highland world began to experience immigration a new missionary theme would also emerge. This is particularly the case with the Gaelic poets who would immigrate. I now turn to a selection of these poets who ventured to the New World.

Some Gaelic Hymn Writers of the New World

I have limited the selection of Gaelic hymn writers of the colonial "New World" to three: John MacLean, James MacGregor, and Donald MacDonald.

John MacLean was born in 1787 in Tiree and came to Pictou County in 1819, settling first at Barney's River. It appears that the year prior to his immigration he had produced a book of Gaelic secular poems dedicated to the Laird of Coll, which assisted with the payment of his voyage.²⁵ Later he moved to Antigonish County and finally was buried in Glenbard. Affectionately known as "The Bard MacLean," he is usually

²² MacInnes, *Evangelical Movement* 151.

²³ MacInnes, *Evangelical Movement* 272, quoting from *Hymns of John MacLean*, ed. A. Sinclair MacLean, xi.

²⁴ MacInnes, *Evangelical Movement* 276.

²⁵ "John MacLean's 'Gloomy Forest,'" trans. Watson Kirkconnell, *Dalhousie Review*, 28.2 (1948): 158.

recognized for his Gaelic secular poems. He wrote no spiritual poems until he was in Nova Scotia. In 1835 an edition of his hymns was published in Glasgow by Maurice Ogle.²⁶ His grandson claims that MacLean wanted to produce a larger, second edition of hymns at about the time of his death. He was well acquainted with Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and also particularly familiar with Thomas Boston's *Fourfold State*. MacLean belonged to the Church of Scotland until the Disruption in 1843 when he went with the Free Church.²⁷ John MacInnes makes this very interesting comment about John MacLean, that he was "a disciple of James MacGregor" and then drops this fact.²⁸ I find it most interesting to find a Kirk evangelical and a Seceder in Nova Scotia so closely aligned. There is a story to be told here!

MacLean's hymns can be summarized as chiefly concerning personal devotion to Jesus and the world-wide mission of the gospel. "The Saviour" (*Am Fear—Saoraidh*) runs for twenty-four verses, starting with Jesus' birth in Bethlehem and the shepherds and proceeding through to the ascension. This style was standard fare, as well, with many Gaelic hymns back in Scotland.

Other hymn titles are: "The Saviour's Call," "Freedom by the Blood of the Lamb," "The Holy War," "Incitement to Battle," "Immanuel's Land," and "The Evangelisation of the Land." These are all standard hymn themes—the Saviour's passion, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, death, and heaven—with the exception of the last, evangelism, which shows the growing Highland awareness of the missionary movement. Perhaps, if anything, this last song shows parallels to James MacGregor.²⁹

To date I have found little reference to the way MacLean's hymns were being used in Nova Scotia. The current literature appears to ignore MacLean's contributions to Presbyterian hymnody there. One assumes they were utilized for home and family gatherings, but I have found nothing conclusive at this point. One wonders whether they were also used for "gathering" before worship.

Our second New World Gaelic hymnist is James MacGregor. James MacGregor's poems and hymns appear to have attracted little interest in Nova Scotia, but one gains a sense that they were much more popular in Scotland. If Nova Scotia did not appreciate MacGregor's hymns, does Prince Edward Island prove to be the New World stage? I believe this is so to some extent, and that through Donald MacDonald. They were composed while traveling "through the dreary wilderness of America" but all chiefly published in Scotland during his lifetime.³⁰

²⁶ A. MacLean Sinclair, MacLean's grandson, produced an edition containing several of MacLean's poems, both secular and sacred. *Clarsach na Coille* [Harp of the Forest], John MacLean, ed. A. MacLean Sinclair (Glasgow, 1881). Another edition appeared in 1928: *Clarsach na Coille*, John MacLean, ed. and revised by Hector MacDougall. The *MS* of MacLean's Gaelic hymns can be found at Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management. "Hymns of John MacLean" (Gaelic *MS*), *NSARM*, MG15, Series G, Vol. 22, No. 3.

²⁷ A. Sinclair MacLean, "Memoir," in *Gaelic Hymns by John MacLean* (Glasgow, 1881), xiv-xxi. Special thanks to William Wright of Glasgow, Scotland, for locating a copy of *Gaelic Hymns* at the University of Glasgow Library.

²⁸ MacInnes, *Evangelical Movement* 290.

²⁹ MacInnes, *Evangelical Movement* 290-291.

³⁰ George Patterson, *Memoir of the Rev. James MacGregor* (Philadelphia, 1859) 448-449.

MacGregor (1759–1830) was from Portmore in Perthshire and sent out in 1786 as an Anti-burgher missionary to Pictou. He appears to have been the first Gaelic speaking Protestant minister in Nova Scotia. Should he be given the title “the first Gaelic Bard in Canada” as Susan Buggey suggests?³¹ His Gaelic hymns (translated as *Poems to Assist Devotion* or *Poems to Promote Religion*) were first published in Glasgow in 1819 and reissued seven times,³² with the royalties all going to the Glasgow Tract Society. Again, the hymns were adapted to the music familiar to the Highlanders. George Patterson, MacGregor’s biographer, states that MacGregor’s hymns were particularly popular in the west Highlands. “Several persons from that quarter have assured me that it is quite common to hear mothers singing them to their children, as Watts’ divine songs are sung in many an English nursery.”³³ The 1819 collection has many doctrinal selections and biblical paraphrases (e.g., the Ten Commandments) but also a strong emphasis on gospel hymns of the free offer tradition—hymns on death, judgment, heaven, hell, and the spread of the gospel. There is a curious and, from all I have read, unique addition to this—translations from Ralph Erskine’s sonnets. James MacGregor was also translating into Gaelic the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, the psalms of David, and the *Scottish Paraphrases*, but all are only in manuscript form and were evidently never published. This may explain in part why some of his Gaelic hymns at the beginning of his hymnal have closer parallels to the *Paraphrases*.³⁴ Thus, while MacGregor’s Gaelic hymns cover many of the common themes of the Gaelic hymnists in Scotland, they take us slightly beyond this in the last points mentioned. The Erskine connection is easy to explain as MacGregor was a Secessionist Presbyterian.³⁵

MacGregor combined the secular and the sacred, composing songs which may be classified in both categories. He set his compositions to popular secular Gaelic tunes (e.g., “The Flowers of the Forest”), a practice that appears not always to have endeared him to some folk in Nova Scotia.³⁶

There is a connection between MacGregor’s hymns and our third Gaelic composer in the colonies, Donald MacDonald (1783–1867). MacDonald at first used the hymns of Peter Grant, Dugald Buchanan, and James MacGregor, all in Gaelic, as well as those of the Springer collection in English. This was prior to Donald MacDonald’s first collection, which was published in Charlottetown in 1835. (The 1835 hymnal did contain one verse of Buchanan’s.)³⁷

³¹ Susan Buggey, “MacGregor (McGregor), James Drummond, 1759-1830,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 6 (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1987) 459.

³² J. R. McIntosh and D. E. Meek, “MacGregor, James” *DSCHT* 515.

³³ Patterson, *Memoir* 452.

³⁴ A note on the *Scottish Paraphrases* and the evangelical movement may be worthy of remembrance. It was claimed by Millar Patrick that the General Assembly was slow to authorize the *Paraphrases* from 1706 to 1708 because the “collection was too evangelical in tone for the liking of the Moderates and so the matter was remitted year after year.” See Forrester and Murray, *Studies* 80-81.

³⁵ See *Ralph Erskine’s Complete Works*, vol. 7 (London, 1865).

³⁶ MacInnes, *Evangelical Movement* 274.

³⁷ Murdoch Lamont, *Rev Donald MacDonald: Glimpses of His Life and Times* (Charlottetown: Marley and Garnhum, 1902) 67.

MacDonald was also from Perthshire, born near Rannoch in 1783. Rannoch had been the home of Dugald Buchanan in his later years and many of his hymns had been composed there. The influence of Buchanan, thus, upon MacDonald is most significant. If we lose sight of this connection, we divorce MacDonald from his Scottish Gaelic heritage.³⁸ MacDonald's father was greatly affected by the ministry of the Haldane brothers, in fact to such an extent that he was baptized by immersion. Donald held the Haldanes in high regard according to Lamont, but never was immersed. He studied at the University of St. Andrews and also served as a teacher/tutor for a private family between sessions. While at St. Andrews MacDonald attended a dancing school. Thus music and Gaelic poetry were part of his early years. He was ordained in 1816 and served for eight years as a missionary minister in the Highlands of Glengarry. What follows in sketch form is well-known—his landing in Cape Breton in 1824, arrival on Prince Edward Island in 1826, and experience of “conversion” or spiritual relief in 1827.³⁹ I will refrain at this point from a full narrative of the course of his life to his death in 1867 and concentrate upon his hymns.

We have already noted MacDonald's employment of Grant, MacGregor, and Springer hymns prior to 1835. These were used at the home Fellowship Meetings and before the worship service on Sundays. There was nothing unusual in any of this, but rather this was standard Gaelic evangelical spirituality. During the years from 1835 until his death in 1867, I believe there were two separate editions of his hymnbooks published:

- 1835 Gaelic edition (1st)
- 1840 Gaelic edition (2nd)⁴⁰

Following his death there were six more editions of his hymnbook published:

- 1880 English edition (3rd)⁴¹
- 1885 English edition, Charlottetown (4th)
- 1887, Gaelic and English edition (5th)⁴²
- [1894?] edition, Boston (6th)
- 1910 edition, Charlottetown (7th)
- 1999 edition, Charlottetown (8th)

³⁸ Lamont, *MacDonald* 4-5. Lamont wrote in 1902, “His hymns (Buchanan's) are known wherever Gaelic is spoken.” Lamont was well aware of MacDonald's indebtedness to Buchanan.

³⁹ Lamont, *MacDonald* 37; David Weale, “McDonald, Donald,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9 (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1966) 480-481.

⁴⁰ There is consistency about these first two editions, 1835 and 1840. Both are Gaelic only and contain 8 hymns and 16 hymns respectively. Lamont and Bishop both agree here. However, I cannot locate a copy of either edition. J. H. Bishop, *Church of Scotland in Prince Edward Island (MacDonaldite Section)* (N.p.: n.p., n.d.) 27. David Wheale in his Ph.D. thesis also acknowledges his inability to locate these two editions.

⁴¹ This third edition, English only, Bishop writes was published in 1880.

⁴² A close reading of Bishop reveals an 1887 Gaelic and English edition. A total of 36 hymns by MacDonald and Lamont in Gaelic. I have not been able to determine the exact number in English. It appears to have been at least a comparable number. The English hymns were by MacDonald, Lamont, Roberts, and Compton. Bishop, *Church of Scotland* 27.

However, though I have listed eight editions, we notice that particular hymns were circulating individually as well. This was done partly for “practice,” to see what folks thought and to allow tune masters to work with the pieces. I believe this explains in part why the latter editions contain more selections.

I will refrain from a full analysis of these eight editions but rather focus here on the place of Donald MacDonald’s compositions from the 1885 edition, which was all in English and may have been a “reprint” of the 1880 edition.⁴³

The first entry, “Sweet Home,” goes to the early nineteenth-century popular tune “Home, Sweet Home” and has thirteen verses plus a chorus. This was his first English hymn and was written around 1840. Thematically it contains nothing unique from most Gaelic hymns, taking up the related themes of earthy struggle, pilgrimage, death, and heaven. The same themes are repeated in “Gathering of the Twelve Tribes.” To date, I have been unable to identify the tune used in this hymn.

There are many hymns which all centre upon the praise, person, and work of the Lord Jesus. I would group together here: “Eulogy—A Hymn,” “Redemption by Jesus Christ,” and “Eulogy—To the Saviour.” I do not see the didactic element as the real focus in these hymns, but rather there is a profound exaltation of Emmanuel, the Lamb.

Yet there are hymns which are definitely in the didactic vein; for example, “Ode to the Bible,” with fourteen verses and to the tune “The Campbells are Coming,” and also “Eden’s Lovely Wood.” The teaching theme in the former is obvious, while the latter concentrates on creation and the fall for fourteen verses and then redemption in verses fifteen to twenty-one. The hymn “Triumph” combines the didactic and praise, producing in my estimation some of MacDonald’s best lyrical poetry.

There are two other categories of hymns by MacDonald that I will mention briefly, the more significant being the communion hymns. The first “Communion Hymn” has certain parallels to Morison’s *Scottish Paraphrase* “Twas on that night...” (No. 35), yet in no way is there a close textual paraphrase attempt. There is a rehearsal, but the focus is plainly for the ordinance to be known evangelically, as in verse twenty-nine, “Our soul’s desire is salvation.” It clearly ends with the final verses (thirty-three to thirty-four) as a pleading prayer—distinctive from the framework of the *Paraphrases*. This is Gaelic experimental singing for the sacrament. The element of the experimental was consistently present in most of the hymns, in which one will find mention of burden, conviction, awakening, and freedom.⁴⁴

The one hymn in the 1885 edition which does not seem to fit is “The Wail,” which is about the Indian Mutiny of 1857. It does not appear in any subsequent edition. If anything, it shows us something of MacDonald’s poetic skills and interests. The Highlanders were well represented in India, and it reflects more the Highland bardic tradition. Yet it also tells us that MacDonald, like MacLean and MacGregor (recall his poem on smoking), in some ways traverses the secular and the sacred.

The chronology of MacDonald’s “hymnbooks” shows a progressive movement from Gaelic to English. I believe this can be explained in part by the increasing attraction

⁴³ Donald MacDonald, *Hymns for Practice, not to be used in the Solemn Worship of the Sanctuary* (Charlottetown, 1885).

⁴⁴ David E. Weale, “The Ministry of the Reverend Donald McDonald on Prince Edward Island 1826–1867: A Case-Study Examination of the Influence and Role of Religion Within Colonial Society,” diss., Queen’s U, 1976, 112, 113, 114, 119. Weale quotes various hymns here showing these themes.

of non-Scots to the congregations which MacDonald was serving after the 1830 revival. By the 1840s the make-up of his churches included names like Compton, Bears, and Roberts—all non-Scots, a mixture of English/Welsh and other.

Finally, what of the new Gaelic evangelization impulse that we found in MacLean and MacGregor? Is it in MacDonald's hymns as well? It is indeed there to a degree, but not as prominently or boldly as in the hymns of the former two writers. It comes out more through types and antitypes in "Gathering of the Twelve Tribes." In "Lamentation Over the State of the World" there is certainly vivid reference to the various troubles all over the world—war, plague, flood, etc., but it is more for another purpose, that of awakening the soul's need and drawing him to Christ. The focus is not the stark call to the evangelization of the nations that we may find in the other writers. MacDonald certainly had an apostolic zeal like MacGregor in terms of "home mission," but he remained very much the "Colonial Apostle," and his hymns reflect this.

The Circle Widens: Gaelic Influenced Hymn Writers in the New World

In Prince Edward Island one encounters the Gaelic hymn in content and style, but finds it was not composed exclusively by those of Scottish Gaelic origins. The poets connected with Donald MacDonald whose compositions "passed muster" were Ewen Lamont, John Compton, George Bears, and Elias Roberts. Only the first of these men was truly Gaelic.

Ewen Lamont (1817–1905) was born in Bernisdale, Isle of Skye, and came to Prince Edward Island in 1829. He moved to Orwell Head (Lyndale) to be closer to Donald MacDonald's preaching station there. Ewen Lamont was an elder, a schoolmaster, and a noted poet.⁴⁵ If Ewen were the Gaelic poet, who was his tune composer? I believe it was the elder with whom he served, William MacPhail, the father of Sir Andrew MacPhail. William (1830–1905) was a noted schoolmaster and musician. Both Ewen and William understood the Gaelic hymn, and I believe *The Master's Wife* clearly connects William as the "tune master" for the Gaelic hymns being composed in Prince Edward Island.⁴⁶ The other three hymn composers were also attracted to MacDonald's ministry, and their hymns conform to the same characteristics—experimental, long-versed, and popular tune settings—but were all in English, not Gaelic.

George Bears⁴⁷ (1812–1876) was from Guysborough County, Nova Scotia. He lived with his Compton wife at Belle River, then Brooklyn, Prince Edward Island. He was a sea captain, traveling to Labrador to catch herring, and served as a "ministering elder." He composed several hymns, a number of which were added to the MacDonaldite hymnal. A quick analysis of his hymns will show the same experimental, long-versed, popularly set composition, following the Gaelic hymnic style, in contrast to John Newton and others. Bears did not only produce "pure" hymns, but also such a poem as "Farewell

⁴⁵ Harold S. MacLeod, *The Lamonts of Lyndale* (Charlottetown: Royal Bookbinders, 2003) 32-33.

⁴⁶ Andrew MacPhail, *The Master's Wife* (Charlottetown: Institute of Island Studies, 1994) 135.

⁴⁷ The spelling for the surname "Bears" is varied, such as Barrs, Barse and Bears. The name can be traced back to an Augustine Bearce who went to New England in 1638. He may actually have been of gypsy origin, but certainly the family were not of Highland Scot origin. The Bears were New England planters who moved to Nova Scotia prior to the Revolutionary War. Source, Austin Bears, *Bearce to Bears: Genealogy 1638–1982* (Clyde River, PE: C. Austin Bears, 1982) 22, 24, 25, 39, 72.

Dear Island Home,” thus marking him as a poet of a broader ability. Yet even this poem is still highly spiritual:

When the last trumpet shall sound
And the saints on high shall soar
Filled with immortal life I'll bound
Away from wild Labrador.⁴⁸

Elias Roberts was born in England according to census material and led a varied occupational career—schoolmaster, school visitor, carpenter, and farmer. His 1854 marriage was performed by Rev. Donald MacDonald. (Roberts was married three times.) There is no indication whatsoever of his belonging to the Church of Scotland prior to being on Prince Edward Island, yet his poetry is again reflective of Gaelic hymnody. Only two of his compositions made their way into the later editions of the MacDonaldite hymnals, yet a cursory look at these two hymns reveals no noticeable departure. The “Second” has thirty-nine verses!⁴⁹

The last hymnist we will mention in this widening circle of Gaelic inspired hymnists in the New World is John Compton. The Comptons were English Loyalists, some of whom had fled New Jersey and lived in New Brunswick and then Nova Scotia. John's father was William (c.1771–1867), born at Compton's Creek, New Jersey, and died at Belle River, PE. It is possible that while they were in Cape Breton they met Rev. Donald MacDonald before his move to Prince Edward Island. It is claimed that they came to Prince Edward Island to be under MacDonald's ministry.⁵⁰ John was born in 1812 and died in 1901. He served as an elder in the Church of Scotland and later as a “ministering elder” after MacDonald's death. There is only one of his hymns in *Hymns by the Rev. Donald MacDonald and Elders*. It is considerably shorter than most in the collection, only ten verses in length; however, the content clearly mirrors all the same themes of the Gaelic evangelical hymn tradition. It is simply entitled “Hymn” and is Christ-centred, experimental, and very devotional.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Harold MacLeod, *The Loyalist Comptons of Prince Edward Island* (Charlottetown: Royal Bookbinders, 2001) 72, 84.

⁴⁹ Biographical information on Roberts was gleaned from genealogical record cards in the Prince Edward Island Archives, Charlottetown.

⁵⁰ This has been an oral tradition in the Compton family, in support of which there appears to be solid circumstantial evidence. The Comptons were living in Cape Breton during the time when Donald MacDonald was living there. They were involved as a family in a sawmill and continued this when they came to Prince Edward Island, basically at the same time that MacDonald made his move there. Further research is still needed, but there are probably other families who may well have followed MacDonald from the mainland to the Island. It also raises more questions about his ministry prior to coming to Prince Edward Island, a period that has often been treated in a very cavalier fashion.

⁵¹ Harold S. MacLeod, *The Loyalist Comptons of Prince Edward Island*, with Tilly Compton MacLeod and Pamela Hatton Compton (Charlottetown: Royal Bookbinders, 2001) 8, 10, 93C, 94. The Comptons were probably Baptists while in America.

Select Examples of Gaelic Evangelical Hymns in the New World

Following, with brief notes, are three selections of evangelical hymns in the Gaelic hymnic tradition used on Prince Edward Island in the early to middle nineteenth century.

Sweet Home

(Tune: Home, Sweet Home by H. R. Bishop, for the operetta “Clari” performed in London in 1823—viewed as in the folk song category.)

- 1 Our time, O Lord, is fleeting, our days pass away,
Our journey still is sweet’ning, Thy strength is our stay,
And now bestow Thy blessing, Thou all our need dost know,
And joyfully we’ll travel and cheerily home we’ll go.
- 2 The frightful scenes that meet us are under Thy sway;
The lame, the weak, the feeble, are constantly Thy care,
So homeward bound contented we’ll sweetly glide our way,
And soon we’ll see the regions of blissful shining day.
- 12 Though trials sore afflict us, our comforts are not few,
Our souls are filled with pleasure, and sweet refreshing dew,
And as we grow in stature, our strength, O Lord, renew,
And homeward bound we’ll travel, and bid the world adieu.

*Chorus: Home, home, sweet, sweet home,
Preserve us, dear Saviour, for glory our home.*

– Rev. Donald MacDonald, his first English hymn, 1841

Triumph

(Air: Contrast) Metre, 8888 (double) (Tune has no affinities or matches, but appears to be a fiddle tune.)

- 1 Jesus, our Saviour’s ascended,
Highly exalted in Glory,
A Prince and a Saviour attended
In majesty royally rob’d;
Due Honors abundant surround Him,
Seated on high with His Father,
Crowned in excellent power,
Triumphant over His foes.
- 2 In childhood, though humbly descended,
Angels delight to behold Him;
Swaddled and laid in a manger,

Hosts in amazement adore;
The shepherds beheld them in chorus
Glorifying God in the highest,
Announcing salvation unbounded,
Messiah in manhood is born.

4 Suff'ring and death still before Him,
He views in sad'ning amazement;
Bows in submission to His Father,
And dies on the cross for His own;
Death and the grave could not hold Him,
He burst their fetters in triumph;
The legions of hell were opposed;
But could not the Conq'ror restrain.

18 All honor and power are due Him
And glory, by millions of saved;
When death on the cross He endured,
Our ransom in full He has paid;
Then loudly publish His praises,
He dwells forever in glory,
Preparing a place for His chosen,
And safely will carry us home.

– Rev. Donald MacDonald (1783–1867)

A Hymn

Metre, 8686 (Tune unable to name)

1 Bless, O my soul, the lovely Lamb
Who died on Calvary
To wash my soul from guilt and sin,
And pay the ransom free.

Chorus: *Oh! the Lamb the lovely Lamb!
The Lamb on Calvary!
The Lamb was slain and rose again
To intercede for me.*

2 Amazing love, no tongue can tell,
Lo! Jesus groan'd and bled
To save my soul from lowest hell
His precious blood was shed.

– George Bears, M. E. (1812–1876)

Conclusions

This historical study helps highlight the purpose and position of evangelical Gaelic hymnody: it was clearly preparatory to divine worship—an aid to prepare the congregation for worship; was instructive in biblical truth and theology; and made allowance for personal expression of faith and experiences in the pilgrimage. These three primary purposes were to be expressed in the corporate gatherings of the people of God and thus tell us much about the corporate piety and spirituality of these churches. But there were other purposes and positions which this evangelical Gaelic hymnody fulfilled. They were well known in the private dwellings during those Fellowship Meetings as well as in the cycles of daily work as meditative hymns. If we miss these additional uses, we miss a true recreation of the personal faith and piety of these folk. I believe we have tended to ignore much of this in our historical studies.

Next, I see here that frequently discussion about the MacDonaldites has been without an historical awareness of the larger faith communities in Scotland from which they emerged. I find myself making the seeming contradiction that they were unique, yet really not so unique. There is a strong theme of continuity from the Scottish Highland evangelical communities to the New World, and this theme can be studied through the Gaelic hymnic tradition.

Musically, theologically, and culturally there is much to consider here about cultural adaptation—dare I say it, “indigenous spirituality.” There are theological, musical, and cultural questions which are best treated in an interdisciplinary approach. There clearly remains much mystery at the musical level which one finds frustrating—no notations, oral traditions of “airs,” the questions of naming, identifying, and classifying—all which must be addressed if we are to avoid continuing to advance a mythic history of Scottish Highland Presbyterianism.

I believe this study challenges certain myths we have held concerning Gaelic evangelicalism between c.1750–1850. These hymns help us to see what Donald MacLeod says has partly been lost, namely that there did exist an “informality, spontaneity and freedom” within much of the Highland evangelical community. In fact, there was a virtual house-church movement.⁵² This paper opens a window into the spirituality of these communities, a spirituality much larger than we often imagine. It may appear as “contradictions” at first glance, but is perhaps expressive of some folk who were actually “big” people.

Finally, we need to press forward and widen our field to search out other colonial locations where Gaelic hymnody existed. In doing this, I do not think we need to limit ourselves to Canada. What about Africa, India, and Australasia? Who knows what we may find!

Gaelic hymnody in Scotland was transplanted to the New World, and in the process we can say it became an “auld world beat with a New World tempo!”

⁵² Donald MacLeod, “The Highland Churches Today,” *The Church in the Highlands*, ed. James Kirk (Edinburgh: Scottish Church History Society, 1998) 171.

MacGregor on Prince Edward Island

John R. Cameron

James MacGregor was described as a tall, bearded young man of twenty-seven when he arrived in Halifax, NS on 11 July 1786, after a thirty-seven-day voyage from Greenoch, Scotland. He had been born in Portmore, later known as St. Fillans, on the shore of Loch Earne in North Perthshire in December 1759. Tradition has it that at his baptism his father solemnly dedicated him to the work of the Lord should that be the Lord's gracious will. At the age of eight MacGregor was sent to grammar school at Kinkell and later Dumblane, then to Edinburgh University. For five years he studied theology for two months each fall at Alloa under Professor William Moncrieff, an Anti-burgher of the General Associate Synod. In the intervening periods his education was under the direction of his presbytery. He was licensed about 1784 and preached at various places in the highlands where he had expected to be called to serve.

Then, in March 1786, there came a petition from Pictou which was to be presented to whatever presbytery was most likely to respond favourably to it. The petition was presented to the Presbytery of Perth. That body forwarded it to the General Associate (Anti-burgher) Synod which approved the petition on 4 May 1786, appointed MacGregor to Pictou, and instructed the Presbytery of Glasgow to examine him for ordination. He was ordained on 31 May 1786, left Greenoch on 4 June, and arrived in Halifax on 11 July. He was more than a little surprised at this development, and somewhat distressed by it, but he soon accepted this new direction and was on his way.

As reluctant as MacGregor had been to come he was even more reluctant to stay. He was not impressed with Halifax stating: "The immorality of Halifax shocked me not a little, and I hastened out of it hoping better things of the country."¹ Expecting more of a settlement than he found in Pictou he wrote: "Nothing but necessity kept me there; for I durst not think of encountering the dangerous road to Halifax again, and there was no vessel in Pictou to take me away, and even had there been one, I had not money to pay my passage home."²

While MacGregor came to minister in Pictou he soon assumed the role of missionary to what is now the Maritime Provinces. He frequently visited settlements in mainland Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Cape Breton Island, and Prince Edward Island—or the Island of St. John as it was known until 1799. He was always careful to have the approval of his Kirk Session before setting out on these missionary journeys.

In addition to his role as preacher, MacGregor provided his parishioners with the latest books on agriculture to help them improve their farming methods. He was a strong

¹ George Patterson, *Memoir of the Rev. James MacGregor, D.D.* (Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, 1859) 60.

² Patterson, *Memoir* 96.

advocate of education and an enthusiastic supporter of Thomas MacCulloch in this regard. When coal was discovered on his property, he secured a license, opened a pit on what is still known as the MacGregor seam, was perhaps the first to use it as fuel in his home, and sold some as well. This was the beginning of what proved to be a very significant industry in Pictou County for the next 175 years or more. He was also an internationally recognized Gaelic scholar.

In 1936 the Synod of the Maritime Provinces as it was then named observed the 150th anniversary of MacGregor's arrival with special services in Pictou, NS and the dedication of a memorial cairn. Among the many tributes was one by Mr. Hector McInnes, KC, Chairman of the Board of Governors of Dalhousie University in Halifax, NS. He stated in part:

Mr. MacGregor with a few gifted co-workers leavened the whole of these Maritimes, influenced its aspiration, pitched its cultural tone to a higher level, established a standard for public and private life, taught men not to live for themselves alone but that their community and the state were entitled to part of their life and substance.³

Patterson reports that in 1822 the University of Glasgow conferred on MacGregor the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.⁴

The first of fourteen recorded visits by MacGregor to the Island of St. John was in 1791 and the last one in 1821. He traveled virtually from one end of the Island to the other at a time when travel conditions were very primitive. There was one road from Charlottetown to Cove Head, about fifteen miles. All other travel was via trails through the woods or along the shore. The latter was complicated by the great number of bays, inlets, and rivers, both large and small. While we think of Prince Edward Island as being a very small place I am sure it did not appear necessarily to be so to MacGregor since the principle modes of transportation were horseback, canoe, dugout, or on foot. There is no record of a winter visit when snowshoes would have been required.

It must be noted here that MacGregor was not the first Presbyterian minister to visit Prince Edward Island. The first Presbyterian minister known to have come to P.E.I. was the Rev. William Drummond who arrived aboard the *Falmouth* on 1 June 1770. It appears that Mr. Drummond had been recruited by a wealthy landowner to accompany settlers for his land holding there. Drummond's diary indicates that while his ministry was centred in the Stanhope area he visited a number of other communities, including St. Peter's, Three Rivers (Georgetown), Fortune, Charlotte Town (original spelling), Fort Amherst, and Malpeque during his stay of less than one year. However, the only specific references to ministry in any of these places other than Stanhope were baptisms in Malpeque (Princetown) and baptisms and preaching in St. Peter's.⁵ Drummond's church affiliation in Scotland is not known.

While MacGregor was not the first Presbyterian minister to visit Prince Edward Island, and nor did he ever live there, he can quite legitimately be considered the father of

³ Frank Baird, *The MacGregor Celebration Addresses, July 1936* (Toronto: Presbyterian Publications, 1937) 214.

⁴ Patterson, *Memoir* 459.

⁵ William Drummond, *Journal, April 5, 1770 to May 1771*.

the Presbyterian Church in that Province. In every place where he conducted services congregations were later to emerge. In addition to preaching, catechizing, and baptizing, a major contribution was his sympathetic response to early and persistent requests from Island communities seeking to recruit more ministers to come from Scotland to these needy fields which were white unto harvest.

MacGregor's efforts in this regard were not immediately effective as far as Prince Edward Island was concerned, as it was not until 1806 with the arrival of Peter Gordon that he registered success. Others who agreed to come in the meantime did not make it to the Island. Duncan Ross and John Brown who arrived in Pictou in 1796 came in response to one of MacGregor's early appeals. One of two calls presented to the recently-formed Presbytery of Pictou (1795) in favour of Duncan Ross was from Princetown, PE and had the full support of MacGregor. However, presbytery decided otherwise and both Ross and Brown settled in Nova Scotia. This decision was "as contrary to my thoughts as could be" wrote MacGregor.⁶ However, he bowed to the will of Providence and agreed to live with it.

Rev. Francis Pringle was appointed to Prince Edward Island in 1799 but upon landing in New York the Presbytery of Pennsylvania "laid hold of him," as James Robertson puts it, and received Synod permission to keep him within its bounds.⁷ Thus Pringle never did get to the Island. Similarly Thomas MacCulloch was destined for Prince Edward Island but was persuaded to remain in Pictou where he arrived in early November 1803.

As indicated above MacGregor, following his first visit in 1791, had sent home an appeal for more ministers in response to requests from Cove Head, St. Peter's, and Princetown. The Synod expressed sympathy for the requests but was short of candidates. These appeals continued. A lengthy "Address of the Ministers of the Associate Presbytery of Nova Scotia, to the General Associate Synod" dated 5 February 1799, and signed by James MacGregor, Duncan Ross and John Brown, was such an appeal for more ministers for the presbytery. It contained this paragraph relating to Prince Edward Island:

About seven years ago, the people of Princetown, and Stanhope, and St. Peter's in the island of St. John, applied to you for two ministers, and they have waited ever since with patience (or rather impatience), frequently inquiring if there was any hope of a speedy answer to their petitions. For a number of years we returned for answer that ministers might soon be expected; but we are ashamed to give them that answer any longer, and now we know not what to say. That people stand in need of the gospel almost as much as any people on the face of the earth; for beside all other considerations, their being in an island prevents them from having so ready access to other means of knowledge as if they were on the continent; and they are surrounded with Papists, who have always one or more priests among them, who use all their dexterity in making converts, especially among the young generation. There are in the island of St. John, eight or ten other settlements that would require supply of sermon,

⁶ Patterson, *Memoir* 292.

⁷ James Robertson, *History of the Mission of the Secession Church to Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island* (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1847) 197.

being yet so weak, that they cannot support ministers for themselves. It is a great trial of patience, to wait seven years for a minister, and to have an opportunity of hearing the gospel for two or three Sabbaths only during all that time. There are good Christians in the island of St. John, who, in all probability, have not heard five sermons these twenty-five years; and probably there are some there twenty-five years old who never heard a sermon! Who would not compassionate this people? We hope two ministers would be very agreeably situated among them, and in a short time there would be a demand for a number more. We earnestly beseech the Synod to consider the case of this island, and to send over two ministers to them as soon as possible.⁸

MacGregor's first visit to Prince Edward Island in 1791 began in Charlottetown although he did not stay there more than one night, nor did he preach there on this occasion. He felt much the same about it as he had about Halifax. He found it to be "wicked enough for a far larger town. Swearing and drunkenness abounded."⁹ He rented a horse and traveled on the only road then existing to Cove Head where, quite by accident, he met the Anglican clergyman, the Rev. Theophilus DesBrisay who was of Huguenot background, a former Presbyterian, and therefore very sympathetic to Presbyterians.¹⁰ MacGregor spent two weeks in Cove Head and two in St. Peter's. On invitation he then traveled to Princetown where he ministered for another two weeks after which he returned to Pictou via Charlottetown.

MacGregor preached in each of these places on Sundays, or Sabbaths as he referred to them, and visited among the people during the week, paying particular attention to those who requested baptism for their children. "The people of Cove Head and St. Peter's were not without knowledge, for they had good books which they lent to one another."¹¹ MacLeod says that before they had a settled minister they conducted worship among themselves and did so very capably.¹² Also, they were close enough to Charlottetown that at least some of them did from time to time hear DesBrisay preach there. Some also had chosen to have their children baptized by him. But Princetown was another matter. There people had been destitute of the gospel for twenty years or more, ignorance abounded, family prayer was neglected, they did not know how to behave at a service, and there were about sixty unbaptized children in the settlement.¹³ At first when people gathered for services they behaved as if they had gathered on a week day for some secular business. Many resisted MacGregor's invitation to sit and be quiet. "The only

⁸ "Address of the Ministers of the Associate Presbytery of Nova Scotia, to the General Associate Synod," 5 Feb. 1799.

⁹ Patterson, *Memoir* 210.

¹⁰ Patterson, *Memoir* 210.

¹¹ Patterson, *Memoir* 214.

¹² John M. MacLeod, *History of Presbyterianism on Prince Edward Island* (Chicago: Winona, 1904).

¹³ Patterson, *Memoir* 218.

plan I could then think of was to read the psalm so loud as to drown their voices, and after a little it had the desired effect."¹⁴

MacGregor agonized over this situation, feeling an obligation to respond to requests for baptism yet wanting to be sure that parents understood its meaning and were prepared to accept the seriousness of their responsibility in relation to it. "These two weeks were the two most anxious which I ever passed in this world," he wrote.¹⁵ He was concerned that if he refused the parents might well take their children to DesBrisay. While he was not enthusiastic about this possibility it was acceptable to him under the circumstances. At least it was better than the alternative, namely the possibility of parents taking their children to Roman Catholic priests for baptism. His reservation about DesBrisay was that DesBrisay, MacGregor alleged, "according to the custom of the Church of England, made no difference between the children of the profane and of the most holy, but baptized them all."¹⁶

Therefore, during his two weeks in Princetown he visited extensively among the families of those requesting baptism and on each of the two Sundays he was there he baptized "about thirty" children, refusing only one because the father in that case "absolutely refused to keep up the worship of God in his family."¹⁷ During the week he baptized six more at their home in a neighbouring community. The man refused by MacGregor took his child the next day to a "Popish priest" for baptism. He, his family and descendants, continued to belong to that branch of the church. MacGregor believed that many more would have done the same had he refused them.¹⁸

This first visit had a very pleasant side to it for MacGregor personally. In addition to establishing a friendly relationship with Theophilus DesBrisay he met a number of settlers in the Cove Head and St. Peter's areas who were either known to him previously or who had common acquaintances in Scotland. There was a Mr. Millar who was from a neighbouring parish, twelve miles from his own birth place. Others were acquainted with some of his relatives. He even met a former school-fellow.¹⁹

Mr. Millar is said to have been well versed in theology but he and MacGregor, good friends though they were, did not always agree. On one occasion Millar was expounding a point of doctrine while MacGregor was shaving. MacGregor, perhaps a little perturbed, interjected, "Stop, stop, you have made me cut myself. Let us talk of those things about Christ in which we agree till our hearts get warm, and then we will discuss these points afterward," i.e. their differences.²⁰ This is certainly good advice at any time.

It has been noted that MacGregor did not preach in Charlottetown on his first visit. He did preach there on a number of future visits but specific dates are not available. The situation in Charlottetown was rather unique. A grant of three thousand pounds had

¹⁴ Patterson, *Memoir* 217.

¹⁵ Robertson 137.

¹⁶ Robertson 135.

¹⁷ Patterson, *Memoir* 217.

¹⁸ Patterson, *Memoir* 217.

¹⁹ Patterson, *Memoir* 212.

²⁰ Patterson, *Memoir* 214.

been approved by the Imperial Government in 1771 for the construction of a court house, a jail and a church. This money was used for other purposes and the proposed buildings were not built. However, in 1796 a church was erected by private subscriptions with the assistance of a grant from the Legislative Council "which was given with the stipulation that the church was to be for the Established Churches of England and Scotland."²¹ For this reason the Anglican Bishop of Nova Scotia, the Right Reverend Charles Inglis, refused to consecrate it. Although not completed until 1802 the church was used from that date except under severe winter conditions when services continued to be held in homes or other heated facilities.

DesBrisay preached in this church regularly and welcomed Presbyterians to do the same whenever they were available. Speaking of his friendship with DesBrisay MacGregor states that he "was always welcome to preach in his church, which I uniformly did when I could make it convenient."²² Apparently he had no difficulty in accepting the opportunity to preach in a facility specifically reserved for the established Church of Scotland. Presbyterians continued to share this building until 1825 when they received a gift of land, proceeded to erect a building of their own, known as St. James, and applied to the Established Church of Scotland for a "learned and pious clergyman."²³

It seems ironic that whereas early services for Charlottetown Presbyterians had been provided primarily by visiting Secessionist ministers such as MacGregor and Ross, when they sought a minister of their own it was to the Established Church of Scotland that they appealed. It may mean that old country differences no longer meant as much in the new land. Or it may have been due to the influence of the Rev. John MacLennan, a Church of Scotland minister who had come to Belfast in 1823 and had provided some services in Charlottetown.

Patterson tells us that according to some of the early settlers in Three Rivers, or Georgetown, MacGregor's next visit to Prince Edward Island was in 1793, as it was in that year that he had preached, visited in homes and baptized some children, his sermon being the first ever delivered in the district. The congregation's history, written in 1978, gives this same year, 1793, as the date of this first visit and service.²⁴ As mentioned above Drummond had visited the area in 1770 but makes no mention of any ministry there. In 1775 a group of Presbyterian settlers arrived from Dumfries, Scotland. Though few in number they gladly gathered in the parlour of a family home and heard the word of life with great appreciation. Some of them had not heard a sermon since they left home "eighteen years before."²⁵

The real significance of this visit is that MacGregor brought "to the knowledge of the truth" a slave whose name was Sickles. He had been brought to Georgetown from Boston by Mr. William Creed. During a visit in 1794 MacGregor baptized Sickles and

²¹ Frank W. Jelks, *The Parish of Charlotte and the Church of St. Paul's* (Charlottetown: Irwin, 1990) 10.

²² Robertson 133.

²³ T. H. B. Somers, *The Kirk of St. James, Charlottetown* (Charlottetown, PE: The Minister's Study, The Kirk House, 1962) 1.

²⁴ [Sheila Wood, Therese Mair, and Karen Cameron], *A History of St. David's United Church, Georgetown, Prince Edward Island, 1837-1978* ([Georgetown?, PE]: n.p., 1978).

²⁵ Patterson, *Memoir* 280.

“through his influence with his master” gained his freedom.²⁶ Sickles continued as an employee of Mr. Creed and maintained a warm feeling for MacGregor who he thought of as his “spiritual father.” Sickles “lived a consistent life to a very great age, and died in full hope of a glorious resurrection.”²⁷

MacGregor was never slow to seize upon an opportunity to proclaim the word. On one occasion when traveling from one community to another he and his guide became lost. They came upon a house and asked for overnight accommodation. They were received somewhat ungraciously but stayed the night. In the morning they were recruited to help with “a raising” (to erect a frame) as payment for the accommodation. MacGregor saw this as an opportunity “of addressing a word of exhortation” as he expected that all of the men of the area would be present and perhaps women as well. Rum flowed freely and disputes were arising. MacGregor seized upon the opportunity to conduct an outdoor service complete with sermon. Many of those present showed little or no interest at first. Gradually more of them gathered around to listen, one of the last being the reluctant host of the night before. Later he spoke to MacGregor saying that he had heard only part of the sermon and now felt he should have heard more. He then invited him to stay another night. That night “salvation came to that house.” According to Patterson the host remained a pious man for the rest of his life, was an influential church member, and an enthusiastic supporter of MacGregor, attending to his needs whenever opportunity presented itself. It is said that the very spot where that frame was raised later became the site of a church building.²⁸

MacGregor’s third visit to the Island was during the summer of 1794. He reported that conditions in Cove Head and St. Peter’s were much as they had been in 1791 but he was greatly pleased to discover that there had been a considerable change for the better in Princetown since his last visit there. Most of the people had persevered and grown beyond his expectation though a few had neglected their baptismal promises. He visited as many as possible “exhorting them to grow in grace.”²⁹ During this visit he also preached in Bedeque, Tryon River, and other unnamed places he had not visited before.

There was a visit in 1800 but no details are provided other than a reference to a presentation made to MacGregor as he was about to leave to return to Pictou.³⁰ It appears that this event took place in Three Rivers as the gift was presented by the former slave, Sickles, on behalf of Mrs. Creed, the wife of Sickles’ former master and then employer, all of whom were residents of that port.

About this time a general pattern of visitation began to emerge, although there were exceptions; MacGregor’s point of arrival depended on what passage from Pictou was available. While he did arrive on occasion in Bedeque or Charlottetown and work out from there, more often he arrived in the eastern part of the Island, in Wood Islands, Murray Harbour, or especially Georgetown. From there he traveled along the north shore, sometimes as far as the western side of Richmond Bay, returning along the south shore visiting and preaching as he went. Places visited one or more times included

²⁶ Patterson, *Memoir* 280.

²⁷ Patterson, *Memoir* 281.

²⁸ Patterson, *Memoir* 281-283.

²⁹ Patterson, *Memoir* 279.

³⁰ Patterson, *Memoir* 280.

Murray Harbour, Georgetown, Bay Fortune, St. Peter's, Cove Head, Cavendish, New London, Princetown, Lot 16, Bedeque, Tryon, West River, Charlottetown, Belfast, and Wood Islands.

These visits were of varying duration and scope geographically. In the early 1800s MacGregor sought to cover as much territory as possible. As time passed and other clergy joined the mission his visits covered less territory and tended to focus primarily on newer settlements and special events such as Ordinations and Inductions. Always when not preaching he went from house to house instructing, exhorting, and encouraging young and old in the ways of Christ.

In 1802 MacGregor came to Prince Edward Island for three Sabbaths and again in 1804 for five. Places visited in 1802 were Bedeque, Charlottetown, Georgetown, Bay Fortune, and St. Peter's. In 1804 he went primarily to places missed on the previous visit, namely, New London, Princetown, Lot 16, Tryon, Belfast, and Cavendish, with Bedeque being the only place revisited.

A notable visit in 1806 lasted six weeks during which MacGregor delivered thirty-seven sermons, some in English and some in Gaelic, plus five addresses in the first twenty-five days.³¹ Beginning in Three Rivers (Georgetown) other places visited on that trip were Murray Harbour, Bay Fortune, St. Peter's, Cove Head, New London, Princetown, and Bedeque. The other two weeks were spent in similar labours in Bedeque, Lot 16, and other places not named, although probably nearby settlements.

We must remember that MacGregor's sermons were not short. Patterson describes them this way:

They were not like some modern efforts twenty minutes' essays of amiable sentimentalism, read in a manner that would not excite the nerves of the speaker. They were of good length. But rarely the people heard the voice of the preacher of righteousness, and the pious listened with deep delight for an hour to the message of truth. They were too, like Elihu, "full of matter." Every one of them contained some important doctrine, clearly stated, and thoroughly discussed; and they were delivered with a power and earnestness, which, while fitted to lodge the truth in the mind of the hearer so far as human power could do it, were most trying to his physical system but especially to his nervous organization.³²

On this occasion MacGregor had come to Georgetown in a large boat which had been built for the Right Rev. Dr. MacEachern, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Prince Edward Island at the time. According to Rev. Father Francis Bolger, University of Prince Edward Island historian, MacEachern and MacGregor were "good friends."³³ This is interesting in view of rather negative comments made by MacGregor about the threat to his work posed by Catholic priests.

The year 1806 is also noteworthy because of the arrival of the Rev. Peter Gordon to serve in Cove Head, St. Peter's, and Bay Fortune. While John M. MacLeod in his

³¹ Patterson, *Memoir* 354.

³² Patterson, *Memoir* 354.

³³ Francis P. Bolger, personal interview, n.d.

History of Presbyterianism on Prince Edward Island states that Gordon was ordained and inducted into this pastoral charge in 1806,³⁴ Patterson says that after supplying in Halifax and other Nova Scotia centres for a few weeks Gordon was sent to Prince Edward Island "for the winter."³⁵ This suggests the possibility that, as in the case of John Keir a few years later, Gordon was initially appointed to the Island, then ordained and inducted following a Call received after a period of service during which the people got to know him, i.e. 1807.

Since the presentation of this paper in Halifax in October 2005, I have learned of and examined a document that hangs in the United Church at St. Peter's, PE. Clearly marked "Copy" and dated 29 October 1807, it is not in itself a Call (the word is not used) as we know it today but what we would now call a "Guarantee of Stipend" which is an integral part of a Call. The thirteen signatories, "Inhabitants of the Bay of Fortune district" promise to pay the Rev. Peter Gordon Sixteen Pounds Currency annually, "one third in Cash, the other two-thirds in [. . .] Produce at current prices at time of Delivery." They promised further to appoint collectors who were to be responsible to see that Mr. Gordon received the amount subscribed and to provide him with copies of minutes of meetings held for the purpose of appointing said collectors. Bay Fortune was one congregation of a three-point charge. Undoubtedly similar documents would have been produced by supporters in Cove Head and St. Peter's.

If this should be the case there is the question of whether or not MacGregor was involved in any way in the preparation and processing of the call as he was in the case of Keir's (1809), and also did he participate in either Gordon's Ordination or Induction as he did regarding Keir (1810) and James Pidgeon (1812)? I have not found any reference to MacGregor or other members of Presbytery coming to the Island for one or both of these special services which can be conducted only by Presbytery, or those designated by the court to do so. The situation suggests the possibility of a visit by MacGregor to Prince Edward Island in 1807 which has escaped being recorded, at least in my sources.

Peter Gordon heard a letter from James MacGregor read in his home church in Scotland. In response he began studies for the ministry and worked so diligently as to permanently injure his health. On first meeting MacGregor in the new land he rushed into his arms and said, "Oh, father you have brought me to this country."³⁶ While appointed to the pastoral charge of Cove Head, St. Peter's, and Bay Fortune, like all pioneer clergy he traveled widely wherever his services were required. The Rev. T. F. Fullerton put it this way, "Mr. Gordon, while nominally the minister of the aforementioned charge, was in reality a missionary in charge of the Presbyterian population of the province."³⁷ These rigorous demands proved to be too much and he passed away in 1809 after a ministry of only three years.

In 1809 MacGregor was sent by presbytery to assist Mr. Gordon's widow. Mrs. Gordon, like her late husband, had been moved to cross the Atlantic as a result of having

³⁴ MacLeod 59.

³⁵ Patterson, *Memoir* 357.

³⁶ Patterson, *Memoir* 357.

³⁷ T. F. Fullerton, "Precis of the History of the Presbyterian Church in Prince Edward Island," *Past and Present of Prince Edward Island*, eds. D.A. MacKinnon and A. B. Warburton (Charlottetown: B. F. Brown, 1906) 307a.

heard one of Dr. MacGregor's appeals read in her home church. In 1812 she and MacGregor, who had also been widowed, were married.

During this visit MacGregor also preached at St. Peter's, Cavendish, and Princetown where he moderated in a call for the Rev. John Keir. Mr. Keir had been sent out to minister in Halifax, but because of the failing health of Peter Gordon he was sent to Princetown for the winter of 1808. With the death of Mr. Gordon in 1809 the people of Princetown called Keir to become their settled minister. Approval having been given by the Presbytery of Pictou, Keir was ordained on 10 June 1810, at which time MacGregor delivered a sermon in Gaelic.³⁸ Keir served a large parish comprising virtually the western end of the Island, including Cavendish, New London, Bedeque, Richmond Bay, and Princetown. In 1844 he was appointed Professor of Theology at the Theological Hall by the Synod of Nova Scotia.³⁹

In the interval between MacGregor's first visit to Princetown in 1791 and Keir's arrival in 1808 the Rev. John Urquhart, a minister of the Church of Scotland, appeared from the United States in 1800 and stayed about two years. I have found no reference to any relationship between Urquhart and MacGregor or the presbytery which was Secession, not Church of Scotland.

In 1812 MacGregor came to P.E.I. for the Induction of the Rev. James Pidgeon in the charge made vacant by the death of Peter Gordon, namely St. Peter's, Cove Head, and Bay Fortune. He landed at Georgetown and traveled overland by horseback to St. Peter's. Following the Induction he returned to Georgetown and Murray Harbour, preaching in both places. He returned home from Murray Harbour. It seems that since the western part of the Island was now served by Dr. Keir and the east by Mr. Pidgeon he did not feel the same need to itinerate. Rev. James Pidgeon was an ancestor of the Rev. Dr. George Pidgeon, the first Moderator of the United Church of Canada. Following the Induction MacGregor said, "You ought to be much obliged to me, as I have taken your former minister's wife off your hands, and now I am come to give you another minister."⁴⁰

Just as MacGregor was quick to seize upon opportunities to preach to groups, he was equally adept at directing conversations with individuals to matters of faith. On one occasion, while in a home in St. Peter's, he became engaged in conversation with a guest from England who had been a "man-of-war sailor." The minister of this man's youth was an author with whose writings MacGregor was familiar. He invited the very reluctant sailor to come to hear one of his sermons and was quite persistent about it. Following the service and further personal entreaties the man responded to the challenge and became a very active member of the church, later serving as an elder.⁴¹

³⁸ Patterson, *Memoir* 359, 362.

³⁹ From 1844 to 1846 theological classes were held in Keir's home in Princetown, PE. It was spoken of as The Theological Hall (sometimes Divinity Hall). In 1847 classes were held in West River (Now Durham), Pictou County, NS rather than in Princetown. The Theological Hall later moved to Truro (where Keir died), then to Halifax, eventually becoming part of Pine Hill Divinity Hall and later the Atlantic School of Theology. See R. Sheldon MacKenzie, *Gathered by the River. The Story of the West River Seminary and Theological Hall, 1848-1858* (Winnipeg: Hignell, 1998) 21.

⁴⁰ Patterson, *Memoir* 368.

⁴¹ Patterson, *Memoir* 334.

Patterson relates an amusing incident which was somewhat typical of the time. On one occasion when MacGregor was preaching in a private home, a woman with a restless child reached up to the mantel piece seeking something to amuse the child. She dislodged a deck of cards and scattered them on the floor. The embarrassed woman picked them up and threw them into the fire while MacGregor went on with his sermon without saying a word on the subject or giving any indication that he had noticed the incident.⁴²

The years 1816, 1817, and 1818 saw MacGregor conduct a number of tours of a considerable part of the Island. While he did visit some of the places where he was well known, at this point he concentrated more on a number of new settlements, chiefly in the south-eastern part of the province, where there were now flourishing congregations as a result of an influx of Scottish settlers since the turn of the century.

MacGregor preached in New London and Princetown in 1817, after which he went to some of those newer congregations. In West (York) River he preached to a considerable congregation of English and a large congregation of Gaelic-speaking people. Belfast was included in the schedule of visits in both 1816 and 1817.

In 1819 MacGregor visited the Island for the Ordination and Induction of Andrew Nicoll into the Richmond Bay charge, formerly part of Dr. Keir's charge. He then traveled the south shore to Wood Islands from where he was taken back to Pictou.

The year 1821 saw MacGregor on Prince Edward Island sharing in three significant events on the one trip, namely the Induction of Robert Douglas at Cove Head, the Ordination of William MacGregor who was to succeed Mr. Nicoll after his premature death, and the constitution of the Presbytery of Prince Edward Island.

On 11 October 1821 the Secession Presbytery of Prince Edward Island was constituted "by deed of the Synod of the Presbyterian church of Nova Scotia" in the home of Archibald Campbell in Belmont, Lot 16.⁴³ The Rev. John Keir was Moderator, the Rev. Robert Douglas, who had succeeded Mr. Pidgeon at Cove Head earlier that year, was Clerk. Other members were the Rev. William MacGregor and Mr. Edward Ramsay, Ruling Elder. This was the third Presbytery to become a part of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church (Secession) of Nova Scotia which had been constituted in 1817. The others were Pictou and Truro. James MacGregor was present for this happy event. For him "This was a matter of great joy," writes Patterson:

When we consider the "long desolations" of the Island, and his many toilsome journeys in planting and watering the good seed of the gospel truth among its inhabitants, we need not wonder that he should be filled with gratitude to God, at seeing the Church thus completely established there, and that he should feel as if his work in that part of the Church was done.⁴⁴

MacGregor did not visit Prince Edward Island again.

⁴² Patterson, *Memoir* 333.

⁴³ MacLeod 18-19.

⁴⁴ Patterson, *Memoir* 448.

Rev. James MacGregor: A Visit and a Re-Visit

Alan Wilson

The German historian, Leopold von Ranke, hoped that history would become an objective science. But because, like economics, history leans heavily on psychology and on the difficulty in determining the roots of human behaviour, both have never grown beyond highly skilled crafts. Despite Ranke, then, the practice of history retains an element of mystery, which is reinforced when one turns to its handmaiden, biography. For biography aspires to put one person into another's skin, and that is a formidable aspiration.

In preparing a paper in graduate school on the great historian of the English Civil War, S. R. Gardiner, I was given a leg up in that awesome task. For I learned that before Gardiner wrote a line of his remarkable work, he travelled by bicycle to every English Civil War battlefield and site. He called it "History on the ground"—a stage in the process of developing a history or biography. After that, I never failed to follow his example.

So it was with James MacGregor. During my early research I visited every scene of his activity in the Maritimes, and last fall travelled to his birthplace in Strathearn, to the seats of his education at Dunblane, Glasgow and Alloa, and to some of the over one dozen Scottish sites where he taught and served during a seven-year apprenticeship between graduating from the University of Glasgow and coming to Pictou. The result was my recommitment to the project, for it gave me a sense of the boy and man that no amount of reading had yielded. This morning I want first to touch on my trip to Scotland and its purposes; and then to suggest how those new leads and renewed conviction prompted fresh perspectives and a bolder estimate of MacGregor's life and work. Hence, a revised subtitle: "A Visit and a Re-Visit."

James MacGregor was born beside Loch Earn in Perthshire in the year that Wolfe captured Quebec, 1759; he died in Pictou in 1830. Yet his name is still familiar to most Pictonians, to many on Prince Edward Island, and in eastern New Brunswick and western Cape Breton, where he also ministered. But one way or another he often appears as a caricature, prompted by two things: first, even still by *modern* characterizations that stem from persistent sectarian rivalry over competing forms of eighteenth and nineteenth-century Scottish Presbyterianism; and second, from the hagiographic treatment and rococo style in which he was presented by his grandson, editor and memorialist, Rev. George Patterson.¹

In some respects, too, he's been *eclipsed*—put in the shadow by a curious over-evaluation of a colleague who was, ironically, his greatest *admirer*, Thomas McCulloch. McCulloch always sought the limelight, but there was one man with whom he was always

¹ George Patterson, *Memoir of the Rev. James MacGregor, D.D.* (Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, 1859); George Patterson, ed., *A Few Remains of the Rev. James MacGregor, D.D.* (Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, 1859).

willing to share it—in his own words, “the noble Dr. MacGregor.” What must he think today, when MacGregor is sometimes pictured as a simple bush preacher—admittedly pious and an indefatigable missionary, but really a simple, even bigoted evangelist with a rough Highland charm best suited to homesick pioneers and peasants?

Thomas McCulloch, on the other hand, is increasingly hailed as the bringer of light and sophistication to a fractious frontier, a man of liberal ways and orderly democratic principle, who laid the foundation for our pre-Victorian educational development (or, if you were a King’s College supporter, challenged and thwarted it).

Three recent scholars have begun MacGregor’s rehabilitation: Barry Cahill in several notable articles;² Susan Buggey in her fine *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* entry;³ and Jenni Calder in her recent *Scots in Canada*.⁴ I hope soon to join their ranks with the first full-scale biography.

But lately, I’ve begun to wonder whether, when I launched my enquiry decades ago, I wasn’t guided. For, whether by serendipity—or as some here may prefer, predestination—I’ve recently been confirmed in my purpose by two things: the many connections between my interest in MacGregor and that of others on the worldwide web; and by several incidents on my trip to Scotland.

In tracing MacGregor’s *poetic* output alone, for example, my web contacts led from Halifax to Pictou and Mabou; then to Toronto, Streetsville and the Lakehead; to the Universities of Wisconsin and Harvard; to Washington, D.C., Maryland, and Virginia; to the Universities of Glasgow, Strathclyde, Edinburgh and London; to Nigg in Ross-shire, and finally to New Zealand. In all these places, I found an interest in MacGregor and a willingness to forward papers or refer me to other sources. It was like a lively game of pool—the balls impelling one another—and it has resulted so far in visits from three countries.

Then I went to Scotland—and again, the Internet and email helped prepare the way. At the airport, I found my name missing from the list of economy seats to Glasgow, but I was promptly bumped up to deluxe at no extra charge. Air Canada, I told myself, wants my MacGregor to be finished.

Having arrived in Glasgow at the start of a Bank Holiday weekend, I despaired of gaining access to any material before the Tuesday, but at the University of Glasgow’s Library I found a box reserved for me. It contained MacGregor’s published poetry, papers in his hand on Erse and Gaelic etymology, records of his graduation and honorary degree, and

² Barry Cahill, “The Antislavery Polemic of the Reverend James MacGregor: Canada’s Proto-Abolitionist as ‘Radical Evangelical,’” *The Contribution of Presbyterianism to the Maritime Provinces of Canada*, eds. Charles H. H. Scobie and G. A. Rawlyk (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997) [131]-143; “Mediating a Scottish Enlightenment Ideal: The Presbyterian Dissenter Attack on Slavery in Late Eighteenth-Century Nova Scotia,” *Myth, Migration and the Making of Memory, Scotia and Nova Scotia c. 1700-1990*, eds. Marjory Harper and Michael E. Vance (Halifax & Edinburgh: Fernwood Books and Gorsebrook Research Institute and John Donald, 1999) 189-201; “‘Nowhere to be Seen’: Blacks as an Invisible Minority at the James MacGregor Sesquicentenary Celebration of 1936,” *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 40.1 (1995): 5-30; “The Reverend James MacGregor Marriage Scandal,” *Nova Scotia Genealogist* 13.3 (1995): 134-136.

³ Susan Buggey, “MacGregor (McGregor), James Drummond, 1759-1830,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 6 (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1987) 457-462; “Keir, John, 1780-1858,” *DCB*, vol. 8 451-453.

⁴ Jenni Calder, *Scots in Canada* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2003).

an exchange with his lifelong friend, John Jamieson—Scotland's Dr. Johnson as the compiler of the first Gaelic etymological dictionary. Further, I was given a guide to help me through the library holdings.

Consequently, I did four days work in under two, worked the great Mitchell Library, and had plenty of time to explore the old Glasgow that MacGregor had known—and to roam Argyllshire, where for several years he apprenticed and researched the Gaelic language, poetry and folklore, before leaving for Nova Scotia.

After that, I drove to Whitburn, situated mid-way between Glasgow and Edinburgh in the Bathgate district of West Lothian. This was the site of the Anti-burgher seminary of Rev. Archibald Bruce, the prolific professor who worked closely with MacGregor from 1793 until his death in 1816, preparing and encouraging young men to join MacGregor on mission. The Bruce connection is vital to assessing Pictou Presbytery, for Bruce trained almost all of those who served with MacGregor before 1820, including his three closest collaborators: Duncan Ross, Thomas McCulloch and John Keir.⁵

Indeed, for MacGregor the connection with Bruce became deeply personal, for he turned for his second wife to Bruce's niece and former housekeeper, Janet Auld. Most of the ministerial members of MacGregor's Presbytery, then, had been equipped and urged to go to Pictou by Bruce, and inspired to do so by MacGregor's famed letter of 1793, appealing for co-workers.⁶

Archibald Bruce was also the Tom Paine of Scotland—an inveterate pamphleteer who kept a whole press busy in his support of the American and French Revolutions, of freedom of the press, and the need to abolish slavery, to evangelize overseas, and to win wider public education. Bruce's radicalism struck a chord with MacGregor, and was felt by those whom Bruce sent to join him. In time, they made up the largest Anti-burgher presbytery in North America.

MacGregor and his colleagues, then, were not only linked by a conventional Christian mission, but by an activist *social gospel*. MacGregor and Duncan Ross led a determined temperance crusade, promoted formal and applied education among rural Nova Scotians, especially farmers, and all followed MacGregor in his concern for the welfare of Blacks, Indians, and indigent immigrants, including poor Catholic arrivals.

Moreover, since most of those who joined him at Pictou had, like him, attended Glasgow University, they'd also been touched by its lively spirit in these years when there flourished at Glasgow, in gown and town, a sharp social criticism, antislavery agitation, political enquiry, religious dissent, and a growing Anti-burgher home base.⁷

In visiting Scotland I was looking for evidence of Glasgow's, Whitburn's and Bruce's influence on MacGregor and his colleagues. Again, my advance correspondence paid off handsomely—or was there another hand at work? I defer to the experts present.

⁵ Sherman Isbell, "Archibald Bruce," *Dictionary of Scottish Church History & Theology*, 1993 ed.; W. G. B., "Archibald Bruce," *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1886 ed.; Derek B. Murray, "Archibald Bruce," *DNB*, 2004 ed.; W. B. McMartin, *Brucefield Church, Whitburn: A History of the Congregation, 1857-1957* ([Whitburn?]: [The Church?], 1957).

⁶ "Letter to the General Associate Synod," 1793, Patterson, ed., *A Few Remains* 189-203.

⁷ Irene Maver, *Glasgow* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000) 16-34; A. L. Brown and Michael Moss, *The University of Glasgow, 1451-1996* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996) 1-31.

Craig Hunter, Whitburn's webmaster, was waiting at the library steps, and I was shown the town and district, the site of the barracks in which Bruce's students had lived, and his own home. I was introduced to the presbytery's history while in Bruce's old churchyard, standing between his elaborate headstone and one of Janet Auld's family.

Inside, I listened for the echo of Duncan Ross' wit, the voices of McCulloch or Keir, or even of Bruce himself. Incidentally, someone described Bruce's slow delivery of sermon or lecture as "in the muffled tones of the 'Dead March in Saul,' but uttering a depth of wisdom worthy of being listened to by a conclave of bishops."⁸ And finally, I confirmed Janet Auld's name among the parishioners, together with MacGregor's Pictou colleagues.

Whitburn's obliging public library had laid out every reference to Bruce, together with a treasury of local histories, all ready for photocopying. As I read, I learned that in Bathgate district there had been quite cordial relations between Burghers and Anti-burghers—a point I looked for when I came to examine the church union movement in Nova Scotia in 1816-1817. So, the Whitburn visit was marked by many courtesies and provided fresh leads.

Next day I drove past Edinburgh, turning north toward the Ochills, working my way up the Allan Water to the ancient cathedral and college town of Dunblane. There, MacGregor had received his secondary education and been inspired by the local legends to follow a lifelong interest in folklore, some of whose superstitions he believed, as in the water-kelpies.

From my bed and breakfast on the cathedral square I was directed a few steps away to the sixteenth-century Bishop Leighton Library. There I asked directions to MacGregor's old school, and whether there were sources to tell me what kind of education and inspiration eighteenth-century Dunblane had offered. The librarian replied pleasantly, "Well, my husband may be able to help you. He's just published a history of Dunblane. He's at the back of the room." So, when Erskine Duncan and I completed our tour and review of Dunblane and its old school site in Smithy Loan—and I'd been given a copy of his book—he'd supplied answers to many of my speculations.⁹

Next morning, encouraged, I set out for Strathearn—Muthill, Crieff, and Comrie—planning a late afternoon arrival at MacGregor's birthplace, Portmore (now St. Fillans), at the foot, the eastern end of the mountain-girdled Loch Earn. Strathearn was the scene of MacGregor's boyhood, home to several of his Pictou ministerial colleagues, and to many of his Pictou and Prince Edward Island parishioners. Here he'd been moulded, and I determined on an active stay, despite the awful weather. I would not be disappointed.

Crieff proved to be a grand granite town to which I returned several times. At Comrie, I looked for the church of MacGregor's close friend and constant correspondent, Rev. Samuel Gilfillan. For years Gilfillan had forwarded MacGregor's letters to their *Christian Magazine*, which helps to account for his large correspondence. Disappointed in my initial search, I resolved to return the next day, and drove on the final six miles to St. Fillans, where, through the Internet, I'd found Achray Cottage at the Portmore end of St. Fillans.

It was a briefly sunny evening as I drove beside the Earn River, which rushes to the North Sea past Dunira, where MacGregor's mother had been born—described then as "the

⁸ Murray, "Archibald Bruce," *DNB*, 2004 ed.

⁹ Erskine Duncan, *Dunblane; St. Blane's: A History* (Dunblane: n.p., 2002).

most singular spot in the world.”¹⁰ Then into St. Fillans, following the shore and turning into the driveway of a charming stone cottage. I got out, scanned the magnificent Ben Vuith across the loch, and looked westward in wonder at the snow-capped Highlands that loom over and beyond Balquidher, Rob Roy’s resting place, ten miles away.

My journey had ended, but little did I suspect how literally this was so, for I learned to my astonishment that Achray Cottage stood where once had been the cottage in which MacGregor had been born and raised. I slept well.

Next morning, a further surprise when, during an early breakfast, the telephone rang. The call was for me. But how could anyone have found me so soon? I feared dreadful news from home, but after lifting the receiver anxiously, heard instead a cheerful greeting, “Good morning, Alan! Welcome to Strathearn!” It was Charlie Scobie, calling from *his* birthplace, Comrie—where he was renting Sam Gilfillan’s old manse. My daughter in Sackville, NB had emailed him. Would I come for coffee at 11:00? At that moment, I was almost converted to my grandmother’s Presbyterianism. Surely this was the faith in which everything a scholar needed fell into place!

What followed were days of unrelieved rain, while I climbed the Goat Track, tested the Scree Slope, walked the riverbank, climbed to the Pictish fortress and St. Fillans Chair, tramped the moors atop the hills running west to Lochearnhead, and paused at Rob Roy’s grave. At Kinkell, standing on the beautiful four-arched bridge, I thought of the MacGregors on the greenbank below me, having walked eighteen miles to join their small band of Anti-burghers for another outdoor service. Everywhere MacGregor had been, I went—as recorded in his memoirs and on the map he’d drawn, which I’d found at Sackville. I was determined to re-live what this adventurous boy and young man had experienced. Later, the Mik’ma would present him with snowshoes in recognition of his extra-ordinary skill in adapting to deep snow and prolonged forest travel. In Strathearn, I learned why—how he’d first become, as McCulloch described him, “a man of sinew.”¹¹

Earlier in my trip, at Glasgow, I’d walked the Trongate district where MacGregor had boarded amidst Glasgow’s growing industrial pollution; I’d followed the High Street to marvel at St. Mungo’s grand cathedral, as he must have done, though it was by then Kirk; I’d looked sadly at his college from behind a demolition boarding; and strolled Glasgow Green, half-expecting to see him in his scarlet gown, like those that appeared later at Pictou Academy. I had scoured the books. Now I was looking for *life*, and Argyll, Strathclyde, Whitburn, and Strathearn brought it home to me.

But how had a poor shepherd’s son from a tiny hamlet won his way to Dunblane and Glasgow? The Glasgow of the 1770s, when the Scottish Enlightenment was at its peak, when Adam Smith had barely left the Glasgow scene, but when Thomas Reid and John Millar¹² were at the height of their powers in the intimacy of a little college that nurtured a mere three hundred students; the Glasgow that was becoming a magnet for ambitious working and middle classes, and would soon be composed by forty percent of dissenters. It was already the focus of the Anti-burgher and Antislavery movements, and MacGregor would embrace

¹⁰ Sarah Murray, *A Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland* (London, 1799).

¹¹ Thomas McCulloch, “Morton,” [untitled, n.p., n.d.] Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management, Thomas McCulloch Papers, MG1, Vol. 555, No.76.

¹² William C. Lehmann, *John Millar of Glasgow, 1735-1801: His Life and Thought and his Contributions to Sociological Analysis* (London, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1960).

both, bringing out in Halifax in 1788 his greatest memorial: the first antislavery broadside published in British North America.¹³

John Jamieson entered Glasgow at twelve. Five years later, he befriended the shepherd's son, took him to his father's important Anti-burgher pulpit, shared his love of language—especially the Gaelic—and together they began their lifelong researches. In time, although in distant Pictou, it was MacGregor to whom the British and Foreign Bible Society and, at home, Scotland's Gaelic School Society, turned to edit and approve their Gaelic publications.

Jamieson applauded MacGregor's becoming a Fellow of the Scottish Society of Antiquarians and Philologists, and receiving an Honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from Glasgow in 1823. Meantime, apart from his mission triumphs, MacGregor, whose first tongue was border English, won recognition for his Gaelic and Hebrew, commanded Greek and Latin, had some capacity in French and Mik'maq, and undertook research in Erse and Basque. In 1823 he sent Jamieson a sixty-page manuscript, *Analogy of the Gaelic and Hebrew Languages*, which Jamieson rated "clever and ingenious."¹⁴

In Edinburgh four years earlier, MacGregor had published a small part of his creative work: his *Dain*, twenty-three Gaelic spiritual poems, which he had also set to *music*.¹⁵ Fifty years later they were still being crooned to children in the Highlands, and had been republished in Pictou.¹⁶ Only twenty years ago the distinguished editor of the *Historical Dictionary of Scottish Gaelic* ranked him successor to Dugald Buchanan, the great eighteenth-century Gaelic poet of the evangelical movement;¹⁷ two years ago, the American authority, Michael Newton, evaluating Highland contributions to America, included MacGregor's poetry.¹⁸ He wrote many more poems, but they've been lost. In Pictou and on the Island, where he recited at weddings and around the fire, he was known as "Poet MacGregor." This, then, was the simple bush preacher.

But MacGregor also followed the development of science and technology, writing about the environmental implications of pushing their boundaries.¹⁹ His part in advancing agricultural practices rivals his renowned compatriot, John Young, "Agricola," whom he dismissed as a mere "gentleman farmer."²⁰ He and Duncan Ross founded district agricultural societies; he invented farm tools, rotated tillage, experimented at burning coal with limestone for soil improvement, won two-thirds of his district's farm prizes, and rallied "improvers"

¹³ James MacGregor, "A Letter to a Clergyman, Urging Him to Set Free a Black Girl He Held in Slavery," (1788), Patterson, *A Few Remains* 166-188.

¹⁴ University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, MS Gen 895.

¹⁵ Seumas MacGrhigair, *Dain a chomhadh crabhuidh: searmonaich a t-soisgeil' an America mu thuath* (Glaschu: Clo-Bhuailte Le Og & Galie, 1819).

¹⁶ *The Gaelic Poems of the Late Rev. James MacGregor, D.D.* (Pictou: J. D. McDonald, 1862).

¹⁷ K. D. Macdonald, "Dugald Buchanan," *A Companion to Scottish Culture*, ed. David Daiches (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1982) 45.

¹⁸ Michael Newton, *We're Indians Sure Enough: The Legacy of the Scottish Highlanders to the United States* (Alexandria, Va.: Thistle & Shamrock Books, 2002).

¹⁹ "Essay on the Duration and Character of the Millennial Age...", *The Christian Magazine*, 1.5 (1797), Patterson, *A Few Remains* 99-134.

²⁰ James MacGregor, letter to John Young, NSARM, RG 5, vol. 6, Nos. 130, 131, 140, 144.

from Truro to Guyborough to Amherst—who later, as reformers, formed the nucleus of the provincial Liberal party.²¹

His persistent advocacy of a Pictou coal industry and his knowledge of field geology led to his discovery of iron ore and hematite at Stellarton,²² leading later to the introduction of the Bessemer steel process in Canada, and to his grandson's becoming President of Nova Scotia Steel and Coal, and Lieutenant Governor of the province. His experiments in trying to heat his house with Pictou's natural gas only failed for want of enough lead pipe and capital—else he would have been founding President of Consumer's Gas of New Glasgow. This, then, was no simple, pious bush evangelist, but a man of the Scottish Enlightenment, an intellectual for whom all learning was a challenge, both to understanding and to *application*.

A final word or two about MacGregor's role in religious organization and education: newly ordained in 1786, isolated, and Synod having recently banned intercourse with other Presbyterian bodies, he had no option but to await reinforcements. He waited nine years, but in 1795, when Duncan Ross and John Brown appeared, they all agreed to override Synod's strict views on the Westminster Confession, adopting a more flexible position that helped close the gap with Truro's Burgher Presbytery. After that, relations warmed steadily, and in 1816-1817, MacGregor's quiet diplomacy won the cooperation of Truro's new leader, Rev. Hugh Graham.

Several factors linked MacGregor and Graham, and eased the prospects of union: Hugh Graham hailed from Archibald Bruce's tolerant Bathgate district; his sister attended Whitburn's Burgher church, and must have known Janet Auld MacGregor; Archibald Bruce named his Burgher opposite number at Whitburn as his co-executor along with MacGregor; Graham and MacGregor were corresponding agricultural improvers; and in dealing with the question of dissenter union, Graham spoke of Pictou Presbytery as "Mr. McGregor's church."²³ By 1817, through their cooperation, a new Secessionist "Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia" was formed, with MacGregor as First Moderator.

In education, Thomas McCulloch receives accolades for his initiatives, yet, unlike MacGregor and Keir, he did little for elementary schooling, and by his own intransigence, ultimately scuttled Pictou Academy. McCulloch's college curriculum was not new, but mirrored Glasgow's;²⁴ his theological curriculum followed Archibald Bruce's, and was later broadened by John Keir; and then, depressed over his finances and the fall of the Academy, McCulloch wrote a novel, *Melville*, in which MacGregor appears *by name* and is acknowledged as the wiser and truer apostle.²⁵

Two fundamentals of MacGregor's missions have been under-estimated. The first contradicts any charge of bigotry, for from the start, as he wrote, "I resolved not to confine my visitations to Presbyterians, but to include all, of every denomination, who would make

²¹ Allan C. Dunlop, "Ross, Duncan" *DCB*, 6: 659-60.

²² James M. Cameron, *Industrial History of the New Glasgow District* (New Glasgow: Hector Publishing, 1960) iii, 1, 2.

²³ Hugh Graham to William Hamilton, Whitburn, 26 February 1820, NSARM, M.G.1, B1.

²⁴ B. Anne Wood, "Schooling for Presbyterian Leaders: The College Years of Pictou Academy, 1816-1832," *The Burning Bush and a Few Acres of Snow: the Presbyterian Contribution to Canadian Life and Culture*, ed. William Klempa, Carleton Library Ser. 180 (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1994) 36.

²⁵ Thomas McCulloch, "Morton," [untitled, n.p., n.d.] in NSARM, Thomas McCulloch Papers, MG1, Vol. 555, No. 76.

me welcome.”²⁶ And he did. The second was his requirement at baptism that parents not only foster the child’s religious growth, but that they pledge to provide the best general education they could afford. J. P. MacPhie concludes, “From the beginning, he made [. . .] schools and the education of the *people* second only to the preaching of the gospel.”²⁷

He had an early twentieth-century parallel in Father Tommy Tomkins, the early leader of the Antigonish movement in adult education. Both relished informal “kitchen visits” as occasions for instruction, and MacGregor welcomed the coming of Mechanics Institutes.²⁸ Meantime, on the Island, John Keir and his wife also sparked the growth of schools. But although Keir spearheaded a separate Island Presbytery, he remained in close touch with Pictou, later playing a key role in developing theological training at the West River seminary. Only MacGregor, who’d waited nine years for added supply, knew as keenly as the Island’s Keir the importance of training new clergy at home, if only to guarantee supply.

MacGregor had attracted and shepherded a widely extended and influential team of liberal-minded men—men who, like him, were products of the Scottish Enlightenment, and who agreed to make education at all levels and spheres their second mission. Thus, regard for education and respect for clerical direction were deeply engrained in Pictou with MacGregor’s coming. The ground had been long and well prepared by him and by all of his colleagues, for Thomas McCulloch’s activities—and Pictou’s social and economic expansion also came at an opportune time for his zeal. But MacGregor as often turned to Ross and Keir as to McCulloch, and they always sustained him.

His courage and leadership were singular, the results were the product of a lively team. I hope I’ve given you a glimpse of this remarkable “Highland Shepherd,” James MacGregor.

²⁶ Patterson, *Memoir* 122-123.

²⁷ J. P. McPhie, *Pictonians At Home and Abroad* (Boston: Pinkham Press, 1914) 149.

²⁸ “Address to the Students of the Pictou Academy,” 2 January 1826, Patterson, *A Few Remains* 245.

Passionate Presbyterians and the Battle for a Locally Trained Ministry

Allan C. Dunlop

Seven years ago almost to the day, on 20 October 1998, the Synod of the Atlantic Provinces of the Presbyterian Church in Canada adjourned its Third Sederunt, at what was Dr. Thomas McCulloch's First Presbyterian Church, Pictou, gathered for the Synod Banquet at the Royal Canadian Legion Hall, and then sojourned to Durham, West River Pastoral Charge consisting of West River (Durham), Salem (Green Hill) and St. Luke's (Saltsprings) to celebrate the 150th Anniversary of the founding of the West River Seminary & Theological Hall. I had the honour to be present, and, as the program described it, provide an "Historical Address." It was a flattering description, but I doubt, after too much debate and too much food, many will recall or long remember the content of my presentation that beautiful Fall evening.¹ I had been somewhat circumscribed in my observations by the fact that the Atlantic Presbytery had retained the services of Dr. Sheldon MacKenzie who, in time for the anniversary, produced the book *Gathered by the River: The Story of the West River Seminary and Theological Hall, 1848-1858*.² I chose, and to some extent that which I am about to inflict upon you is an attempt, to set the stage for the establishment of the educational facility not only at Durham but also its later period in Truro, Nova Scotia. A locally trained ministry was a Presbyterian obsession—you agreed or you disagreed. When I use the phrase "Passionate Presbyterians" in my title, a good friend suggested the phrase was an oxymoron, perhaps akin to "wet Baptists"—I think he forgot the affinity of Baptists and water.

Let us begin by reviewing the period 1823-1848, leading to the establishment of the Presbyterian Seminary at Durham, and conclude with the burial in Truro on 27 October 1942 of Fannie H. Smith, then the "oldest native born member of the Town [. . .]."³ That one-hundred and nineteen-year period would see not only the founding of the Free Church of Scotland in 1843, with its devastating impact on the Presbyterian Church in British North America, but also the eventual emergence of the United Church of Canada in 1925 with similar negative impacts on local Presbyterian congregations.

The educational/political/religious ethos of Pictou County prior to 1848 sets the stage for the Seminary and Theological Hall at Durham. Rather than impose upon you

¹ Minutes. One Hundred Twenty-Fifth Annual Meeting, (The 181st Since Organization) Synod of the Atlantic Provinces. The Presbyterian Church of Canada. Pictou, NS, 19-21 October 1998. Program West River Pastoral Charge, Pictou Co., NS, Tuesday, 20 October 1998. 150th Anniversary of the West River Seminary & Theological Hall.

² R. Sheldon MacKenzie, *Gathered by the River: The Story of the West River Seminary and Theological Hall, 1848-1858* (Winnipeg: Hignell, 1998).

³ *Truro Daily News* 29 Oct. 1942: 5.

my interpretation of events through the distorting prism of today's values, or lack thereof, the main players and others contemporary to the events will speak for themselves. Many will be familiar to you. Thomas McCulloch, Duncan Ross, his son James, and even Jotham Blanchard. Less well remembered may be Rev. Hugh Ross and the chief Kirk protagonists Donald Allan Fraser, Kenneth John Mackenzie and Dugald McKichan. Add Joseph Howe and Norman MacLeod, "the hero-tyrant of St. Ann's"⁴ and we have sufficient material for either a Shakespearian tragedy or comedy.

Where to start may be the question. In 1820 Thomas McCulloch began his efforts to train a local ministry. When the first student licensed to preach, Archibald Patterson, son of Deacon John Patterson, died, it was viewed as a telling omen among the superstitious Scots.⁵ Indeed as historian George Patterson summed up the situation, to train a local ministry was

[. . .] an experiment [. . .] to which its friends had many fears, while others regarded it as without the least doubt destined to ignominious failure. The very idea that men born in the woods of Nova Scotia, who had never seen Scotland, trained here in an institution with at most two professors, could become acceptable preachers, was scouted as the height of absurdity. "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth," was the sentiment freely expressed. Native preachers were derided in advance, and when they first appeared in public, there were those who went to witness their failure and with it the end of the whole scheme.⁶

Despite opposition and doubt, from 1820 forward local ministers were trained and eventually served congregations throughout the region. Kirk prelate Donald Allan Fraser condemned the Academy: "[. . .] it has been perverted to the purposes of a College in which Dr. McCulloch & his Son teach Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Logic, Moral & Natural Philosophy, Mathematicks, Church History and Divinity!"⁷ The other polarization can be summarized in a letter quoted by Rev. Kenneth John Mackenzie to the Secretary of the Glasgow Colonial Society: "[. . .] I wonder that a man of your sagacity would prefer waiting for some animal that would not be permitted to ascend a pulpit in Scotland & therefore compelled to emigrate, rather than take native genius."⁸ The author of the letter was probably Jotham Blanchard, a staunch McCulloch supporter who was attempting to rebuke an individual who had abandoned the Anti-burghers for the Kirk. Not an unbiased source but his comments underscore the gulf which existed over the issue of a

⁴ John S. Moir, *The Cross in Canada: Vignettes of the Church Across Four Centuries* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1966) 130.

⁵ George Patterson, "The First Theological Hall in the British Colonies," *The Theologue* 3.1 (1891): 6. Archibald Patterson died 25 September 1821 while overseas for theological studies and was buried in Paisley, Scotland.

⁶ George Patterson, *The Theologue* 3.2 (1892): 34.

⁷ Elizabeth A. K. McDougall and John S. Moir, eds., *The Publications of the Champlain Society: Selected Correspondence of the Glasgow Colonial Society, 1825-1840* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1994) 179.

⁸ McDougall and Moir 174.

native trained ministry.⁹ Lt. Gov. Sir James Kempt in 1826 thought he might balance the field by suggesting the House of Assembly provide an annual grant to the Church of Scotland. The balloon never got in the air.¹⁰ The feisty Kirk minister, Donald Allan Fraser described his opposites as “lax in discipline, unsound in doctrine, and persecutors in spirit [. . .]”¹¹ as well as “malignant enemies [. . .].”¹²

The Presbyterian Church did not prosper in its divisions. William Lawson Grant, in his biography of his father, notes that Pictou County was infused with “a miasma of narrowness” the result of which was “a struggle [. . .] of whose half tragic, half ludicrous intensity, it is difficult to form an idea.”¹³ Clarence MacKinnon, biographer of Rev. John Forbes, condemned the Free Church minister at Goshen, Rev. Alex Campbell, as follows: “His diatribes against the old Kirk were more gratifying to the passion of the natural man than edifying to the Christian spirit.”¹⁴ But let it be said of Rev. Campbell, he was probably taking his lead from his brethren in Scotland who took some pleasure in the “disruption,” and some locally who witnessed the abandoning of pulpits in Nova Scotia when in Scotland two-hundred and three ministers left the General Assembly in 1843 to found the Free Church of Scotland. The “disruption” only focused local animosities. Rev. Norman MacLeod, a loose cannon at best, noted from scenic St. Ann’s, Cape Breton, the chaos in Scotland was produced by a caste that was “[. . .] an ecclesiastical den of thieves, our unlucky Old Scotland.”¹⁵ The ditty of the day was:

The wee Kirk, the Free Kirk
The Kirk wi’out the steeple
The auld Kirk, the cauld Kirk
The Kirk without the people.¹⁶

Even if one attempted to remain aloof from the religious controversies of the day, one did not escape notice. Old Squire Mackay of New Glasgow recalled Rev. Alexander MacGillivray, one of the few Kirk ministers to remain in the province following the disruption of 1843: “[. . .] although a good man, he was not fitted for contention. He shrank from it.”¹⁷

The Rev. Alexander Maclean, Kirk minister, published a little tome in 1911, too often overlooked, on the history of the Kirk in Nova Scotia. Maclean was born in 1822

⁹ McDougall and Moir 174.

¹⁰ McDougall and Moir 155.

¹¹ McDougall and Moir 159.

¹² McDougall and Moir 172.

¹³ W. L. Grant and Frederick Hamilton, *Principal Grant* (Toronto: Morang, 1904) 17-19.

¹⁴ Clarence Mackinnon, *A Brief Sketch of the Life of the Rev. John Franklin Forbes* (Saint John: Saint John Globe Pub. Co., 1904) 14.

¹⁵ D. C. Harvey, ed., *Letters of Rev. Norman MacLeod, 1835-1851* (Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1939) 13.

¹⁶ Charles H. H. Scobie and G. A. Rawlyk, *The Contribution of Presbyterianism to the Maritime Provinces of Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s UP, 1997) 14.

¹⁷ John Doull, *Rev. Alexander McGillivray, D.D.* (Halifax: n.p., 1938) 7.

and recalled that in Churchville two schools were required—one for the Kirk and one for the Anti-burghers—or fighting could not be avoided. In terms of higher education he opined: “No true Kirkman could see his son enter that institution” (Pictou Academy). “The strength of Presbyterianism was crippled in Nova Scotia and especially Pictou County, where almost every Kirkman was a Conservative and every Anti-burgher was necessarily a liberal.”¹⁸ In this context we might better appreciate the old axiom which Senator Thomas Cantley publicly cited: “Fear God, Vote Tory and hate Anti-burghers.”¹⁹

Into this religious division and mistrust three additional elements emerge—immigration, industrial development and political change. In the period from 1815–1838, 40,000 immigrants settled in the province. The population rose from 75,000 to 200,000. Of necessity many of these new arrivals were forced to settle in rural areas, or as one official described it, “banished into the society of bears and foxes.”²⁰ These latecomers were mainly adherents of the Church of Scotland. On the industrial stage, Pictou County emerged as a major player. The arrival of the General Mining Association at Albion Mines (Stellarton) in 1827 and its development of the coal resources led to a lessening of the influence of the lumber trade and thereby the grasp of some of the timber merchants and their Pictou “ledger influence.”²¹ The newspaper the *Colonial Patriot*, edited by Jotham Blanchard, was first published in Pictou in 1827; the *Royal William* would sail from Pictou to England, partially under steam, in 1833; and on 19 September 1839 a steam locomotive system would be inaugurated.²² All these happenings presaged an altered environment and a changing world. McCulloch’s Academy highlighted a rural/agricultural ethos (read: Kirk/Tory) versus an urban/industrial thrust (read: Succeder/Liberal) schism and the issue of what type of education would best serve these conflicting constituencies.

At the provincial level Reformers, symbolized in the pen and person of Joseph Howe, were pursuing the goal of responsible government. The Pictou election of 1830 was a scene of anarchy. Kirk minister Kenneth John Mackenzie led a mob through Pictou on election day. One person died. Howe was stupefied and in print advised Mackenzie that in no other part of Nova Scotia, save Pictou, would Mackenzie not have been “hooted out of the Pulpit he had profaned.”²³ Five years later Mackenzie would run

¹⁸ Rev. Alexander Maclean, *The Story of the Kirk in Nova Scotia* (Pictou: Pictou Advocate, 1911) 44. Born at Upper Hopewell in 1922, Maclean was the first Nova Scotian sent to Scotland by the Kirk to train for the ministry. He served at Gairloch and Pugwash in Nova Scotia and Belfast, PE. He retired to Eureka, NS and died there 17 August 1916. He was buried at St. Columba Cemetery, Hopewell, NS.

¹⁹ Frank Baird, “The Total John Geddie,” *The Geddie Centennial Addresses* (Toronto: n.p., 1947) 66.

²⁰ Norman MacDonald, *Canada, 1763-1841: Immigration and Settlement: The Administration of the Imperial Land Regulations* (London: Longmans, Green, 1939) 502, fn 3.

²¹ “Ledger influence” was the ability of local merchants in small communities to have many individuals indebted to them, and thus be able to influence those persons in many ways, including when they were required to publicly cast a vote for a candidate in an election.

²² Edwin T. Bliss, “Albion Mines,” *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society* 39 (1976): 6-22; Marilyn Gerriets, “The Impact of the General Mining Association on the Nova Scotia Coal Industry, 1826-1850,” *Acadiensis* 21.1 (1991): 55-84.

²³ J. M. Beck, *Joseph Howe, Conservative Reformer, Vol. 1, 1808-1848* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s UP, 1982) 78.

in a provincial by-election. He had severed his connection with St. Andrew's in Pictou prior to his political effort. He lost and died a few weeks later aged but thirty-eight. His opponent's election records include a donation of fourteen pounds from Thomas McCulloch.²⁴

Amid this maelstrom of change and vitriol it is not surprising that Pictou Academy, dubbed an "Athens in the wilderness" by one observer, remained contentious.²⁵ The Kirk insisted upon a practical education, otherwise they feared their youth would be condemned to "[. . .] aspire no higher than the trades of the plough."²⁶ Contrast the Presbyterian poles with that of Roman Catholic Bishop Colin F. MacKinnon, founder of St. Francis Xavier University in 1853. His first desire was to train a local ministry and the second objective was to prepare Catholic Highland youth in the "various grades of civil life." MacKinnon was prepared to sacrifice cultural preservation on the high altar of social and economic progress.²⁷

By 1832, with changes to the Pictou Academy Act, the Kirk had stymied McCulloch²⁸ and the school was essentially deflected from McCulloch's original hopes as enunciated by the venerable Dr. James MacGregor in his address at the 1824 opening of the Academy: "I believe that without knowledge, people will be carried away with every wind of doctrine. They will not know their own rights as rational beings, nor be qualified to assert and defend them. And though we leave them the sweet inheritance of liberty, they will not be able to retain it."²⁹

In 1838 Dalhousie College was revived with Thomas McCulloch as President. Mackenzie was dead and silent but not so the Kirk which asserted that McCulloch's appointment was "[. . .] an act of injury and injustice and insult."³⁰ Donald Allan Fraser protested the bill which diverted McCulloch's salary from Pictou to Dalhousie, and claimed that had it not been rushed through the Legislature he could have obtained thousands of signatures to oppose McCulloch. From his parsonage in Tatamagouche, the pugnacious Hugh Ross observed that Fraser, if given time, could obtain sufficient signatures to have George's Island moved from Halifax to Pictou harbour.³¹ An off-shoot of this Presbyterian quarrelling was the founding of Acadia University. Joe Howe was beside himself. His plan for a single provincial institution wrecked on both Presbyterian

²⁴ Brian Cuthbertson, *Johnny Bluenose at the Polls: Epic Nova Scotian Election Battles, 1758-1848* (Halifax: Formac, 1994) 252. Cuthbertson asserts that many Kirk farmers were encouraged to subdivide their farms so that their sons would have voting privileges (309).

²⁵ Gordon Haliburton, "For Their God," *Education Religion and the Scots in Nova Scotia Ethnic Heritage Ser. 1* (n.d.) 24.

²⁶ Haliburton 26.

²⁷ James D. Cameron, "The University Contribution to Canadian Multiculturalism: A Case Study of St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia," *Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society Journal* 8 (2005): 117-118.

²⁸ B. Anne Wood, "The Significance of Evangelical Presbyterian in the Construction of State Schooling: A Case Study of the Pictou District, 1817-1866," *Acadiensis* 20.2 (1991): 62-85.

²⁹ As cited by Marjory Whitelaw, "That Sweet Inheritance," CBC radio script (n.d.): 5.

³⁰ Peter B. Waite, *The Lives of Dalhousie University: 1818-1925, Lord Dalhousie's College* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1994) 51.

³¹ Waite 49.

infighting and Baptist intransigence. In an observation which would cost him much of his Baptist constituency, Howe opined he would rather have a Pope in Rome than in Wolfville, "[. . .] and one who would look the part, in gorgeous and solemn robes, not a Baptist one in black coat and tights."³²

Others also were at wits end. In 1842 James Ross wrote Charles F. Allison, soon to be founder of Mount Allison University, and outlined the quandary of the Secessionist Church:

We have no confidence in Dalhousie College and just as little in the Baptist seminary at Horton. We cannot think of sending our young men to Windsor and St. Mary's is utterly out of the question. Our attention is therefore directed with considerable interest to Sackville.³³

Dalhousie became an empty shell with the death of McCulloch in September 1843. Truro Presbytery inherited the mess. A theological school was recommended for Halifax but as the chosen professor, John Keir, lived in Princetown (now Malpeque, PE), the students went to him.³⁴ By 1846 Rev. James Ross of West River (Durham) was assisting and on 9 November 1848 convenience and geography saw the Seminary and Theological Hall relocated to the Temperance Hall in Durham, near the farm of James Ross. For a decade the institution "[. . .] laboured under most overwhelming disadvantages—in a secluded situation—in an obscure building—in confined, ill-ventilated, ill-furnished classrooms."³⁵

Within two years the Synod had recognized the situation at Durham was not ideal and determined to raise \$5,000.00 for a new site.³⁶ Five years later the options were identified: Truro, (West River) Durham, Halifax, Pictou and New Glasgow. After three votes, Truro and West River were tied. The moderator declined to break the tie. The following year the Synod met in New Glasgow, and a tie vote between Truro and New Glasgow resulted. On this occasion, the moderator, Rev. George Walker of Primitive (now Westminster Church), New Glasgow, cast the deciding vote for Truro. Some have suggested that Walker did not want Ross and his students in Primitive Church on Sunday, assessing the quality of Walker's sermons.³⁷

A secondary and perhaps even primary motivation in relocating the Theological Hall and Seminary was a doctrinal battle that had further inflamed the Durham Presbyterians. The Rev. James Watson, who succeeded James Ross at Durham when

³² Waite 62.

³³ John G. Reid, *Mount Allison University: 1843-1914* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984) 19.

³⁴ Presbyterian Synod, Truro Presbytery, *Minutes of Proceedings, 1843-1844*. Microfilm, Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management, Halifax, NS, 1844.

³⁵ *Missionary Register* 9 (1858): 443-445.

³⁶ A. Douglas C. Earle, "The Story of Pictou Presbyterianism From Its Beginnings to the Union of 1875," diss., Atlantic School of Theology, 1973, 115-122.

³⁷ E. Arthur Betts, *Pine Hill Divinity Hall, 1820-1970: a history* (Truro: Executive Print, 1970) 16-19; MacKenzie 49; George Geddes Patterson, "Dalhousie's Second Principal - an old boy's tribute," *Studies in Nova Scotian History* (Halifax: Imperial, 1940) 101-102. Principal Clarence MacKinnon implied it was crowding which caused the move to Truro. See *Presbyterian Witness* 23 Oct. 1920: 6.

Ross took up his Seminary position, was charged with preaching at variance with the Confession of Faith. Watson was eventually exonerated in 1856, but ninety-two members of his congregation, who became known as the "Bolters," formed what would become Central Church on the opposite side of the West River to Watson's edifice.

One can sense the tension and animosity in the small community by examining the two sermons preached following the opening of the new church. James Ross spoke from Joshua 22:22: "The Lord God of gods, he knoweth, and Israel he shall know; if it be in rebellion, or transgression against the Lord, save us not this day." The Rev. J. McG. McKay followed the next week with a sermon from Galatians 1:8 "Though we, or angels from Heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than we have preached unto you, let them be accursed."³⁸ The situation was much in the mind of the Presbytery and the closeness of the decision did not go unnoticed. James Church, New Glasgow, sought a delay and reconsideration. But William McCulloch (son of Dr. Thomas) and Ebenezer Ross (son of Rev. James) were determined to press forward, and press forward they did.³⁹ On 11 October 1856 land was purchased on present day Queen Street, Truro, from William and Mary Flemming for \$800.00.⁴⁰ Tender notices appeared early the following year, closing on 16 March 1857. Specifications could be viewed at the Robert Smith shop, father of Frances H. Smith.⁴¹

Through the controversy Ross's health had declined. He more than anyone must have welcomed the geographical respite from rancour which Truro would provide. By 1858, his health restored and the move to Truro imminent, he preached one of his last sermons at Durham from the Song of Solomon 2:11-13: "Lo, the winter is passed, the rain is over and gone; the flowers appear on the earth, the time of singing birds is come and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land."⁴² Did ever one leave Durham or come to Truro, in a happier frame of mind?

Truro embraced the new institution. Messrs. J. F. & S. S. Crowe were awarded the contract, valued at \$5,476.99.⁴³ The ladies of the Truro Presbyterian Church held a bazaar and raised \$1,600.00. Some 1,850 tickets had been sold.⁴⁴ The editor of the *Christian Messenger* visited the town in 1857 and observed:

Another building of quite an ornate character is in course of erection in Truro, for the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church in Nova Scotia which has hitherto been in West River. It has a fine commanding situation and consists of a long range parallel with the road, but rather too

³⁸ Kenneth James Grant, *My Missionary Memories* (Halifax: Imperial, 1923) 26-28; MacKenzie 50-51, 92-93; Patterson, "Dalhousie's Second Principal" 100-102.

³⁹ See *Presbyterian Witness* 19 July and 9 Aug. 1856.

⁴⁰ Colchester County Deeds, Book 34, 255.

⁴¹ See *Presbyterian Witness* 28 Feb. 1857.

⁴² Kenneth James Grant 28.

⁴³ Thomas Cumming, "Our College in Truro, 1858-1860," *The Theologue* 8.4 (1897): 106-107. Also *Presbyterian Witness* 4 July 1857.

⁴⁴ See *Presbyterian Witness* 4 July 1857.

close to it. It has a small cupola and when finished will be highly appropriate for the purpose to which it is to be applied.⁴⁵

On 1 September 1858 the partially-completed structure was officially opened. The huge crowd had to be accommodated at the Presbyterian Church. The *Missionary Register* looked back upon the history of the struggle:

Projected in much uncertainty and doubt—commenced under the sufferance rather than with the encouragement of some now its warmest friends—not because they questioned its desirableness, but because they despaired of its success—assailed by its enemies with the bitterest hostility—not always too warmly supported by some who were counted among its friends; it had reached its present measure of efficiency through difficulties of no ordinary magnitude.⁴⁶

The infant seminary would suffer a further blow when, within two weeks, Rev. Keir died.⁴⁷ The challenge was overcome and Truro rapidly became an exciting educational centre:

You would be almost surprised if you was (sic) here at 12 o'clock when all the schools are dismissed, you would think the whole population of Truro and vicinity was on parade, the Seminary students 40, Normalites 80 and the Modelites 200 literally fill up the streets. Truro may be called the literary capital of Nova Scotia.⁴⁸

However, when 3,000 adherents of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia and the Free Church of Scotland assembled on Patterson's Hill, Pictou, on 4 October 1860 to ratify a union of the two bodies and to thereby form the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces of British North America, it was a setback for the school at Truro, as under the terms of union the theological branch of the Seminary at Truro was combined with the Free Church Academy in Halifax. There had been a thought of a joint program with Dr. Forrester's institution but the union committee determined that there was no need for "[. . .] two such institutions in one country village." Thus, only the arts segment of the Seminary remained in Truro.⁴⁹

From March to May 1862 the *Presbyterian Witness* carried a series of seven letters by "Candor" examining the Presbyterian Church and its theological training.

⁴⁵ See *Christian Messenger* 22 July 1857.

⁴⁶ See *Missionary Register* 9 (1858): 443-445.

⁴⁷ Cumming 107.

⁴⁸ Robert Paton Harvey, "The Founding of the Normal and Model Schools at Truro with Special Reference to Alexander Forrester, Their First Principal, 1855-1869," diss., Dalhousie U, 1972, 1.

⁴⁹ Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia, "Appendix: Minutes of Committee on Union," *Minutes of Proceedings*, 1860, 14.

While he conceded that Truro was “airy, sunny, central, Presbyterian, every thing that is bonnie”⁵⁰ Halifax seemed the best site for the college as:

students need all the culture they can gain out side of the college walls.[. . .]
To take the Academy to Truro would be carrying coals to Sydney—for the Model and Normal Schools (if they are what they are cracked up to be) are quite adequate for all the wants of Truro; and it would be in shocking bad taste to set up an “opposition shop” there.⁵¹

Candor’s solution for Truro and its vacant buildings was a Female Seminary after the style of the Wesleyan Academy at Sackville, New Brunswick. He noted: “I don’t fancy sending Jane or Jessie away to Sackville, over the Cumberland Mountains, off there into the bleak flats of New Brunswick, to be sort of white washed and sent back to me tiny Arminians.”⁵²

The following year saw yet another blow, when James Ross was appointed Principal of a revived Dalhousie College. The Presbyterian Church was now firmly and financially committed to the success of Dalhousie.⁵³ The seminary building was moth-balled in 1864.⁵⁴ However, for the next three years a rear guard action was fought in Synod to try to advance the concept of a Female Academy. John Barnhill Dickie of Onslow led the campaign and while Synod did agree to poll the Presbyteries on the idea, enthusiasm appeared to be lacking. Even as consultations were underway, authorization to try to sell the building had been approved and it was acquired by C. M. Blanchard and C. F. Bentley.⁵⁵ The property was eventually gutted by fire around 1904.

Fannie H. Smith provides our last reference to the Seminary, when in 1936 she handed the original specifications for the erection of the Seminary building to Frank Doane for deposit in the Provincial Archives. The Seminary voyage had come to a conclusion.

⁵⁰ See *Presbyterian Witness* 8 Mar. 1862.

⁵¹ See *Presbyterian Witness* 15 Mar. 1862.

⁵² See *Presbyterian Witness* 22 Mar. 1862.

⁵³ For the revival of Dalhousie College and the role played by the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces of British North America see Waite 83-94.

⁵⁴ *Minutes of the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces of British North America, 1864, 22.*

⁵⁵ *Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces of British North America, Minutes of Proceedings, 1867: 17-18; 1868: 22.*

David Stirling: Halifax Church Architect

Garry D. Shutlak



Photo of David Stirling courtesy of
Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management

David Stirling, the son of a stone mason, was born in Galashiels, Roxborough, Scotland (now part of the borders) in 1822.¹ Educated and trained in Scotland he emigrated to British North America and the colony of Newfoundland in or about 1847 to work on the Sir Gilbert Scott-designed Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist in St. John's. He worked there under William Hay, Scott's clerk of works for the church. It is possible that Stirling's early architectural training may have been in the offices of Scott or Hay.

It was in St. John's that Stirling carried out his first North American commission, the Bank of British North America, in 1849.² In April 1850 he moved to Halifax, Nova Scotia to design the Hollis Street branch of the same bank. He also designed the W.C.

¹ Susan Buggey and Garry D. Shutlak, "Stirling (Sterling) David," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11 (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1982) 856.

² "Bank of British North America, St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador," *Canada's Historic Places*, Apr. 20, 2007 <www.historicplaces.ca>.

Silver Building on Hollis Street and competed for the design of the New Market Building. His proposal was considered too elaborate and costly.³ In April 1853 he married Jane Fullerton of Pictou.⁴ His wife died in July 1854 and Stirling personally designed her monument.⁵ Soon after the death of his wife and infant child he moved to Toronto, Canada West where he joined the firm of Cumberland and Storm, working on additions and alterations to Osgood Hall Law School from 1857-1860.⁶

By 1861 Stirling was supervising commissions of William Hay. When they both moved to Nova Scotia, Hay to Halifax and Stirling to Pictou, they formed the architectural firm Hay and Stirling. In 1862 Hay moved to Bermuda to work on the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, and Stirling moved his practice to Halifax.⁷ The following year Hay returned to Scotland and the partnership was dissolved. Sometime around 1865 Stirling apprenticed James C. Dumaresq.⁸ Dumaresq would go on to become one of the pre-eminent architects in the Atlantic Provinces in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. After moving to Prince Edward Island, Stirling married Clara Lea of Charlottetown in 1869.⁹ In Halifax, he took Scottish trained architect Andrew Dewar as a partner to run that office.¹⁰ For the rest of his life Stirling lived in Charlottetown and commuted to Halifax. By having offices in both communities the firm acted for the federal Department of Public Works in both Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. Acting as clerk of works or supervisor of construction of public buildings guaranteed both income and work during bad economic times. Stirling and Dewar's partnership was dissolved in 1877 when Dewar moved to Saint John, New Brunswick. Soon afterwards Stirling took his former apprentice W. Critchlow Harris as a partner. Harris had apprenticed with Stirling and Dewar from 1870-1875.¹¹ Harris became a noted nineteenth-century church architect, designing edifices in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. This partnership ended when Harris moved to Winnipeg in 1882. Stirling died in Charlottetown, 7 April 1887. Upon his death the Charlottetown Daily Patriot referred to him as an "architect of repute."¹² What is unfathomable is that the Halifax newspapers of the day did not carry a death notice or an obituary.

Architecturally all of Stirling's churches were Gothic Revival. As the name implies, Gothic Revival was a return to the architectural forms of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as interpreted by professional architects and later by builders and

³ *Acadian Recorder* [Halifax, NS] 16 Mar. 1850; *Nova Scotian* 14 Oct. 1850: 323; *Nova Scotian* 11 Nov. 1850: 354.

⁴ *Presbyterian Witness* [Halifax, NS] 5.16 (17 Apr. 1852): 123.

⁵ *Presbyterian Witness* [Halifax, NS] 7.27 (8 Jul. 1854): 107.

⁶ *London Free Press and Daily Western Advertiser* [London, ON] 21 Mar. 1861: 3

⁷ NSARM Almon fonds: MG 1 Vol 68: Nos 2375,2376,3280, 3282, 2385, 3307

⁸ James Philip Dumaresq, *The Life & Times of James Charles Dumaresq, 1840-1906: Prominent Nova Scotia Architect* (Halifax: James Philip Dumaresq, 2005) 6.

⁹ *Acadian Recorder* [Halifax, NS] 6 Dec. 1869: 2.

¹⁰ Halpenny and Hamelin 856.

¹¹ Robert Critchlow Tuck, "Harris, William Critchlow," *DCB* vol. 14 (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1998).

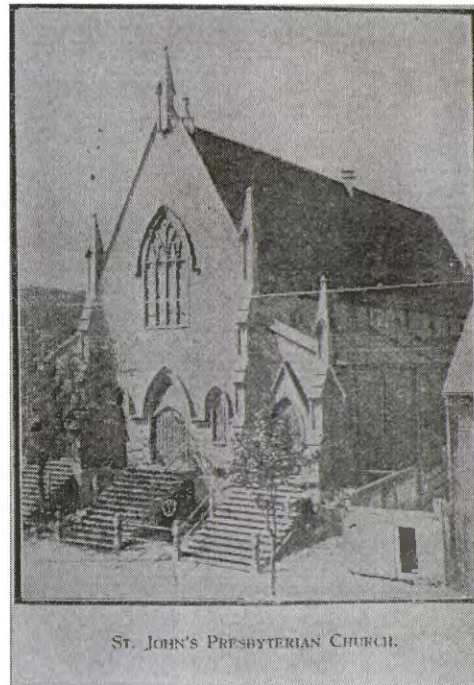
¹² *Patriot* [Charlottetown, PE] 13 Apr. 1877.

contractors. These eclectic structures designed from disparate sources were referred to as High Victorian Gothic and could only have been built in the nineteenth century. When built by contractors or builders the churches are referred to as Vernacular Gothic. Regardless of the labels of architectural historians the reporters of the day referred to these buildings as “Gothick,” “pure Gothic” or “early English.”



Grafton Street Methodist Church, now the Presbyterian Church of St. David, was built in 1868. The contractor was George Blaiklock. Of brick and stone construction, the church measured 96 by 53 feet, and was built at an estimated cost of \$30,000.

Photo courtesy of Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management.



Saint John's Presbyterian Church was built on Brunswick Street in 1867. The contractor was Robert Brown. Of wood construction, the estimated cost of the building was \$8,000. It was destroyed by the explosion in Halifax Harbour on 6 December 1917.

Photo courtesy of Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management.

Appendix

List of Churches

This list includes the work carried out when Stirling was in partnership with William Hay, Andrew Dewar and W. Critchlow Harris.

1857-1858

Competition Drawings for Saint Matthew's (Presbyterian) Church, Pleasant Street, Halifax, NS

Construction: brick and stone; wood

Competition won by William Thomas & Sons

1862

Cathedral of the Holy Trinity (Anglican), Bermuda

Construction: stone

1865

Trinity Church (Anglican) Jacob Street, Halifax, NS

Construction: brick and stone covered with mastic

Dimensions : 47 feet by 120 feet

Contractor: George Blaiklock

Estimated Cost: \$7,500

Church sold

1865

Saint Joseph's (Roman Catholic) Church, corner of Gottingen and Russell Streets, Halifax, NS

Construction: brick and stone

Dimensions: 56 feet by 86 feet

Contractor: Mr. Chambers

Destroyed by explosion in Halifax Harbour, 6 December 1917

1866

Saint Mark's (Anglican) Church, Russell Street, Halifax, NS

Construction: wood

Dimensions: 100 feet by 35 feet

Contractor: Robert Brown

Estimated cost: \$7,000

Destroyed by explosion in Halifax Harbour, 6 December 1917

1867

Saint John's (Presbyterian) Church, Brunswick Street, Halifax, NS

Construction: wood

Contractor: Robert Brown

Estimated cost \$8,000

Destroyed by explosion in Halifax Harbour, 6 December 1917

1867

Bethany (Presbyterian) Church, Armdale, NS

Construction: wood

Church sold, now a private residence

1868

Grafton Street Methodist Church, Grafton Street, Halifax, NS

Construction: brick and stone

Dimensions: 96 feet by 53 feet

Contractor: George Blaiklock

Estimated cost: \$30,000

1868

Saint Peter's (Anglican) Cathedral, Rochford Square, Charlottetown, PE

Construction: brick and stone, wooden front

1868

Saint James' (Presbyterian) Church now Bedford United, Bedford, NS

Construction: wood

1869

All Saints (Anglican) Church, Bedford, NS

Construction: wood

Replaced 1905 by church designed by W. Critchlow Harris

1870-1875

Saint John's (Anglican) Church, Additions and Alterations, Lunenburg, NS

Construction: wood

Contractor: Godfrey & Hopson

Estimated cost: \$5,300

1870

Fort Massey (Presbyterian) Church, corner Queen and Tobin Streets, Halifax, NS

Construction: brick and stone

Contractor: Samuel M Brookfield

Estimated cost: \$42,000

1871

Holy Trinity (Anglican) Church, William Street, Yarmouth, NS
Construction: brick and stone

1871

Grove (Presbyterian) Church, Duffus Street, Halifax, NS
Construction: wood
Destroyed by explosion in Halifax Harbour, 6 December 1917

1872

Saint Peter's (Anglican) Church, Georgetown (Saint George) Bermuda
Construction: stone

1873

Saint James' (Anglican) Church, Herring Cove, NS
Construction: wood

1875

Knox (Presbyterian, then United Presbyterian, now Westminster United) Church,
Temperance Street, New Glasgow, NS
Construction: wood
Dimensions: 96 feet by 44 feet, vestry 25 feet by 33 feet
Contractor: Hugh Ross
Estimated cost: \$20,000
Destroyed by fire

1877

Hemsley (Anglican) Chapel, Kings College, Windsor, NS
Construction: stone

1877

Saint James' (Presbyterian) Church, Pownall Street, Charlottetown, PE
Construction: stone
Dimensions: 78 feet by 54 feet
Contractor: Messrs. MacDonald & Fraser
Estimated cost: \$20,000

1879

Saint Peter's (Anglican) Cathedral, Pownall Street, Charlottetown, PE
New front on church
Construction: brick and stone

1881

Methodist Church, Tryon, PE
Construction: wood

The Shalom of Disingenuity: or, When Ethics Clash

David R. Gladwell

Tanakh Translation of the Story of the Shunammite Woman (II Kings 4:8-37)

⁸One day Elisha visited Shunem. A wealthy woman lived there, and she urged him to have a meal; and whenever he passed by, he would stop there for a meal. ⁹Once she said to her husband, "I am sure it is a holy man of God who comes this way regularly. ¹⁰Let us make a small enclosed upper chamber¹ and place a bed, a table, a chair, and a lamp-stand there for him, so that he can stop there whenever he comes to us."

¹¹One day [Elisha] came there; he retired to the upper chamber and lay down there. ¹²He said to his servant Gehazi, "Call that Shunammite woman." [Gehazi] called her, and she stood before [Elisha]. ¹³He said to [Gehazi], "Tell her, you have gone to all this trouble for us. What can we do for you? Can we speak in your behalf to the king or to the army commander?" She replied, "I live among my own people." ¹⁴"What then can be done for her?" [Elisha] asked. "The fact is," said Gehazi, "she has no son, and her husband is old." ¹⁵"Call her," [Elisha] said. [Gehazi] called her, and she stood in the doorway. ¹⁶And Elisha said, "At this season next year, you will be embracing a son." She replied, "Please, my lord, man of God, do not delude your maidservant."

¹⁷The woman conceived and bore a son at the same season the following year, as Elisha had assured her. ¹⁸The child grew up. One day, he went out to his father among the reapers. ¹⁹[Suddenly] he cried to his father, "Oh, my head, my head!" [The father] said to a servant, "Carry him to his mother." ²⁰[The servant] picked him up and brought him to his mother. And the child sat on her lap until noon; and he died. ²¹She took him up and laid him on the bed of the man of God, and left him and closed the door. ²²Then she called to her husband: "Please, send me one of the servants and one of the she-asses, so I can hurry to the man of God and back." ²³But he said, "Why are you going to him today? It is neither new moon nor Sabbath." She answered, "It's all right."²

²⁴She had the ass saddled, and said to her servant, "Urge [the beast] on;³ see that I don't slow down unless I tell you." ²⁵She went on until she

¹ *Tanakh, A New Testament Translation of the Holy Scriptures According to the Traditional Hebrew Text* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1985) 570 notes "or 'upper wall-chamber;' lit. 'an upper chamber of wall(s).'"

² *Tanakh* 570 notes "Heb. Shalom."

³ *Tanakh* 571 notes "The servant runs behind the donkey and urges it on with a stick."

came to the man of God on Mount Carmel. When the man of God saw her from afar, he said to his servant Gehazi, "There is that Shunammite woman. ²⁶Go, hurry toward her and ask her, "How are you? How is your husband? How is the child?" "We are well," she replied. ²⁷But when she came up to the man of God on the mountain, she clasped his feet. Gehazi stepped forward to push her away; but the man of God said, "let her alone, for she is in bitter distress; and the Lord has hidden it from me and has not told me." ²⁸Then she said, "Did I ask my lord for a son? Didn't I say: 'Don't mislead me'?"

²⁹He said to Gehazi, "Tie up your skirts,⁴ take my staff in your hand, and go. If you meet anyone, do not greet him; and if anyone greets you, do not answer him. And place my staff on the face of the boy."³⁰But the boy's mother said, "As the Lord lives and as you live, I will not leave you!" So he arose and followed her. ³¹Gehazi had gone on before them and had placed the staff on the boy's face; but there was no sound or response. He turned back to meet [Elisha] and told him, "The boy has not awakened." ³²Elisha came into the house, and there was the boy, laid out dead on his couch. ³³He went in, shut the door behind the two of them, and prayed to the Lord. ³⁴Then he mounted [the bed] and placed himself over the child. He put his mouth on its mouth, his eyes on its eyes, and his hands on its hands, as he bent over it. And the body of the child became warm. ³⁵He stepped down, walked once up and down the room, then mounted and bent over him. Thereupon the boy sneezed seven times, and the boy opened his eyes. ³⁶[Elisha] called Gehazi and said, "Call the Shunammite woman." And he called her. When she came to him, he said, "Pick up your son." ³⁷She came and fell at his feet and bowed low to the ground; then she picked up her son and left.

Shalom – a word study

The word *shalom* is used twice by the Shunammite woman, once to her husband and once to Gehazi. The text implies that the same word is also used three times by Gehazi. Although its use in the story is nominal, not verbal, such frequent use suggests a deeper understanding of its meaning may help understand the story. *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon* lists the primary meaning "to be in a covenant of peace."⁵ The *Qal* form means an ally or a friend.⁶ The sense of the *Pual* is "one in covenant of peace."⁷ The *Hiphil* form translates as "to make peace with,"⁸ or in the imperfect "submitting to" (e.g. Joshua 11:19) or "cause to be at peace" (e.g. Proverbs 16:7). Similarly, its use in Job 5:23 (*Hophal*) means "to live in peace (with creation)."

⁴ *Tanakh* 571 notes "Lit. 'Gird up your loins;' cf. Kings 18:46."

⁵ Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000) 1023.

⁶ Job 22:21.

⁷ e.g., Isaiah 42:19.

⁸ e.g., Joshua 10:14.

The word *shalom* is also often used in close association with the covenant between God and the people. For example, Genesis 15:15, in the context of the covenant reads, “you shall go to your ancestors in peace.” Similarly, the word is used of a “full and honest weight/measure” with the corollary “your days may be long.”⁹ The word *shalom* is also used of both rough¹⁰ and dressed¹¹ stones used to construct an altar. *Shalom* can also mean something completely finished¹² and of someone completing a journey. In I Kings 8:61 *shalom* is also used of people completely devoted to God. In the pericopae studied here the same word is translated “it is alright” as a verbless clause, but clearly *shalom* has much deeper implications in Hebrew Scripture than this. The Shunammite woman’s disingenuous use of the clause in a context where it is clearly not merited in order to gain a direct audience with Elisha is very significant.

Exploring the Characters in the Story of Elisha and the Shunammite Woman

This work is particularly interested in the relationships among the primary characters and particularly the role that disingenuity plays in their relationships. The discussion of commentaries is therefore restricted to this aspect of the story. The principal characters are the Shunammite woman and her husband, their young boy, as well as Elisha and his servant, Gehazi.

The Shunammite Woman

Robert Cohn notes that the Shunammite woman’s character and behaviour “are at the center of the story”¹³ and although unnamed she is rightly called a great woman. The Anchor Bible says she was “wealthy.”¹⁴ The woman refuses Elisha’s offer of help, saying, “I live among my own people”¹⁵ indicating “she is well cared for by family.”¹⁶ The story of her land claim¹⁷ shows her ability to enter the court and speak to the King herself, emphasizing her wealth, standing, and determination.¹⁸ Carpenter and McCowan simply comment that the woman was “from the upper strata of society.”¹⁹ Robert Cohn notes that the woman’s greatness extends to spiritual perceptivity by recognizing Elisha

⁹ Deuteronomy 25:25.

¹⁰ Joshua 8:31.

¹¹ I Kings 6:7.

¹² e.g., the house of God in II Chronicles 8:16.

¹³ Robert Cohn, *II Kings*, ed. David W. Cotter, BERIT OLAM Studies in Hebrew Narrative & Poetry (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000) 28.

¹⁴ Mordecai Cogan and Hayim Tadmor, *II Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Bible, vol. VII (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1988) 56.

¹⁵ *Tanakh* 570; II Kings 4:13.

¹⁶ Cogan and Tadmor 57.

¹⁷ II Kings 8:1-6.

¹⁸ Cogan and Tadmor 88.

¹⁹ Eugene E. Carpenter and Wayne McCowan, *Asbury Bible Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1992) 408.

as a holy man of God before he demonstrated the fact. John Gray believes the woman “constrained” the prophet to visit her in order to bring herself within the circle of blessing that a man of God enjoyed.²⁰ Hobbs observes that the distance from Shunem to Mount Carmel would not normally require a traveler to stay over in Shunem, indicating the woman’s influence over the man of God.²¹ Amit notes the extreme hospitality of the Sunammite.²²

Farmer sees the woman as resolute and determined at the death of her son.²³ Both Cohn and Hobbs note the woman’s lack of apparent grief; in fact, the latter commentary considers her “cold” and “efficient.”²⁴ Cohn notes that she immediately “seizes the initiative.”²⁵ He points out that she conceals much until she meets with Elisha. Cohn considers, along with most other commentators, that the woman’s actions regarding her dead son, the conversation with her husband and her subsequent preparation for the journey all reveal the woman’s decisiveness and determination. Gray wonders if her laying the corpse on Elisha’s bed is a rebuke to the prophet.²⁶ Carol Meyers suggests the decisiveness of the woman is shown by her decision to build the room for Elisha and simply announce it to her husband rather than submitting it for approval.²⁷

Meyers notes that the woman merges being subordinate in some ways (e.g. she has no choice in the birth announcement), with being independent and decisive in others (e.g. travelling to Mount Carmel). This indicates she is skilled in manipulating the ethics and cultural mores of her day. Cogan and Tadmor point out that the oath the Shunammite swears on Carmel (II Kings 4:30) forces Elisha to follow her back to the dead boy; she is clearly a very shrewd woman. Meyers remarks that the woman refuses to deal with Gehazi on Mount Carmel, deceiving him in order to reach Elisha, and also how the woman reveals the limits of Elisha’s knowledge and ability.²⁸

Neither Farmer nor Hobbs even mentions the woman’s deceit, although Farmer notes she “brushes past” Gehazi. Harriet Olson uses the same phrase to describe her lying to Gehazi, and notes that she knows that all is not well but she is forging ahead to get *shalom* from the only person who can give it to her.²⁹ Gray believes her phrase is purposefully ambiguous, meaning both a greeting and an expression of her faith: “everything is going to be well.” Cohn considers that in the conversation with her husband, the woman speaks “the truth but now not the whole truth” and highlights the

²⁰ John Gray, *I & II Kings: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970) 495.

²¹ T. R. Hobbs, *II Kings* (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1985).

²² Yairah Amit, “The Shunammite, the Shulamite and the Professor between Midrash and Midrash,” *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 93 (2001): 80.

²³ William Farmer, ed., *The International Bible Commentary: A Catholic and Ecumenical Commentary for the Twenty-First Century* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1998) 631.

²⁴ Hobbs 47.

²⁵ Cohn 30.

²⁶ Gray 496.

²⁷ Carol Meyers, ed., *Women in Scripture* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000) 274.

²⁸ Meyers 275.

²⁹ Harriet Olson, ed., *The New Interpreter’s Bible, Volume III* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1999).

fact that although she seems to be in a powerful position with respect to her husband, she asks him for an ass and a servant and is obliged to answer to him for the purpose of her trip. She also conceals from him the reason for her journey. She easily deflects the husband's curiosity. Gray suggests that the woman is evasive in answering her husband in order to prevent any lamentation that might prejudice the boy's recovery.³⁰ She also seems very sensitive to being misled by Elijah in the upper room and at Carmel.³¹

In the *Tanakh*, verbs used of the Shunammite include: urge, stand, live, be, bore, took, laid, call, go, reply, ask, will, leave, come, fell, bowed, and pick up. She was clearly a very active and decisive person. Strong, decisive women in leadership roles are not common in the Hebrew Scriptures, however, the Shunammite is reminiscent of Deborah, Jael, Ruth (and Naomi), Rahab, and Tamar. In every case, the stories centred on these decisive women are also about the inability of a man or a group of men to follow God's leading. The women, living in the context of a patriarchal culture, show up the weak men around them and thus point the people to a deeper relationship with God.

The Shunammite Woman's Husband

Amit considers the Shunammite's husband "old and obtuse" and hints at a poor marital relationship. Cohn writes that he "[. . .] appears insensitive, obtuse, disconnected from his son."³² Olson notes that the husband does not share the woman's need for haste and does not link the trip to Elisha with his son's death.³³ The only verb used of the husband is "to say." Ironically, however, he is not communicative. He is disengaged and apparently uncaring as both a husband and a father and clearly does not have the spiritual insight of his wife. It seems that everything he is not, his wife is.

The Little Boy

The little boy does not have a developed character in the story although his role is strongly symbolic. He is the woman's reward for her generosity towards the man of God. In contrast to her obtuse husband the boy is someone with whom the woman can form a deep relationship. The young boy also reveals Elisha and Gehazi's inability, the woman's deep emotions, and his father's disengagement. He is symbolic in the story of reward given, removed, and graciously returned.

Elisha

Elisha is depicted through most of the story as aloof and distant. He chooses to relate to the Shunammite and to her son through his servant Gehazi. Cohn notes that Gehazi is used as "[. . .] an emissary and intermediary to the woman."³⁴ Elisha twice

³⁰ Gray 497.

³¹ Cogan and Tadmor 57.

³² Cohn 31.

³³ Olson 189.

³⁴ Cohn 29.

calls her, rather dismissively, "that Shunammite." Even though the woman stands before him, Elisha continues to triangulate through Gehazi. Hobbs also points out the use of Gehazi as intermediary but believes the woman exhibits a "quiet dignity"³⁵ as she stands before Elisha. Mark Roncace discusses the annunciation scene and notes that Elisha seems to be strangely distant from the woman.³⁶ Despite the fact that he has had many meals with the woman and is staying in her house he insists on using Gehazi as an intermediary. It is only at the proclamation of pregnancy that he speaks directly to her. Gray notes perceptively that Elisha's holy status required a separate room and that the upper room allows Elisha to eat and sleep without endangering the "ritually profane" family below.³⁷ Separation is an intrinsic part of holiness in the Hebrew Scriptures. Elisha works through Gehazi because his holiness and power are dangerous to the common people. The Shunammite woman's grasping of Elisha's feet shatters the holy distance he carefully maintains and was very probably a socially taboo act.³⁸ Elisha's response to Gehazi defending him and the woman from such contact shows more compassion and empathy in the man of God than is portrayed in the story before the encounter on Mount Carmel.

Gehazi

Gray postulates that the name Gehazi is derived from a cognate of the Arabic, meaning "avaricious,"³⁹ a nickname that fits the later story of Naaman.⁴⁰ Amit notes that the Midrash has a very poor opinion of Gehazi.⁴¹ This demonizing of his character is probably of later origin since he does appear at the King's court,⁴² suggesting that he later becomes a court prophet. Gehazi is an intermediary between Elisha and the world yet he often fails at this.⁴³ On the face of it Gehazi seems a most unlikely servant for any prophet. Gehazi, however, is a prophet in training and thus he is allowed to learn from mistakes, just as Elisha must have done before him.

The Role of Disingenuity in the Story

The Shunammite's disingenuity has a definite purpose. She lies to her husband so that the boy is not declared dead and the process of lamentation and burial puts him beyond Elisha's help. Similarly, she lies to Gehazi because she feels she needs to deal

³⁵ Hobbs 47.

³⁶ Mark Roncace, "Elisha and the Woman of Shunem: 2 Kings 4.8-37 and 8.1-6 Read in Conjunction," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 91 (2000): 112.

³⁷ Gray 495.

³⁸ Gerald Klingbeil, "'Asir los pies'—2 Rey 4:27 y el lenguaje idiomático en el Antiguo Testamento," *Theologika* 12.1 (1997): 2-15. An English abstract is available in *Old Testament Abstracts* 21 (1998): 242.

³⁹ Gray 495.

⁴⁰ II Kings 5.

⁴¹ Amit 80.

⁴² II Kings 8.

⁴³ Roncace 114.

directly with the holy man of God in order to save her son. All disingenuity can be considered an attempt to present the world as it is not, and by implication to engage other people in a false view of the world. The woman's honourable motivation, to save her son, could be considered an ameliorating factor, but her world is clearly comprised of "Us" (who will assist her) and "Them" (who will not).

The stories of women like Tamar, Jael, Rahab, Naomi, and Ruth as well as the Shunammite woman are examples of strong, decisive female leaders. Clearly all of these women were evasive and disingenuous in order to obtain what they desired or needed. Another common link between all of these stories is that the women were living within a patriarchal society that repressed women and gave them no choice but to be deceitful if justice were to be obtained. In the context of such power relationships, the story of the Shunammite woman and several other stories in the Hebrew Scriptures applaud and even advocate disingenuity. In evaluating whether deceitfulness is ethical or not in a given situation the story urges that the nature of the oppressive power relationships in that situation be examined.

An Exploration of Disingenuity in the Context of Power Relationships in the Presbyterian Church in Canada

If disingenuity is understood to be the representation of the world not as it is, but rather as one would like it to be, and the implicit invitation for others to accept the lie and conform to the proposed false view of reality, then it is perhaps not surprising that such behaviour is not restricted to stories in the Hebrew Scripture. Two recent events within the life of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (PCC) are explored in this work, one public, and the other less so.

A Misleading Story of a Very Sad Story

In 2002, at the height of public discussion about the Residential School issue, a book, *Certain Women Amazed Us*, was published.⁴⁴ It claimed to tell the truth about the issue from the perspective of one of the most heavily involved groups, the Women's Foreign Missionary Society (WFMS).⁴⁵ The book focuses on the great difficulties experienced by the women,⁴⁶ the inadequate funding and long working hours,⁴⁷ long

⁴⁴ Lois Klempa and Rosemary Doran, *Certain Women Amazed Us: The Women's Missionary Society, Their Story, 1864-2002* (Toronto: Women's Missionary Society (WD) The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 2002).

⁴⁵ "The annual reports of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society, along with *The Foreign Missionary Tidings*, give a picture of the heavy involvement, both financial and otherwise, of the WFMS with the aboriginal people" (Klempa and Doran 39).

⁴⁶ Lucy Baker arrived "at Prince Albert on October 28, 1879, with the thermometer standing at 28 degrees below zero" (Klempa and Doran 40). Quoted from Mary E. Whale, *Women Who Witnessed, Go and Tell* (Oshawa: Tern Graphics, 1988).

⁴⁷ A Dr. Gilbert reported in 1911 that the missionary's health usually broke down from "overwork and monotony" (Klempa and Doran 52). Ms. MacLeod served for almost twenty years at Birtle. Mrs. Ross served at Ahousaht for almost sixteen years, and Ms. McLaren served at Birtle for twenty-five years. Ill health is often reported as the eventual cause of retirement.

service and poor retirement benefits.⁴⁸ The authors of the book, Lois Klempa and Rosemary Doran, emphasize the importance of both the WFMS and the women's personal funding, and downplay the importance of government funding.⁴⁹ The loyalty of the First Nations to the PCC at Church Union in 1925 is emphasized. Birtle is cited as an example of a school that pleaded for continuing PCC supervision.⁵⁰ Klempa and Doran also repeatedly comment, in the face of contemporary reports of cultural genocide, that Native languages were encouraged in the schools.⁵¹ Throughout the book Klempa and Doran carefully build a picture of mainly women working with loving care to help underprivileged First Nations people at great personal cost and despite almost overwhelming difficulties. This picture minimizes the impact of the PCC apology to the First Nation's people, which is relegated to Appendix D and contradicted in the text.⁵² Klempa and Doran's bibliography is extremely narrow, drawing almost exclusively from WFMS records. In addition the opinions of First Nation's people are almost exclusively expressed through Europeans.⁵³

Klempa and Doran allow an elderly aboriginal woman to comment mildly, "I guess we just have to learn to trust you again."⁵⁴ The true voices of First Nation's protest such as those of Fournier and Crey,⁵⁵ who tell how starving First Nation's parents were refused food rations if they resisted removal of their children are excluded. Stories such as Mary Fortier's description of excessive boarding school discipline,⁵⁶ and Sylvia Olsen's mention of a five year old First Nation boy's decision to starve himself to death in protest against school conditions⁵⁷ are not even allowed a whisper in Klempa and

⁴⁸ Klempa and Doran 52.

⁴⁹ Klempa and Doran note that although the grant helped to run the school, "it was barely enough to feed the children" (45).

⁵⁰ "In work with Aboriginal people, four reserves in Manitoba had remained loyal to the Presbyterian Church. It was from these reserves that Birtle School drew its scholars. The people on the reserves were anxious that the Presbyterian Church should take over Birtle School" (Klempa and Doran 183).

⁵¹ "[. . .] we had an Indian evangelist holding services and there was no doubt about the power of the Gospel when rightly applied" (Klempa and Doran 110).

⁵² "Apologize? For doing one's best? Over my dead body!" (Klempa and Doran 370).

⁵³ For example, Ms. McLaren is referred to *by her church* (italics mine) as "The Red Man's Friend—Birtle, January 1914" (Klempa and Doran 53).

⁵⁴ Klempa and Doran 366.

⁵⁵ Suzanne Fournier and Ernie Crey, *Stolen From Our Embrace* (Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1997) 56.

⁵⁶ "I was assigned to wash the toilets in the stalls;" "She forced me to my knees and shoved my face in the toilet bowl containing the diarrhoea. I started gagging. She held onto my hair and pulled my head back to a tilt and made me swallow. This was repeated three times. My hair, face and mouth tasted and smelled like human waste" Mary Fortier, *Behind Closed Doors: A Survivor's Story of the Boarding School Syndrome* (Belleville: Epic Press, 2002) 57, 77.

⁵⁷ Sylvia Olsen, Rita Morris, and Ann Sam, *No Time to Say Goodbye* (Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 2001) describe the life of a five-year-old Native boy who chose to starve to death in protest against school conditions.

Doran's story. Even the comparatively mild but still critical voice of Peter Bush,⁵⁸ a Presbyterian minister, is not allowed to disturb the gentle story of *Certain Women Amazed Us*. Despite its strong inherent bias, or representation of the world as it was not, *Certain Women Amazed Us* was widely circulated in the PCC and met with wide acclaim.

A Story of Divorce

The second case of misrepresentation is in some ways of narrower significance but unfortunately far more common within the life of the Church. Although this story is personal to this author I shall remain as objective as possible. In the late Fall of 2002 my first wife and I separated. I moved nearer to my work as a student minister with two churches and after a period of eighteen months all seemed to have settled down. Early after separation I had requested to meet with my elder but the elder declined to meet with me. The Minister of my supporting congregation also made no attempt to contact me over an eighteen-month period after the separation until I suddenly received a copy of a letter that my Minister and the Session of my supporting church had mailed to Presbytery. The most pertinent paragraph of the letter reads as follows:

When we look to the Scriptures they consistently speak against divorce as an unacceptable practice (ex. Matthew 5:31-32), yet this is the avenue that Mr. Gladwell has chosen to pursue. In the gospel of Matthew 19:1-9 divorce is identified as the act of one who is hard-hearted, the implication being he is not in tune with God's will and is not following God's lead. We cannot simply accept the fact that divorce has become a common practice, even a norm in our society, and allow cultural practice to dictate our understanding of what is right. This fact of being out of tune with God's will also argues forcefully against Mr. Gladwell's right to serve as a Minister of Word and Sacrament. [. . .] Lastly, we ask what is ordination? Is it a covenant made between two parties and God? If so, Mr. Gladwell has shown an unwillingness to adhere to a similarly made marriage covenant, abandoning it when the vows of marriage became inconvenient.⁵⁹

In mailing this letter the Session and the Teaching Elder seem to have conveniently forgotten the subordinate standards of the Presbyterian Church (*Living Faith*) statement 8.2.5 on marriage that reads as follows:

When we fail each other as parents or partners, we are called to forgive each other as God forgives us, and to accept the possibilities for renewal that God offers us in grace. When a marriage is shattered beyond repair, it

⁵⁸ Peter Bush, *Western Challenge: The Presbyterian Church in Canada's Mission on the Prairies and North, 1885-1925* (Winnipeg: J. Gordon Schillingford, 2000) 87: "They are also our own people living in our own country, living in our midst. Have they not for these reasons the first claim upon us as a church. When I see their need and see how little the church has done for them I wonder."

⁵⁹ William Vanderstelt, sessional communication to Presbytery of Grey-Bruce-Maitland, 14 Apr. 2004.

is sometimes better that it be dissolved than that the family continue to live in bitterness.

This letter is very probably the first written text this century documenting a fundamentalist Presbyterian congregation's disavowal of a portion of the PCC subordinate standards. Shortly after this letter was mailed I was fired from my position as student minister with no stated reason except that I was told, "it had nothing to do with my divorce" and then a few weeks later informed that the Presbytery would not support my ordination even though I was about to start my last semester at Knox Theological College, Toronto School of Theology. No one from the Presbyterian Church has contacted me to offer pastoral care since my receipt of their letter. Since my Minister and Session at no time talked to me to ascertain my views, they were operating in at least partial ignorance. I have had conversations with a number of people who have been divorced since the date of these occurrences and have discovered that the behaviour of my supporting congregation is quite common. It would seem that there is no place within the PCC for the large percentage of adults who have had to strive through the emotional hurricane of divorce.

An Examination of an "Us and Them" Worldview

In both accounts of deceitfulness in the PCC, the church is in a position of power. There is also a clear sense of "Us and Them" in both accounts. In the first account the almost complete exclusion of First Nation's voices from Klempa and Doran's history, and in the latter account the telling phrase in the letter: "We cannot simply accept the fact that divorce has become a common practice, even a norm in our society," reveals the church's insular attitude. How has such a powerful "Us and Them" attitude become so entrenched in the PCC?

Disingenuity has been a consistent theme throughout this work. The Shunammite woman lies to her husband, three times to Gehazi, and by implication three times to Elisha that all is well. In choosing to behave like this she breaks the code of ethics that we call the Ten Commandments.⁶⁰ A reasonable explanation for this is that her perceived threat to the boy's recovery places higher ethical demands on her than the more general scriptural code of ethics, especially since she is living in an oppressive patriarchal society. In contemporary discussions of an individual's right to die, a similar distinction is made between code ethics and situational ethics.⁶¹ In fact the Shunammite has to deal with three levels of ethics: A) the scriptural code of ethics; B) the code of ethics of her culture which demand patriarchal subservience; and, C) the situational ethics placed upon her by her son's apparent death. She bravely opposes the two sets of code ethics in order to try and save her son but in doing so the patriarchal "Us and Them" situation required her disingenuity. If the PCC is to avoid the repetition of its historical disingenuity in the future, it is clearly of critical importance that the roots of its own "Us and Them" situation be very clearly understood.

⁶⁰ Exodus 20:1-17.

⁶¹ Scott Peck, *People of the Lie: The Hope for Healing Human Evil* (New York: Touchstone, 1983); Anne Mullens, *Timely Death, Considering our Last Rights* (Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996).

Prior to the Reformations that swept through Europe in the sixteenth century, the Traditional Church dealt very differently with unethical behaviour compared to the contemporary Church. All believers, except for saints who were particularly blessed by God because of their deeds and/or sufferings in this life, were thought to endure a refining period of agony and torture in a metaphysical realm called purgatory. This medieval belief in purgatory was a significant method of social control since the length of time spent in purgatory and the nature of the torment included secular "sins" such as unpaid debts.⁶² In this worldview the purpose of the church was to help believers deal with temptation and evil in this life and to help them minimize the extent of their tortures in the life to come. In this life, the Church attributed apotropaic power to certain religious items. For example a simple cross made in an Easter service was blessed with extraordinary power to ward off evil. Despite the fact that this medieval religious system was presided over by an omnipotent patriarchal deity, God seems to have been widely perceived as One who provided the Church, Liturgy and Saints as well as Christ and Mary to help people navigate through the difficulties of both earthly and heavenly realms.⁶³ The most prominent symbol in the story of the Shunammite women to a Traditional believer in the sixteenth century or earlier would undoubtedly be that of Elisha's staff that was blessed with apotropaic power to bring healing.

The Lutheran and later the Calvinist Reformations brought a completely different theological worldview. The Church became the guardian of the truth and the teacher of true doctrine. God, who had been an essentially remote and passive patriarch, became the one who either blessed or punished the believer at His own whim.⁶⁴ What was the consolation offered to those of the new Reformed faith in place of apotropaism? It seems likely that the consolation was that of simply belonging to a Church with sharply drawn boundaries. The Calvinists' doctrine of double predestination, later adopted by the Church of Scotland and later still the Presbyterian Church (until the latter part of the twentieth century) allowed believers to see themselves as "elect" and the remainder of humanity as condemned. Although such a notion was understandably comforting it led to considerable laxity among believers about which even Luther expressed his concern.⁶⁵

Although the significance of the doctrine of double predestination was changed for the PCC by annotations to the *Westminster Confession of Faith* in the latter half of the last century, a dualistic notion of such power will not disappear overnight from the minds of believers. It is this dualistic notion of "Us and Them," of the blessed and the unblessed, that facilitates the contemporary disingenuous behaviour described above that allows the purposeful destruction of First Nation people's heritage and language to be downplayed. Elisha's staff is the primary symbol in the story of the Shunammite for the late medieval period, the focus of God's power for many contemporary Protestants is

⁶² Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400-c.1580* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992) 339-343.

⁶³ Duffy 4.

⁶⁴ The use of exclusive language here is deliberate.

⁶⁵ Steven Ozment, *Protestants: The Birth of A Revolution* (Toronto: Doubleday, 1992) 60: "By the end of the decade, the course of the Reformation deeply disturbed even Luther himself. Reading official reports of spiritual laxity, ignorance, and indifference throughout Saxony, he concluded that the common man had learned nothing so much from his Gospel as how to abuse the freedom it gave him."

Elisha's and the Shunammite's integrity and the division between "Us and Them" is really a question of personal power. Underlying it is the much darker question, "am I suitable to wield God's power, will God hear my prayers?" In our age the doctrine of election has become trivialized to its lowest common denominator, the individual.

Carl Jung,⁶⁶ along with a number of other, later workers,⁶⁷ has described how infant humans are encouraged by their caregivers to put aside certain natural behaviour⁶⁸ (e.g. temper tantrums, throwing food around, incontinence) for behaviour more acceptable to the caregivers.⁶⁹ Eventually this process leads to an adult human who is able to relate to their birth society and both benefit and be of benefit to it through an ego and a persona.⁷⁰ Such an adult necessarily carries with them what has been called "the long bag we drag behind us,"⁷¹ containing the repressed parts of him or herself. Since all adults are not brought up in identical conditions and are not all identical at birth, it is inevitable that adults will meet others who consciously practice what they have been taught to repress. The adult who behaves in this way is very likely to remind them of their own shadow. Commonly the offending adult is repressed in a process Jung called "projection"⁷² and Freud referred to from a rather different perspective as "transference."⁷³ Such projection is often not restricted to the singular trait that renders them offensive, but many or all of the traits in "the long bag" are projected onto the offending adult. The repressed person is made to carry the other's long bag and become a scapegoat. If disingenuity is an attempt to represent the world as one would rather it be and truth is a depiction of the world as it really is then projection is a subtle but extremely powerful form of disingenuity. Strangely, although lying is morally unacceptable in our society no such taboo restricts projection.⁷⁴ In fact, the media of our culture might be considered to encourage such dysfunctional psychic behaviour.⁷⁵ Consequently, the projection of one human being's shadow upon another is very common. M. Scott Peck

⁶⁶ Carl G. Jung, *Memories, Dreams and Reflections* (London: Fontana, 1995) 41.

⁶⁷ Connie Zweig and Jeremiah Abrams, eds., *Meeting the Shadow: The Hidden Power of the Dark Side of Human Nature* (Toronto: Putnams, 1991).

⁶⁸ Harville Hendrix, "Creating the False Self," *Meeting the Shadow: The Hidden Power of the Dark Side of Human Nature*, eds., Connie Zweig and Jeremiah Abrams (Toronto: Putnams, 1991) 49-51: "A child creates a 'false self' in response to parental encouragements/punishment which eventually is used to interrelate with others. False self can be either obedient to authority or in opposition to it."

⁶⁹ Stanley Hauerwas, *The Peaceable Kingdom: A Primer in Christian Ethics* (London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986) 45: "We acquire character through the expectations of others."

⁷⁰ John R. Van Eenwyk, *Archetypes and Strange Attractors: The Chaotic World of Symbols* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1997) 33: "the child develops a persona, that is a personality style that tends to make the environment want to provide for the child what it needs."

⁷¹ Robert Bly, "The Long Bag We Drag Behind Us," *Meeting the Shadow: The Hidden Power of the Dark Side of Human Nature*, eds., Connie Zweig and Jeremiah Abrams (Toronto: Putnams, 1991) 6-11.

⁷² Carl G. Jung, *Man and His Symbols* (New York: Laurel, 1968) 181.

⁷³ Erich Fromm, *Greatness and Limitations of Freud's Thought* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980) 38-43.

⁷⁴ The closest code ethical restriction is perhaps, "Thou shalt not covet . . ." Exodus 20:17.

⁷⁵ Bly 10: "Thousands, even millions of American men projected their internal feminine onto Marilyn Monroe. If a million men do that, and leave it there, it's likely she will die. She died."

has termed people who persist in this behaviour even when it is brought to their attention "The People of the Lie."

A Way Forward – An Ethics of Compassion?

The modern church in its activity within the world is faced with similar ethical choices to the Shunammite woman. They both deal with the scriptural (and ecclesiastical) code of ethics, the (often unwritten) code of ethics of the culture in which we dwell, and the ethics of the particular situation currently faced. A clash between these three is inevitable. The story of the Shunammite offers a way forward that has not yet been discussed. It is the emotionally painful way of compassion.

The Shunammite woman's life to this point has probably skirted her culture's code of ethics that women stay in their realm, the home, while men dominate public life. Were she to abide by her culture's ethical code she must be subservient to her elderly spouse who seems incapable of a mature, loving relationship. The death of the woman's son catapults her into a new realm. Her religious code of ethics has no provision for resurrection or for dealing with the oppressive patriarchal society in which she lives. Bravely the Shunammite discards her scriptural code of ethics in order to save her son. She is driven by an intense, deep compassion that will not accept death as an outcome. The woman is driven by an ethics of compassion, a human's empathy for the deep need of another. It is an ethics that is non-judgmental and non-divisive. It is an ethics that encourages the spiritual growth of another at the cost of great emotional pain and personal risk.

Elisha, the man-of-God in the story is constrained by his holiness to operate at a distance, through his disciple Gehazi. He is extremely reluctant to contravene this contemporary cultural code of ethics. As the woman seizes him he becomes a partner in breaking the cultural code of ethics. Elisha is overcome with compassion for the woman's grief. He too is driven by an ethics of compassion.

An ethics of compassion applied to the Residential Schools issue would examine and proclaim the truth and then seek ways to bring healing to both abuser and abused. Perhaps the women who would truly amaze the church would now be elderly First Nation's women or their children sharing their heartbreaking stories of how they struggled to cope without their own language, without parents and with only the vestiges of a culture.

An ethics of compassion applied to the separated and divorced would recognize the intense emotional pain caused to all parties and seek ways to support, listen to, encourage, and attempt to bring healing to people for whom divorce has become necessary. Perhaps these stories would seize our feet and bring us to true relationship with God's Spirit.⁷⁶ It is only an ethics of compassion that leads to true *Shalom*.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Hauerwas 44: "As Christians we believe that peace is most perfectly realized as we learn to find our role in God's story."

⁷⁷ Jean Vanier, *The Broken Body: Journey to Wholeness* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1988) 16: "It seems that many people crush the weak because they themselves, somewhere in their lives, were crushed. People who have experienced injustice, perhaps in the forgotten depths of childhood, often take a secret revenge on weaker people, on those who cannot answer back. The weak and the poor are often the scapegoats—nobody defends them, and they are forced to accept the violence of other human beings. But over the years of living with people who have been crushed or put aside I have discovered something new.

Prevarication, projection, and disingenuity can only lead to a false sense of security for those who wield power over others. In the underbelly of the story of the Shunammite woman is a character who stubbornly refuses to become compassionate and spiritually mature, the woman's husband. He serves as an exemplary warning to all adult humans, in the PCC and otherwise, who refuse to deal with their own emotional pain and thereby project it onto others to carry it for them in a kind of psychological crucifixion.⁷⁸ Miriam Winter, in her discussion of the story of the Shunammite, gifts those of us who struggle with ethical issues like her and Elisha with a prayer:

O One who is All-confident, reach out to us who are so unsure,
So insecure, so hesitant, and fill us with your confidence
In all we say and do. Give us your strength to hold our own,
Be firm in us and steadfast, so that we may grow, in our own way, As
confident as You. For this we pray. Amen.⁷⁹

They have led me gently into the depths of my own heart filled, as it is, with light and darkness. They have led me into the mystery of Jesus and of his message, and into the secret of humanity and of its history."

⁷⁸ Rollo May, "The Dangers of Innocence," *Meeting the Shadow: The Hidden Power of the Dark Side of Human Nature*, eds., Connie Zweig and Jeremiah Abrams (Toronto: Putnams, 1991) 175: "To admit frankly our capacity for evil hinges on our breaking through our pseudoinnocence. So long as we preserve our one-dimensional thinking, we can cover up our deeds by pleading innocent. This antediluvian escape from conscience is no longer possible. We are responsible for the effects of our actions, and we are also responsible for becoming as aware as we can of these effects."

⁷⁹ Miriam Therese Winter, *Woman Wisdom: A Feminist Lectionary and Psalter: Women of the Scriptures, Part One* (New York: Crossroad, 1993) 327.

THE CANADIAN SOCIETY OF PRESBYTERIAN HISTORY:

Minutes of the Annual Meeting 24 September 2005, held at the National Presbyterian Museum, St. John's Presbyterian Church, 415 Broadview Avenue, Toronto:

The meeting was Called to Order by the President, Rev. Dr. Geoffrey Johnston at 1:35 p.m. The Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. Michael Millar, acted as Secretary for the meeting. Seventeen members were present.

The President opened the meeting by welcoming all who were present.

At the request of the President, Rev. Dr. John A. Johnston conducted a brief memorial to the late Rev. Dr. T. Melville Bailey. Dr. Bailey, who passed away on the 29th of January 2005, was remembered as a kind and gentle man who had been a member and firm supporter of this Society since its inception in 1975.

At the conclusion of the memorial, the President called for regrets. Regrets from Rev. Dr. James Armour, Rev. Kenneth Barker, Rev. Dr. Zander Dunn, Professor Stuart Macdonald, Dr. John Moir, Rev. Ritchie Robinson, Rev. Dr. Victor Shepherd, Dr. Marilyn Whiteley, and Rev. Dr. Jack Whytock were noted as being received by the Secretary-Treasurer. The Secretary-Treasurer also informed the meeting of the passing of another long-time supporter of the Society. Rev. Dr. Arthur Kewley of Peterborough died in that city on the 1st of July 2005.

The agenda was presented. No additions or deletions were made. On motion of the Secretary-Treasurer, seconded by Mr. Al Clarkson, the agenda as presented was the agenda for the meeting.

On motion of the Secretary-Treasurer, seconded by Rev. Dr. Don Smith, the Minutes of the 2004 Annual Meeting, as printed in the 2004 Papers, were approved, no errors or omissions having been noted.

Business Arising from the Minutes:

(1) "The Selected Papers of the Society" proposal was discussed. The President informed the meeting that the proposal had been discussed by the sub-committee struck for the purpose, over the luncheon recess. Dr. John Johnston then informed the meeting that a list of fifteen (15) or sixteen (16) papers to be put up on the Internet—after approval from the authors is secured—had been agreed upon. The list will be circulated later after it has been finalised.

(2) The Secretary-Treasurer reported that our advertisement on PC-Pak, as well as information that Mr. Clarkson had placed on the PCC Talk website, had resulted in no enquiries. But at least these venues, unlike the Presbyterian Record advertisement, had not cost us anything. Mr. Clarkson also suggested that we could use the PC-Connect

section of The Presbyterian Church in Canada's website. A discussion ensued as to the feasibility of having our own website, especially in light of "Selected Papers of the Society" project. It was moved by the Secretary-Treasurer, seconded by Mr. Clarkson "That the Secretary-Treasurer investigate all aspects of setting up a website, that he provide a report to the Committee, who are hereby given power to issue on the matter." Carried. Ms. Arnold indicated that she would assist with the matter.

The President then gave his report, concluding with the usual request for papers.

The Secretary-Treasurer read the Editor's report. Dr. Elliott has submitted his resignation from the position because of business pressures and his teaching schedule. His report contained several suggestions for the information and assistance of his successor. Dr. Elliott's resignation was received with regret and the Secretary-Treasurer was instructed to write a letter conveying the thanks of the Society for all of his good work with the past six issues of the Papers. The Secretary-Treasurer also informed the meeting of the change with regard to printing the Society Papers, that we had gone from having them photocopied at a photocopy outlet, to using a regular printer in Thornbury, Ontario – Conestoga Press. The proprietor, Mr. Justus (Gus) Knierim, is a member of St. Paul's Presbyterian Church in Thornbury. For the first time the Papers were submitted to the printer on CD, which greatly facilitated the process. The Secretary-Treasurer informed the meeting that he had initially given too low a number for the press run and had to increase the quantity after receipt of the initial order. The second run was ready for pickup in three days, something that would not have been possible with the photocopy method. Printing costs are roughly the same, but the second method is far quicker than the first.

The Secretary-Treasurer gave his report.

(1) The financial statement was circulated and discussed. Following amplification of certain items in the statement, the financial statement was approved on motion of the Secretary-Treasurer, seconded by Ms. Arnold.

(2) The Secretary-Treasurer reported that he had not been able to turn over the \$1,000 GIC when it matured in November for another year, because the minimum amount required is \$1,000. He did not know how much he would need to keep in the bank account to pay the bills for the coming year—especially the printing and mailing of the 2005 Papers. It was agreed to leave the matter with the Executive, on motion of Dr. John Johnston and Mr. Clarkson.

(3) The Secretary-Treasurer gave an update on Halifax '05 set for the Presbyterian Church of Saint David on the 22nd of October. Registrations are somewhat slow in coming in but hopefully will pick up in the next week or so.

New Business:

(1) The venue for the 2006 meeting was discussed. All were in favour of holding the 2006 meeting at the National Presbyterian Museum, that the kindness of St. John's in allowing us to use their classroom was very much appreciated. Moved by Dr. MacLeod, seconded by Mr. Tom Allen "That the 2006 regular meeting be held at The National Presbyterian Museum, St. John's Presbyterian Church, 415 Broadview Avenue, Toronto on Saturday the 30th of September." Carried.

On motion of Mr. Lamb and Mr. Clarkson the Secretary-Treasurer was instructed to send a letter to the Kirk Session of St. John's thanking them for allowing us to use their facilities.

(2) The late Rev. Dr. T. M. Bailey very generously remembered the Canadian Society of Presbyterian History in his Will. An interim payment of two thousand dollars (\$2,000.00) has been received from the Executors, with a final payment to come when all of the taxes and other incidentals have been satisfied. Following discussion it was moved by the Secretary-Treasurer, seconded by Rev. Dr. John Johnston "That we take out a one-year Guaranteed Investment Certificate (GIC) in the amount of two thousand dollars (\$2,000.00)." Carried.

(3) In 2003 the Society gave a donation of one hundred dollars (\$100.00) to First Presbyterian Church, Pictou, Nova Scotia, as a token of our appreciation for the use of their facilities for the Pictou '03 meeting. On motion of the Secretary-Treasurer, seconded by Ms. Arnold it was agreed that we will give a similar one hundred dollars (\$100.00) donation to the Presbyterian Church of Saint David, Halifax.

Election of Officers:

The President and Secretary-Treasurer have indicated a willingness to continue in office for 2005-2006.

Moved by Ms. Anstice, seconded by Ms. Arnold, "That the Rev. Dr. Geoffrey Johnston be continued as President for 2005-2006." Carried.

With the resignation of Dr. Elliott a new Editor is required. Following a presentation regarding the qualifications of his daughter, Ms. Elizabeth Millar, B.A. (Hons.) Trent University, M.A. Wilfrid Laurier University, and MLIS Dalhousie University, who is currently employed as a Librarian at Mount Allison University, Sackville, New Brunswick, he Moved, seconded by Ms. Kim Arnold "That Elizabeth Millar be appointed Editor for 2005-2006." Carried.

Moved by Ms. Kim Arnold, seconded by Ms. Anstice, "That Mr. Michael Millar be continued as Secretary-Treasurer, for 2005-2006." Carried.

Any Other Business:

Dr. John Johnston informed the meeting that Dr. John Moir has recently moved to Brantford from Port Dover and that his health is not the best. This has prevented his attendance here today. He moved, seconded by the Secretary-Treasurer "That a letter be sent to Dr. Moir expressing the regret of the meeting that he is not with us today." Carried.

Dr. John Johnston also informed the meeting of the attendance at the start of the meeting of Professor John Webster Grant. Professor Grant, in company with a friend who is a former English Professor at the University of Toronto, attended this morning solely to pay his annual subscription but, because of a severe hearing impairment, he did not remain because he would not be able to hear the presentations. It was agreed that the Secretary-Treasurer will send a note of appreciation to Professor Grant for making the effort to come out this morning and for his continued support of the Society over these many years.

Dr. John Johnston also called upon the meeting to recognise Ms. Kim Arnold who has just completed twenty-five (25) years of service with The Presbyterian Church in Canada. He noted that few people now at Church Offices can claim to have such a length of dedicated service. She came to the Church Archives right out of the University of Toronto as a former student of Dr. Moir and has been with us ever since, initially under the guidance and mentoring of the late T. M. Bailey, and then as Church Archivist in her own right. First in the basement of Knox College, then on Soho Street—while a severe mould problem in the College basement was dealt with, and lastly in the current location at the Church Offices, 50 Wynford Drive, Don Mills. Ms. Arnold, who has recently married Knox College theological student Robert Royal, was recognised on both counts with a hearty round of applause, on Motion of Dr. John Johnston and Mr. Clarkson.

Adjournment:

The 2005 Annual General Meeting was adjourned at 2:25 p.m. on the declaration of the President, and the regular business of the Society resumed.

Geoffrey Johnston, BA, BD, M.Th, Th.D.
President.

Michael Millar, FRPSC.
Secretary-Treasurer.

THE CANADIAN SOCIETY OF PRESBYTERIAN HISTORY:

FINANCIAL REPORT - 24 September 2005:

<u>Item:</u>	<u>Income:</u>	<u>Expenses:</u>	<u>Balance:</u>
Balance forward 25 September 2004:			86.77
Memberships 2004.	615.00		
Memberships 2005.	480.00		
Memberships 2006 paid in advance	40.00		
Corporate memberships 2003.	60.00		
Corporate memberships 2004.	120.00		
Corporate memberships 2005. (1)	17.90		
Other Income. (1)	2.10		
Sale - Early Christianity in Canada	15.00		
Sale of papers.	135.00		
Donations.	115.00		
Bank Interest.	0.75		
G. I. C. matured	1,000.00		
G. I. C. Interest	16.90		
Halifax '05 Registrations	140.00		
Bequest, Estate of the late T. M. Bailey. (2)	2,000.00		
Commission - Laverdure & Associates	12.50		
<u>Total Income.</u>	<u>4,770.15</u>		<u>4,770.15</u>
<u>Sub-total.</u>			<u>4,856.92</u>
Knox College Catering, 2004 meeting.		101.77	
Printing costs - 2004 papers.		425.33	
Office supplies - Editor.		79.06	
Postage		268.33	
Photocopying - Secretary-Treasurer		19.70	
Office Supplies - Secretary-Treasurer		22.83	
John Moir - re Early Christianity in Canada.		12.00	
<u>Total Expenses.</u>		<u>929.02</u>	<u>929.02</u>
<u>Balance Forward 24 September 2005:</u>			<u>3,927.90</u>

Notes:

1. Swets-Blackwell included GST with the University of Western Ontario subscription for 2003 and 2004.
A refund cheque issued in November 2003 was never cashed. We have been holding this \$2.10 on the books.
Swets were instructed that in order to clear this matter up, that Western's 2005 subscription would be \$17.90. A cheque in that amount was received and the full subscription is shown as \$20.00 for 2005.
2. Dr. Bailey very generously included the Canadian Society of Presbyterian History in his Will.
The amount shown is an interim payment with a final payment to come.

Michael Millar, FRPSC.
Secretary-Treasurer.

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The Papers are listed alphabetically by author with the volume number followed by the year of publication in brackets, and then the page numbers.

- Abray, L. Jane. "Strasbourg and the French Protestants." 6 (1980): 14-22.
- Addison, George. "A Presbyterian Mission in Industrial Hamilton Becomes a Church." 23 (1998): 18-38.
- Alexander, Lydia Ross. "The Jardine Auxiliary of Wychwood / St. Columba Presbyterian Church: A Skeletal Reconstruction." 27 (2002): 1-14.
- Anderson, Robert K. "On The Unpublished Works of Walter Bryden." 30 (2005): 8-15.
- Anger, Bob. "Presbyterian Chaplaincy During the First World War." 27 (2002): 15-31.
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- Armstrong, A.J., and David J. Goa. "From here to Modernity: Identity in the United Church of Canada." 18 (1993): 65-83.
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- . "Standards Versus Sisterhood: Dr. Murray, President Kim and Distinctive Approaches to Medical Education at Ewha Womens University, Seoul, 1947–1950." 22 (1997): 5-21.
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- . "Why Should the Church Confine Her Labours to Those Who May Show a Presbyterian Pedigree?: The Presbyterian Church Responds to Non-English Speaking Immigrants in Western Canada." 22 (1997): 22-33.
- Cahill, Barry. "Thomas McCulloch and the Birth and Re-Birth of Presbyterianism in Halifax." 28 (2003): 54-63.
- Cameron, John R. "MacGregor on Prince Edward Island." 30 (2005): 94-104.
- Campbell, Douglas F. "The Clergy Family in Canada: Focus on Presbyterians." 21 (1996): 1-8.
- . "Presbyterian and the Canadian Church Union: A Study in Social Stratification." 16 (1991): 1-32.
- Charlton, Warren. "Dr. John McNicol and Toronto Bible College." 3 (1977): 38-57.
- Clifford, N. Keith. "The Origins of the Church Union Controversy." 2 (1976): 49-71.
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