

Covenanters in Alberta¹

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The Reformed Presbyterians (Covenanters) came to the Prairie provinces in the first decade and a half of this century – establishing communities in three places: Content (later Delburne), AB; Regina, SK; and Winnipeg, MB (attempts to establish the movement in Edmonton and in Vancouver, amongst other places, were doomed to early failure). The Covenanter cause continued in the successful centres for several decades, until it faded out entirely by the demise of the Winnipeg congregation in the early 1960s. The efforts in Regina and Delburne had by then passed out of institutional existence.

Unlike the Covenanter communities established a century earlier as missions in the Maritimes by the Irish Synod, and in Ontario by the Scots Synod, prairie Covenanters were self-starting communities largely through the initiative of Covenanters coming from the United States. The earliest congregation in the west was established at Content, AB in 1908. This rural congregation never became fully self-supporting, as did those at Winnipeg and Regina. Nonetheless, despite not having a church building of their own, and having only intermittent pastors, the Covenanter community proved hardy indeed.

This paper focuses on the Content/Delburne congregation, with some attention to Winnipeg and Regina. Causes for their rise and reasons for their decline are outlined.

Who were the Covenanters? The name

“Covenanter” goes back to 1580 [in Scotland] when a number of church

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members bound themselves by an agreement or covenant to uphold the Presbyterian faith. Then in 1638 the National Covenant was drawn up and in 1643 the Solemn League and Covenant. The covenant was entered into by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and the commissioners of the English Parliament. It provided for the establishing of the Presbyterian Church of England, Scotland and Ireland. Both of these covenants were rejected by Charles II [at the time of the restoration].²

There followed a 140 year period of religious turmoil. At the end of this time of tumult, on the occasion of the Union Settlement in 1690, "this group were made up of those who disassociated themselves from the [established] Presbyterian Church of Scotland. It was the State Church as the Church of England that was the State Church of England and governed by the State. This group felt strongly that the State should not control the church."³

Covenanters, also known officially as Reformed Presbyterians (RP), have a rich history of dissent and martyrdom in both Scotland and Ulster. The denomination was also strongly lay in orientation; in the face of what seemed commendable compromises, clergy left—to go to other less exclusive churches. In Scotland,⁴ Ireland,⁵ and later the United States,⁶ at various times, the denomination survived sometimes without benefit of any clergy. Congregations learned to rely on lay leadership organizing themselves into groups for social worship – indeed, another nickname for the Covenanters was “the Society People.”⁷

Covenanters made their way to the American colonies where, though Reformed Presbyterians had been present for some fifty years, the first presbytery was organized in 1774. In the American colonies, Covenanters did not suffer overt persecution. In crafting an indigenous Covenanter policy and platform in the new world, a task at which they were finally successful, the American RP added a noted characteristic of their own – they were adamantly opposed to slavery.

Covenanter convictions include:

1. King Messiah – King Jesus – as ruler of all Christian nations and, ultimately of all nations. Therefore Christ is head of church and state.
2. Since Christ was not recognized as head of state, Covenanters did not hold public office, did not swear oaths and did not vote.
3. Covenanting – public witnessing – is a command of God, hence the

name “Covenanters.”

4. The Bible is the supreme law in state and church – what is not commanded in the Scripture about the worship of God is forbidden in church services; hymns were prohibited, only psalms were sung. Organs and other musical instruments were excluded. All secret societies were forbidden.

5. Strong anti-Roman Catholic convictions.

6. Communion is open to believers only.

North of the United States border, there were RP communities in the Maritimes, all founded by the Irish Synod circa 1830, located in the Saint John River valley, the Chignecto region⁸ and the Annapolis valley.⁹ There was another group of Covenanter communities in Upper Canada (later Ontario) and Lower Canada (later Quebec) founded by the Scotch Synod a little after 1830. Much later, during the early 1900s, a self-grown group of congregations arrived in western Canada who looked to the American (Old School) Covenanters for supervision.¹⁰ The Covenanter communities in the Maritimes, in western Canada and in Lower Canada died out. There are still a few small congregations in the Ottawa valley, ON.

The aim of this paper is to discuss the western Covenanters. They settled in three communities – one in Content/Delburne, AB, a second in Regina, SK and a third in Winnipeg, MB. My chief concern will be with the first named – the Covenanters of Content/Delburne, which was historically the first of the western communities.

Content/Delburne is located in central Alberta, about midway between Calgary and Edmonton, and east of Red Deer. The first Covenanter family¹¹ in the region were the Ulster-born Campbells¹² – three brothers, David (1832-1913), James (1841-1919) and Clark (1850-1917),¹³ along with their wives. Only one of the brothers, Clark and his wife Margaret (1865-1939), had children.¹⁴ The three brothers were a pioneering family that had “moved a lot – the Covenanter congregations with which they had been involved were Lake Reno, MN, Hetherton, MI, Blanchard, IA, and Denison, KS.”¹⁵ The chief spokesperson for the Covenanter Campbells was the first brother to arrive, Clark. He wrote a letter published in an RP paper, in March 1905. Clark bids other Covenanters to follow his lead and come to the area:

I would like to say to any Covenanters who think of looking for a home in Canada, that they ought to give this country a visit. It is a good stock

country and oats, barley, and rye do well . . . [T]ame fruit is raised . . . currants, gooseberries, raspberries, and strawberries . . . [T]here is some government land yet . . . it will not lie vacant long . . . [T]his is a very healthy country, and a man would need at least five or six hundred dollars to start with, so he could buy some cows and a team, and have enough to build a small house and keep him until he would get returns from his cows. There is a creamery close so one can get a ready sale for cream . . . Government land can not be bought; it has to be homesteaded. Railroad land is held at \$6 per acre. There are four homesteads taken now by Covenanters and we would like to see more, so we could support a minister. Now to conclude, I would say to any who have good homes, I would not try to persuade them to come except for their health, but I do think that folks with small means ought to give this their special consideration and try and get a home of their own . . . There is a saw-mill and feed-mill going in where I speak of the open lands, and there is plenty of wood and coal.¹⁶

There is no evidence from Content of any difficulty in taking an oath when becoming a homesteader though the matter was later formally raised by the Regina session.¹⁷ Many of the homesteaders were not Canadian-born, coming from the United States. Of course, some were from Canada – there is simply no data on difficulties any individuals experienced in western Canada.¹⁸

There can be no doubt that, in addition to contacting potential Covenanter settlers, Clark Campbell was also in touch with the Central Board of Missions of the American RP Synod. The Central Board appointed Rev. Thomas Melville Slater (1869-1951), a Covenanter minister, to visit the area in 1906.¹⁹ Slater himself wrote of his experiences:

I have preached here [at Content] two Sabbaths, and will remain one week longer. Have been to different points throughout the northern part of the Province visiting scattered Covenanters, but this is the only place I have so far found that contains more than one family. Here we have quite a good settlement of our people, with hopes of more coming soon.²⁰

Slater notes that the few Covenanters in Content had “been holding social worship each Sabbath” thereby putting in practice one of the distinctive Covenanter worship practices. Moreover, they were “doing missionary work among the other settlers. The attendance at preaching services has been encouraging, and the community seems favorable toward the

establishing of regular worship . . . Anyone desiring further information regarding the advantages of settlement here may address Mr. Clark Campbell . . . at Content, AB.”²¹ After Slater’s visit, the Central Board of Missions Report noted that “a Sabbath-school has been organized,” and that there was “a membership of seventeen.”²² The same report also indicated that “a number from other parts of the Church have signified their intention of locating here at an early day. The prospect of organizing a self-supporting congregation is reasonably good.”²³

In addition to commanding the visit of Rev. T.M. Slater, the Board appointed Rev. William McFarland (1844-1938)²⁴ to settle for a time in Content. McFarland arrived in Content in December 1906, and remained until the end of July 1907. McFarland wrote briefly of his time in the community:

Although our meeting place is a home, it is large and comfortable, and all have been made welcome. Sixty persons in all attended the different meetings of Feb. 10. How we wish we could tell our brethren of our kind neighbors who have attended ordinances on the coldest days, walking or riding on horseback several miles. Forty persons were in the classes of the Sabbath school on Feb. 10. A large attendance may now be expected. Many signs point to a convenient and comfortable school house, near at hand, for a meeting place. It will be in a beautiful poplar woods and near to a lovely lake, two miles long.²⁵

In fact, it would seem that McFarland was credited with erecting the school house: “Rev. William McFarland was the first [settled] minister sent to these people. He [assisted] in the erection of the building which was to serve as a school house and a church. This seemed to be almost a necessity. There is little timber in that country which could be used for building purposes.”²⁶

Undoubtedly, the Content Covenanters would have appreciated their own “church building, and comfortable church pews,”²⁷ but that was not destined to happen. The Wood Lake School continued to be the worship venue of the Covenanters in the community throughout the duration of the denomination.²⁸ Efforts to enlarge the bounds of the Covenanter congregation were pursued on two fronts; first, missionary work among their neighbours, including preaching services in Delburne; secondly, attempting to persuade Covenanters in other parts to come settle in Content.

Rev. Wilbur John McBurney (1874-1958),²⁹ who lived in Content

from August 1906 until February 1908, commented that in those early days there was nothing “but Covenanter preaching in the neighborhood [and] meetings were well attended.”³⁰ Non-Covenanters also took advantage of the Covenanter Sabbath-School. This phenomenon repeated a practice which held in many Canadian Covenanter communities – persons came to worship, children came to Sabbath-School, but relatively few became full members.³¹ There is little evidence that many neighbours were added to the Covenanter cause³² except by marriage, and some of these became adherents, not members.³³ Of course, “many of the adherents [were] almost as faithful as the members.”³⁴ Occasionally, steps were taken to “prepare for holding preaching services in Delburne” in addition to worship in the Woodlake school.³⁵ It is doubtful if these services resulted in the addition of Covenanter members or adherents.

Attempts to persuade Covenanters in other places to come to Alberta met with more success. The coming of the Brodie family³⁶ from the Covenanter congregation in Lochiel, Glengarry County (Ontario)³⁷ was probably due to an invitation from Clark Campbell. Similarly, the coming in 1906 of Walter and Ina Taylor³⁸ from the United States may have been due to Clark Campbell’s invitation. In 1908, the then stalwarts of the Covenanter community – Clark, David and James Campbell, William and Paul Armour³⁹ and William E. Taylor – penned another salutation from Content extolling the virtues of the land and urging other Covenanters to consider coming: “any one thinking of making a change and desiring further information may write any of the signers of this letter and a prompt reply will be given.”⁴⁰ A year later, James Campbell was laconically pressing for a Covenanter minister to come to Content:

[I]f any minister would desire to win souls in this new part of the Lord’s vineyard he will find a hearty welcome from the few who are here. If it is health for himself or his family he wishes to gain, we know of no better location than here. The few who are here would be willing to help to the best of their ability to make a home for him. This is not an attractive-looking country, but it is better than it looks. I may say the same about the majority of the people, but they are not all homely. Our Sabbath School averages about twenty-five this winter.⁴¹

Another prominent Covenanter family, Robert (1871-1971) and Mary (1877-1933) Waddell from the Ramsay, Lanark County (Ontario) congregation⁴² came to settle in the area.⁴³ Their son wrote that “my Dad

and Mother decided to come to this area [in 1907] because several residents were planning to establish a Reform[ed] Presbyterian Church which they were members of in Ontario.”⁴⁴ There were difficulties on the Waddell’s arrival in the west, yet “working with the Campbells in the winter of 1908 our father cut and sawed enough lumber to build our house on the homestead.”⁴⁵ “Mack Bowes, a bachelor, came from Ontario and homesteaded in the district in 1909. He was a nephew of Mrs. Robert Waddell.”⁴⁶ Others who came later were the Ewing Brothers, James and David, from Glenwood, MN,⁴⁷ and the bachelor brothers Joe and Robert Mann, also from the United States.⁴⁸ The William T.J. (1869-1925) and Mary (1877-1947) Martins came in 1918; Mary Martin, formerly Mary Agnes Kirk, had been born at Almonte.⁴⁹

These pioneer Covenanters had very concrete concerns about their homesteads and their land. In July 1909, Messrs. David, James and Robert Campbell, Andrew Brodie and William Armour “all went up to Red Deer and passed in the evidence to prove up on their claims.” They expected “soon to receive their patents. All the land once open for homesteading in this vicinity has been taken up, but there are quarter-sections . . . that can be bought.”⁵⁰

Rev. Byron Melancthon Sharp (1847-1930)⁵¹ a missionary under the direction of the Colorado presbytery, came to live in November 1909. During his ministry “the Content RP Mission was organized into a congregation.”⁵² A Commission of the presbytery, consisting of elders James and David Campbell and Rev. B.M. Sharp, met at the home of Clark Campbell on 22 March 1910. Among other matters,

the Commission proceeded to the receiving of certificates of members from other congregations. So the number of 20 were placed on the roll. By a unanimous vote, taken standing, all those who had taken part in the Provincial elections expressed their regret and promised that hereafter they will adhere to the established law of the Ref. Pres. Church.⁵³

Later,

on Friday, March 25, at 2 p.m., the Commission met with the officers-elect at Wood Lake schoolhouse. After their acceptance and an examination held by Commission, and a discourse by the Moderator, and following out the regular steps, the Commission then proceeded to ordain William Armour by prayer and laying on of hands, and to install William

Armour along with James Campbell and David Campbell, to be elders. The Commission then also ordained and installed by prayer and laying on of hands, Robert J. Campbell, Susan Armour and William Taylor to the diaconate. Following the signing of the terms of communion by the officers, and addresses by the Moderator to the officers and also to the people, the Moderator of Commission then formally announced the completed organization of the Content congregation of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Alberta Province, Canada.⁵⁴

This paved the way for celebration of Holy Communion on the following Sabbath:

On the last Sabbath of March, a beautiful day, long to be remembered, there was observed the first communion ever held by a Covenanter congregation in this great, new provinces. After being deprived for so many years of this precious privilege, when twenty-one Covenanters then sat around the Lord's Table, there was indeed gladness and thankfulness and rejoicing. All felt as though the Lord had indeed prepared for His people a feast in the wilderness.⁵⁵

Sharp remained as missionary until May 1910, announcing that "the Grand Trunk Railroad, which is coming much nearer to this section, is likely to be built this summer."⁵⁶

It was the coming of the railroad, and the establishment of the new town of Delburne in 1911, with, among other things, a "post office" that led, a decade later, to a name change of the congregation from Content to Delburne Reformed Presbyterian.⁵⁷ The new town also had a "Methodist parsonage,"⁵⁸ so Covenanters were no longer the only Christian group trying to gain a foothold in the area. About 1911, word had begun circulating of the possibility of a Covenanter cause being established in Regina, Saskatchewan.⁵⁹ A new congregation was constituted in that place on 20 May 1911.⁶⁰ Somewhat later, Winnipeg was taken under care of Presbytery as a mission station in 1913,⁶¹ and it was formally organized as a congregation on 23 October 1914.⁶²

Covenanter piety was expressed in typical ways.⁶³ In 1917, the session "approved of a Fast Day being kept the first Thursday in October."⁶⁴ The "Communion Season"⁶⁵ was marked in the traditional manner: "the usual days of preparation [were] observed."⁶⁶ Then, "Rev. D.H. Elliott preached on Saturday morning and delivered the Table address at

Woodlake school house [on the Sabbath]. He preached at . . . Wm. Taylor's on Monday morning."⁶⁷ According to the extant session minutes, discipline was imposed on at least one occasion: "on motion, the session asked Mr. McConaughy to speak to that member of the congregation who had attempted to vote at the last Dominion election: remind him of his promise, and warn him not to do it again."⁶⁸ The congregation, at its origin in 1910, recommended the ladies of the congregation to take steps for the formation of a Ladies' Missionary Society;⁶⁹ it seems to have taken some time for the recommendation to come into effect,⁷⁰ though, from the earliest days as a mission station to the final days as a struggling congregation, the ladies clearly fulfilled the traditional role of preparing and serving food at various gatherings.⁷¹ The Sabbath School was a very important part of congregational life, and its annual picnic was faithfully reported in the church paper.⁷² There were relations with non-Covenanters: Mrs. Ina Taylor was appointed as "community agent for the Content Congregation."⁷³

Covenanters were congenitally and ideologically critical of the British government, though this did not prohibit them from participating in the War effort between 1914-1918; three members of the Content congregation joined armed forces – Andrew Brodie, Lester and Lloyd Taylor.⁷⁴ "Mr. Andrew Brodie, of our congregation, enlisted and sailed to England for training. His wife and little child are at present in Stettler, Alberta."⁷⁵ Brodie, Canadian-born, was also a Canadian soldier. Lester and Lloyd Taylor were American-born, sons of William E. and Ina Taylor. Lester Taylor, who was an American serviceman, did not go overseas.⁷⁶ Lloyd, probably a Canadian serviceman, soldiered overseas, in France.⁷⁷ The Covenanters in the United States provided three ambulances for the American forces: Content Covenanters David Ewing and Robert Mann contributed.⁷⁸ In addition, Mrs. Margaret (Clark) Campbell sent six knit wool squares for the 18 afghans which accompanied the ambulances.⁷⁹ In 1919, it was reported in the church paper that "Mr. Andrew Brodie is among the Canadian soldiers who will remain in Germany till next summer. Mr. Lloyd Taylor is still with the American forces in France."⁸⁰ It is clear that Andrew Brodie "returned after the hostilities ended to go back farming"⁸¹ in Delburne, as did Lester Taylor.⁸² Lloyd Taylor went to the United States.⁸³

There is no word of any difficulties by Andrew Brodie, Lester or Lloyd Taylor in taking an oath of allegiance on initially becoming soldiers,

although that situation arose with a Winnipeg Covenanter deacon, Mr. A. Boone, who was conscripted to serve in the army. “He claimed exemption as a conscientious objector, refusing to take the oath of allegiance. His claim was rejected by the local tribunal, and the case was by him appealed to the supreme court at Ottawa.”⁸⁴ Boone’s case was finally solved without compromise of his Covenanter convictions. We simply do not know the situation for Andrew Brodie, Lester or Lloyd Taylor.

The emergence of new and relatively strong Covenanter congregations in Regina and Winnipeg led to a push for presbytery realignment with the urging for so doing coming from these new congregations.

Synod grants the request, the name to be the Presbytery of Central Canada and its territory to include the Provinces of Saskatchewan, Alberta, Manitoba, and also the State of Minnesota . . . The Lake Reno Congregation is hereby transferred from the Iowa [Presbytery] to this new Presbytery [of Central Canada].⁸⁵

The organizing meeting was held in Regina, 10 October 1917, with representatives from Winnipeg, Regina, Content and Lake Reno.⁸⁶ The new presbytery seemed to have had a greater effect on the more major congregations in Regina and Winnipeg,⁸⁷ although it did not materially affect the Content congregation, at least not as far as its major problem was concerned – lack of members.

Despite continued efforts to bring other Covenanters, and some success in doing so, the Delburne Covenanters were not successful in adding many members to the flock. Newcomers barely kept up with the attrition brought about by those leaving (the stalwart William Armour family left in 1913),⁸⁸ and those dying including many of the Campbell family.⁸⁹ Their small numbers in Content/Delburne precluded their ever calling a minister. The relative isolation constituted a drain on the Central Board of Missions – the congregation was consistently receiving aid.⁹⁰ Yet the Delburne Covenanters continued to have their social meetings thereby illustrating their tenacity. On a visit to the community in 1918, Rev. John Calvin Boyd French (1858-1921)⁹¹ commented,

The brethren are alive and energetic and are striving to hold up the cause of our exalted Redeemer, to the best of their ability. Some of them drive long distances to attend the services, and endure many hardships in order that the Covenanter cause may be sustained . . . The congregation is

struggling to keep alive the truths that are held by the Church and are by no means stingy when it comes to giving of their means for the support of ordinances . . . I am sure that the Chairman of Synod's Committee on Tithes will be glad to know that the members of this little congregation are all tithers. This accounts for their being able to do so well.⁹²

When the Delburne congregation was visited for a 3-month period by senior minister, Rev. Dr. James C. McFeeters (1848-1928)⁹³ in 1924, he noted that the congregation was "small, yet its vitality and earnestness in the Lord Jesus cannot be questioned."⁹⁴ McFeeters specifically mentioned the Taylor family.⁹⁵ The membership was slightly smaller than when it was organized as a congregation in 1910: "only 18 members."⁹⁶ Returning three years later McFeeters noted that they had had only six days preaching in that interim. McFeeters alludes to the problem of uncertain clergy supply: "feasting a month and starving a month is not good for growth."⁹⁷ While he was there, McFeeters noted a continuing phenomenon: "quite a number of families, not yet in membership, attend the services and Sabbath School, and receive the minister into their homes as their own and only pastor."⁹⁸

The sole clergyman who had a longer stint in Content-Delburne was Rev. Howard George McConaughy (1882-1951)⁹⁹ who served from 1916 to 1919 and again, formally as Stated Supply, from 1927 to 1936.¹⁰⁰ A widower when he came the first time to Content, he married "Nancy Campbell, a school teacher, oldest daughter of Clark and Margaret Campbell."¹⁰¹ Despite these relatively longer periods with a full-time minister, the Delburne congregation did not grow in any substantial manner.

The problems besetting the Delburne Covenanter community were also experienced by the Central Canada Presbytery; in 1934, the Central Canada presbytery petitioned for dissolution, giving as reasons: "1) fewness of numbers; 2) great [geographical] distances; and 3) aid-receiving congregations."¹⁰² The 1934 petition by the Central Presbytery to dissolve was granted. The congregations of Lake Reno, Winnipeg and Regina were placed under the care of Iowa Presbytery, Delburne under the care of the Pacific Coast Presbytery.¹⁰³ In 1936, McConaughy retired and returned to Iowa where he died in 1951. Rev. Earnest McLeod Elsey (1875-1944)¹⁰⁴ served for "three months at Delburne for two summers," presumably in 1936 and 1937. During his time there he wrote a brief history of the

congregation.¹⁰⁵ He was the last minister of which there is any record. Local historian Ken Waddell noted that “the congregation continued until close to 1940 when it was dissolved for lack of members.”¹⁰⁶ The congregation last appeared in the rolls of the Pacific Coast Presbytery in 1941. The Reformed Presbyterian Church in North America did not again have an Alberta congregation.¹⁰⁷

A brief word about the Covenanters in Regina and Winnipeg. Both congregations flourished during the days of World War I and into the early 1920s. Both congregations were formed of Covenanters who came from the United States, as well as Covenanters and like-minded immigrants from Scotland and Ulster – perhaps the proportion of Ulster-born members was greater in Regina and Winnipeg. “The Winnipeg Covenanter Church congregation were mostly immigrants from Ireland and their families.”¹⁰⁸ “Regina [congregation] became self-supporting” in 1913,¹⁰⁹ and Winnipeg some time later; both city congregations were consequently able to call members. One of Regina’s ruling elders, Andrew Alexander, was a major contributor in a vigorous discussion about the elective franchise in the RP Synod and RP Church paper during the war years.¹¹⁰ However, the Regina congregation faded in the late-1920s, diminished to a mission station status in 1929,¹¹¹ languished for several years and finally disappeared in 1940.¹¹² Winnipeg had a much longer existence, and a more vigorous congregation. In 1926, Rev. Frederick Francis Reade (1882-1981)¹¹³ began his ministry in the city. During the early 1930s, the congregation’s fortunes were seriously affected by a deep division which took a great deal of energy and time in congregation, presbytery and Synod.¹¹⁴ Winnipeg Covenanters never fully recovered from this disastrous pastorate, which actually resulted in both a Covenanter congregation *and* a mission station in the city in 1935.¹¹⁵ The mission station was dissolved in 1943;¹¹⁶ the congregation lingered much longer, itself becoming a mission station in 1957¹¹⁷ and finally frittering away completely in the mid-1960s.¹¹⁸

Why did the movement fail? There were too few Covenanters on the ground, and an insufficient inflow of RPs from the old world and the new to augment the original settlers. The Covenanter movement, in its attempts to make inroads among those who were non-Covenanters had too many connections with old world theology, too much affiliation with an American ecclesiastical administration combined with a strict discipline and the prohibition of organs and hymns in worship. These factors meant that Covenanters could initially make a space and hold their ground as long

as there was an absence of non-Covenanter churches. Later, when these other denominations came on the scene, Covenanters could for a time hold their own because of a tenacious loyalty to a fine faith. But Reformed Presbyterianism could not advance, and in face of the other factors, finally did not survive.

Endnotes

1. Sources for this article include: Content/Delburne Reformed Presbyterian Church Session Minutes (hereafter "Session Minutes"), 16 March 1910-1 October 1937, original held at Anthony Henday Museum, Delburne, AB; Central Canada Presbytery Minutes (hereafter "Central Canada Presbytery Minutes"), 9 October 1917-9 August 1934, original held at the Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary archives, Pittsburgh, PA; *Minutes of the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America* (hereafter *Synod RPCNA Minutes*); and Diane Lewis and John Pengelly, eds., *Through the Years: A Sociological History of Ardley, Delburne and Lousana Districts* (Delburne, AB: History Book Committee, Anthony Henday Historical Society, 1980).
2. Ken Waddell, "The Reformed Presbyterian Church," in *Through the Years*, 203.
3. Ken Waddell, "The Reformed Presbyterian Church," in *Through the Years*, 203.
4. Matthew Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland, its Origin and History, 1680-1876* (Paisley: J & R 4.22 Parlane, 1893).
5. Adam Loughridge, *The Covenanters in Ireland: A History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church* (Belfast: Cameron Press, 1984).
6. W.M. Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America* (Baltimore: Hill and Harvey, 1888) (hereafter cited as *History*); and David M. Carson, *Transplanted to America: A Popular History of the American Covenanters to 1871* (Philadelphia: Board of Education and Publication, 1979).
7. See Loughridge, *The Covenanters in Ireland*, 32. For a superb explanation of the same phenomenon from a Canadian standpoint, see George Elder, "The Society," *Christian Nation*, 26 August 1903, 12.

8. See Eldon Hay's *The Chignecto Covenanters: A Regional History of Reformed Presbyterianism in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, 1827 to 1905* (forthcoming).
9. Frank Archibald, "The Reformed Presbyterian Church in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia or The Covenanters in the Lower Provinces" (B.D. Thesis, Pine Hill Divinity Hall, Halifax, 1934).
10. Robert M. More, Jr., *Aurora Borealis: A History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Canada (Covenanter), 1820-1967* (Philadelphia: Board of Education and Publication, 1967). This is the only work that attempts to outline Covenanterism across Canada.
11. For a listing of the Content/Delburne Covenanter families, see Appendix I.
12. Their widowed mother had emigrated from County Antrim, Ireland, with eight children, ca. 1852 (Letter to author, Jean Campbell Sibbald, Saskatoon, SK, 5 May 1994).
13. The dates of the three brothers are taken from "Beyond Life's Gateway – Delburne Cemetery," *Through the Years*, 208. Unless otherwise noted, dates of other laypersons are also from this source.
14. Alice (Kitchen) Campbell wrote: "in 1904, the Clark Campbell family came to the Penhold [Alberta] area from Kansas. By the following year, he had selected a quarter to homestead in the area east of what is now Delburne . . . The oldest son, Robert, filed on the N.E. quarter of the same section . . . A little later, James and David Campbell, Clark's older brothers, took up . . . the other two quarters of section 28. Neither of these older men had any family" ("Campbell, Clark and Margaret," in *Through the Years*, 1073).
15. Letter to author, Jean Campbell Sibbald, Saskatoon, SK, 5 May 1994.
16. C[lark] Campbell, "Penhold, Alberta," *Christian Nation*, 29 March 1905, 13.
17. "A memorial from the Regina session asking for a deliverance on the question, 'Can a Covenanter who is not a British subject, take up and perform the required duties of a homesteader in Canada without disregard of his church vows?' We [the Synod] recommend the following action concerning the memorial on homesteads: in view of the information before us, which we believe to be correct, that the homestead law requires an alien to be naturalized before he can obtain a patent for land in Canada, and that an oath of allegiance to the British crown is required for naturalization, a Covenanter not a British subject cannot take up and perform the required duties of a homesteader without violation of his church vows" ("Report of the Committee on Discipline," *Minutes Synod RPCNA* [Pittsburgh, 1914], 167).

18. The Synod of 1872 considered the matter of the “Homestead Oath” in the United States. The committee decision is as follows: “That they have examined the Homestead laws of the United States, and find that every applicant must swear that he is a citizen, or that he has filed his declaration of intention to become such, as required by the naturalization laws of the United States (see Brightley’s *Digest of the Laws of the U.S.*, 288, sec. 41). At the time the patent is made out, he must swear that he has borne *true* allegiance to the government of the United States (Brightley, *Digest of the Laws*, 288, sec. 42). There never has been a question in the Church as to the first oath. It has always been deemed wrong. As to the second, which both natives and foreigners must take, a majority of the Committee think it inconsistent with our refusal to incorporate, by any act, with the government of the United States. The Committee recommended that Synod take such steps to obtain such a modification of these oaths as may be consistent with our dissent” (cited by Glasgow, *History*, 144).
19. “Central Board of Missions Report,” *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1907), 40.
20. T.M. Slater, “Content, Alberta,” *Christian Nation*, 12 September 1906, 13.
21. T.M. Slater, “Content, Alberta,” *Christian Nation*, 12 September 1906, 13. “William Armour came to the district in 1905 and homesteaded N.E.3--37-22 in September of the same year. They did not have horses so Clark Campbell met them [in Alix] and moved their belongings to the homestead” (Harold Jestin and Dick Randall, “Armour, William J.,” *Through the Years*, 1071).
22. “Central Board of Missions Report,” 1907, 40.
23. “Central Board of Missions Report,” 1907, 40.
24. For further information on McFarland, see Appendix II.
25. “From the Far Northwest,” *Christian Nation*, 27 February 1907, 12.
26. E.M. Elsey, “The Covenanters of the Red Deer Country [Delburne],” *Covenanter Witness*, 16 March 1938, 174.
27. Elsey, “The Covenanters of the Red Deer Country,” 174.
28. “The Wood Lake School District No. 1512 was established June 25, 1906. The members of the original school board were O.B. Gongaware, Clark Campbell and William Armour . . . The name Wood Lake was chosen because of the nearby Lake . . . On August 28, 1906 the school board borrowed eight hundred dollars with which to secure a suitable site, construct and equip a schoolhouse . . . The school building was also used as a church, a place for

political meetings, a polling station for elections . . . The building was moved to its present site the southwest corner of the NW 21-37-22 during the winter of 1919-1920” (Dick Randall, “History of Wood Lake District,” *Through the Years*, 1069-70). “The congregation held worship services in the Wood Lake School because they did not have a building of their own” (Ken Waddell, “The Reformed Presbyterian Church,” 203).

29. For further information on McBurney, see Appendix II.
30. W.J.M. Burney [sic: McBurney], “Content, Alberta, Canada,” *Christian Nation*, 6 November 1907, 11.
31. See the witness of Saint John ruling elder Robert Ewing on the question, why is the Covenanter movement so small?, “Reformed Presbyterian Church,” *Olive Trees* (September 1899): 287-90.
32. One possible exception is the Henry and Beulah Kjersteen family. Henry was born in Norway in 1881, eventually settling in the Content area. In 1913, Henry married Beulah Brink, whose family had come from South Dakota (“Kjersteen, Henry and Beulah,” *Through the Years*, 738).
33. An example is Ella Lowry (1900-1971), wife of Cameron Campbell (1893-1980), son of pioneer Clark Campbell, who “was born March 23, 1900, in St. George, Ontario and came west with her parents in 1903. She spent her childhood on [a] farm west of Content Bridge. She attended Camrose Normal School and taught near Red Willow. After their marriage, Cameron and Ella lived and farmed on the west quarter . . . in the house which had been the original homestead house of [Cameron’s uncle] David Campbell” (Irene Hinman, “Campbell, Cameron Clark and Ella [Lowry],” *Through the Years*, 1073). Ella attended the Covenanter Church, but did not join: “I don’t think my mother [Ella Lowry] ever joined the Covenanter Church . . . She couldn’t (wouldn’t) take Communion with the Covenanters” (Letter to author, Jean Campbell Sibbald, 24 May 1994).
34. Elsey, “The Covenanters of the Red Deer Country,” 175.
35. “Session Minutes,” 12 May 1917. See also “Session Minutes,” 27 April 1924.
36. “Andrew left Glengarry County to come west to Alberta in 1905, taking up a homestead in the Woodlake district . . . In 1913 he returned to Ontario and married Alice Jean Souvie and brought his bride to Alberta” (“Brodie, Andrew and Alice,” *Through the Years*, 903).
37. See Eldon Hay, “Ottawa Valley Covenanters,” *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1993), 57-79, for further information on the Lochiel congregation.

38. "William Everett Taylor [1862-1931] farmed in Kansas and Iowa before coming to Alberta in 1906 . . . He went back to Iowa after filing on the homestead and brought his family, Mrs. Taylor and sons Lloyd and Lester, two carloads of settlers' effects . . . They rented a house in Content where they spent the winter. Mr. Brodie helped them build their first homestead shack on the farm. Between the Taylors and the Crookes, who were Mrs. Taylor's parents, they bought section 31-37-22 and 15-37-22" (Lester Taylor, Jr., "The Taylor Families," *Through the Years*, 1097). A brother of Mrs. William E. Taylor [1871-1942] was Rev. Eliza Allen Crooks (1868-1957). Of this clergyman brother we know that "Crooks' ancestors were Scotch-Irish. His great-great-grandfather came to America about 1750 and settled in eastern Pennsylvania, later locating in Westmoreland County. His grandmother's maiden name was Garvin. She was a Covenanter . . . His parents were early settlers in the community of Blanchard, Iowa, and his mother a charter member of the Long Branch congregation organized April 18, 1877" (Owen Thompson, *Sketches of the Ministers of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America from 1888 to 1930* [Iowa, 1930], 76-77).
39. It is not known whether or not Paul Armour was related to William Armour. William Armour came to the region in 1905 from an unknown locale in the United States: "Paul Armour came from Seattle July 13 [1907] to find land of such promise as calls from gratitude from everyone" ("Content," *Christian Nation*, 7 August 1907, 11).
40. W.E. Taylor, W.J. Armour, Clark Campbell, David Campbell, James Campbell, Paul Armour, "Content Mission Station, Alberta, Canada," *Christian Nation*, 21 October 1908, 13.
41. "Content, Alberta," *Christian Nation*, 17 March 1909, 13.
42. See my "Ottawa Valley Covenanters" for information on the Ramsay, Lanark County (Ontario) Covenanter congregation.
43. The Brodies came from the Lochiel congregation, the Waddells came from the Ramsey (Almonte) RP congregation: both of these churches were in Ontario. No Covenanters came to Content/Delburne from the Maritime RP communities, though Rev. Thomas McFall, long-time minister of the Cornwallis, NS RP congregation came to conduct service on at least one occasion: "Rev. Thomas McFall, of Cornwallis congregation, is expected to hold communion services for us the last Sabbath of May" ("Content, Alberta," *Christian Nation*, 21 April 1920, 10).
44. "Waddell, Robert and Mary," *Through the Years*, 958. A copy of the church membership certificate of Robert and Mary Waddell is published as part of Ken Waddell's "The Reformed Presbyterian Church," 203.

45. "Waddell, Robert and Mary," *Through the Years*, 958.
46. Glen Waddell, "Bowes, Mack," *Through the Years*, 970.
47. Dick Randall, "Ewing Brothers, James and David," *Through the Years*, 1080; and Mrs. Wm. E. Taylor, "Content Congregation," *Christian Nation*, 31 May 1911, 8.
48. Irma Waddell, "Mann Brothers, Joe and Robert," *Through the Years*, 1085-86.
49. Gordon Martin, "The Martin Families," *Through the Years*, 1086.
50. "Central Alberta, Canada," *Christian Nation*, 18 August 1909, 10.
51. For further information on Sharp, see Appendix II.
52. "New Covenanter Congregation," *Christian Nation*, 13 April 1910, 11.
53. "Session Minutes," 22 March 1910.
54. B.M. Sharp, "Church Letters: Content Mission," *Christian Nation*, 18 May 1910, 9.
55. B.M. Sharp, "Church Letters: Content Mission," *Christian Nation*, 18 May 1910, 9.
56. B.M. Sharp, "Church Letters: Content Mission," *Christian Nation*, 18 May 1910, 9.
57. The change in the name of the congregation was officially made in 1922 ("Central Canada Presbytery Minutes," 19 May 1922) even though "the post office at Content [was] discontinued" in 1913 (W.C. Allen, "Content, Alberta, Canada," *Christian Nation*, 5 November 1913, 10).
58. "Content, Canada," *Christian Nation*, 25 October 1911, 11. The "Church Records: Minutes of Board – 1911 to 1958" indicate that the first gathering of the Delburne Methodists was held in the fall of 1911 . . . In 1916 the congregation was officially constituted as the Delburne Circuit Methodist Church, and a minister appointed to serve them (courtesy Rev. Dr. W.W. Beach, Edmonton).
59. "Regina, Canada is a promising field calling for help" ("Report of the Colorado Presbytery," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* [Pittsburgh, 1909], 33).
60. "I spent some days in Regina, Canada, having been appointed by Colorado Presbytery, together with Rev. W.C. Allen and Elder J.S. Bell, to perfect the organization of our work there along congregational lines. This was effected

May 20, when upwards of thirty Covenanters met with the Commission and signified their desire toward this end. Of these some had certificates from various congregations in the States, some were from congregations of the Scotch and Irish Synod, and some had recently been received upon profession of faith, under the faithful pastoral care of Brother [W.C.] Allen, who had been with the work here the greater part of the past year" (T.M. Slater, "Regina, Canada," *Christian Nation*, 5 July 1911, 10).

61. "Report of the Pacific Coast Presbytery," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1914), 41.
62. "A number of people in the church know that last spring the Winnipeg Mission sent up a petition to the Pacific Coast Presbytery to be organized into a congregation. This petition was granted and a commission appointed to attend to this work. The commission met last Thursday, at 8 o'clock p.m., at the home of Mr. Thomas Dickey, Agnes street, Winnipeg. The members of the commission were: Rev. J.G. Reed, of Regina congregation, and Elder A. Alexander, and the writer, who is stated supply in Winnipeg. Four elders and four deacons were elected, and the election in both cases was made unanimous. The names of those chosen for elders are: S.R. McKelvey, Thomas Dickey, S. Clydesdale, R. McWilliams. The deacons are: S. Boone, A. Boone, G. Barber, W. Hemphill. These all were found willing to accept the office to which they were chosen. The congregation was organized with twenty-one members. Most were received by certificate. The ordination and installation took place on Friday evening, the 23rd, at the home of Mr. R. McWilliams, Beverly street. The ordination sermon was by Thomas Patton, who also addressed the officers. Elder Alexander addressed the congregation. The organization was followed by communion on Sabbath" (Thomas Patton, "Winnipeg," *Christian Nation*, 11 November 1914, 6).
63. See Eldon Hay, "Covenanter Worship and Religion: Chignecto Practice," *Presbyterian History: A Newsletter of the Committee on History, The Presbyterian Church in Canada* 32 (May 1988): 1-7; and (October 1988): 1-7.
64. "Session Minutes," 1 November 1917.
65. So named in the "Session Minutes," 27 April 1924.
66. "Session Minutes," 16 April 1924.
67. "Session Minutes," 27 April 1924.
68. "Session Minutes," 27 December 1917.

69. B.M. Sharp, "Church Letters: Content Mission," *Christian Nation*, 18 May 1910, 9.
70. The first mention of the group appears in, "Delburne," *Covenanter Witness*, 26 December 1934, 415.
71. "Farewell To Dr. McFeeters At Delburne," *Christian Nation*, 21 December 1927, 9.
72. "The Covenanter Sabbath School of Content gave a whole day last week to the enjoyment of athletics" ("Content, Alberta," *Christian Nation*, 11 December 1907, 11).
73. "Session Minutes," 1 November 1917.
74. Brody, Andrew, Content, Alberta, Canada, Cong. In France. Infantry. Taylor, Alvah L[loyd], Content, Alberta, Can., Cong. In France. Casualty Corps. Taylor, Lester T. Content, Alberta, Can., Cong. S[tudents'] A[rmy] T[raining] C[orps], Moscow, Idaho (John W. Pritchard, *Soldiers of the Church* [New York: Christian Nation Publishing Co., 1919], 34, 49, 50). None of the three appear in "Veterans World War I – 1914-1918," *Through the Years*, 177.
75. "Content, Alberta," *Christian Nation*, 16 May 1917, 12.
76. "Mr. Lester Taylor, who was in training for military service, has returned home" ("Content, Canada," *Christian Nation*, 5 February 1919, 10).
77. "Content, Alberta," *Christian Nation*, 21 April 1920.
78. Pritchard, *Soldiers of the Church*, 97, 99.
79. Pritchard, *Soldiers of the Church*, 107-08.
80. "Content, Canada," *Christian Nation*, 9 April 1919, 13.
81. "Brodie, Andrew and Alice," *Through the Years*, 903-04.
82. "David Wilson sold his farm in 1940. [Later] he moved to the Lester Taylors and worked there until his health failed" (Dick Randall, "Wilson, David," *Through the Years*, 1097).
83. "Lloyd Taylor, returned soldier from France . . . left for Blanchard, [Iowa]" ("Content, Alberta," *Christian Nation*, 21 April 1920, 12).
84. The full story is told in "An Appeal by the Winnipeg Session to have the Oath of Allegiance Changed," *Christian Nation*, 29 May 1918, 10. Boone's name is not among those listed in Pritchard's *Soldiers of the Church*.

85. "Committee on Discipline Report," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1917), 127.
86. "Presbytery of Central Canada," *Christian Nation*, 31 October 1917, 10.
87. Attempts were made from time to time to establish Covenanter communities in various places. Normally, these communities were visited, the Covenanters sought out and social gatherings or services were held. Yet in none of these places were mission stations established. A place listing, not necessarily exclusive, includes Vancouver, BC ("Report of the Domestic Mission Conference," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* [Pittsburgh, 1911], 118), Edmonton and Provost, AB ("Central Canada Presbytery Minutes," 10 May 1910), and Calgary and Edmonton, AB ("Central Canada Presbytery Minutes," 7 April 1931). Of the places mentioned, Provost seems to have been the most promising: "[At] Provost, Alberta . . . we found six or seven members of our Church. Through the kindness of the McElhinney brothers, arrangements were made for me to preach in the Presbyterian Church of Provost both morning and evening, to good-sized audiences. Provost is a village of perhaps three or four hundred people. It has four churches, and good school privileges. The country round about is being rapidly settled up. The soils is a sandy loam mixed with clay. Grain was being sown under very favorable conditions. The farmers here farm on a large scale, some farming companies cultivating thousands of acres. Provost would be a splendid locality for a Covenanter congregation. Any members of our Church in the States who desire to change their location would do well to write the McElhinney brothers, or Mr. Thomas or Matthew McConnell, all of Provost, Alberta" (J.C. French, "In the Presbytery of Central Canada," *Christian Nation*, 8 May 1918, 10). Why weren't Covenanter communities established? In at least two situations, "H.G. McConaughy reported investigating the Calgary and Edmonton fields. He met several former Covenanters but found that all were active members of other churches" ("Central Canada Presbytery Minutes," 20 May 1931).
88. "The Armour family left the area in 1913 and moved to Morrin" (Jestin and Randall, "Armour, William J.," *Through the Years*, 1071).
89. David Campbell died in 1913 (81 years), Clark Campbell died in 1917 ("Beyond Life's Gateway – Delburne Cemetery," *Through the Years*, 208). The session composed the following tribute: "whereas God has taken to himself Mr Clark Campbell, we the other members of Content Session wish to bear testimony to his upright character, his humble unassuming ways and his love of our church. He was willing to suffer and make sacrifice for the sake of our principles. He longed for their dissemination in the part of God's vineyard where he was. His remark that 'he was going home,' which was uttered during unconscious moments in his last illness was most fitting, for

his 'citizenship was in Heaven,' (Signed) H.G. McConaughy (Moderator) Robert Mann (Clerk)" ("Minutes," 1 November 1917; the statement had appeared in the *Christian Nation*, 3 October 1917, 12). James Campbell died in 1919: "although Mr. James Campbell was quite frail for a long time before his death, he will be greatly missed. He was born in Coleraine, Ireland, in 1840. He came to America when quite young, settling in Canada. He moved from there down to Bethel, Ill., congregation. He was later connected with Lake Reno and from there went to Blanchard, where he was a charter member of Long Branch congregation. Since leaving there he has continued to reside here [in Content]. His wife, Mrs. Addie Campbell, preceded him to his reward several months ago" ("Content, Canada," *Christian Nation*, 9 April 1919, 13).

90. Requests for aid were taken to the Central Canada Presbytery. See "Report of Board of Home Missions," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1934), 90, at which "the Board recommend[ed] to the Mission Conference that, under present conditions, no further supplement be given to the Delburne congregation." This decision prompted the following reply: "It was moved seconded and carried that Clerk be authorised to write Home Mission Board asking for a copy of statements and name of writer said statements being used by Board to a certain extent against the Delburne congregation. We also protest against the Board for taking action against the Delburne cong. without giving them a hearing" ("Session Minutes," 12 December 1934).
91. French was Covenanter minister in Regina from 1916-1919; for more information about him, see Appendix II.
92. "In the Presbytery of Central Canada," *Christian Nation*, 8 May 1918, 10.
93. For more information on McFeeters, see Appendix II.
94. "Delburne Church," *Christian Nation*, 27 August 1924, 9.
95. McFeeters wrote, "Here [in Delburne] we had the pleasure of meeting Professor Lloyd Taylor and his bride. They have been visiting his father and mother, who are members of this church. This week they begin their tour of nearly 3,000 miles in an automobile for Beaver Falls, Pa. Professor Taylor has been chosen to do substitution work for a year in Geneva College" ("Delburne Church," *Christian Nation*, 27 August 1924, 9). For information about A. Lloyd Taylor see "Changes in Faculty," in "Report of the Board of Trustees of Geneva College," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1924), 86; and *Annual Catalogue, Geneva College 1925-26*.
96. "Delburne Church," *Christian Nation*, 19 November 1924, 9.
97. "Delburne Church," *Christian Nation*, 27 August 1924, 9.

98. "Delburne Church," *Christian Nation*, 19 November 1924, 9.
99. For further information on McConaughy, see Appendix II.
100. The "Church Records: Minutes of Board – 1911 to 1958" have this minute in connection with the Annual Meeting, 30 January 1934: "Greetings from the Covenanter Church were brought by Rev. McConnaughie" (courtesy Rev. Dr. W.W. Beach, Edmonton).
101. For a report of the wedding, see "McConaughy-Campbell," *Christian Nation*, 4 June 1919, 16. "Rev. H.G. McConaughy, a widower, left his two babies in the U.S.A. and came to preach at Woodlake school for the Reformed Presbyterian families living in the community . . . There he met Nancy Campbell, a school teacher, oldest daughter of Clark and Margaret Campbell. They were married and made their first home at Hetherton, Michigan, where their daughter, Faith, was born. In 1927 the family of five moved to Delburne. Son Robert finished school at Delburne and took teacher's training at Camrose. Mary's schooling was interrupted when she had infantile paralysis . . . She later took stenographic training in Red Deer. For further education Robert and Mary were able to live with their aunt in Pennsylvania, where Robert has lived ever since . . . Mary married John McCrory, who is a Pittsburg native and a school teacher. They were living in Colorado when they took their three young sons on a visit to Delburne in 1959 . . . Faith left Canada with her parents . . . [when] they moved to Des Moines, Iowa. There she finished school and married Albert Garcia. Rev. H.G. McConaughy died in 1951 [and was buried in Des Moines] and Nancy Campbell McConaughy [who died in 1958] is also buried in Des Moines. Faith, who like Robert and Mary had taken several years of schooling at Delburne, died in 1967. Her three children are married and live in the Des Moines area. [My] favorite memories from the Delburne years have to do with ice-skating on ponds and lakes, watching the broom-wielding curlers at the bottom of the hill, the board walks, drills at Christmas programs and chinooks . . ." (Mary McCrory [the older daughter of McConaughy], "McConaughy, Reverend H.G. and Nancy," *Through the Years*, 471).
102. "Central Canada Presbytery Minutes," 62.
103. *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1934), 40.
104. For further information on Elsey, see Appendix II.
105. "The Covenanters of the Red Deer Country," *Covenanter Witness*, 16 March 1938, 174-75.

106. Waddell, "The Reformed Presbyterian Church," 203.
107. The closest parallel would be congregations of the Presbyterian Church in America (PCA) one of whose parental roots was the Reformed Presbyterian Church in North America, General Synod (RPC/GS). That denomination was created in 1833 by a split within the (still existing) Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America (RPCNA). A merger of the RPC/GS with the Evangelical Presbyterian Church in 1965 resulted in the Reformed Presbyterian Church, Evangelical Synod (RPC/ES). This denomination joined the Presbyterian Church in America (PCA) in 1982 (PCA had been in existence since 1973, arising from a segment of the Presbyterian Church in the United States). In 1994, there are at least four PCA congregations in Alberta, although only one of them had had a Reformed Presbyterian (General Synod) connection--Crestwood Presbyterian, in Edmonton ("Crestwood in Merger," *Edmonton Journal*, 24 April 1965). The three other Alberta PCA churches are found in Calgary: Covenant Evangelical Presbyterian, Northridge Presbyterian and Woodgreen Presbyterian.
108. Letter to author, Rev. J. Harvey Bishop, 24 May 1994. Bishop conducted services in the Winnipeg RP church from "the autumn or 1947 to April of 1949." Bishop is now a minister of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.
109. "Report of the Pacific Coast Presbytery," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1913), 32.
110. "A memorial from the session of Regina congregation, transferred by the Pacific Coast Presbytery, asking for a deliverance on the question of voting in Canada especially in municipal elections where conditions of voting differ materially from the dominion elections. We recommend the following action concerning the memorial regarding voting in Canada: In all cases in which voting requires an oath of allegiance to the British crown on the part of the voter or officer, as in Dominion and Provincial elections, voting is contrary to the principles of the Reformed Presbyterian Church; but in cases where no such oath is required, as in municipal elections in part of the Dominion at least, where we are informed no oath of allegiance is required of the officer, and even an alien can participate, we see nothing inconsistent with the principles of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in voting" (see "Report of the Committee on Discipline," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* [Pittsburgh, 1914], 167). See also "Committee on Discipline," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1915), 76-78; "Report of Committee on Voting in Canada," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (1916), Appendix, 124-25; "Our Position on Voting in Canada," *Christian Nation*, 4 July 1917, 5-6; "Interesting Debate on the Canadian Question," *Christian Nation*, 26 June 1918, 5-6; "Action on the Question of Voting in Canada Indefinitely

- Postponed," *Christian Nation*, 10 July 1918, 4; letter to author, Mrs. Geneva Elliott (daughter of Andrew Alexander), 30 May 1994.
111. "Regina became disorganized through the removal of one of its elders who united with another denomination" ("Report of the Presbytery of Central Canada," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* [Pittsburgh, 1929], 25). The same minutes list Regina as a mission station (156).
 112. "Statistics of Iowa Presbytery," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1940), 153.
 113. For more information on Reade, see *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1982), 129-30. Reade died in Edmonton in 1982.
 114. The matter surfaced first at the 1932 synod (*Synod RPCNA Minutes* [Pittsburgh, 1932], 117-21).
 115. Reade continued as minister of the Mission Station until 1939 (*Synod RPCNA Minutes* [Pittsburgh, 1982], 129-30).
 116. "The Winnipeg Mission Station was dissolved at the meeting of Presbytery" ("Report of Iowa Presbytery," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* [Pittsburgh, 1944], 76-77).
 117. "Elder Wm. Scott of Winnipeg died June 3, 1957, making [the congregation of] Winnipeg a Mission Congregation" ("Report of Iowa Presbytery," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* [Beaver Falls, PN], 112).
 118. Winnipeg Mission Station last reported financial data in 1964 (*Synod RPCNA Minutes*, 1964, 154). In 1966, Iowa Presbytery reported that "the Winnipeg group is inactive as of January 1, 1966, because of illness on the part of some members" (*Synod RPCNA Minutes*, 1966, 98). Winnipeg Mission Station is listed for the last time in the statistics of Iowa Presbytery in 1967 (*Synod RPCNA Minutes*, 1967, 163); the church building was sold the same year (*Synod RPCNA Minutes*, 1968, 86).

Appendix I***Covenanter Families and Adherents of Content/Delburne***

Family names have been deduced from session minutes and membership rolls and/or news items in the *Christian Nation* or *Covenanter Witness*. All articles which follow are found in *Through the Years*.

1. "Armour, William J. [family]," 1071, by Harold Jestin and Dick Randall.
2. "Bowes, Mack," 970, by Glen Waddell.
3. "Brodie, Andrew and Alice," 903-04.
4. "Campbell, Cameron Clark and Ella (Lowry)," 1072-73, by Irene Hinman.
5. "Campbell, Clark and Margaret," 1073, by Alice (Kitchen) Campbell.
6. "Ewing Brothers, James and David," 1080, by Dick Randall.
7. "Kjersteen, Henry and Beulah," 738.
8. "Mann Brothers, Joe and Robert," 1085-86, by Irma Waddell.
9. "The Martin Families," 1086, by Gordon Martin.
10. "McConaughy, Reverend H.G. and Nancy," 471, by Mary McCrory.
11. "McLean, George and Elizabeth (Bessie)," by Dorothy McLean, 1087-8.
12. "McLean, Edmund David and Dorothy," by Dorothy McLean, 1088.
13. "The Taylor Families," 1097, by Lester Taylor, Jr.
14. "Waddell, Robert and Mary," 958-59, by Ken Waddell.
15. "Waddell, Glen," 754.
16. "Waddell, Clarence and Irma," 753-54, by Irma Waddell.
17. "Wilson, David," 1097, by Dick Randall.

Appendix II

Covenanter Clergy at Content/Delburne

Although never able to call a minister, Content/Delburne welcomed a series of visiting ministers. The following list identifies those who stayed for at least three months.

1. Rev. William McFarland (1844-1938), December 1906 – 1 August 1907 (see W.M. Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America* [Baltimore: Hill & Harvey, 1888], 593; Owen Thompson, *Sketches of the Ministers of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America from 1888 to 1930* [Blanchard, IA: Owen Thompson, 1930], 214; Alvin W. Smith, *Covenanter Ministers 1930-1963 of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America* [Mars, PN: Alvin Smith, 1964], 141).
2. Rev. Wilbur John McBurney (1874-1958), 1 September 1907 – end of Feb 1908 (see Thompson, 185-86; Smith, 120-21).
3. Rev. Thomas James Allen (1848-1924), 1 July 1909 – 30 September 1909 (see Glasgow, 433-34; Thompson, 29-30).
4. Rev. Byron Melancthon Sharp (1847-1930), November 1909 – May 1910 (see Glasgow, 666-67; Thompson, 294-95; Smith, 188).
5. Rev. Isaiah Faris (1846-1930), July 1910 – 30 April 1911 (see Glasgow, 499; Thompson, 106; Smith, 73-74).
6. Rev. William Cochran Allen (1874-1933), autumn-winter, 1913-14 (see Glasgow, 434; Thompson, 30-31; Smith, 19-20).
7. Rev. David Bruce Elsey (1877-1950), eight months, 1914-15 (see Thompson, 100-101; Smith, 72).
8. Rev. Howard George McConaughy (1882-1951), 1916-1919; 1927-1936 with status as Stated Supply (see Thompson, 196-97; Smith, 123-125).
9. Robert George Graham (1877-1973), licensed, never ordained, September 1919 – May 1920 (see Thompson, 134-35; Smith, 84-85).
10. Rev. George Robb McBurney (1862-1950), September 1920 – March 1921 (see Glasgow, 577; Thompson, 182-83; Smith, 119).

11. Rev. David Calderwood (1891-1970), three months in 1922 (see Thompson, 49-50; Smith, 239-40; *Minutes of the 37th General Assembly, The Orthodox Presbyterian Church* [Philadelphia, 1970], 143).

12. Rev. James McFeeters, D.D. (1848-1928), three months in 1924, three months in 1927 (see Glasgow, 593-94; Thompson, 214-16).

13. Rev. Earnest McLeod Elsey (1875-1944), three months in 1936, three months in 1937 (see Thompson, 102-03, Smith, 72-73).