The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History

Papers 2009

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Edited by Elizabeth J. Millar

Contents

Message from the President

This is my second report as President of the Canadian Society of Presbyterian History. Last year we turned a page in our story with the passing of our beloved founder, Rev. Dr. John A. Johnston. John was one of a triumvirate of leaders to whom we owe much: Mel Bailey, John Johnston and John Moir. We are glad to report that CSPH, built on their strong foundation, is thriving. It has been a good year.

Over the years the Society has operated successfully with a fairly loose administrative structure. This year I called together an executive consisting of the two who teach church history in our eastern Presbyterian theological colleges, our secretary/treasurer, and the assistant archivist of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

The executive when it met in August approved setting up two subcommittees: **editorial**, to support our editor, and drawn from the Atlantic provinces for sake of proximity to her, and **programme**, consisting of the two academics and the President, who will call for papers and evaluate submissions.

The theme for the 2010 meeting, to be held on 25 September 2010, will focus on the centenary of the ecumenical missionary conference called simply Edinburgh 1910 and the Canadian Presbyterian contributions to this great international gathering that is the subject of many centenary celebrations next year. The Student Volunteer Movement, which really birthed the conference, was held in Toronto in 1902 and provided momentum for the meeting at the end of that decade. The post-Edinburgh continuation conferences, particularly the ones held in Shanghai and Seoul in March 1913, were strongly supported by foreign missionaries of the PCC, particularly Donald MacGillvray of the Christian Literature Society of China. In 2011 it is our intention to focus on the 1861 union of the Synod of the (Free) Presbyterian Church of Canada and the United Presbyterian synod to form the Canada Presbyterian Church.

I would, on your behalf, express thanks to Michael Millar, our secretary-treasurer, whose administrative efficiency undergirds our organization and makes it all happen. We appreciate greatly the highly professional work of his daughter Elizabeth of Sackville, New Brunswick, as our editor. We are grateful to Bob Anger, who operates our website. We are also thankful for our presenters, several of whom have come to us from a considerable distance at their expense. And finally we acknowledge the kind hospitality of Knox College.

I join with you in hopes that the remarkable history of The Presbyterian Church in Canada might be given its rightful place at the forefront of our life as a denomination, not to wallow in nostalgia and longing for "the good old days," but as an effective tool to serve our Lord and Saviour in this new millennium. Or as Calvin, whose birth we celebrate today, to do it all to the glory of our sovereign Lord, *ad maiorem gloriam dei*.

A. Donald MacLeod
CSPH President

Biographical Notes on Contributors

A. Donald MacLeod is Research Professor of Church History at Tyndale Theological Seminary, Toronto. A graduate of McGill University, and a Woodrow Wilson Fellow at Harvard University, he has served congregations in Nova Scotia, Toronto, Boston, and Trenton, Ontario. He is the author of numerous articles and biographies, one of which is *W. Stanford Reid, An Evangelical Calvinist in the Academy* (2004).

Victor Shepherd is currently Professor of Systematic and Historical Theology, Tyndale University College & Seminary; Adjunct Professor, Trinity College, University of Toronto; and Professor Ordinarius, The Graduate Theological Foundation, University of Oxford. A minister of The Presbyterian Church in Canada, he has served five congregations in New Brunswick and Ontario.

John Vissers is Principal of the Presbyterian College, Montreal and Adjunct Professor of Christian Theology at McGill University. Previously, he was the Senior Minister at Knox Presbyterian Church, Toronto and Professor of Systematic Theology at Tyndale Seminary. He is a graduate of the University of Toronto, Knox College, and Princeton Theological Seminary. The author of two books and numerous articles, John is married to Lynn McEwen and together they have three young-adult children.

Jack C. Whytock is the Director of Haddington House in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, an evangelical Presbyterian study and publishing house. He also serves as visiting professor in theological colleges overseas. Recent teaching has been at theological colleges in Suriname, Kenya and South Africa. Dr. Whytock has authored three books in the field of church history.

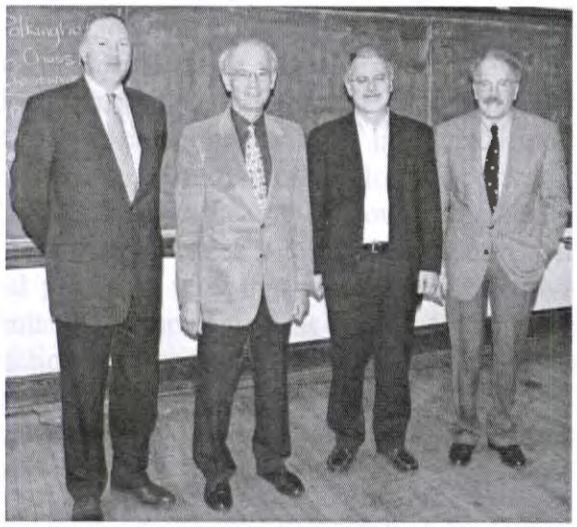

Photo: Michael Millar

From left: Jack Whytock, Victor Shepherd, John Vissers, and A. Donald MacLeod

A Comment on Calvin's *The Necessity of Reforming the Church* (1543)

Victor Shepherd

I — Setting

In 1543, Charles V, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, was aware that the disputes the Reformation had engendered were unsettling on many fronts. He was anxious lest the multi-faceted upheaval distract Protestant princes from his war with France. Wishing to maximize the probability of his triumph, Charles V called for a Diet in the German city of Speyer, wherein he would plead his case; namely, that Protestant doctrinal zeal, with its concomitant divisiveness, should be suspended in the interest of maintaining a united ecclesiastical front against France. Speyer had been the site of Diets in 1526 (where Protestantism had been recognized) and again in 1529 (where such recognition had been rescinded. Thereafter the Reformers were labelled "Protestants"). Charles scheduled the third Diet for February 1544, several months away.

Martin Bucer, the Reformer in Strasbourg whose theology had influenced Calvin[1] when Calvin had been harassed out of Geneva and had been afforded refuge in Strasbourg from 1538 to 1541, had considered writing a document that would set forth the Reformation's case.[2] The document would remind (if not inform) the emperor as to why the Reformation Church could not surrender theological conviction or suspend theological activity regardless of social, political or military consequences. The Reformers were iron-fast in their intransigence and its defensibility; their theological convictions, after all, pertained not to theological *adiaphora* or religious frippery but rather to the eternal well-being of humankind. In other words, the Reformers were convinced that the Reformation, however collaterally disruptive on however so many fronts, was essential to the recovery and prosecution of a gospel apart from which humankind was ultimately lost before God. The document Bucer considered writing would assure the emperor that Protestants were not politically treacherous or even politically indifferent. At the same time, Protestants could never be expected to surrender theological conviction for the sake of a united, extra-theological front. Bucer, however, came to doubt whether such a document would be effective.[3] He declined to write it. Yet where Bucer appeared immobilized, Calvin was inflamed. By the end of 1543 he had penned a tract that would subsequently assist the theological self-criticism and gospel-reorientation of the Protestant Church for centuries thereafter.

In light of Reformation writings extant by 1543, why was such a document needed? Luther had already written much and disseminated it widely. Melanchthon had published his *Loci Communes*, the first systematic theology of the Reformation, a work that Luther had

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[1] See Francois Wendel, *Calvin: Origins and Development of his Religious Thought*, trans. Philip Mairet (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1963) *passim.*

[2] See J. K. S. Reid, introduction, "The Necessity of Reforming the Church," *Calvin: Theological Treatises*, by John Calvin, trans. J. K. S. Reid (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1954) 183, and Martin Greschat, *Martin Bucer*, trans. Stephen E. Buckwalter (Philadelphia: Westminster/John Knox Press, 2004) 195-97.

[3] Reid 183.

deemed subordinate only to Scripture. Calvin himself had already published his 1536 *Institutes*, the tome for which he would chiefly be known thereafter. In addition he had hugely expanded the Latin edition of 1536 into the Latin edition of 1539, and then had translated the latter into French in 1541, thereby assuring a much wider readership. Moreover, while he was working alongside Bucer in Strasbourg, Calvin had written his iconic commentary on Romans in 1539 and had published it in 1540. Had not the Reformation's cause and course been announced, driven and defended in all such publications? Had not Calvin's convictions been exposed adequately in his own writings to date, together with what he had produced since the Romans commentary (e.g., *Draft Ecclesiastical Ordinances*, 1541)?

Plainly, Calvin was aware that the Church has to be producing at least two types of theology. One type is the sort exemplified in Melanchthon's *Loci Communes* or Calvin's *Institutes*; namely, that theological construct which explores the "whole counsel of God"[4] in such a way as to identify the essential "building blocks" of the faith (e.g., creation, fall, calling of Israel, incarnation, atonement, resurrection, bestowal of the Spirit, eschatology) and relates them internally to each other, indicating a logical connection wherein the neglect of any one of them denatures all the remaining. The second type of theological writing is "occasional" in that it addresses a crisis or opportunity that has appeared unanticipated; that is, what the turning of the wheel of history has exposed on a singular occasion should be seized and dealt with before the same wheel, turning relentlessly, eliminates such an opportunity. Calvin knew that the *ecclesia* was not merely *reformata* but also *semper reformanda*, always being reformed because always needing to be reformed. *Reformanda* remains essential since the Word of God must be brought to bear remorselessly on the anti-gospel accretions that haunt the church, and since, in the second place, *reformanda* characterizes the church's mission to a world whose challenges appear in different dress in different eras. For this reason Calvin leapt at the opportunity to address the princes of the Reformation territories on the necessity (i.e., the non-negotiability and the non-postponement) of reforming the Church.

II — Doctrine

Calvin addresses the tract under discussion to the emperor and to the princes "[. . .] that they seriously undertake the task of restoring the Church, presented in the name of all those who wish Christ to reign."[5] On the one hand Jesus Christ, declared victor in his resurrection, has been installed as ruler in his ascension and session. As such he is impregnable, and reigns regardless of what anyone wishes or does not wish, the reign of Christ not being determined by creaturely acknowledgement. On the other hand, Calvin boldly asserts that unfaithful guardians of sound doctrine "banish Christ and the truth of his gospel."[6] (Two decades later Calvin will be found making the same bold point: where doctrine is distorted "God's remedy for rescuing mankind from death is rendered useless."[7]) When doctrine is distorted Christ cannot be called upon and known. For this reason the recovery of sound doctrine is essential to the salvific accessibility of Christ—and therefore reason enough for the Reformers' preoccupation.

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[4] Acts 20:27 (RSV).

[5] Calvin, cited in Reid 184.

[6] Calvin, cited in Reid 209.

[7] John Calvin, *Sermons on the Book of Micah*, trans. Benjamin Wirt Farley (Phillipsburg, N.J.: P&R Publishing, 2003) 369.

How urgently does sound doctrine need to be recovered and the Church restored? Calvin maintains that the issue is not whether the Church is afflicted with disease, but whether the disease is of such a nature that waiting upon "too slow a remedy"[8] inexcusably imperils people. For this reason Calvin rejects the accusation that he and his fellow Reformers are guilty of "rash and impious innovation."[9] In fact, he denies that the Reformation is innovation at all; it aims at restoring the Church, not re-inventing it. As for the suggestion of rashness, Calvin presupposes an understanding of the human predicament that forfends any imputation of indiscretion. In this regard he refers to Luther, whom, along with others, "[. . .] God raised up as a torch [. . .] that lifted people into the way of salvation."[10] Evidently Calvin assumes that sinners are at risk before the all holy God. People need to be *lifted* into the way of salvation inasmuch as they are not in that "way" at present, are imperilled as long as they are not, and are unable to raise themselves from death to life. Salvation, for all the Reformers, is that act of God whereby God-in-his-mercy saves people from God-in-his-condemnation. There is no suggestion anywhere in the Reformers of the existentialism that laps contemporary theology; namely, that the gospel is God's remedy of a predicament that humankind has brought upon itself; i.e., alienation or estrangement. To be sure, humankind *is* alienated—from God, from each other, from self—but all of this is not because of human disobedience, rebellion or folly but rather on account of God's *reaction to and judgement upon* such inexcusable disobedience, outrageous rebellion and culpable folly. (Adam and Eve, it should be noted, did not wander out of the Garden of Eden but rather were expelled from it by a judicious act of God.) Ultimately, the threat to humankind is none other than God; only God can rescind the threat that he is. He has done so by rendering himself "propitiatory" (a word that Calvin uses on almost every page of *Institutes* and Commentaries) in the cross, the truth of which is attested by doctrine. The recovery of doctrine must proceed without tarrying for any consideration, including the emperor's, lest the day of grace be foreclosed. For this reason Calvin tells the emperor and other political leaders that regardless of the urgency of their causes, the Protestant cause, and with it the writing of his tract, is of the "*highest* necessity."[11]

Essential to God's urgent, relentless "search and rescue mission" is a repristination of the "heads of doctrine,"[12] or to use an expression mentioned earlier, the building blocks of the faith. Such heads of doctrine setting forth the "pure of worship of God" and comprehending "the salvation of men [sic],"[13] had been rendered "in a great sense obsolete."[14] Had they been rendered utterly obsolete, of course, the faith would have disappeared, and with it the salvific availability of Christ. Still, Calvin does not hesitate to say that essential doctrines have "in a great measure"[15] been lost to sight.

What renders anything obsolete at any time? Novelty does. What is novel renders what is current obsolete. Theological novelty—i.e., what is non-scriptural (and therein necessarily non-

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[8] Calvin, cited in Reid 185.

[9] Calvin, cited in Reid 185.

[10] Calvin, cited in Reid 185.

[11] Calvin, cited in Reid 185. Emphasis added.

[12] Calvin, cited in Reid 185.

[13] Calvin, cited in Reid 186.

[14] Calvin, cited in Reid 186.

[15] Calvin, cited in Reid 186.

catholic)—has rendered obsolete the truths without which the Church crumbles. Reformation theology, Calvin wants everyone to know, so far from exemplifying novelty renounces faddism in any form.

In anticipating and denying the charge of theological innovation Calvin everywhere insists that Jesus Christ is Truth (in the sense of the apostle John's *aletheia,* "reality.") In accord with Scripture and the Church Fathers he insists no less on soundness of doctrine in that he is aware at all times of the relationship between Truth and the truths (doctrine) that point to reality and articulate it. *T*ruth is a living person; *t*ruth*s* are statements that describe this reality. *T*ruth and *t*ruth*s* are categorically distinct and must therefore always be distinguished. Yet even as they must be distinguished they may not be separated. Theology is concerned with both insofar as theology (i) has to do with reality; and (ii) formulates statements that aim at speaking provisionally, to be sure, yet speak *truthfully* and *adequately* of this reality without pretending to speak *exhaustively.* Not to be concerned with sound doctrine is to "banish Christ" in the sense that one is asserting (i) that there is no Truth; or (ii) Truth (i.e., the reality of the living God) is not knowable; or (iii) Truth is of such a nature that while it may be intuited it cannot be articulated (by means of truths) and therefore cannot be commended. Either sound doctrine (truths in the service of Truth) is recovered or Christ remains effectively "banished."

Calvin avers that apart from doctrinal pronouncement the Lord of such pronouncement does not operate salvifically within the economy of the Church and its mission. In a word, while Jesus Christ infinitely transcends all that the Church can say or think concerning him, nevertheless human witness to him and articulation of him as God's redemptive event remain the means of his acting upon humankind to the latter's eternal blessing. The Lord of all such witness and articulation assured the apostles that as they enacted their ministry in his name, *he* would speak to and act upon the recipients of the apostles' witness. "Whoever hears you, hears me"[16] is Christ's promise to do nothing less than this without thereby collapsing himself into the apostles or claiming to act apart from them.

In his *Necessity of Reforming the Church* Calvin returns relentlessly to the cruciality of doctrine that is Scripture-normed and Scripture-informed just because he is aware of the ineluctable connection between doctrine and the reality that transcends it. Here, however, Calvin is far from the Calvinistic scholasticism that arose after him and with which he is identified incorrectly. All forms of scholasticism, Reformed as surely as Roman, tend to identify statements (truths) with the Truth they are deemed to express.[17] Such inappropriate identification is to be avoided even as doctrine is ever to be refined by the Word of God for the sake of intimacy with the One whose mercy must always justify the sinner, and justify as well every aspect of the sinner, including doctrinal formulation.

In light of the intrinsic relation among doctrine that de-obscures the gospel, the self-magnification of the One who adopts and uses such doctrine, and the restoration of a Church that is nothing less than the earthly-historical manifestation of that One's body, Calvin claims that he speaks for himself, for several European princes and untold numbers of devout people who deplore the corruption of the Church and who, for this reason, will not apologize for the Reformation.[18]

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[16] Luke 10:16 (RSV).

[17] See Thomas F. Torrance, *Reality & Evangelical Theology* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1982) 49.

[18] Calvin, cited in Reid 185.

Essential to this doctrinal recovery is an unremitting attention to Scripture. Such attention, however, does not entail an uncritical or illogical Biblicism—an approach to Scripture that Calvin does not endorse. At the same time, where Scripture does not norm, form and inform theology, the Church, now fast departing from the faith "once for all delivered to the saints"[19] is left either with listening to little more than "old wives' tales and fictions equally frivolous"[20] or submerging the Word of God in the fanciful vagaries of speculation[21]—or as he says in a related tract, "the fictions of our reason."[22]

III — Worship

Worship is always at the forefront of Calvin's theological consciousness. God is honoured only as the gospel constrains the Church's thinking so as to conform the Church's mind to the mind of Christ. At the same time, Calvin characteristically eschews a one-sided cerebralism that upholds the head but neglects the heart.[23] When Calvin speaks of worship he appears to mean more than what the congregation does corporately on Sunday. Worship, for Calvin, appears to include the formal, public praise of God as well as the attitude or disposition that characterizes every aspect of the Christian's thinking and doing. Such worship, says Calvin, should be marked by:

[1] a manner that is neither cold nor presumptuously chummy, the latter being "careless;"[24]

[2] a magnification of the glory of God (this is bedrock for Calvin, for worship must be preoccupied with discerning and adoring God's inherent splendour now visited upon the Church; worship is always other-directed, the congregation's glory appearing only as the congregation aspires to renounce all claim to glory and live to serve the glory of God);

[3] the making known the perfections in which God's glory shines; (Calvin, eschewing empty theological clichés, wants worshippers to know precisely what it is in God that is nothing less than glorious);

[4] the setting forth of the "benefits" vouchsafed to believers ("benefits," for Calvin, always refers to the two benefits that jointly exhaust the gospel; namely, justification and sanctification, or remission of sin and newness of life); these benefits are to be lauded "as eloquently as we can," naturally enough, since they gather up the totality of Christ's work on behalf of his people and within them;

[5] the incitement to reverence God's majesty; (it is to be noted that Calvin characteristically speaks of the majesty of God—i.e., the grandeur of God; Calvin does not speak in this

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[19] Jude 4 (RSV).

[20] Calvin, cited in Reid 187.

[21] Calvin, cited in Reid 188.

[22] Calvin, *Best Method of Obtaining Concord*, cited in Reid 330.

[23] Calvin's concern with the heart, the affective response of the whole person to the gospel, looms everywhere in his theology.

[24] Calvin, cited in Reid 187.

tract—if he speaks anywhere—of the sovereignty of God; throughout the *Institutes* Calvin speaks *nowhere* of the sovereignty of God);

[6] an atmosphere that moves people to "render due homage to his [i.e., God's] greatness;"

[7] a felt gratitude for God elicited by God's mercies;

[8] a oneness of heart and mind in the showing forth of God's praise.[25]

The outcome of the foregoing is that there is "infused into their [i.e., worshippers'] hearts that solid confidence which afterwards gives birth to prayer."[26] People who are the beneficiaries of Christ through faith in him and who possess assurance concerning their union with him are constrained to "confide in his power, trust in his goodness, depend on his truth, [. . .] turn to him with the whole heart, rest on him with full hope, [. . .] resort to him in necessity, that is, at every moment, and ascribe to him every good thing enjoyed, and testify to this by expressions of praise."[27]

Undeniably, according to Calvin, doctrine is always intimately related to life. Only as doctrine is re-developed so as to allow the gospel's inherent brightness to shine forth are people able to call upon God, know God, mirror God's glory, and "enjoy" the One who alone gladdens the heart of those made in his image and likeness. Doctrine, categorically distinct from the human person's intimacy with God-in-person, is nonetheless essential to it, and therefore essential as well to believers' enjoyment of such intimacy.

IV — Catholicity

The Protestant Reformers, ceaselessly accused of unconscionably sundering the unity of the Church, replied as often they had done no such thing. Throughout one of his earliest tracts, *Reply to Sadolet* (1539) Calvin maintained that sectarianism could not be charged against the Reformers. When Cardinal Sadolet had charged the Genevan Church with schism Calvin had maintained that the Reformers' dispute with Rome was not that the Church of Rome was "too catholic" but rather that it was insufficiently catholic.[28] Roman Catholicism, the Reformers insisted, had obscured aspects of the gospel vouchsafed to the Church and found, for instance, throughout the Patristic era. As the Roman See had gained primacy, catholicity had weakened, rendering the Church of Rome sectarian in several respects. So far from espousing sectarianism the Reformers, in reforming the Church, were underlining catholicity as essential to the definition of the Church. Once again Calvin is adamant: the theological non-negotiables of the Reformers are no invention. While the Reformers, for instance, have insisted that preaching accompany every celebration of the sacraments lest the latter degenerate into an "empty spectacle"[29] (the spectacle soon becoming worse than empty as superstition takes over and idolatry dishonours the One of whom a sacrament is meant to be effectual sign), the Church Fathers had earlier stipulated as much.[30] Similarly, when the Reformers, perusing Scripture,

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[25] Points 1-8 are found in Calvin, cited in Reid 187.

[26] Calvin, cited in Reid 187.

[27] Calvin, cited in Reid 187.

[28] See Calvin, *Reply to Sadolet, passim,* in Reid 221-56.

[29] Calvin, cited in Reid 188.

[30] Calvin, cited in Reid 203.

noted that *episkopos* and *presbyteros* have the same denotation, their conclusion that monarchical episcopacy could not pertain to the *esse* of the Church was manifestly supported by Patristic authorities.[31] The ancient Church maintained, as the Reformers have come to insist, that presbyters are to be examined with respect to both their doctrine and their life.[32] In the same vein, ancient authorities support the Reformers' insistence on a worship whose substance and style are governed by a zeal for hearing and heeding Scripture.[33]

A major point here is Calvin's emphasis on tradition's witness to the un-normed normativity of Scripture. Tradition, Calvin notes, does not attest the primacy of tradition. Unquestionably tradition is authoritative; tradition, however, remains a normed norm, self-acknowledged to be Scripture-normed. The Reformation can never be accused of rejecting tradition; it can be thanked, however, for recovering tradition's self-understanding on behalf of the Church. Calvin, supported by tradition, maintains that if tradition is elevated above Scripture the gospel will be submerged and "gross idolatry" will surface; such "gross idolatry" will be evident, e.g., in "divine honours paid to dead men's bones."[34]

Calvin's point here is telling; his warning pertains to the Church in every era. We must be sure to note the contemporary Protestant equivalent of his criticism of Sixteenth-Century Roman Catholicism. In 2001 I was asked to attend the World Methodist Council. The theme of the 2001 Council was the Aldersgate event (1738) wherein Wesley felt his "heart strangely warmed." Throughout the conference Wesley's experience was both romanticised and left unprobed. As a result, despite the conference's veneration of Wesley in the birth and development of Methodism it failed to mention (i) that the Aldersgate heart-warming found Wesley thereafter repudiating the mystical moralism that had rendered his ministry ineffectual for fifteen years; (ii) that the same event was the springboard for an evangelistic ministry whose foundation was justification by faith; (iii) that Wesley unhesitatingly and uncompromisingly declared thereafter that justification by faith was "the very foundation of our Church [i.e., Anglican] [. . .] and indeed the fundamental [doctrine] of the Reformed Churches;"[35] and (iv) that Wesley's ministry after 1738 presupposed an understanding of the human condition under God that was nothing less than catastrophic regardless of unbelievers' ignorance of it; namely, the sinner's condemnation already enacted and merely awaiting manifestation on the Day of Judgement, which condemnation could be relieved only as the sinner exercised Spirit-wrought repentance and faith. Despite the adulation of Wesley there was no recognition of what impelled the man to travel 250,000 miles on horseback, preach 40,000 times, endure ice-cold downpours and abusive mobs and denominational opposition and a criminal justice system that abetted injustice. There was no examination of Wesley's gospel concerning either its substance or its urgency. What else was such misbegotten veneration except "divine honours paid to dead men's bones"?

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[31] Calvin, cited in Reid 207.

[32] Calvin, cited in Reid 207.

[33] Calvin, cited in Reid 190.

[34] Calvin, cited in Reid 188.

[35] John Wesley, Sermon #150, "Hypocrisy in Oxford," *Works of John Wesley*, vol. 4 (Nashville: Abingdon, 1987) 395.

V — Sacraments

Calvin's chief complaint is that the "signs" (water, bread, wine) of the sacraments are one-sidedly attended to, thereby befogging the One whose action the sacraments attest, Jesus Christ.[36] The result is that people come to trust not the Lord to whom the signs point but the signs themselves. The twofold outcome of this latter misapprehension is idolatry of the elements and the veiling of Christ.[37]

In a seeming paradox, Calvin avers that once Christ is collapsed into the sacrament and is deemed to inhere it (this is one of the Reformers' objections to transubstantiation), Christ is obscured by the sacrament;[38] i.e., that once the sacrament is held to "contain" Christ, the rite renders Christ inaccessible. The confusing of sign with signified finds people venerating elements (here Calvin has in mind such practices as the reservation and adoration of the host). Once rendered "content with gazing upon them [i.e., the elements] and worshipping them," worshippers "never once raised their mind to Christ."[39]

The same confusion may be present in Protestant denominations today, especially in those that are declining precipitously. As nervous observers watch an institution decline it is recalled that Christ has guaranteed that the powers of death will not prevail against the Church.[40] Frequently forgotten is the fact that Christ's promise pertains to his people; he has guaranteed that the community of his faithful people will never perish. He has made no such promise to institutions. History is littered with the debris of long-dead denominations and congregations. It appears that false confidence has arisen through the notion that Christ has collapsed himself into the Church and now inheres it. Overlooked is the truth that while the most intimate relationship obtains between Christ and his people, the relationship is between Christ and his *people*, not between Christ and any institutional structure as such. Overlooked as well is the truth that while head and body cannot be severed (i.e., Jesus Christ is not a severed head), Christ ever remains *lord* of the relationship between him and his people, *lord* of the Church. In other words, even as Christ remains indissolubly bound to the Church he infinitely transcends it, has not collapsed himself into it, and must not be thought to inhere it. Any suggestion that he does inhere the Church, in the seeming paradox Calvin noted concerning the sign and signified in the elements, renders the Church idolatrous, the gospel obscure, and Christ "inaccessible." The peril of misunderstanding and misapplying Christ's pledge concerning the indefeasibility of the Church is precisely what Calvin found concerning the misunderstanding of the sacraments; namely, that as soon as Christ is thought to inhere the Church, Christ is obscured by the Church. No institution that obscures Christ should comfort itself with a promise that the Lord whom no one can "capture" has made to the Church.

Continuing with his defence of the Reformers' theology of the sacraments, Calvin objects to the practice of sundering command and promise.[41] The command is "Take, eat, drink;" the

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[36] Calvin, cited in Reid 203.

[37] Calvin, cited in Reid 203.

[38] Calvin, cited in Reid 205.

[39] Calvin, cited in Reid 205.

[40] Matthew 16:20.

[41] Calvin, cited in Reid 205.

promise, "You eat my body and drink my blood."[42] Whenever the elements are reserved and adored but not consumed, command and promise have been sundered.[43] Disobedience to the command forfeits the blessing of the promise.

Calvin does not relate explicitly his point about command and promise in connection with the Lord's Supper to Abraham and Isaac on Mount Moriah, but the connection is undeniable in view of the fact that Calvin recognizes Genesis 22 to be the paradigmatic test, as attested in both older and newer testaments, of holding command and promise together.[44] Abraham has been promised that he will have descendents as numerous as the sand on the seashore. Abraham, the prototype of faith, must persevere in faith and Isaac must survive. If Abraham surrenders faith in God, Abraham can have no descendents *in faith*. If Isaac perishes, Abraham will have no *descendents* in faith. The dilemma is stark: if Abraham obeys God and offers up Isaac, the promise has been cancelled since Isaac has not survived; if Abraham second-guesses God (i.e., disobeys God) and spares Isaac in order to "ensure" the promise, the promise has been cancelled by a disobedience that exemplifies Abraham's unfaith. What is Abraham to do? Replete with knife and flame and firewood the anguished man resolutely trudges up Mount Moriah, determined to obey God immediately and trust God to fulfil God's promise to him even though his obedience appears to void the promise. In other words, Abraham will obey God in an act whose outcome he cannot deny and trust God to fulfil God's promise to him in a manner he cannot foresee. The conclusion of the trial of Abraham (and no less of Isaac, old enough to carry sufficient wood to consume his remains and deemed, by rabbinic tradition, to be thirty-seven years old)[45] is glorious: because of Abraham's refusal to sunder command and promise all the nations of the world will be blessed.[46]

In his insistence on the simultaneity of command and promise Calvin challenges the Church today. The Church is commanded to declare the gospel and to live by it alone. God has promised that his word does not return to him fruitlessly, that as the Church obeys the command, the promise will be fulfilled. Yet the command appears to vitiate the promise as the Church dwindles (at least in some places) week after week. The gospel appears too specific in an era that prefers religious generalities, too narrow in an age of inclusiveness, too confident of its effectiveness in a time of polite opinions, too sharply delineated for those who prefer the softer contours of romanticism. It appears that as the Church attempts to live by the gospel it will die by the gospel. Then what is the Church to do? Like Abraham of old it must obey God even as it trusts God to fulfil his promise concerning the Church in ways that the Church at present cannot anticipate. To do anything else is to abandon Abraham, faith's prototype; to do anything else is to sunder command and promise, a divorce that Calvin deems to render Christ an idol and worship superstition.

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[42] Calvin, cited in Reid 205.

[43] Calvin, cited in Reid 205.

[44] See John Calvin, *A Commentary on Genesis* (London: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1965) 561-72.

[45] For an expanded exposition of Genesis 22, including the exegesis of both Calvin and Luther, see Victor Shepherd, "Abraham and Isaac in Genesis 22: Hope as the Reconciliation of Promise and Command," *Teach Me Your Paths: Studies in Old Testament Literature and Theology*, ed. John Kessler and Jeffrey P. Greenman (Toronto: Clements Publishing, 2001) 9-38.

[46] Genesis 22:18.

VI — Spirituality

Calvin's emphasis on doctrine, worship and sacrament never eclipses his awareness that the Word must transmogrify and indwell the human heart. In holding Word and Spirit together Calvin insists that what has been done outside of us yet for us (*extra nos, pro nobis*) in Christ must also be done in us (*in nobis*) by the Spirit—or else all that Christ has achieved on our behalf fails to profit us.[47] No caricature of Calvin is less accurate than the notion that he is a one-sided theologian of the "head" while neglecting the "heart." Consider, e.g., "[. . .] with *experience* as our teacher we find God just as he declares himself in his Word;"[48] "[. . .] God openly reveals what he has proclaimed and promised in his Word, and enables us to *experience* it."[49] "The knowledge of God's benevolence toward us that is essential to faith must be both revealed to our minds and *sealed upon our hearts*."[50] Similarly Calvin does not hesitate to announce that "[. . .] the enjoyment of Christ kindles a new desire for him,"[51] and that spiritual need can be remedied only when such need is "really felt," those who are "insensible" of their need remaining "incurable."[52] Only in those who "cheerfully" embrace the teaching of Christ is our election in Christ sealed upon us "visibly"[53]—election, cheerful faith and visible seal necessary in view of the fact that the Fall ensures that we are born "bears and lions and tigers."[54] As crucial as the cognitive aspect of faith is, it always subserves the affective aspect; e.g., "[. . .] knowledge of faith consists in assurance rather than in comprehension," such assurance alone allowing us "[...] with tranquil hearts to stand in God's sight."[55] Again, while faith is certainly knowledge of God, the heart is deeper than the head, with the result that while believers "feel the divine power of the gospel"[56] faith cannot "comprehend what it feels."[57] The ethos Calvin's theology generates is not at all hostile to the contemporary concern with spirituality.

Calvin, of course, does not use the word "spirituality," the word entering the theological vocabulary centuries later through a Jesuit agenda fostered by Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*. Calvin speaks frequently of "godliness" and "piety." Godliness, obviously, is other-engendered. Piety, for Calvin, is "that reverence joined with love of God which the knowledge of his benefits induces."[58] Calvin customarily speaks of faith, since faith presupposes Jesus Christ (who bears and bestows the Spirit) as its author and object. Calvin always suspects a devaluation

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[47] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* book 3, chapters 1-2 *passim.*

[48] Calvin, *Institutes* 1.11.2. Emphasis added.

[49] Farley 406. Emphasis added.

[50] Calvin, *Institutes* 3.2.7. Emphasis added.

[51] John Calvin, *The Gospel According to St. John 1-10,* ed. David W. Torrance and Thomas F. Torrance, trans. T. H. L. Parker (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1974) 7:38.

[52] Calvin, *St. John* 9:41.

[53] Calvin, *St. John* 8:47.

[54] Calvin, *St. John* 10:8.

[55] Calvin, *Institutes* 3.2.14; 3.2.15.

[56] Calvin, *Institutes* 3.2.10.

[57] Calvin, *Institutes* 3.2.14.

[58] Calvin, *Institutes* 1.2.1.

of gospel vocabulary wherein biblical words with precise meanings are reduced to religious commonplaces devoid of gospel content. In this regard Calvin reminds readers in *Necessity* that gospel substance is jettisoned whenever gospel words are retained but gospel significance lost. Merely to deploy "faith" and "repentance" is no guarantee of spiritual adequacy.[59] Today he would cringe at the way "guilt" has been altered from one's situation before God to how one happens to feel; i.e., from a divine-judicial category to a psychological category.

As eager as he is to recognize the place of spiritual experience Calvin warns us against a contemporary concern with spirituality that often appears unable to recognize and resist rampant subjectivism. Drift is always more dangerous than decree. Few denominations decree a repudiation of doctrinal standards; most, however, drift imperceptibly.

It appears that drift may be evident where not expected. Whereas Calvin maintains that there is found in us "nothing but sin and death,"[60] a widely-used book on Christian spirituality asserts, "Augustine, like us, sought for an external God, a God separate from himself. He discovered, however, that God is to be found and loved within the depths of our being."[61] Augustine aside, Calvin would insist that God *is* external to us, even as God has come among us in his Son and indwells us by his Spirit; not only do we not find God in the depths of our being, we do not find God at all since God finds us as God overtakes us and arrests us in our headlong flight from him. Ransacking our "depths" will never yield God.

If it is true that the Church, in the past few decades or in the Reformation tradition generally, has one-sidedly emphasised the head to the detriment of the heart, the way forward is not by means of an uncritical subjectivism; the way forward is the recovery of the emphasis Calvin makes in *Necessity* and throughout his work. Calvin's characteristic deployment of "feel" and related words recalls Charles Wesley's hymn wherein he asks, "Depth of mercy, can there be mercy still reserved for me? Can my God his wrath forbear, me the chief of sinners spare?" only to answer, "God is love; I know, I *feel*; Jesus lives, and loves me still."[62] In eighteenth-century English "feel" meant "prove by lived experience." The affective dimension is upheld while a self-referential mentality is denied. Two hundred years earlier Calvin had as much in mind when he wrote that believers are to "feel due gratitude for his [i.e., God's] mercies."[63] Calvin remains a theologian of the heart no less than a theologian of the head. Recovering his theology will satisfy the Church's legitimate quest for spiritual experience without courting religious romanticism.

In penning and promulgating his tract *The Necessity of Reforming the Church* when Charles V preferred him to postpone it for political considerations, Calvin was aware that he would likely be accused either of folly or presumption. In self-extenuation he pleaded, "If a thing is done honestly and from pious zeal, we deem it worthy of praise; if it is done under the pressure of public necessity, we at least deem it not unworthy of excuse."[64] The spiritual descendent of Calvin who expounds the Reformer's tract can only plead the same.

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[59] Calvin, cited in Reid 193.

[60] Calvin, cited in Reid 197.

[61] M. Robert Mulholland, Jr., *The Deeper Journey: The Spirituality of Discovering Your True Self* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Books, 2006) 143.

[62] Quoted in *Works of John Wesley*, vol. 7 (Nashville: Abingdon, 1983) 284-85.

[63] Calvin, cited in Reid 187.

[64] Calvin, cited in Reid 184.

A Scottish Tapestry of Reform: John Calvin, Valérand Poullain and Some Scots

Jack C. Whytock

The Scottish Reformation can be described as an amazing genealogical tapestry of the weaving together of many continental fibres. The Calvinian fibres certainly include John Calvin, but they are inclusive of a wider continental Calvinian and Reformed family. Scotland had the position of drawing upon, being influenced by and shaping several of these Reformed fibres into her national Reformation. In this year of honouring the 500th anniversary of Calvin's birth, I want to briefly mention John Calvin's influence through another Reformer, Valérand Poullain.[1] By tracing that Reformer's direct and indirect connections and possible influences upon the Scottish Reformation and Reformers, the Reformed movement is more clearly shown as "polyphonic" in its scope.[2]

I will begin by establishing the Poullain-Calvin connection, follow this by the Poullain-Scottish connection, then explore the parallels between Poullain and the Scottish Reformation and conclude with my assessment.

I — Poullain-Calvin

I begin with a brief sketch of Poullain's life. He was born c.1509 in Lille, France, along the border with modern Belgium, and matriculated at the ancient University of Louvain in March 1531. The location of his birth and university studies brought him into close association with the Walloons and the Flemish. He was ordained as a priest by 1540 yet by 1543 was converted to Protestantism and fled to Strasbourg, where he lived in Martin Bucer's house. Poullain clearly identified with the Reformed side of Protestantism and wrote against the Lutheran position on Communion. The chief centres of his Protestant ministry were Strasbourg, Glastonbury-London and Frankfort, where he died in 1557.[3] Poullain's most significant textual contributions were his *Liturgia Sacra* (Sacred Liturgy) and *Professio Fidei Catholicae* (Confession of the Catholic Faith).[4] A reviewer commenting on Poullain wrote that he was "an interesting example of the truly international character of the Reformed Church; and it is perhaps partly for that very reason

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[1] I have adopted the spelling "Valérand Poullain" for consistency. Other forms include "Valerandus Pollanus," "Vallerandus Poullain," "Valerian Poullain," "Vallerand Poullain" and "Valerani Pollani."

[2] I am indebted in the use of this lovely word "polyphonic" here to Ian Hazlett, who used it in reference to the Calvinian family at work in England aiding the Reformation there. The word aptly applies to Scotland as well. See Ian Hazlett, "Calvin and the British Isles," *The Calvin Handbook*, trans. Henry J. Baron, et al., ed. Herman J. Selderhuis (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009) 119.

[3] Jasper Ridley, *John Knox* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1968) 306. Ridley has Poullain still alive on 15 December 1558, but this appears to be incorrect.

[4] Andrew Spicer, "Poullain, Valérand," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (*DNB*), ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, vol. 45 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004) 47-48.

that he has had a somewhat scant share of historical attention."[5] I will now draw out Poullain's connections to John Calvin.

When Calvin left his pastorate of the French refugee congregation in Strasbourg, 1541, he was succeeded by Pierre Brully, who was replaced by Valérand Poullain in 1543.[6] Thus, Poullain became heir to the liturgy and church discipline that Calvin had used while in Strasbourg. (As an aside, let us remember Calvin owed a great deal to Bucer[7] in Strasbourg for his ideas on liturgy and discipline. It is significant to assert this genealogical line at the outset. Calvin was the conduit of Bucer, Poullain then the conduit of Calvin or, could we say, Calvin and Bucer?) In 1550, Poullain and his congregation left Strasbourg for England due to the conditions of the 1548 Augsburg Interim.[8] Poullain became the preacher and superintendent of the exiled French weavers now in Glastonbury, much like the position John à Lasco held in the Strangers' Churches in London. Poullain's congregation numbered over two hundred people and consisted of both Walloon and Flemish weavers.[9] While in Glastonbury, Poullain set down his liturgy in Latin in 1551. This is popularly known as the *Liturgia Sacra*, and it owes much to Calvin's Strasbourg liturgy.[10] When Mary ascended the throne in 1553, the Glastonbury congregation, like the London Strangers' Churches, left for the continent. They wandered through Germany by way of Emden, Wesel and Cologne, and finally received refuge at Frankfort in 1554.[11] Here Poullain's *Liturgia Sacra* was slightly revised and republished, together with his

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[5] Rev. of *Valérand Poullain*, by D. K. Bauer, *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* (*PHSL*) 13 (1925-1929): 525. This review discusses Bauer's interpretation of Poullain's work. See Karl Bauer, *Valérand Poullain: Ein Kirchengeschichtliches Zeitbild aus der Mitte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 3, Geschichtsblätter des Deutschen Hugenotten-Vereins (Elberfeld [Wuppertal]: Evangel. Buchh. Chr. Buyer, 1927). Some excerpts of Bauer's work have been translated by Cowell. See Henry J. Cowell, "The Sixteenth-Century French-speaking and English-speaking Refugee Churches at Frankfort," *PHSL* 14 (1929-1933): 87-92.

[6] Various scholars are incorrect when they state Calvin's successor was Poullain; rather, he was second from Calvin. Compare Richard L. Greaves, *Theology and Revolution in the Scottish Reformation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian UP, 1980) 55, with Cowell 72, and Frederick A. Norwood, *Strangers and Exiles: A History of Religious Refugees*, vol. 1 (Nashville: Abingdon, 1969) 326-27. See also S. W. Kershaw, *Protestants From France in Their English Home* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Seale, & Rivington, 1885) 14.

[7] Significant recent studies done on Bucer as relates to the theme of discipline include: Amy Nelson Burnett, *The Yoke of Christ: Martin Bucer and Christian Discipline* (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1994); Willem van't Spijker, *The Ecclesiastical Offices in the Thought of Martin Bucer*, trans. John Vriend and Lyle D. Bierma (Leiden: Brill, 1996); and David F. Wright, ed., *Martin Bucer: Reforming Church and Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994).

[8] Henry J. Cowell, "French-Walloon Church at Glastonbury, 1550-1553," *PHSL* 13 (1925-1929): 485; "Strasbourg Protestant Refugees in England, 1547-1553," *PHSL* 14 (1929-1933): 333; Lewis W. Spitz, *The Protestant Reformation* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985) 270.

[9] Robin D. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain*, 2nd rev. ed. (Brighton, Eng.: Sussex Academic, 2001) 52.

[10] Cowell, "French-Walloon Church" 485, 488, 495; Robin D. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985) 42; John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. 2, part 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1822) 378-82; Howard G. Hageman, "Liturgical Origins of the Reformed Churches," *The Heritage of John Calvin*, ed. John Bratt (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1973) 116.

[11] Norwood 318; Cowell, "French-Walloon Church" 505; William D. Maxwell, *John Knox's Genevan Service Book, 1556: The Liturgical Portions of the Genevan Service Book Used by John Knox While a Minister of the English Congregation of Marian Exiles at Geneva, 1556-1569* (1931; London: Faith Press, 1965) 21; John

Confession. This revised edition was used by the French and English refugee congregations that had recently come to Frankfort.[12]

Thus, Poullain's liturgy passed from Strasbourg to Glastonbury and then to Frankfort. At each of these places, it continued to show that it relied upon Calvin's Strasbourg liturgy. Gordon states that the 1551 *Liturgia* is almost identical to Calvin's 1542 "La Forme des Prieres et Chantz Ecclesiastiques," the liturgy that Calvin used in Strasbourg. The 1554 Frankfort revised *Liturgia* contains some innovations but is still loyal to its forerunners.[13] This reliance upon the work of Calvin is something to which Poullain would readily admit. Bauer, Poullain's biographer, refers to him as "the spiritual son of Bucer and Calvin." In a personal letter to Calvin, May 1544, Poullain wrote, "You will always find me a son: I pray you [Calvin] to be a father to me [Poullain]."[14]

Another evidence of his high esteem for Calvin was his request for Calvin to send pamphlets to the Netherlands on the subject of separating from "Papists."[15] By such action, Poullain was aiding in the Calvinian Reformation of the Netherlands while reflecting his own roots and affinities.

Poullain possessed a detailed knowledge of Calvin's *Institutes*. He compiled the first complete scriptural index for the aid of students, supplied the different section headings, corrected the printer's errors and produced an early subject index. Subsequent editions of the *Institutes* contain these addenda, and we know that Poullain sent one such revision to Calvin. Bauer concluded that Calvin availed himself of this work. In Poullain's *Professio Fidei Catholicae* for the Glastonbury and Frankfort congregations, the division of the confession into four articles reflects a reliance on the reading of the *Institutes*. Shortly after Poullain's death (1557), Calvin included one of Poullain's intercessory prayers in the Geneva liturgy. We also know that Poullain had a high regard for Calvin's *Commentaries* and urged him to write more.[16]

Poullain was not subtle with Calvin concerning Calvin's need to press on with writing biblical commentaries: "You are letting the devil divert you to other tasks when you should be writing commentaries."[17] Following the gap of several years from the Romans commentary,

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Gordon, "Liturgia Sacra and Professio Fidei Catholicae of Valerandus Pollanus, 1554," diss., U of Edinburgh, 1928, iv.

[12] Cowell, "Sixteenth-Century" 68-76; Maxwell 72; John Knox, *The Works of John Knox*, ed. David Laing, vol. 4 (Edinburgh: James Thin, 1895, 6 vols.) 145; Gordon vi, 1. Gordon here asserts that the English refugee congregation initially used Poullain's work. This, of course, was to become part of the controversy.

[13] Gordon viii-ix, ii; Cowell, "Sixteenth-Century" 75. [George M. Ella's *The Troublemakers at Frankfurt: A Vindication of the English Reformation* (Durham: GO, 2003) arrived as this paper was going to press, and I have not been able to digest its contents. However, I do note here his synopsis in English of "The Frankfurt *Liturgia Sacra*" (1554) 227-343.]

[14] Cowell, "Sixteenth-Century" 87.

[15] Phyllis M. Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands, 1544-1569*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History, eds. J. H. Elliott and H. G. Koenigsberger (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1978) 51-52; Frank van der Pol, "Calvin and the Netherlands," *The Calvin Handbook*, ed. Herman J. Selderhuis (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009) 90.

[16] Cowell, "Sixteenth-Century" 88-89; T. H. L. Parker, *John Calvin: A Biography* (1975; Tring, Eng.: Lion, 1982) 125-26.

[17] William Lindner, *John Calvin* (Minneapolis: Bethany House, 1998) 114, Lindner quoting Poullain to Calvin. Also, T. H. L. Parker, *Calvin's New Testament Commentaries*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993) 18-19, for Poullain to Calvin, Nov. 1545.

1540, commentaries did start to appear with 1 Corinthians in 1546, after which transcribing lectures allowed for "a steady flow of new commentaries."[18] Poullain also urged Calvin to write against the Libertines. Both Valérand Poullain and Guillaume Farel wrote letters to Calvin to this effect, May 26, 1544, and October 2, 1544.[19] Their solicitations appear to have worked because in 1545 Calvin's treatise was published against the Libertines.[20] Today, nineteen letters from Poullain to Calvin have survived. Poullain's role was that of a stimulant to encourage Calvin to carry on the call for reform and training. Beside his exhortation to write commentaries and challenge the Libertines, Poullain also helped to see that Calvin's polemic against the Nicodemites was read in the Netherlands and played a role in Calvin writing against the Anabaptists.[21]

Poullain clearly held Calvin in highest regard and was greatly influenced by Calvin theologically and liturgically.[22] Yet a tension did exist between the two men, particularly on the part of Calvin. Writing in a letter to the French exiles at Frankfort in 1555, Calvin supported Poullain and urged the church to do the same.[23] However, Calvin did not always speak highly of Poullain. The whole incident which led to the tension between the two men concerned the "troubles of Frankfort." Poullain pastored the French Church there, and in 1556 it became divided in part over the locational/cultural backgrounds of the people and perhaps also over Poullain's ministerial manner. John T. McNeill describes it in no minced language: "Its injudicious minister, Valérand Poullain, was soon in trouble [. . .]."[24]

Poullain had had some "run-ins" previously with Calvin, his esteemed mentor. The first seems to have been in regard to Poullain's proposed marriage to a relative of Jacobos Falesius in 1547, about which Poullain received a letter of admonition from Calvin.[25] The next was over the legitimacy of Poullain's call by the people at the French refugee congregation in Frankfort. Things had become complicated when more refugees arrived. The original 1554 group were London French exiles, followed by Walloons (Flemish) from Glastonbury and French exiles from France. Since these newcomers had never voted Poullain into office, tensions were created over the legitimacy of his call. A committee was appointed to sort out this matter, of which Calvin was one member. It was decided that, as Poullain was not at fault, he should remain as pastor. The next year another dispute arose over the installation of new deacons. This resulted in

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[18] Lindner 115, and W. de Greef, *The Writings of John Calvin: An Introductory Guide*, trans. Lyle D. Bierma (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1993) 94-96.

[19] de Greef 169.

[20] de Greef 169-70.

[21] van der Pol 90.

[22] It appears that Calvin in the end remained silent about Poullain's resignation as the pastor of the French congregation in Frankfort. Poullain resigned and a new pastor was appointed. Andrew Spicer summarized the remaining months of Poullain's life in this way: "This caused a rift in the former's [Poullain's] friendship with Calvin which remained unresolved at the time of Poullain's death" (Spicer 48).

[23] G. R. Potter and M. Greengrass, eds., *John Calvin*, Documents of Modern History (London: Edward Arnold, 1983) 138-40; James L. Ainslie, *The Doctrines of Ministerial Order in the Reformed Churches of the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1940) 164; Cowell, "Sixteenth-Century" 91.

[24] John T. McNeill, *The History and Character of Calvinism*, rev. ed. (New York: Oxford UP, 1967) 200.

[25] Kenneth Austin, *From Judaism to Calvinism: The Life and Writings of Immanuel Tremellius (c. 1510-1580)*, St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot, Eng.: Ashgate, 2007) 55.

Poullain's resignation, followed shortly thereafter by his death. A new pastor was elected, François Pérussel,[26] formerly a French exiled pastor in Canterbury. Pérussel had also experienced problems in Wesel, from where he had been expelled.[27] This matter of tensions in the French refugee church did not end with new elections for pastoral staff. In 1559, Calvin was again writing to this church, this time over the quarreling which was going on between the two ministers, Guillaume Houbracque and François Pérussel.[28] It thus appears questionable that the blame can completely be leveled against Poullain for the troubles in the French congregation in Frankfort.

II — Poullain – Scottish Contacts

John Willock

There are three Scots who can be singled out as having connections to Poullain. The first of these, John Willock, is less conclusive by way of evidential correspondence yet still cannot be ignored because of the numerous common relationships and shared theological affinities which existed between Willock and Poullain.

John Willock, one of the compilers of *The First Book of Discipline* and the Scots Confession, ministered in England during Edward VI's reign.[29] During this time, Valérand Poullain was also ministering in England as superintendent of the French-Walloon Church at Glastonbury, 1551-1553. In 1551, Poullain published a Latin edition of his *Liturgia Sacra* in London and included a dedication in it to Edward VI.[30] One can only speculate, but since Willock was often in London, he possibly could have heard of Poullain's published liturgy or even have seen it.

Both Willock and Poullain were associated with some of the influential nobility in England between 1550 and 1553. Poullain's Walloon congregation was settled on the Duke of Somerset's land of the former Glastonbury Abbey. The congregation received generous privileges to worship and to order the discipline of their church as they desired. They received much the same freedoms which the London Strangers' Churches enjoyed. Thus, they had a Reformed church with elders, deacons, plain worship and a vigorous discipline.[31]

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[26] Andrew Spicer, "Pérussel, François," *DNB*, vol. 43, 852-53.

[27] Michael S. Springer, *Restoring Christ's Church: John à Lasco and the Forma ac ratio*, St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot, Eng.: Ashgate, 2007) 71-72.

[28] de Greef 65, and George M. Ella, *Jan Laski the Pan-European Reformer*, Martin Bucer Seminar – Texte Reformiertes Forum (Berlin: Martin Bucer Seminar, 2004) 5-8. Poullain was the brother-in-law to the wife of John Hooper, Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester. See Mary Prior, "Reviled and Crucified Marriages," *Women in English Society, 1500-1800*, ed. Mary Prior (London: Methuen, 1985) 124, 129. He would become guardian of the Hooper children in 1555. See Melissa F. Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community in Early Modern England: Katherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk, and Lincolnshire's Godly Aristocracy, 1519-1580* (Woodbridge, Eng.: Boydell, 2008) 105. Poullain's wife's name was Joanna, and I assume she was from Antwerp like her sister, John Hooper's wife.

[29] Duncan Shaw, "Willock, John", *DNB*, vol. 59, 403-5. The relationship between Willock and John à Lasco has been explored often but that of Willock and Poullain very little.

[30] Gordon iv.

[31] Cowell, "French-Walloon Church" 508-9; Cowell, "Sixteenth-Century" 89-90; W. Stanford Reid, *Trumpeter of God: A Biography of John Knox*, (1974; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1982) 85-86; Gwynn (1985) 42.

More substantial evidence of Knox's relationship with Poullain comes from the time when the two men ministered in Frankfort. With Mary's accession to the throne, the Glastonbury refugees left for Germany and finally settled in Frankfort in March 1554 with Poullain as their pastor. This French refugee congregation received basically the same privileges there which they had enjoyed while at Glastonbury. They were granted liberty by the town council to hold their own worship services in French according to Poullain's liturgy. They were also allowed to exercise a zealous discipline. The same Confession of Faith used in Glastonbury was likewise used here. The council gave the French the use of the Weissfrauenkirche for their worship services.[38]

Shortly after this, English (and we might add Scottish) Marian exiles came to Frankfort. With Poullain's aid, they were allowed to stay and practise their faith provided it conformed to the manner of the French Refugee Church in doctrine, liturgy and discipline. Thus, the English Refugee Church of Frankfort subscribed to Poullain's liturgy and confession in July of 1554. Remember, much of Poullain's work was really derived from Calvin's Strasbourg liturgy, which in turn owed much to Bucer.[39]

Once this English congregation had accepted the French liturgy and confession, a pastor was summoned—John Knox, then a resident of Geneva. Knox began his work in November 1554 at Frankfort as pastor to the English refugees. Thus, he was working alongside Poullain, the pastor of the French refugees.[40] Division arose quickly in the English congregation with two factions, one wanting the second *Book of Common Prayer* to be used, the other desiring a more Reformed liturgy in keeping with Geneva and other Reformed centres. Hence, the latter faction depended upon Poullain's liturgy. Because of this division, Knox was forced to leave Frankfort for Geneva in March 1555. In the ensuing months, other supporters of the Reformed order left Frankfort for Geneva.[41]

Knox's sojourn in Frankfort allowed him ample opportunity to acquaint himself with Poullain and his church order and discipline. The English church leaders would have been well acquainted with Poullain's order, as it was the basis for the English being able to stay in Frankfort. In Knox's *Works*, we find several references to Poullain and the relationship which existed between them. Poullain's house was the meeting place for the leaders of the English

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[38] Norwood 318; Cowell, "Sixteenth-Century" 68.

[39] Cowell, "Sixteenth-Century" 74-75; Reid 120-21. For those of the English strangers who signed it on behalf of the English church at Frankfort, see Gordon viii-ix, 163. See also G. J. Van de Poll, *Martin Bucer's Liturgical Ideas: The Strasburg Reformer and His Connection With the Liturgies of the Sixteenth Century* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1954) 34, 40, 66, 107, 109-10, 117, 124. Van de Poll concludes that Bucer's Strasbourg liturgy was transmitted chiefly by the "many emigrant churches"; thus, "in this manner the reformed heritage of Strasbourg was scattered over an extensive area, so that when, through the Interim of 1549, Strasbourg was temporarily eliminated as a centre, other centres preserved and passed [on] this heritage, viz.: Zürich, Emden, Geneva, Frankfort, Frankenthal, Heidelberg, and Wesel" (169). London and Glastonbury could also be included in this list.

[40] Reid 123; Cowell, "Sixteenth-Century" 75; Ronald J. Vander Molen, "Anglican Against Puritan: Ideological Origins During the Marian Exile," *Church History* 42.1 (1973): 45-49; John W. Prugh, "Theory and Practice of Discipline in the Scottish Reformation," diss., New College, U of Edinburgh, 1958, 70-71, 77-78. A work I have not been able to locate but one which would perhaps shed more light on this French congregation is Friedrich Clemens Ebrard, *Die Französisch-Reformierte Gemeinde in Frankfurt am Main, 1554-1904* (Frankfurt am Main, 1906).

[41] Norwood 343; Thomas McCrie, *Life of John Knox*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: John Ogle, William Blackwood, et al, 1813) 152-56; Patrick Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal, 1519-1583: The Struggle for a Reformed Church* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1979) 74-80.

church, including Knox, to attempt to reconcile the two factions in that church. Also, in Knox's "A Narrative of the Troubles at Frankfort," he makes reference to the fact that he "laboured with Mr. Valeranus Polanus, a minister of the French Church."[42] These are clear indications of the relationship between the two men. The fact alone that Poullain's liturgy and confession were published in September 1554 in Frankfort and were agreed upon by the English congregation is proof enough that Knox, when he arrived that November, would have familiarized himself with this document. The logical conclusion is that the connection between Poullain and Knox was very real and that Knox came under Poullain's influence in regard to church order and discipline.

It is also significant that this Frankfort division is often seen as one of the critical factors in the development of a stricter Puritan approach to worship. Poullain's sympathies were obvious, as were Knox's—the two men were in agreement. The Frankfort division was certainly a move away from *The Book of Common Prayer* to a Strasbourg, Geneva, Glastonbury or Frankfort French Reformed liturgy and ecclesiastical polity, discipline and confession of faith.

John MacBriar

We now come to the third Scottish John connected in some way with Valérand Poullain, John MacBriar. He has remained somewhat of an unknown Scot. His name itself has in part led to confusion and false deductions.[43] It has been spelled MacBriar, MackBrair, Mackbray, Makebray and Makebraie.[44]

Who exactly was this John MacBriar? He was born in Galloway and studied at St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews, in 1530. (Whether he met John Knox at St. Andrews during his student days there is uncertain.) He was ordained as a priest and is known to have once been a Cistercian monk at Glenluce (Newton Stewart area). His conversion may have been due to contact with the Lollards of Kyle (Ayrshire). Eventually MacBriar was imprisoned for "sundry great and odious crimes, Heresies etc."; that is, he became a Protestant. He was helped to escape the Hamilton castle jail in 1550 and fled to England.[45] This was under King Edward VI's reign, when we encounter several Scottish Protestants with the first name "John" ministering in England—John Knox, John Willock, John MacDowell, John MacAlpine, John Rough and John

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[42] Laing, vol. 4, 34, 42, 46. See also Spitz 206-7.

[43] Foxe's *Martyrs* in some editions incorrectly names him as John MacAlpine, the Scot who went to Copenhagen (John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of Matters Most Speciall and Memorable*, 1563, 1570, 1576, 1583, "Editorial Commentary," *John Foxe's Book of Martyrs Variorum Edition*, 2006, Humanities Research Institute, U of Sheffield, 8 Sept. 2009, <www.hrionline.ac.uk/johnfoxe/apparatus/11commentary.html>). I want to express my appreciation to a good friend Rev. Douglas Gebbie for allowing me to have conversations about unraveling the mysterious John MacBriar and the contents of this paper in general. Both of us hope in any revisions to the *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology* (*DSCHT*), 1993 ed. that MacBriar will receive an entry.

[44] [William Whittingham or Thomas Wood], *A Brief Discourse on the Troubles Begun at Frankfort; in the year 1554, about the Book of Common Prayer and Ceremonies* (1575; London: John Petheram, 1846) xxvi; Christina H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (1938; Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1966) 223.

[45] Garrett 223; and James Kirk, *Patterns of Reform: Continuity and Change in the Reformation Kirk* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989) 98, 507. John Durkan writes that MacBriar took refuge amongst the Lollards of Kyle prior to going to England. See John Durkan, "Heresy in Scotland: The Second Phase, 1546-58," *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 24 (1992): 328. I am indebted to Dr. Ian Hazlett for drawing this article to my attention.

MacBriar.[46] MacBriar was the minister of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch (now in London).[47] Thus, MacBriar was part of that significant Scottish refugee contingent of whom it was said "the [English] Protestant cause benefited substantially [. . .]."[48] Upon Mary's accession to the throne following Edward's death, many of the Scottish refugees to England joined the English Marian exiles and went to the continent. MacBriar went to Frankfort and must have arrived in the earliest contingent of refugees in 1554. This is significant, as we will see momentarily.

MacBriar either came with Valérand Poullain or within a few weeks of Poullain's coming. Poullain arrived in Frankfort in March 1554, and quickly went about securing a church from the city magistrates (all Lutherans) for services. The White Ladies' Church was granted to Poullain's French congregation with its Reformed confession, discipline and liturgy. Whose name appears as the first one to subscribe to the French Reformed formulary on 19 July 1554? —John MacBriar, as Minister of the English Exiles, minister *pro tempore*. Other exiles were to come; and in the coming months, the "troubles of Frankfort" would begin. These troubles were basically over the extent of the purification of worship practices.

Where did MacBriar stand in these worship wars of Frankfort? He subscribed to both William Whittingham's invitation to the other continental English colonies to come to Frankfort, and he also signed the "call" for John Knox to come to Frankfort to become pastor of the English exiles, using Poullain's formulary translated into English. MacBriar remained after Knox and several others left for Geneva. Why did he remain and does this mean he had "switched sides?" Christina Garrett wrote, "Mackbray would seem not to have been of Knox's party, for he remained in Frankfort after the secession of September 1555 [. . .]."[49] The reality is that not all sympathizers went to Geneva either immediately or ever. Some remained in Frankfort or left for other cities of refuge, particularly in Lower Germany.[50]

We next find MacBriar serving as the pastor of a congregation (presumably of exiles) in "Lower Germany." MacBriar evidently wrote an account of this pastorate, according to David Buchanan, writer of the appendices in Laing's edited edition of Knox's *Works*.[51] When Elizabeth became queen, MacBriar, like so many of the exiles, left the continent and was found to be preaching at Paul's Cross (a cross where John Willock also preached). Then in 1568, MacBriar

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[46] Compare Thomas McCrie, *The Life of John Knox* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1905) 17, with Elizabeth Whitley, *Plain Mr. Knox* (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1960) 45, and Henry Cowan, *John Knox: The Hero of the Scottish Reformation* (New York: Putnam's, 1905) 93.

[47] Recall the children's nursery rhyme, "Oranges and Lemons": "When I grow rich, say the bells of Shoreditch."

[48] Henry Cowan, *John Knox: The Hero of the Scottish Reformation* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1905) 93.

[49] Garrett 223-24.

[50] See Garrett on William Kethe as one such example who did not immediately proceed to Geneva. Once he did, he was there only briefly before going to Wesel, then Aarau, then Strasbourg, and returning to Geneva before England (243).

[51] Laing, vol. 1, 530. David Buchanan's appendix was added to Knox's *History* in the London edition of 1644. Here Buchanan or Laing make reference to MacBriar's pastorate in Lower Germany. Spottiswood states that MacBriar never returned to England. This universally appears to be an error, as he did return to England. Buchanan appears to be using John Bale, a Marian exile, as his source for MacBriar leaving Frankfort and pastoring somewhere in "Lower Germany." John Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Brytanniae, posterior pars* (Basle, 1559) 229, as footnoted in Durkan 329.

became a vicar of St. Nicholas in Newcastle.[52] St. Nicholas was the church Knox preached in when he moved to Newcastle in 1551. Unlike Knox and Willock, there is no evidence that he ever returned to Scotland. MacBriar died in 1585.

To date I have not found conclusive evidence that MacBriar abandoned Poullain's Calvinian formulary any more than did Knox or others. I find Christina Garrett's supposition unconvincing. The reality is that after Elizabeth's accession many Scots and English exiles managed for years to keep "under the radar" and practise a more Puritan Calvinian theological faith in a period of complexity of definition and practice. For instance, John Willock was moderator of the General Assembly in Scotland yet died serving in an English parish.

III — Poullain's Work and Scottish Reform Documents: A Comparison

In exploring the possible influence of Poullain's work upon Scottish Reformation documents, I will confine my comments initially to a comparison of Poullain's *Liturgia Sacra* and the Scottish *First Book of Discipline*.

The Election of Ministers

MacGregor, in her monumental work on early Scottish Presbyterian polity, draws attention to the similarity between the election of ministers as stated in *The First Book of Discipline* and Poullain's *Liturgia Sacra*.[53] At first glance, the election of a minister would appear to be more a topic of polity. However, for the sixteenth-century Reformers, the election of a minister was very much a matter of discipline. In the fourth head of *The First Book of Discipline*, several paragraphs are devoted to the election of a minister. Those to be elected to the ministry were to be properly examined since correct doctrine and purity of morality were the goals in the Reformed church. This examination was to be undertaken by the "Ministers and Elders of the Church," who would examine the candidate's doctrine and ability.[54] In Poullain's *Liturgia Sacra*, we find this same concern expressed where Poullain wrote: "Therefore on a day appointed he is examined by the Ministers and Elders of the Church, as to whether he be endowed with the gifts that become a Minister."[55] Poullain's comments are brief in his liturgy, unlike the *Book of Discipline*, which elaborates more fully on the examination questions.[56]

Both the *Liturgia Sacra* and the Scot's *Book of Discipline* state that the congregation had a voting right in the election of a minister. Again, the *Book of Discipline* goes into more detail in this area. It states that a congregation could lose this privilege if it failed to take action of some sort within forty days, at which time the superintendent and his council could present a candidate.[57] Poullain's *Liturgia Sacra* maintains this same congregational right.[58] The reason for

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[52] Both in Garrett 224, and Laing, vol. 1, 530. Knox moved to Newcastle in 1551 and preached in St. Nicholas, "the town's principle church." Newcastle, writes Dawson, was a place where many Scots within England gravitated. Dawson, "Knox, John", *DNB* vol. 32, 17. See also Reid 82-83, 286.

[53] MacGregor 38. See also Greaves 220. Greaves likewise believes the selection of ministers in the Scottish church is based upon the procedure of Poullain.

[54] James K. Cameron, ed., *First Book of Discipline* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1972) 97.

[55] Gordon 94.

[56] Cameron 97-98, 100, 104.

[57] Cameron 96.

[58] Gordon 92-93.

such an emphasis was to prevent possible abuses concerning the appointment of clergy, similar to what had occurred in the medieval church.[59] Such a congregational right was viewed as a matter of church discipline and was the theological outworking of the priesthood of believers.

Hence, there is basic agreement between Poullain's *Liturgia Sacra* and *The First Book of Discipline* concerning the appointment of ministers. Both documents exhibit a marked emphasis on the exercise of discipline in the election of a minister, whether it be by the examining body of ministers and elders or the vote of the congregation. However, due to the minimal discussion Poullain has given to the office of the minister in *Liturgia Sacra*, limitations in our comparison are inevitable. Likewise, *The First Book of Discipline* has been viewed as being written in general terms regarding this matter, unlike the *Book of Common Order*.[60] Yet this does not detract from the basic similarities we find; rather, it makes it more convincing to think that Knox or Willock (especially Knox) may have also been influenced by Poullain as to the appointment of ministers and discipline in the establishing of a Reformed church. This does not mean that Poullain would have been the only influence in this matter. However, Poullain must be acknowledged as a possible source for Knox given the relationship which existed between these two men. Another way of seeing it is that Poullain was an additional confirming voice of the way Reformed churches were to be.

Elders

As we come to the election of elders, it is significant to note that the first statements made in the Scottish *Book of Discipline* and Poullain's *Liturgia Sacra* concern the high level of Christian knowledge and lifestyle expected of men chosen for this office. The *Book of Discipline* reads, "Men of best knowledge in Gods word and cleanest life [. . .]"; and in the *Liturgia Sacra* we find, "The elders are the most outstanding men of the whole Church [. . .]."[61] The stress in both texts reveals a striving for holiness and purity of doctrine in the church to be undertaken in all areas by means of discipline.

The First Book of Discipline is very explicit regarding the responsibilities of elders. The elders were:

> [. . .] to assist the ministers in all publike affaires of the kirk, to wit, in determining and judging causes, in giving admonition to the licentious liver, in having respect to the manners and conversation of al men within their charge [...].
>
> The Seniors [elders] ought to take heed to the like manners, diligence and study of their ministers. If he be worthy of admonition, they must admonish him; of correction, they must correct him [. . .].[62]

In his *Liturgia Sacra*, Poullain only offers a brief statement as to the elders' duties: "They are joined with the Ministers in administration, to judge all causes and rule over all matters that belong to the government of the Church."[63]

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[59] Greaves 76.

[60] MacGregor 37.

[61] Cameron 174; Gordon 96.

[62] Cameron 175-76.

[63] Gordon 96.

In his 1554 liturgy, Poullain does not specifically state that the elders are to watch over the discipline of ministers, as *The First Book of Discipline* clearly does. However, the general statement quoted above from the *Liturgia* does not rule out such a practice. This information must be placed alongside the fact that ministers and elders together examined prospective ministers on their doctrine and lifestyle. Thus, it is not hard to imagine that Poullain's elders carried out a disciplinary function over ministers.[64] Other common emphases between the two documents concerning the elders' other functions are that elders were to assist the ministers in the ruling of the church and to exercise discipline.

Poullain's *Liturgia Sacra* and *The First Book of Discipline* show similarities concerning the eldership. Knox and Willock may have been exposed to Poullain's elders in England, and Knox most definitely was in Frankfort. Thus, Poullain must not be ignored as one of the influences in this regard. However, it is important to stress again that he was not the sole influence, as it was such a common emphasis amongst the various Reformed communities.

Discipline Proper

Our final area of comparison is discipline proper, or ecclesiastical discipline. Both documents lay heavy stress upon the necessity for discipline. In his *Liturgia*, Poullain compares discipline to breathing, without which death will ensue. The *Book of Discipline* compares it to the laws of the commonwealth, without which the commonwealth will not endure.[65] Whereas the *Book of Discipline* enters into a fuller discussion concerning ecclesiastical discipline, the *Liturgia* keeps to the general procedures involved.

The *Liturgia* states first of all that discipline begins as a private act of admonition.[66] Likewise, *The First Book of Discipline* states that "if the offence be secret or known to a few men and rather stands in suspicion then in manifest probation, the offender ought to be privately admonished [. . .]."[67] Poullain wrote that if this first private admonition were ineffectual, the offender was to be admonished "in the presence of the witnesses," then before "the council of the Elders."[68] Poullain does not define for us who the witnesses were to be nor the exact composition of this "council of Elders." Possibly the witnesses could have been the two elders nominated to settle disputes and minor affairs; and if these elders could not settle such, then they would have to refer the case to the "Elders."[69] In all likelihood, this body of "Elders" consisted of the minister and elders. Poullain went on to write that if the offender would not hear the elders, then "the Pastor discloseth the charge and the man to the Church, in order that even by this means he

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[64] MacGregor concludes that Poullain's *Liturgia Sacra* is silent concerning the discipline of ministers. The text often speaks in generalities, but it could be argued that silence here could allow for elders disciplining ministers (40).

[65] Gordon 100; Cameron 165.

[66] Gordon 100.

[67] Cameron 167-68.

[68] Gordon 100.

[69] Gordon 98. Poullain would appear to provide very few details as to exactly who the smaller body of elders was.

may be brought to a sense of shame."[70] If this did not work, then excommunication was inevitable.

In *The First Book of Discipline*, the procedure outlined following the failure of the private admonition is basically the same as that which Poullain advocated in his *Liturgia*. The exception is that no recourse was made to witnesses before being taken to the "Ministry."[71] However, the key common factor to be noted between these two documents is the seriousness of discipline and the common attempt to seek repentance before discipline came to the necessity of excommunication.

Poullain does not state that excommunication would be carried out by the whole congregation. However, due to the vagueness of his *Liturgia* and the fact that the church had to be summoned to readmit an excommunicated person upon signs of repentance, we can assume that excommunication was a matter for the whole church.[72] Likewise, we find this same emphasis in *The First Book of Discipline*, which states that the penitent excommunicant had to "appeare in presence of the whole Kirk [. . .] Desiring God of his mercy and grace and his Congregation, that it would please them to receive him in their society [. . .]."[73] Both documents also state that when someone was excommunicated certain restrictions were to be placed upon that person. Poullain simply wrote that such a person was to be "ordered to withdraw from the Church. He was never excluded from public Sermons," but he was denied the sacraments.[74] *The First Book of Discipline* once again provides more details as to the nature of the excommunicant's sentence. The *Book* agrees with what Poullain wrote, and it allows for the excommunicant to hear the preaching of the Word.[75]

One matter which Poullain briefly mentions under discipline is that no one could receive the sacraments or be married in the church unless they had made a public profession of faith.[76] *The First Book of Discipline* does not explicitly make such a statement, but there may be hints to this effect.[77] We can conclude that there is at least basic agreement between these two documents concerning the need for ecclesiastical discipline and its practice.

Other

Before concluding this paper, mention must be made of one other documentary parallel. Poullain's Confession of the Catholic Faith has not received adequate attention. It is not found in

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[70] Gordon 100. Compare with the Genevan Consistory. See François Wendel, *Calvin: Origins and Development of his Religious Thought*, trans. Philip Mairet (London: Collins, 1963) 304-05.

[71] Cameron 168-69. Cameron draws attention to the fact that the term "ministry" in the *Book* is used in a restricted sense, i.e. ministers of the Word and sacraments, but also frequently refers to the local court consisting of ministers, elders and deacons. See 68.

[72] Gordon 101.

[73] Cameron 171-72.

[74] Gordon 101. This type of excommunication was equivalent to the traditional Roman Catholic "excommunicatio minor."

[75] Cameron 170-71.

[76] Gordon 101.

[77] Cameron 41, 170. It would appear that *The First Book of Discipline* is not very explicit in this matter and in fact does not even make mention of it in many places where one would expect it to be dealt with. See 90-93, 191-99.

Cochrane's *Reformed Confessions of the Sixteenth Century*[78] but is in the major collection recently published in Germany, *Reformierte Bekenntnisschriften* (2007),[79] and in North America, *Reformed Confessions of the 16th and 17th Centuries in English Translation* (2008).[80] A major documentary study of the Scots Confession needs to be conducted to compare it to Poullain's Confession of the Catholic Faith. I will content myself with a momentary glance at the marks of the Church. Poullain's Confession lists four and the Scots Confession three.[81] However, math alone does not necessitate a clear matter of difference. Poullain's marks parallel the three of the Scots, while his distinctive one (his second) is basically a formulation of what often came to be called the Puritan regulative principle. Is this all that distinctive? Not really; in placement, yes, but in statement, no. It actually enters into the very essence of the Frankfort debate on worship that followed the arrival of the new English exiles, and this principle runs throughout the Scots Confession and the *Book of Common Order*.[82] W. I. P. Hazlett challenges the perception that the Scots Confession is almost exclusively influenced by Calvin's *Institutes*.[83] Poullain is another fibre to be very seriously considered.

Summary and Conclusion

This brief study, which has chiefly highlighted the influence of Poullain upon *The First Book of Discipline*, has served to feature two themes. First of all, we have noted the connection between Poullain, Willock and Knox. Though Poullain was one of the lesser known Reformers, we can see again the interdependence of the Reformed movement. We can begin to understand something of the complexity of this movement as we uncover the personal involvement these men had with each other. Particularly in the case of Knox, we have seen how his time spent in Frankfort would have provided a unique opportunity for him to observe Poullain's practice in church discipline. The fact that correspondence between Willock and Poullain has not been found in no way discounts a relationship of influence from Poullain upon Willock.

Secondly, by examining three related aspects of the *Liturgia Sacra* and *The First Book of Discipline*, we are struck not only by their basic agreement but more fundamentally by the importance discipline had for these Reformers. Such areas as the election of ministers and elders may seem somewhat removed from the topic of church discipline but not in its *classical understanding*. We have noted how both Poullain's *Liturgia* and *The First Book of Discipline* see such matters as critically linked to discipline. Discipline for Calvinian Reformers was all encompassing and permeated every area of church life, including the election of ministers and elders, matters that in more recent generations are viewed as polity.

Thus, Poullain served as yet another model for the Scottish Reformers to draw upon. The personal connections and basic agreement in matters of discipline not only suggest Poullain's

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[78] Arthur C. Cochrane, ed., *Reformed Confessions of the 16th Century* (1966; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003).

[79] Eberhard Busch, et al, *Reformierte Bukenntnisschriften 1550-1558*, vol. 3 (n.p.: Neukirchener Verlag, 2007).

[80] James T. Dennison, Jr., ed., *Reformed Confessions of the 16th and 17th Centuries in English Translation: Volume 1, 1523-1552* (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2008).

[81] G. D. Henderson, ed., *Scots Confession, 1560* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland Committee on Publications, 1937) 73-79.

[82] Henderson 81, 99.

[83] W. I. P. Hazlett, "Scots Confession," *DSCHT* 751-52.

influence but also enhance our underlying thesis that the Reformed movement was diverse, pervasive and often spread by the example of one Reformer to another. We have seen how Poullain influenced Knox and also perhaps fulfilled a confirming role for Willock.

This paper has only looked at parallels in the doctrine of ecclesiology between Poullain's Confession of the Catholic Faith and the Scots Confession. The parallels are there, and while not exact, they are close enough to demonstrate clear harmony. What needs to be done now is a full-scale comparative study of Poullain's Confession of the Catholic Faith with the Scots Confession. I am not aware of such a study having yet been undertaken.

Maxwell's work *The Liturgical Portions of the Genevan Service Book* was very significant at the time and still remains invaluable. Yet the time has come for another major parallel study of Poullain's *Liturgia Sacra* and the Scottish *Book of Common Order*. This, I believe, will continue to reveal that the Calvinian movement of the sixteenth century was truly international, containing many continental fibres.

In addition, the relationship of Poullain and MacBriar must not be ignored. The Scottish diaspora to England and the continent has often neglected Scots beyond Knox. This needs to be readdressed. It may also help us to see the definition of Puritan in the 1550s to 1560s in a fuller light. Many were Puritan but non-separatistic Puritan. "Puritan" did not necessarily mean a strict "divine right" Presbyterian polity of a latter stage. We need to be careful in using the term "Puritan" when discussing the 1550s and 1560s and not impose popular definitions back into this time-frame.

Song is something else which has often been poorly addressed. A major study of what was sung and the tunes employed, whether it be in Glastonbury, Frankfort, Geneva or Scotland, needs to be undertaken.

Finally, there is the matter of personality. I am not convinced by the evidence to date that John T. MacNeill was fair in his treatment of Poullain. MacBriar may actually hold one key to some of this personality issue and Calvin the other key. We may need to be prepared to think more critically, even in this year of anniversaries, when there is a tendency to praise the famous and noteworthy without question. This should not keep us as historians from recognizing feet of clay. The situation in Frankfort with its Scottish, English and French exiled communities, along with its external advisors, was highly complex, and historians have yet to write it all. For those involved in contemporary church life, worship wars, personality struggles and cultural tensions, the reading of this history may bring humility and perspective.

Calvin, Chalmers, Burns: A Canadian Hybrid Calvinism

A. Donald MacLeod

In a moment of particular vitriol the essayist Sydney Smith once described Scotland as "That garret of the earth, the knuckle-end of England, that land of Calvin, oatcakes and sulphur."[1] Certainly Scotland owes a lot to John Calvin but whether sulphur or oatcakes can be attributed to him is, I think, open to question. This paper seeks to determine how, in the early and formative years as Scottish immigrants settled in British North America, some of them sought to extend Calvin's influence to the new world, and what shape that influence took and how close the transplant came to the original. To do that I will focus on Robert Burns—not the Rabbie Burns of suppers and haggis—but the Rev. Dr. Robert Burns, DD, FAS, FRSE, first professor of divinity at Knox's College, Toronto, and first minister after reorganization of Knox's Church there. From 1825 and the founding of the Glasgow Colonial Society to his death in Toronto in 1869 no single figure had a greater influence on the Presbyterian church in British North America than Robert Burns.

For all that, Burns remains a strangely enigmatic figure.[2] We know he embraced the theology of John Calvin but, aside from a few tantalizing scraps of information, little is known about his own doctrine and teaching. As one who taught theological students for a quarter of a century, that is astonishing. He systematically burned all his sermons and most of his letters (he was a prodigious correspondent) and left an incomplete autobiography on his death in 1869, lovingly but inadequately annotated by his son.

Burns had deep roots in the church of the mother country when he came to Canada in 1845. For almost thirty-four years he was the highly respected and influential minister of the

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[1] Sydney Smith, *Lady Holland's Memoir*, vol. 1 (New York: Harper and Brother, 1855) 17.

[2] There is a thorough and workmanlike 1978 Queen's University PhD thesis by Harry John Bridgman titled *Three Scots Presbyterians in Upper Canada: A Study In Immigration, Nationalism and Religion* which devotes pages 235 to 334 to a study of Burns but without much understanding or appreciation of Burns' theology. Bridgman also wrote the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Volume IX (1861-1870) article on Burns (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1976) 104-08. In 1994 the Champlain Society published *Selected Correspondence of the Glasgow Colonial Society 1825-1840* by Elizabeth Kerr McDougall (working with John Moir) (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1994). She dismisses Burns as "a controversialist with an acrimonious nature" and erroneously says he was forced to resign from his professorship as well as his congregation (xi, fn. 1). Professor Richard Vaudry's *The Free Church in Victorian Canada, 1844-1861* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier UP, 1989) is helpful. Burns' *Life and Times* is now on the Internet at: <http://www.archive.org/stream/lifetimesofrevro00burnuoft#page/438/mode/1up>. William Fitch, a former minister of Knox Church Toronto, has a colourful and sanitized description of Burns' ministry in *Knox Church Toronto Avant-garde Evangelical Advancing* (Toronto: Knox Church, 1971). In addition there are six boxes of the Burns family papers accessioned in 1987 (by the terms of the division of the assets of Knox College following church union given to the United Church of Canada) at the United Church Archives, 3250 Bloor St. W., Toronto. Box 1 and 2 are his (undated) lecture notes from Knox's College. Part of Box 2 and Box 3 consist of shorthand sermon material dating back to 1819 through 1833. Box 4 consists of his exegetical studies "Sabbath forenoon" of various Bible books, verse by verse, in shorthand taught 1821 through 1832. Box 5 continues with this material but then (in script) includes material from his student days (1803-1809). Box 6 has earlier material going back to 1799.

Laigh Kirk (St. George's) Paisley where John Witherspoon[3] had once been minister. He was one of eight brothers, four of whom served as clergy of the Church of Scotland. In 1816 his brother George, a year younger, came to Saint John, New Brunswick, as the founding minister of St. Andrew's Church, where he stayed for fifteen years before returning to Scotland. The next generation perpetuated the Burns dynasty: his nephew, the legendary revivalist and missionary William Chalmers Burns,[4] came to Upper Canada in 1844 and had two tumultuous years of peripatetic ministry. A niece married the best known nineteenth-century Scottish pulpiteer, Thomas Guthrie,[5] founder of the ragged schools. The Burns family was a dominate force in the Evangelical wing, first of the Church of Scotland and, after 1843, of the Free Church.

Robert Burns was a Calvinist, not only because of his family but by conviction. His father had been converted through the ministry of Calvinist George Whitefield, a frequent guest in their home. But the son was not immediately persuaded by the evangelist's eloquence. "Although the sermons of George Whitefield were estimated in our circle above all price, 'the Calvinistic system' had as yet failed to 'conquer me.'"[6] Perhaps he had been turned off because as a child of ten he had been made to read to his father the sermons of the Puritan John Flavel.[7] An aunt, who lived with the family, saw in Flavel something of the hypocrite and "perhaps she was not far wrong." He continued: "My religious belief at this time was strictly orthodox, but it had a tincture of antinomianism about it."[8]

On going up to university in Edinburgh at the age of twelve he noted that "the general phase of opinion among the students at this period was Arminianism" though, being required to sign a statement of faith for admission, they were careful not to read it ahead of time. "There were, in my day, very few symptoms of hard study, either of Calvinism or Arminianism, and I have a strong impression that the real cause of dislike to evangelical faith was a practical one, the want of a deep-toned sense of sin in the heart, and of high views of the majesty of a Holy God and the spotless purity of His law."[9]

It was a fellow student, the American John Codman,[10] who introduced Burns to Calvin. Codman, while a student at what he described as "Unitarian" Harvard, had been given a copy of

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[3] John Witherspoon (1723-1792) served Laigh Kirk Paisley from 1758 to 1768 when he moved to Princeton as president of the College of New Jersey, later Princeton University. He was a member of the Continental Congress in 1776 and was the only clergyman to sign the Declaration of Independence. His fundraising and securing books in Scotland for his struggling school served as an inspiration for, and anticipation of, Burns' efforts on behalf of Knox's College.

[4] William Chalmers Burns (1815-1868) *locum* at St. Peter's Dundee in the absence of the minister Robert Murray M'Cheyne, then in Palestine and Eastern Europe, when revival broke out. He visited Canada from 1844 to 1846 and died under mysterious circumstances in China.

[5] Thomas Guthrie (1803-1873) called in 1837 to Old Greyfriars Edinburgh, then to the new St. John's and after 1843 to the even newer Free St. John's. A fundraiser for FC manses in 1845-46, he is best known today for his educational achievements among the destitute children of Scotland's cities.

[6] *The Life and Times of the Rev. Robert Burns, D. D., F. A. S., F. R. S. E., Toronto: Including the Unfinished Autobiography* (Toronto: James Campbell & Son, 1871) 9. Hereafter cited as *Burns*.

[7] John Flavel (1627-1692) whose ministry was spent largely in Dartmouth, Devon. Ousted by the Act of Uniformity (1662), he was a prolific and a favoured author in the Eighteenth Century.

[8] *Burns* 8.

[9] *Burns* 8.

[10] John Codman (1782-1847) was ordained 7 December 1808 on his return from Scotland and served the recently gathered Second Congregational Church in Dorchester until his death, a staunch defender of Trinitarian

William Cooper's 1740 *The Doctrine of Predestination unto Life Explained and Vindicated*[11] to critique. "Soon did he find that instead of mastering Calvinism, Calvinism mastered him."[12] It was the patrician Codman, for many years minister of the orthodox Trinitarian Second Church in Dorchester, near Boston, who convinced Burns of Calvinism and remained a staunch friend until his death in 1847. While in Scotland the wealthy Codman had the book republished in a cheap edition and circulated it among his fellow students "with good success in the advancement of sound doctrine."[13]

As Burns later recalled, three men had a profound influence on him at that time. The first was Thomas M'Crie, whose landmark *Life of John Knox* appeared in 1812, the year after his ordination, and "produced effects in regard to the revival of sound theology and true godliness in Scotland, second only to those of Luther and Calvin and Knox himself."[14] A second was Andrew Thomson[15] of St. George's Edinburgh, described by Burns as "the slayer of the hydra of stern moderatism, and the hero of evangelical truth."[16] Thomson founded and edited the Edinburgh *Christian Instructor and Colonial Religious Review* which was so influential the Moderate General Assembly of 1830 condemned its circulation. Thomson died the next year. Later that decade Burns himself, always a contributor, assumed the position of editor for its two final years.

But it was the third, Thomas Chalmers, who made the greatest impact on the young ordinand. Chalmers and Burns were temperamentally similar: tempestuous, sometimes cantankerous, opinionated, and impossible to ignore. Burns may have been more loveable and less craggy, but no one commanded more passionate loyalty than Thomas Chalmers, the dynamic agent who brilliantly applied—and adapted—Calvinistic principles to his contemporary Scotland and became, in Burns' words, "the great central pillar around which all effective movements, in the way of reform and extension on the part of the church, were seen to move."[17] Titan that he was, Chalmers was always warmly pastoral, as evidenced by the letter he wrote in 1841 on the death of Burns' first wife, Janet Orr.[18] It is significant that in one of the two glass bottles placed in the foundation stone of the new Knox's Church laid by Burns on 21 September 1847 (barely four months after his adviser's death) there was a medallion likeness of Thomas Chalmers.

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orthodoxy though his ordination sermon was preached by his close friend William Ellery Channing, the founder eleven years later of Unitarianism in America.

[11] William Cooper (1694-1743) states about predestination: "it is embraced by us because [. . .] we find it in our Bible. This is that makes us Predestinarians and Calvinists: For Calvin nor Augustine nor any names whatever, are anything to us but as they speak from Holy Scripture" (*The Doctrine of Predestination Unto Life Explained and Vindicated* (Boston: J. Draper, 1730) 1-2). Cooper was minister of Brattle Street Church, Boston, 1716 to his death.

[12] *Burns* 34.

[13] *Burns* 35.

[14] Thomas M'Crie (1772-1835), Associate minister and later an "Old Light Antiburgher," directed his Presbytery's Divinity Hall, and was instrumental in shaping views that led to the Disruption of 1843 by stressing the spiritual independence of church courts from civil authority.

[15] Andrew Mitchell Thomson (1779-1831) minister from 1814 of the new St. George's Edinburgh and editor of the influential *Christian Instructor*, described in the 1820 General Assembly (dominated by Moderates) as "highly injurious and calumnious."

[16] *Burns* 41.

[17] *Burns* 40.

[18] *Burns* 57-58.

Chalmers' Calvinism reflected his personality, somewhat idiosyncratic, and it was that Calvinism, moderated through Burns, that influenced the Canada Presbyterian Church and, after the Union of 1875, the nascent Presbyterian Church in Canada. Chalmers' Calvinism is generally described as of a more relaxed variety, particularly in regards to "definite atonement" or "particular redemption" and often unfortunately called "limited atonement." In other words, the logical premise that since only the elect will be saved, Christ died only for them.

Whether Calvin himself would own this third canon of Dordt (1619) is a subject for scholarly debate but it became a litmus test of Calvinist orthodoxy:[19] William Cunningham, successor to Chalmers as Principal of New College in 1847, admits that this is generally regarded as "the weak point of the Calvinist system." In explaining the doctrine, he sought to defend it from the charge that particular redemption stifles evangelism and thus only serves to continue the lifeless gospel of the Moderates. "Very few Calvinists have ever disputed the propriety and the obligation of addressing to men indiscriminately, without distinction, or exception, the offers and invitations of Gospel mercy."[20]

When Robert Burns was called to Paisley in 1811—the year, incidentally of Chalmers' conversion at Kilmany—he brought a warm evangelistic fervour. Looking back one observer commented that "his early popularity was due, doubtless, in some measure, to his youthful appearance, associated, as these were, with an almost premature ripeness and mellowness of theology—with an 'unction' which in those days was rare, and with a fluency that was never known to fail him."[21] Led by young men such as Burns, by the late 1820s the Evangelicals were clearly gaining ground in the Church of Scotland.

Inevitably, however, there were challenges. Three erstwhile Evangelicals—John McLeod Campbell, Thomas Erskine of Linlathen and Edward Irving—felt that orthodox Calvinism hindered the church reaching Scotland's unchurched with an unfettered gospel for all. The whole controversy centred on the extent of the atonement and the free offer of the gospel and was seen in retrospect as having directly challenged the Calvinism of evangelicals in the Church of Scotland and affected—or perhaps infected—the Free Church of Scotland and thus on to Canada.

John McLeod Campbell[22] was minister of the parish of Row on Gareloch in Dumbartonshire. His name would be associated with an Episcopalian layperson Thomas Erskine of Linlathen. The title of Erskine's 1828 volume says it all: *The Unconditional Freeness of the Gospel* represented an attempt to loosen what was perceived as the shackles of Calvinism, opening the gospel to all in what verged on universalism and subsequently, in Erskine's case, a total rejection of the doctrine of election. Meanwhile the third member of the triumvirate, Edward Irving, and a former assistant of Chalmers in Glasgow, described by one biographer as

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[19] Compare Calvin's response to Pighius: "Hence we read everywhere [in Scripture] that Christ diffuses life into none but the members of his own body" ("A Treatise on the Eternal Predestination of God," trans. Henry P. Cole, *Calvin's Calvinism: God's Eternal Predestination and Secret Providence Together With A Brief Reply, and Reply to the Slanderous Reports* (Whitefish, MT: Kessenger Publishing, 2008) 94).

[20] William Cunningham, *Historical Theology,* vol. 2 (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1863) 323.

[21] *Free Church Record* (Dec. 1869) as quoted in *Burns* 64.

[22] Dean Michael Jinkins of Austin, TX, Theological Seminary wrote a thesis on McLeod Campbell and is hopefully going to publish a book on him. Campbell's thinking has recently been rediscovered. See Jinkins' article "Setting the Record Straight: 'Heresy: The Temptation to Settle For a Lesser God,'" *The Presbyterian Outlook*, 26 Feb. 2009 <http://www.pres-outlook.com/blog/Setting-the-Record-Straight.html>.

"forerunner of the charismatic movement,"[23] was making waves from his Scotch church in London.

Chalmers' reaction was equivocating. He was quoted by his son-in-law and biographer William Hanna as saying that "he thought Mr. Erskine's *Freeness* one of the most delightful books that had ever been written." "I don't like," he continued, "narrowing the broad basis of the Gospel to the pinpoint speculations of an individual brain."[24] Nick Needham has convincingly demonstrated[25] from Chalmers' *Institutes of Theology* that he believed in universal atonement, if not universal salvation. Burns, on the other hand, had an entirely different response. His eighty-eight-page bromide *The Gareloch Heresy Tried* rapidly went into three editions and helped to discredit the so-called "Rowites."

Chalmers, with his warm magnanimous nature, had a fatherly regard for Edward Irving[26] who had in turn exercised a strong influence on John McLeod Campbell and Erskine of Linlathen. Irving brought in a new emphasis on the gifts of the Spirit and a new perspective on the end times which stimulated both. When he was charged with heresy and defrocked by the 1831 General Assembly Chalmers kept silent. There was one positive result: Irving forced the Church of Scotland to re-examine its eschatology (teaching about prophecy and the end times), and the hitherto neglected doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

Teaching about the Holy Spirit strengthened a deep emotional longing in the closing years of the Eighteenth Century for revival in the Church of Scotland. The Moderates were all-powerful and it took an Englishman, an Anglican, to bring the prospect of renewed vitality. Charles Simeon, vicar of Holy Trinity Cambridge, summered in Moulin near Pitlochry in Perthshire, and became a catalyst for renewal in Scotland. Robert Burns would spend an evening in Cambridge in 1812 with Simeon who made a lasting impression with his "unostentatious and unpaid evangelistic labour."[27] "My father," Burns recalled at the end of his life, "estimated the Moulin revival at the close of the century (1796) as the return of Whitefield and the scenes of Cambuslang."[28] His grandson William Chalmers Burns was instrumental in both the revival that broke out in St. Peter's Dundee in the absence of the minister, Robert Murray M'Cheyne, and in Kilsyth in 1839.

For ten years the Evangelicals, from the General Assembly of 1833, dominated the Church of Scotland. This came to an abrupt end when over 468 men marched out of St.

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[23] Arthur Dallimore, *The Life of Edward Irving, Fore-runner of the Charismatic Movement* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1983).

[24] William Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, vol. 3 (Edinburgh: A. Fullarton, 1853). As Nicholas Needham says of Hanna's 1877 biography of Erskine of Linlathen: "His evident sympathies with the liberal Erskine reveal the theological breadth of Hanna's own mature outlook" (*Dictionary of Scottish Church History & Theology (*Downer's Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1993) 392).

[25] Nicholas Needham, *Thomas Erskine of Linlathen: His Life and Theology 1788-1837* (Edinburgh: Rutherford House, 1990).

[26] Edward Irving (1792-1834) served with Thomas Chalmers in Glasgow from 1818 to1820 and then was called to London to what became known as the National Scottish Church when it was erected on Regent Square in 1827. In 1830 Irving was expelled from London presbytery (Church of Scotland) and went independent. After "miraculous gifts" appeared through his ministry with tongues speaking, he was locked out of his church in April 1832. Eight hundred people, including the so-called twelve apostles, followed him into the Catholic Apostolic Church, a new denomination.

[27] *Burns* 106.

[28] *Burns* 83.

Andrew's Church in Edinburgh to form the Free Church of Scotland. In so doing they lost any influence in the state church and terminated any possibility of achieving Chalmers' vision of a Christian Scotland united by a common established Kirk. In spite of the rhetoric and emotion, the formation of the Free Church of Scotland was a defeat for the Calvinist view of a civil and just society, the civil magistrate constrained by the teaching of the Word of God as a religious and godly commonwealth provided an authoritative and recognised moral compass.

Two years later fifty-five-year-old Robert Burns arrived in Toronto, Canada West, to take up a call to the newly formed Knox's Church and to serve as interim professor of divinity at Knox's College.[29] That autumn he was unanimously elected Moderator of the Synod of the (Free) Presbyterian Church of Canada.

It was an extraordinary move. With his missionary passion, Burns was excited by the prospect of Christianizing (and civilizing) an untamed wilderness. As founder on 25 August 1825 of the Glasgow Colonial Society—officially named the Society (in Connection with the Established Church of Scotland) for Promoting the Religious Interests of the Scottish Settlers in British North America—he had, for the fifteen years of the Society's existence, made his mark on the religious life of the British colonies in North America. As one tribute said when he died in his eightieth year, active in ministry to the very end: "He has done more for our Church in Canada than any other man."[30]

Burns loved his professorial role. A few months after arrival he wrote a college classmate:

> A wide field of usefulness spreads before me here both as a pastor and as a teacher. I have just finished (Saturday), one of my most interesting weekly exercises with 22 students—two hours of searching the Scriptures on questions of conscience and visitation of the sick—for we take up Pastoral Theology on Saturday; while two hours each day is devoted to Systematic Theology and church history [. . .]. Assuredly the work is most important and valuable; more so than anything that ever before so engaged my mind.[31]

His 1846 course outline for systematic theology was standard Calvinist fare with some obvious reflections on what had been going on in Scotland in the 1830s:

> Ancient and modern theories regarding the being and perfections of God, as contrasted with the system of the Bible; imperfections of natural theology. General character and claims of revelation; internal evidences and outline of proofs at large; objections grounded on mysteries and supposed opposition to incarnation; mediatorial scheme; modern views on the atonement, its nature, extent and issues, justification by imputed righteousness through faith; divinity,

[29] The College, as also the Church, was originally named (until 1858 in the case of the College) with the apostrophe, Knox's. Knox's Church Galt, Cambridge, is the only PCC congregation that continues to be known with the apostrophe.

[30] *Burns* 442.

[31] Robert Burns, letter to James Clason, 24 Jan. 1846, *Burns* 220.

personality and work of the Holy Spirit; on good works and the place they hold in the Christian system.[32]

Burns' lecture notes from that period survive and they provide interesting insights into his theology. His two lectures on election (97 and 98) show both his strong Calvinism and his pastoral heart. "Our safest way," he tells his students, "is to follow the plain doctrines of Sacred Scripture & leave it to God at last to vindicate his own plan & remove all difficulties."[33] On limited atonement he is equally circumspect: In lecture 53 (titled "For whom Christ made satisfaction") he states: "This question is agitated with considerable heat perhaps more than merits the necessity of controversy."[34] He adds, "Everyman is to be taken in a restricted sense. Present gospel to every creature, not birds and beasts." In one of his few published sermons, printed posthumously, on II Corinthians 5:14,15 "The love of Christ constraineth us, because we thus judge that if one died for all, then were all dead; And that he died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them and rose again," Burns avoids the obvious question about Paul's reference to Christ's death being for all and focuses instead on Christ's death as "the great and commanding principle of practical godliness."[35]

His reading was vast. After each lecture there is a notation of authors he consulted (and presumably recommended). He used Daniel Whitby's anti-Calvinist 1720 *On the five points of Calvinism*[36] to introduce two classic rebuttals: the 1735 *The Cause of God and Truth* by the Baptist Calvinist John Gill[37] and Jonathan Edwards' 1754 *Freedom of the Will*.[38] In regards to the extent of the atonement, William Bates' 1835 *The harmony of the divine attributes in the contrivance and accomplishment of Man's Redemption*, with an introduction by Archibald Alexander,[39] published in 1835, is a recommended text.

Burns—like Chalmers—enjoyed the scrum of ecclesiastical and theological controversy. This would be demonstrated eight years into his ministry at Knox's Church when he announced he would not set foot in the Sunday School until G. A. Pyper resigned as Superintendent. When Pyper and his friend J. M. Campbell were elected to the Kirk Session Burns refused to induct them. The matter made the pages of *The Daily Globe*[40] and led eventually to the resignation of

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[32] *Ecclesiastical and Missionary Record of the Presbyterian Church of Canada* (Jan. 1846): 146.

[33] "Lecture 97—Election," box 1, file 4, Burns family papers, fonds 3043.1986.051C, The United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto.

[34] "Lecture 59—On Christ's Satisfaction," box 2, file 1, Burns family papers, fonds 3043.1986.051C, The United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto.

[35] Robert Burns, "The Practical Influence of the Death of Christ," *Canada Presbyterian Church Pulpit*, 1st. ser. (Toronto: James Campbell and Son, 1871) 136.

[36] Daniel Whitby (1638-1726), Church of England controversialist who later turned Arian.

[37] John Gill (1697-1771), English Baptist Calvinist and Bihlical scholar.

[38] See Paul Ramsey, editor's introduction, *Freedom of the Will*, vol. 1 of *The Works of Jonathan Edwards* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1957) 81-89.

[39] Archibald Alexander (1772-1851), first professor at Princeton Seminary (1812).

[40] See "Knox's Church" articles, *The Daily Globe* [Toronto] 25 Oct., 1 Nov. and 17 Dec. 1855: 2. On the conflict at Knox's Church, which is beyond the scope of this paper, see Barbara Murison, "Getting His Walking Ticket: Minister and Laity in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Toronto," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 32.3 (Fall 1997): 36-54.

all the Knox's Church elders who had "lost all confidence in the prudence, sincerity and honesty of purpose of the Reverend Dr. Burns."[41] Synod resolved the dispute by securing his resignation from the church with an appointment to Knox's College as professor of church history.

One of the irritants at Knox's Church was his peripatetic ministry which took him from Newfoundland to Bruce County along Lake Huron. He was everywhere, counselling clergy, speaking at almost every church in the fledgling denomination, being active in its life and ministry, and particularly devoting himself to its missionary interests, culminating in a tumultuous visit by Alexander Duff[42] in 1853. "Whenever I have been called on to address a congregation on these visits," he reported, "I have made it a rule to preach the gospel of the grace of God to sinful and dying men; and thereafter, if it is deemed proper in the circumstances, to address the hearers on their duties as a congregation connected with the Presbyterian church."[43] "He did for the Presbyterian Church in the British Provinces what no other man could do," stated one knowledgeable colleague. "We owe him much under God. He loved his church—knew every corner of the church and his life was bound up in the cause of God in the Dominion."[44]

The Calvinism that Burns handed on to the Canadian church from his mentor Thomas Chalmers could perhaps best be described as a hybrid. Over the generations Calvinists can swerve off in two directions: they can morph into a sterile scholastic intellectualism or they embrace a mindless pietism wallowing in subjectivism. With the great emphasis on learning that characterized the Free Church of Scotland came the price of increasing academic dryness and institutional decline. But there was also the temptation to long for revival as a way of short circuiting the demands of rigorous reflection and analysis. As in Scotland with its memories of Cambuslang and Kilsyth, Canadians in the Free Church tradition looked for their inspiration to Glengarry and the Indian Lands revival of 1865 and 1866 led by Daniel Gordon and romanticised by his son Charles ("Ralph Connor") in *Glengarry School Days*.

Place alongside this the fact that Robert Burns announced on arrival in Canada that he was now a teetotaller. This so-called "temperance" agenda, gaining ground at the same time in the Free Church in Scotland, made it easy to forge alliances with the Methodist denominations (the largest Protestant denomination in Upper Canada in the late Nineteenth Century). Dwight L. Moody, with his spectacular 1873 campaign in Scotland, contributed to the unravelling there of the Free Church. He and his ilk also impacted Canada in dramatic ways with emotionally freighted appeals and giant interdenominational rallies.[45] Grand evangelistic alliances, shared social issues and revivalism trumped Calvinist orthodoxy.

Indeed denominational boundaries were also falling in Scotland, though the road was not always straight, and never narrow. When Robert Burns visited the 1869 Assembly of the Free Church he cheered on, amid acrimonious debate, those seeking to join the theologically suspect

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[41] "Meeting of Knox's Church: Extraordinary Proceedings: Resignation of the Session!!," *The Daily Globe* [Toronto], 25 Oct. 1855: 2.

[42] Alexander Duff (1806-1878), went as a missionary of the Church of Scotland to Calcutta in 1830 and had a remarkable ministry among high-caste Hindus. On furlough in 1851 he was voted Moderator of the Free Church of Scotland, visiting the United States and Canada in 1854 and 1855. In 1867 he became the first Professor of Missions at New College, Edinburgh.

[43] Robert Burns, letter to Hon. Adam Fegusson, 29 Aug. 1845, *Burns* 291.

[44] Tribute by John W. Smith of Grafton, Ontario, quoted in *Burns* 217.

[45] See Eric Crouse's *Revival in the City: The Impact of American Evangelists in Canada, 1884-1914* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's UP, 2005).

United Presbyterians. That union would only be consummated thirty-one years later when the Free Church had lost its theological compass and had embraced voluntaryism. It is no accident that the impetus for church union in Canada came from Scotland with the arrival as Principal of Manitoba College of William Patrick, fresh from the union that formed the United Free Church in 1900. In a national Methodist assembly meeting in Winnipeg in September 1902, Patrick extrapolated from his recent Scottish experience a logical progression uniting all the Protestant churches in Canada in a grand coalition to fight—as Charles Gordon opined that day—rising and rampant materialism. Thus began twenty-three years of denominational brinkmanship in Canada.

In 1925, be it remembered, it was the Free Church part of the Presbyterian Church in Canada that led the way into church union. As in 1876 when it was a Church of Scotland minister, Archibald Hamilton Charteris,[46] who blew the whistle on William Robertson Smith, the Free Church Old Testament higher critic, in the name of Calvinist orthodoxy, so some of the Kirk side of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, in their conservatism, were wary of theological accommodation with the Arminian Methodists and the independent Congregationalists. In 1925 there were more Knox and Chalmers congregations, with their Free Church roots, that went into Union than those named St. Andrew's, often suggesting a Kirk ancestry.

All this Robert Burns started the day he disembarked from the *Erromanga*. The two institutions that he was most responsible for, Knox's College and Knox's Church, have dropped their apostrophes and gone off in different directions theologically, reflective of the diversity that was, and is, The Presbyterian Church in Canada. Burns' legacy is mixed. But the craggy individualist that he was would not, one suspects, want it any differently. He was, after all, a Calvinist, and Calvinists follow in the tradition of our theological parent, independent and often unpopular. Like our Reformer, Robert Burns was a man of passion and deep conviction. Theology was nothing if it did not lead to a renewed life. "Guard then against cold and speculative conceptions of the gospel of Christ," he warned. "Receive it into your heart as well as into your understandings; and let it be your unceasing supplication at the throne of grace, that 'God would enable you to adorn this doctrine.'"[47]

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[46] Archibald Hamilton Charteris (1835-1908), Professor of Biblical Criticism Biblical Antiquities at the University of Edinburgh (1868-1898). In 1875 he submitted an anonymous review to the Edinburgh *Evening Courant* challenging the confessional orthodoxy of William Robertson Smith, Old Testament professor at the University of Aberdeen, whose highly critical views of the Old Testament had recently been published in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

[47] Burns, "The Practical Influence" 149.

Calvin and Canadian Protestantism: The Witness of W.W. Bryden

John A. Vissers

The year 2009 marks not only the 500th anniversary of the birth of the Protestant Reformer John Calvin (1509-1564) but also the 100th anniversary of the ordination of arguably one of Canada's leading Calvinist theologians—Walter W. Bryden (1883-1952). As Donald Wade remembered it, T. F. Torrance once lauded Bryden as a truly remarkable theologian. "I can't help but think," Torrance remarked to Wade, that Walter Bryden "is more like John Calvin than anyone I've ever known."[1] This paper seeks to test Torrance's impression by examining Bryden's legacy as a Calvinist and the significance of Bryden's interpretation of Calvin and the Calvinist tradition for Canadian Protestantism. I intend to proceed along three lines of inquiry. First, I will briefly explore the kind of Calvinism in which Bryden was raised, educated and called to work as a member and minister of The Presbyterian Church in Canada. Second, I will sketch Bryden's interpretation of Calvin and the Calvinist tradition by looking at Bryden's most important writings on the Reformed tradition. Third, on that basis, we'll then come back to Torrance's first impression. Was Walter Bryden some sort of Calvin revividus in the Canadian context? Or is there some other way to account for his theological contribution to Canadian Protestantism?

The basic facts of Walter Bryden's life are widely known. Born on a farm on the banks of the Blair River near Galt, Ontario on 18 September 1883, the elder son of a Scottish immigrant family, Bryden came by his Calvinism honestly, some might say inescapably—even providentially. His mother came from the north of Scotland, from a family in Cromarty which had taken a very active part in the Disruption on the side of the Free Church. "[. . .] she was," Bryden noted, "a fervent Free Church woman" and "she really created my interest in the Church." Bryden's father's family came from the south, from Dumfries, from the "auld kirk." But, as Bryden noted, his father was a canny Scot who had learned that discretion was the better part of valour—"accordingly," he said, "I went to the Free Church."[2] He was raised at Knox's Church, Galt where Calvinism had flourished since at least the early Nineteenth Century through the settlement of Scottish Presbyterians. Late in his life Bryden recalled that as a teenager in high school he had read all kinds of old national Scottish history, as well as the history of the Kirk. "Indeed," he said, "there was a time when I verily believed Scotland was God's throne and the rest of the world His footstool."[3] Whatever Bryden knew of Calvin and Calvinism initially he knew from Scotland, not France or Geneva.

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[1] See Donald Wade, "The Theological Achievement of Walter Bryden," Karl Barth Society of North America Conference, Toronto, Mar. 1974. See John Vissers, *The Neo-Orthodox Theology of W. W. Bryden* (Eugene OR: Pickwick Publications, 2006) 249.

[2] W. W. Bryden, "An Address delivered by Dr. Walter W. Bryden, Principal, Knox College, Toronto, to the Pre-Assembly Congress, on the evening of Monday, June 5, 1950," 9.

[3] W. W. Bryden, "Address Delivered to the Presbyterian Congress," 5 June 1950. See Vissers, *Neo-Orthodox Theology*.

The Calvinism of Bryden's youth was characterized by a rigorous form of Presbyterian polity (with its dissenting Free Church heritage), a strong dose of Calvinist orthodoxy (with its emphasis on the sovereignty of God, total depravity, predestination, and the penal substitutionary atonement as set forth in the Westminster Confession of Faith), and a lively evangelical piety. It was also Calvinism in the process of change. By the Nineteenth Century the older Post-Reformation scholastic Calvinism of the Seventeenth Century had been reshaped in response to emerging Enlightenment (modern) thought, especially in Scotland. It was a Calvinism which appealed to the Common Sense philosophies of Thomas Reid (1710-1796) and William Hamilton (1788-1856) in order to shore up the first and fundamental truths of orthodoxy. Relying upon a faculty psychology, it argued that the basic truths of the Christian faith were accessible to "common sense" and demonstrable as the data of human consciousness. Common Sense therefore provided the philosophical constructs to support a natural theology which could in turn be used to support Calvinist orthodoxy and piety. It made Calvinism appear intellectually rigorous, philosophically sophisticated and scientifically justified.[4] The Calvinist context of Bryden's youth provided a powerfully comprehensive worldview in which Christian faith and human experience appeared consonant, although by the 1880s and 1890s (i.e. the years of Bryden's childhood and youth) cracks began to appear in this intellectual hegemony.

But there was more. Knox's Church, Galt was not only strongly Calvinistic, it was also evangelical in its theology and ministry. It had been founded as a congregation of the Free Church in 1844 under the leadership of the Rev. John Bayne. By the 1860s it was touched by the evangelical revival movements that swept up from the American states. In fact, the congregational history records a "significant revival" which took place among the people of Knox's, Galt in 1869. In 1888 the Rev. Alexander Jackson of Pittsburgh was inducted as the minister and he continued the tradition of Calvinist theology and evangelical preaching that had become characteristic of the congregation. During Bryden's formative years the congregation flourished. In 1889, the Sabbath school enrolled a record number of 679 students, with 52 teachers and officers, and in 1895 five students from the congregation were studying at Knox College in Toronto.[5] Historian David Bebbington's four common and essential marks of evangelicalism in modern Britain are useful here: conversionism (the belief that lives need to be changed and that personal transformation is possible), biblicism (a particular regard for the authority of the Bible), activism (the expression of the gospel in effort), and crucicentrism (a stress on the sacrifice of the cross). The evangelical awakenings emphasized salvation by faith alone, accompanied by the personal experience of new birth (regeneration), and were intensely missionary (i.e. evangelistic).[6] This was the kind of evangelical Calvinism frequently found among congregations of the Free Church tradition in Upper Canada.

That said, the evangelical Calvinism of Walter Bryden's youth was also under attack from within and without. In 1902 the nineteen-year-old Bryden enrolled at the University of Toronto to study philosophy. He graduated in 1906 and the following year earned the MA in

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[4] See Vissers 35-36. See also A. B. McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1979) 26-30; and S. A. Grave, *The Scottish Philosophy of Common Sense* (London: Oxford UP, 1960) 3.

[5] Vissers 32-33. See also "History of Knox's Church, Galt," File 1977-4002-1-3, The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives and Records Office, Toronto, 19, 28.

[6] Vissers 39. See David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989) 1-20; and Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christianity: A.D. 1500-A.D. 1975*, rev. ed., vol. 2 (New York: Harper & Row, 1975) 1019.

philosophy and psychology, with honours standing, for a thesis called "A Verification of the Law of Weber, By the Method of Mean Gradations, With Reference to Great Differences in Light Intensities." It's a brief account and verification of experimental method in psychology and was likely a piece of work that Bryden dashed off to fulfill the requirements for the degree. More importantly, Bryden was introduced to ideas that called into question the Calvinist worldview of his youth. There was the idealist philosophy represented by John Watson at Queen's and in Toronto by the erstwhile Presbyterian minister George Paxton Young. There was Darwinism which challenged supernatural accounts of the origin and development of human beings. And there was the rise of Canadian social criticism.

How did Bryden handle this at the time? We can't be sure but we do know that he went to study theology in preparation for ordination, two years at Knox College in Toronto and one year at the United Free Church College in Glasgow. Both faculties represented a variety of approaches to Reformed theology as Calvinism was coming to terms with the modern era. Bryden was directed to theological developments in Scotland and away from the conservative defense of Calvinist orthodoxy at Princeton Seminary. Through the influence of T. M. Lindsay and James Denney at Glasgow, and later P. T. Forsyth, he was introduced to a mediating form of Calvinism which sought to reformulate basic orthodox insights and evangelical faith with historical criticism of the Bible and the modern worldview. As he began ordained ministry in Lethbridge, Alberta in 1909 Walter Bryden had experienced at least three different trajectories of Calvinism in the Canadian context: (1) an enduring Upper Canada post-Reformation scholastic Calvinism influenced by Scottish Common Sense and the evangelical revivals; (2) an emerging liberal (or progressive/Social gospel) Protestant Calvinism shaped in response to Hegelian idealism, evolutionary thought (Darwinism), and Canadian social criticism; and (3) a mediating liberal evangelical Calvinism which appealed primarily to theological developments in Scotland. Bryden served in Lethbridge from 1909 until 1912 when he was called to the Presbyterian Church in Woodville, Ontario where he served until 1921. For three years he was the minister in Melfort, Saskatchewan and then returned to Ontario where he began teaching at Knox College in 1925. He taught for twenty-seven years, and served as Principal from 1945 until his death in 1952.

By the 1930s, Calvin and Calvinism looked very different to Walter Bryden. Canadian Protestant theology was rife with a mood of crisis. Theological liberalism looked like it was on the verge of failure. Idealism, which had provided the major philosophical paradigm for Protestant theology since about 1870 was floundering. Two-party Protestantism, divided by the fundamentalist-modernist controversy, bedevilled the mainline churches, and for all its ecumenical promise, as David Marshall has noted, the church union movement had not fulfilled the hope for church renewal in Canada.[7] Economic uncertainty during the Great Depression accompanied by the threat of another cataclysmic war in Europe only heightened the anxiety. It was precisely at this moment that Bryden raised a voice of protest against Canadian Protestant Christendom by appealing to the theology and ministry of John Calvin. And he did it with the help of Karl Barth.[8]

It is worth noting, as we move to Bryden's published writings and lectures, that his first book, *The Spirit of Jesus in St. Paul*, published in 1925, contains no reference to John Calvin. In fairness, the book is a pastoral and theological reflection on Paul's Corinthian correspondence

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[7] See David B. Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1992) 184-204.

[8] See Vissers 2-3.

and one might not expect to find Calvin there. But then again, Calvin was a pastor and wrote commentaries on 1 and 2 Corinthians which Bryden might have consulted. I cannot be sure, of course, but I think that John Calvin did not factor significantly in Bryden's thought during this early period. I say this because John Calvin does not even appear in a place where one might expect to find him: in a little pamphlet Bryden wrote in 1927 for the continuing Presbyterian Church in Canada called *The Christian Ministry*. The pamphlet was intended to aid in the recruitment of new ministers in the aftermath of church union. It also provided a theological rationale for ordained ministry at a time when the relationship between clergy and laity in the continuing church was strained. But despite extensive reference to the meaning of ministry in the New Testament, the Protestant Reformation and the Church of Scotland, one looks in vain for any mention of Calvin.

Bryden's first public and subsequently published reference to the sixteenth-century Reformer took place in an address delivered at the 1929 Spring Convocation of The Presbyterian College, Montreal, called "The Triumph of Reality." And what a debut it was! Calvin made clear, once for all, Bryden noted, that the great truths of the Christian faith are not at our command. They cannot be ordered up and believed at will. Calvinism is not a matter of believing certain things in order to be right with God. It is an acknowledgement that faith issues from God in whose glorious and sovereign presence we confess our absolute dependence. Now what makes this reference really interesting is that it follows a reference to Karl Barth, whom Bryden refers to as "the stern, new prophet of Europe." It was Barth who reminded the Protestant churches that true belief is wrought by God, whose will is not a corrected continuation of our own, and who approaches us as wholly other. This was, Bryden argued, not only strong doctrine; it was "real Calvinism in a modern dress." When he discovered Karl Barth, Walter Bryden encountered a theologian with whom he immediately felt a common interest. Here was someone, as James Smart noted, who was "asking the same questions as he had been and [was] struggling to find the way forward to a Church that would recover its roots in the Scriptures and in the Reformation."[9] In short, for Bryden, meeting Barth meant meeting Calvin again for the first time.

By the time Bryden published *Why I Am A Presbyterian* in 1934 his re-engagement with Calvin, orchestrated by Barth, appeared complete. The unity of the church, Bryden argued, is not co-extensive with the unity of a particular ecclesiastical institution. The unity of the church is a theological and spiritual reality which John Calvin rightly understood. "No one has put greater emphasis on the unique *reality* and divine *significance* of the Church than has John Calvin," wrote Bryden.[10] Calvin was the true "High-Churchman in contrast with the high-ecclesiastic," Bryden noted, and Presbyterians "are not yet true Presbyterians [. . .], if [they] do not profoundly understand what Calvin was striving for, and insisting upon, in this regard."[11] In the course of the book Bryden responded to John T. McNeill, a former professor at Knox College who, following church union, became Auburn Professor of Church History at Union Theological Seminary, New York. This is the same John T. McNeill who edited what became the standard reference edition of Calvin's 1559 edition of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1960)—the so-called McNeill-Battles edition. In two books, namely *The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1875-1925*

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[9] James D. Smart, "The Evangelist as Theologian," introduction, *Separated Unto The Gospel*, by Walter W. Bryden, (Toronto: Burns and MacEachern, 1956) x.

[10] Walter 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) 142.

[11] Bryden, *Why I Am A Presbyterian* 142.

and *Unitive Protestantism*, McNeill made the case for ecumenicity and church union rather forcibly by appealing to Calvin. It is true, Bryden conceded, that Calvin worked tirelessly for the unity of the Protestant movement, but not at any price. The unity of the church for Calvin "was a possibility only on conditions which presupposed an uncompromising theological understanding of the true Gospel."[12] What was the basis of that theological understanding? Here Bryden was clear: it is a right apprehension of God.

> If, however, men [and women] can learn to discern again what John Calvin meant by *God*, (that is, in his truly religious apprehension of God, before that apprehension is depleted by definitive thought. For Calvin, God was no mere name, no mere subjective experience or a necessary postulate of thought) more especially, if they can grasp what he meant by the *Word of God*, and above all, if they can reach those depths of self-understanding again in which the Protestant *justification by faith alone* becomes to them the veritable *Gospel* that it is, Protestant peoples will have secured for themselves a substantial basis for a higher and more fruitful Christian unity than has been. But to recognize such things,—to "desperately recognize" them, as has been said—will involve men [and women] in exacting, yea, in terrific theological implications.[13]

It is no accident that this sounds a lot like Karl Barth, and indeed, this paragraph in the text is followed by a lengthy quote from Barth in which he points out that those who appeal to "the active, organizing, [unionizing] world-embracing spirit of *Calvin* [. . .] overlook the fact that Calvin [first] wrote the *Institutes*." Calvin first worked out the substance of the faith and built his understanding of the church upon it. He had "a *theme*, and *then* developed its variations, first he *knew* what he wanted, and *then* he wanted what he knew."[14] Bryden, Barth and Calvin—the voices seem to converge as one.

Bryden's thinking about the significance of Calvin continued to develop in a 1935 essay called "The Presbyterian Conception of the Word of God." By "Presbyterian" Bryden meant "Reformed," and by "Reformed" Bryden mostly meant Calvin. It was Calvin's recognition of the need for a completely fresh and living apprehension of the Word of God which constituted the primal inspiration of the Reformation.[15] But Bryden was careful and outlined how Calvin ought to be critically appropriated rather than imitated, emulated, or idolized:

> It is quite impossible for us, in any literal way, to go back to Calvin, as some seem to suggest we should. We dare not accept all his theological positions, certainly not some of the implications of his thought; nor would it be advisable to try to emulate his life. Indeed, nothing would have so horrified Calvin himself as the thought that future generations might attempt to imitate him, or do no more than merely accept his view of God, man, and the world. It was against such idolatry that Calvin struggled all his life; and he found reason to condemn it as it existed in

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[12] Bryden, *Why I Am A Presbyterian* 150-51.

[13] Bryden, *Why I Am A Presbyterian* 152

[14] Bryden, *Why I Am A Presbyterian* 153.

[15] Bryden, *Separated Unto The Gospel* 178.

> the preceding Roman Church, even to the bitter end. What he primarily meant by the "Sovereignty of God" is to be found in a true understanding of his attitude in this regard, namely, that no Father of the Church, however revered, no Church [. . .], no priesthood, no saint, no good man, nor the good lives, the pieties, and true thoughts of the same, dare ever come between the soul of man and the living Word of God. At the same time, if we are still to possess anything that makes Presbyterianism distinctive—I had almost said, if we are to possess any convictions worthy of a truly Christian faith—we must get back to something of that understanding of the Word of God which created both Calvin and the Reformed faith.[16]

Bryden then proceeded to sketch a reading of Calvin's theology that attempted to reach back behind the post-Reformation scholasticism which had shaped subsequent Calvinism—what Bryden referred to as "Rational Orthodoxy." Here Bryden distinguished between Calvin's view of the Word of God and one in which the Word of God is identified simply with the written Holy Scripture, in its fullness, verbally inerrant and plenarily inspired. This view, Bryden argued, ignores Calvin's emphasis on the internal testimony of the Holy Spirit and tends to objectify the Bible. Calvin distinguished between the Word of God and the written text of the Bible, Bryden argued, although Bryden admitted that in his exegeses, commentaries and polemical writings Calvin seemed to make no such distinction. At the same time, the appeal to the Holy Spirit should not be mistaken in Calvin as an appeal to faith as purely a matter of private judgment.

Bryden set this reading of Calvin over against religious thought since Kant, Schleiermacher and Hegel. "The Liberal or Modern View," as Bryden called it, identified the Word of God with "supreme moral and religious values which find unique expression in [. . .] Jesus' life and personality."[17] Both conservative Calvinism and modern Calvinism sought to ground the certainty of faith in something other than God, God's revelation and God's actions. Conservative Calvinism, Bryden argued, did so by appealing to a written text; modern Protestantism by appealing to religious experience, historical investigation or philosophical ideals. Neither was true to Calvin, Bryden concluded. The heart of Calvin's theology, as Bryden understood it, was that we may know God because God shares God's self-knowledge with us, God and God alone can authenticate God's Word to us—God makes God known, and makes it possible for us to participate in that knowing of God which only God in God's freedom creates. Apart from understanding this central point in Calvin's theology "any interpretation of Calvin's faith or of his theology must be entirely superficial."[18]

The problem with the modern church, as Bryden saw it, was that it had domesticated divine transcendence and thereby trivialized God. It was true that God was personal, and that God shared divine self-knowledge with us in revelation, but Calvin believed when God spoke to human beings he did so over against them, and a moment was created in which a person "must come to a decision," not as "a reviewer, a weigher, or a chooser between, the respective ideas about God," but as a person under constraint and in crisis.[19] It is in this encounter with God, in

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[16] Bryden, *Separated Unto The Gospel* 178.

[17] Bryden, *Separated Unto the Gospel* 188.

[18] Bryden, *Separated Unto The Gospel* 210.

[19] Bryden, *Separated Unto The Gospel* 212.

fact, that a person becomes a person for the first time. The same argument appears, in abbreviated form, in Bryden's 1940 book *The Christian's Knowledge of God.*[20]

If Bryden's lecture notes are any indication, he worked through the main themes of Calvin's theology with his students annually from the late 1920s until his death in 1952. In a set of lectures called "John Calvin and the Reformed Faith: The Primacy of God in All Things" the same interpretation of Calvin as that found in the published writings emerges. Calvin grounded the reality of faith in the reality of God, Bryden argued, and not in the security of an inerrant Scripture or an infallible church. The Reformation, he argued, was not a natural phenomenon. It was rooted in the conviction that the God who had spoken in times past (*Deus dixit*) was now speaking again. Bryden pointed out that Calvin acknowledged his own limitations and ascribed the sovereign place to God in all aspects of the Reformation movement. Calvin's genius, Bryden argued, was that he purposefully and deliberately pointed beyond himself to the Word of God, i.e. God's Word in Christ which was "always a living thing, contemporaneous, personal, and immediate."[21] This was the source of Calvin's humility, confidence and assurance. In another set of lectures, Bryden discusses the theological differences between Calvin and Luther. In both sets of lectures the appendices and footnotes are filled with Barth.

Bryden's final, and perhaps simplest and most straightforward, interpretation of Calvin is to be found in his December 1949 *Presbyterian Record* article "John Calvin: Apostle of God's Sovereign Power." Assuming the significance of Calvin not only for changing the church but also for altering the "religious complexion of an entire civilization," Bryden asked "What was the secret of this man's power and of an influence which was of epochal dimensions?" It was not, as many supposed, Calvin's simple appeal to the Bible, or his rediscovery of the true doctrines of God, or his form of church government that made Calvin's influence so significant. It was, rather, "the discovery of the fact that God Who had unmistakably spoken to prophets and apostles [. . .] in times past, just as unmistakably speaks through them to the hearts of men [and women] *now*" (with the emphasis on "now"). Calvin knew, Bryden asserted, that as a *living* God, God could only be *livingly* apprehended and known. This was, for Bryden, Calvin's theological genius: God could not be mediated to human beings, except as God mediated Godself, through Jesus Christ, who is present to his church by the Holy Spirit. The mediation of God by God in Word and Spirit was the pivot around which the Reformed faith revolved. Nothing else of itself could mediate God—not church, tradition, the magisterium, history, not the Bible, not even John Calvin, could make God known to people. The mistake of the medieval church was that it believed that God's word and God's grace could be stored up in Holy Scripture and the sacraments, and possessed and distributed at will—the will of the church, that is. Christian faith for Calvin, as Bryden understood it, was personal trust in what Christ had done and *was doing*. This is what gave the Reformed church its dynamic, i.e. it was essentially to be a reforming Church, ever passing judgment upon itself, not by means discoverable within itself or by claims made it upon it from without, "but as being held subject always to God's holy, living, searching, and dynamic Word."[22]

We note by way of observation that for Walter Bryden what made Calvin the Reformer that he was is that as a theologian of Word and Spirit Calvin espoused what became known as

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[20] W. W. Bryden, *The Christian's Knowledge of God* (Toronto: Thorn Press, 1940) 72-73.

[21] W. W. Bryden, "John Calvin and the Reformed Faith," 7.

[22] Walter W. Bryden, "John Calvin: Apostle of God's Sovereign Power," *Presbyterian Record* 74 (Dec. 1949): 324-25.

the Protestant Principle. Expressed negatively, the Protestant Principle, as defined by Paul Tillich, was the protest against any absolute claim for a finite reality, whether it is a church, a book, a symbol, a person or an event. Expressed positively, it was the affirmation that God is free and that God's grace is not bound to any finite form. As Bryden saw it, Calvin taught and lived by the rule that the finite possesses no capacity for the infinite.[23]

But Bryden didn't stop there. There was "cash value" to this insight—a theological payoff to be picked up, in two ways. First, the doctrine of the sovereignty of God, contrary to all caricatures, does not set out God as the Source of all things, the sole Governor of the universe, as an all-powerful, all-determining power monger. If God is omnipotent and almighty, God's power must be read through the lens of the Lordship of Jesus Christ, God's crucified Messiah, the suffering servant. The analogy for God's power, Bryden argued, is not human power writ large, it is not despotic, it is revealed in the face of Jesus Christ. Providence and predestination, whatever they might mean, need to be understood in this light; to use Paul's language, "the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ" (2 Corinthians 4:6).

Secondly, the Protestant Principle was, by definition, a principle of protest. "No Reformer," Bryden argued, "has given so sure a lead in the matters pertaining to Church and State, and class and class."[24] Bryden often railed against the domestication of the gospel in middle-class Canadian Protestantism, and he believed Calvin supported him in this. Calvin, Bryden said, was respectful of civil authority, but he was never satisfied with the status quo. Calvin believed that God was at work in history. He did not believe that the so-called orders of a static society were divinely constituted and therefore not subject to change. Social orders, political structures and economic systems are at best approximations of God's will for the world. The gospel reveals a radical and revolutionary power of God which stands in judgment over and against all that militates against God's reign of justice and love in the world. As Bryden saw it, Calvin's insights into the living God transformed our understanding of personal faith, ecclesial life and social order. That's why Calvinism changed the complexion of an entire civilization.

Let's return now to the impression Walter Bryden made upon T. F. Torrance. There was a specific historical context to this remark. Bryden had been invited to introduce Torrance as the keynote speaker at the Pre-Assembly Congress of the General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1950. The primary purpose of the congress was to celebrate the 75th anniversary of the union of 1875. The introduction runs to six single-spaced typed pages because Bryden enlarged the scope of his address to make a link between the history of The Presbyterian Church in Canada and the history of the Reformed and Presbyterian tradition about which Torrance was to speak. Bryden spoke about the survival of continuing Presbyterianism after church union in 1925 and what he saw as the renewal of Reformed faith and theology following World War II. He traced the roots of Presbyterianism in Canada to the Huguenots, to Irish and Scottish Presbyterians, and to the influence of the American church, especially in Ontario. What really put the theological fibre in this tradition, however, was not this cultural history, or a common appeal to the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, but rather the theology of the sixteenth-century Reformers, especially John Calvin. This is what justified, in Bryden's mind, the separate existence of a continuing Presbyterian Church in Canada. Throughout the rest of the introduction Bryden sounded the notes that were familiar to his students and those who had read his books. Calvin brought the church a completely new

[23] See Vissers 267.

[24] Bryden, "John Calvin: Apostle of God's Sovereign Power" 325.

consciousness of God which resulted in an entirely new relationship to God. Calvin was, for Bryden (to borrow a phrase from John Leith), a "God-intoxicated" preacher and theologian. He was absorbed in what God had done and in what God promises to do for God's people today. Calvin was joyfully obedient to the Word of God revealed in Jesus Christ and he promoted ecumenicity. It has to be said that there's more than a note of defensiveness when Bryden speaks about Canadian Presbyterianism here, but the appeal to Calvin is strong and clear. The introduction concludes with a generous welcome and commendation for Dr. Torrance. I suppose one might imagine any number of thoughts going through Torrance's head as he got up to speak after such an introduction. But we don't have to imagine; Torrance told Wade what he thought: "I can't help but think that Walter Bryden is more like John Calvin than anyone I've ever known."

What did Torrance see? Walter Bryden was a small man, owlish in appearance, with eyes that pierced in eager encounter, solemn and wise, an arm slightly paralyzed and withered. But when he preached and lectured he exploded with passion and insight. And he never tired of speaking about the significance of Calvin's contribution to the Protestant faith. So what should we make of this on the 500th anniversary of Calvin's birth and the 100th anniversary of Bryden's ordination? What kind of Calvinist was Walter Bryden? And what did it mean for Canadian Protestantism?

From the perspective of historical scholarship today Bryden's account of Calvin's epochal significance seems somewhat limited, perhaps naïve, even wrong-headed. The emergence and extent of Calvin's influence has to be measured, for example, as Bruce Gordon nicely demonstrates in his new biography of Calvin, against the background of the entire Swiss Reformation. When we ask why, during the sixteenth-century Reformation, certain theological ideas came to function and flourish while others faded away we can't simply answer in terms of John Calvin. Despite the fact that he taught church history, Walter Bryden was not a rigorous scholar of Calvin and the Reformation. There's a lot about Calvin—good and bad, which Bryden simply ignored. Similarly, if by Calvinist we mean a slavish interpreter of the theology of John Calvin, one who admits few other insights besides those of the master, Bryden doesn't exactly qualify. Nor was he an uncritical apologist for the tradition spawned by Calvin's name, especially the period of Protestant scholasticism and Reformed orthodoxy which followed the Sixteenth Century. Here he drew sharp distinctions. Yet, Bryden's brand of Calvinism mattered. To a generation of Protestant ministers looking for identity in the midst of a crisis in theology and church, Walter Bryden championed the essential insights of Calvin and seemed to embody the ethos of the Reformer in ways that were compelling. He pointed them back beyond Scotland to the continental Reformed theology of Calvin's Geneva.[25] Bryden's interpretation of Calvin may not have been comprehensive but it was consistent. Simply put: he reminded Canadian Protestants that God matters. It was precisely that insight from Calvin that prevented Bryden from turning Calvin into an idol or fixating on the Sixteenth Century alone. Bryden was concerned about what God was saying and doing here and now. It's true that Bryden's interpretation of Calvin and the Calvinist tradition was deeply indebted to Karl Barth. But he leveraged this interpretation of Calvin to marshal a critique of early-twentieth-century Canadian Protestantism with its penchant for idealism and its tendency toward secularization. The renewal of the church, Bryden believed, always takes place in accordance with its own faith and life. And his appeal to Calvin stands as a constant witness to Canadian Protestantism that the Christian movement is always in danger of co-opting the reality of God to justify the church's existence

[25] J. Charles Hay, "Allan L. Farris," *The Tide of Time*, ed. John S. Moir (Toronto: Knox College, 1978) 16.

and advance its own agenda. Bryden saw Calvin as a prophet and true Calvinism as a prophetic movement—even revolutionary. Those who stood in Calvin's tradition had to be prepared to stand against any and all powers and authorities (social, political, economic, cultural and ecclesiastical) that distorted the truth, oppressed the poor, and usurped the place of God alone. For that reason, I conclude with this friendly provocation: if judged from this perspective, Walter Bryden may well have been the only true "Calvinist" that the Canadian church has ever known.

THE CANADIAN SOCIETY OF PRESBYTERIAN HISTORY:

Minutes of the Annual Meeting 26 September 2009, held at the Knox College, University of Toronto, 59 St. George Street, Toronto:

The meeting was Called to Order by the President, Rev. Dr. A. Donald MacLeod at 1:05 p.m. The Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. Michael Millar, acted as Secretary for the meeting. Twenty-nine members were in attendance.

The President opened the meeting by welcoming all who were present.

Regrets:

The President called for regrets. Ms. Kim Arnold, Rev. Ken Barker, Rev. Dr. John Cameron, Hon. Lorne Clarke, Rev. Dr. Zander Dunn, Rev. Dr. Clyde Ervine, Hon. John Gammell, Rev. Dr. Eldon Hay, Father Edward Jackman, Rev. Dr. Barry Mack, Rev. Alex MacLeod, Ms. Elizabeth Millar, Rev. Ritchie Robinson, Rev. Dr. Donald Smith, Rev. Angus Sutherland, and Dr. Marguerite Van Die, were noted as being received by the Secretary-Treasurer.

Approval of the agenda:

The agenda was presented. No additions were called for. On motion of the Secretary-Treasurer, seconded by Dr. Whytock, the agenda as presented, was the agenda for the meeting.

Minutes of the 2008 Annual General Meeting:

On motion of the Secretary-Treasurer, seconded by Dr. Shepherd, the Minutes of the 2008 Annual Meeting, as published in the 2008 papers, distributed earlier in the month, were approved, no errors or omissions having been noted.

Business Arising from the Minutes:

(1) Charitable status – Secretary-Treasurer's Report, item 2. The Secretary-Treasurer noted that the statement in the last sentence required to be corrected. Information received subsequent to the meeting informed us that such an arrangement could not be effected.

The President then addressed the issue of Charitable Status in light of a conversation he had had recently with Mr. Stephen Roche, the Chief Financial Officer for The Presbyterian Church in Canada. It would appear that an arrangement could be worked out between our Society and the Committee on History of The P. C. C. Following considerable discussion with several members speaking against the idea, for a variety of reasons, it was agreed that the sense of the meeting was to maintain the *status quo*. No vote was taken, but a general agreement was reached to not pursue the issue any further.

(2) Meeting venue – New Business. The issue of a meeting venue and the cost of lunch came on for discussion. The President wondered if the cost of lunch at twenty dollars ($20.00) (seniors

65+ and students, ten dollars ($10.00)) was a deterrent for people to attend the meeting. The Secretary-Treasurer informed the meeting that the cost per head for lunch was seventeen dollars ($17.00) plus tax and that he had ordered enough coffee, tea and juice to do the meet and greet and the morning coffee break. He did not have the invoice as yet. The President stated that he could probably arrange for us to meet at Knox Church, Spadina Avenue and lunch at less cost than at the College. Because we have a member of the College faculty – Professor Macdonald – at our meetings we have the use of the room at no charge, but we are obligated to use the College caterer. Following discussion it was moved by Ms. Anstice, seconded by the Secretary-Treasurer "That the Society continue to meet at Knox College for the foreseeable future." Carried.

President's Report.

The President then gave his report. He noted the themes the Executive have adopted for 2010 – Edinburgh Conference of 1910, and 2011 – the 150th anniversary of the union of 1861. Principal Vissers commented that 2010 will mark the 450th anniversary of the establishment of the Church of Scotland and wondered if that could be worked in as well. The Report was received and adopted, duly moved and seconded.

Editor's Report.

The report of Society Editor, Elizabeth Millar, was read by Dr. Whytock, a member of the newly formed Editorial Committee. The 2008 papers have been published and circulated and work is almost completed on the delayed 2007 papers. It is expected they will be ready by the end of October. It was moved by Dr. Whytock, seconded by Ms. Anstice "That the Report of the Editor be received with thanks." Carried.

Webmaster's Report.

Mr. Anger read his report and commented on the changes he has made to the website to make it more attractive. He noted that we are just about at capacity with our current web hosting plan – 100 Mb at no charge. He felt that if drafts of the papers given to the meeting today go up on the website, as the executive has felt should be done, it is going to put us over our capacity. To go up to the next stage with our Web Host, Doteasy of Vancouver, would cost us seven dollars and ninety-five cents per month ($7.95) plus GST. This would give us 1000 Mb of storage, enough for our requirements for several years. He moved, seconded by the Secretary-Treasurer "That the Society advance up to the Doteasy Ultra web hosting plan." Carried. Following the presentation of his report the Webmaster was thanked with a round of applause.

Secretary-Treasurer's Report.

The financial statement was circulated and discussed. We are in a reasonably good financial situation. He informed the meeting that he had been able to source a Barrie printer for the papers. The owner of the Kwik Kopy franchise is a dedicated member of Emmanuel Baptist Church in Barrie and gives church groups a break on their printing requirements. The unit cost of the 2008 papers was two dollars and sixty-one cents ($2.61) taxes in. This is roughly half of

what the 2006 papers cost per unit. So there is a considerable saving. The matter of re-investment of the G. I. C's. when they mature was discussed – one in October and the other at the end of May 2010. The Secretary-Treasurer moved, seconded by Dr. Johnston "That the Secretary-Treasurer be granted permission to re-invest these two G. I. C's. when they mature." Carried.

New Business:

(1) Possible implications of the Ontario H. S. T. The imposition of the Harmonised Sales Tax on the 1st of July 2010 will effect us to a certain degree. We will be paying 8% more on our postage costs, but not on the printing or office supplies because Provineial Sales Tax is already levied on those items. The Secretary-Treasurer noted that our *Presbyterian Record* advertisement would have cost us an additional thirty dollars ($30.00) if the H. S. T. had been in effect this year. He felt that at the moment no increase in dues was necessary.

(2) 2010 meeting, 25th September – theme covered in President's Report.

(3) 2011 meeting, 24th September – theme covered in President's Report.

(4) 2012 meeting, 20th September – theme to be more general, to be announced later.

(5) Terms of Reference for the Bailey Bursary. The Executive at its meeting in August had expressed some concern over the lack of interest from students in this bursary. It was agreed at that time to have the two Colleges faculty members – Professor Macdonald, Knox College, and Rev. Dr. Barry Mack, Presbyterian College – review the Terms of Reference to see if they required adjusting. Professor Macdonald informed the meeting that he had been working on the poster for the Call for Papers for the website and that he and Dr. Mack had not had time to do the review. A report will be forthcoming at the 2010 meeting.

(6) Ms. Kate Revington asked if the Society had a mission statement. The feeling was that one had not been developed that any of the senior members of the Society could recall. Thereupon Ms. Revington moved, seconded by Mr. Clarkson "That the Executive draft a mission statement that accurately reflects the Society's goals and objectives." Carried.

Election of Officers:

Moved by Professor Macdonald, seconded by Dr. Johnston "That the Officers remain the same for 2008 – 2009." Carried. Dr. Anderson urged that an officer to deal with publicity be added to the Executive, and this was agreed to.

Any other business

There was no other business brought before the meeting.

Adjournment:

The 2009 Annual General Meeting was adjourned at 2:00pm on motion of Mr. Clarkson, duly seconded and carried, and the regular business of the Society resumed.

A. Donald MacLeod, BA, MA, BD, DD.
President.

Michael Millar, FRPSC.
Secretary-Treasurer.

Canadian Society of Presbyterian History
Editor's Report for 2009 Annual General Meeting

Since the 2008 Annual General Meeting, the 2008 papers have been edited, printed and distributed, and editing of the 2007 papers is nearing completion. Work on the latter was suspended so that the 2008 papers could be published as quickly as possible, but has now resumed in earnest. I expect they will be printed and mailed by the end of October 2009.

At the August 2009 meeting of the Society's executive, it was decided to establish an Editorial Committee to support the Editor in preparing the papers for publication. I am very pleased to say that two of our members, Dr. Eldon Hay and Dr. Jack Whytock, have graciously agreed to join me in comprising this new committee.

Also in August, our 2009 presenters were sent a copy of the guidelines approved at the Society's 2006 annual meeting, as well as a copy of footnoting examples from the *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers*. However, recent feedback has indicated a review of the preferred citation style is needed, and the Editorial Committee will soon begin investigating other citation styles in order to find the best match for the Society's publication. Unless objections are raised by the membership, 2010 presenters will be advised of the preferred citation style in time for them to be able to incorporate it into their papers. The selection of a citation style is not meant to burden our presenters, but to provide a common framework so that their papers may shine in publication.

I would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge my heartfelt appreciation to Ms. Kim Arnold and Mr. Bob Anger of The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives and Records Office for their kind and willing assistance in checking references for me. Their ongoing support of the Society's efforts deserves to be recognized.

Report submitted by,

Elizabeth Millar
Editor, CSPH Papers
September 2009

CSPH Website Administrator's Report for 2009

During the past year, the CSPH website was significantly updated with a new style, more information, more colour, and the addition of a number of photographs of historic and significant Presbyterians.

The website now contains the following 7 separate pages:

Home Page
About Us
Annual Meeting Information
Membership Information
Papers
Bailey Bequest Information
Relevant Links

Currently, a selection of 18 papers dating from 1975-2005 are available on the website for downloading. Beginning with this year, however, "draft" versions of each presenter's paper will also be added as soon as possible after the meeting.

The Internet host for the website continues to be Doteasy. The "Basic" plan that the CSPH uses is a free plan, however, it has limitations in the amount of data that can be presented and downloaded. The quota under the "Basic" plan is 100MB and we are currently at 94.08MB. With the addition of the 2009 papers, however, we will most likely exceed our quota. Doteasy has provided two options: 1) the "Ultra" plan, which is the next step up from the "Basic" plan, provides 1000MB of storage at a cost of $7.95 per month; and 2) the "Unlimited" plan, which provides an unlimited amount of storage capacity at a cost of $9.95 per month.

Recommendation: That the CSPH upgrade its internet hosting from the "Basic" plan to the "Ultra" plan.

As always, comments and feedback concerning the website and its content are all very much welcome and appreciated.

Respectfully submitted by,

Bob Anger
CSPH Website Administrator
September 26th, 2009

THE CANADIAN SOCIETY OF PRESBYTERIAN HISTORY:

FINANCIAL REPORT - 26 September 2009:

Item:	Income:	Expenses:	Balance:
Balance forward 27 September 2008:			**1684.72**
Memberships 2007 and previous years	295.00		
Memberships 2008	595.00		
Memberships 2009	380.00		
Memberships 2010 and 2011	40.00		
Corporate memberships 2006.	120.00		
Sale of papers.	203.00		
Bank Interest - Sept. '08 to August '09	0.95		
G. I. C. 9078920 (20 October 2008)	2,000.00		
G. I. C. Interest	65.67		
G. I. C. 9605280 (30 May 2009)	2,000.00		
G. I. C. Interest	50.77		
Bank Interest credit on G. I. C.	0.03		
Luncheon charges 2008 meeting - paid	85.00		
Luncheon charges 2009 meeting - paid	180.00		
Donations	185.00		
Total Income.	**6,200.42**		**6,200.42**
Sub-total.			**7,885.14**
Postage		314.52	
Photocopying - Secretary-Treasurer		8.40	
Office Supplies - Secretary-Treasurer		130.61	
Lunch, 2008 meeting, Dr. MacLeod		125.00	
Dot-Easy - website Domain Name renewal		105.00	
Conestoga Press for 2006 Papers		406.25	
Kwik Kopy Barrie for 2008 Papers		192.33	
General Assembly brochure		37.80	
Advertising - Presbyterian Record		393.75	
G. I. C. 0317-9078920 maturing 20 October 2009		2,000.00	
G. I. C. 0317-9605803 - maturing 1 June 2010		2,000.00	
Total Expenses.		**5,713.66**	**5,713.66**
Balance Forward 24 September 2009:			**2,171.48**
Assets - two G. I. C's. @ 2000.00 each			4,000.00
Total - Balance Forward plus the two G. I. C's.			$6,171.48

Michael Millar, FRPSC.
Secretary-Treasurer.