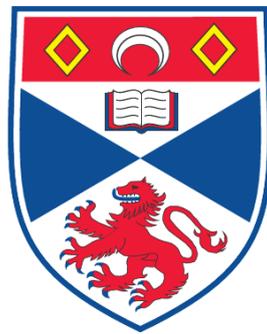


**THE GROWTH OF EVANGELICALISM IN THE CHURCH OF
SCOTLAND, 1793-1843**

David Alan Currie

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews**



1991

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THE GROWTH OF EVANGELICALISM IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, 1793-1843

A Dissertation

Presented to

the Faculty of St. Mary's College

University of St. Andrews

In Partial Fulfilment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

by

David Alan Currie

September 1990



I certify that David Alan Currie has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution of the University Court, 1967, No. 1 (as amended), and is qualified to submit this thesis in application for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Signature of supervisor

I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance 350 (General No. 12) on 1st October 1987 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. under Resolution of the University Court, 1967, No. 1 (as amended) on 1st October 1987.

The following thesis is based on the results of research carried out by myself, is my own composition, and has not previously been presented for a higher degree. The research was carried out in the university of St. Andrews under the supervision of Dr. Deryck W. Lovegrove.



Signature of candidate

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines Evangelicalism as a broadly-based intellectual and social movement which sought to shape the overall thought and life of the Church of Scotland during the first half of the nineteenth century. A set of distinctive organisations --religious periodicals, voluntary societies, education, and corporate prayer-- provided its institutional structure. They represented the practical response to a general concern for revitalising the Church, for evangelism, and for social morality. 'Evangelicals' are defined as those who combined participation in these institutions with a fundamental commitment to the Church of Scotland as an established, national church.

The development of each of these institutions is explored as a means of tracing the growth of the movement as a whole. Religious periodicals helped to unite scattered individuals within the Established Church who shared a desire to spread experiential Christianity. By providing a forum for discussing issues related to this concern, these publications communicated Evangelical ideas throughout the Kirk, giving Evangelicals far greater influence than their relative lack of power in the ecclesiastical courts around the turn of the century suggested they would have.

Religious voluntary societies enabled Evangelicals to translate their ideas into action on a wide range of issues. The seeming effectiveness of groups such as missionary and Bible societies made Evangelicalism increasingly attractive, and led to the incorporation of their activist approach into existing Kirk structures after the mid-1820s. However, Evangelicals struggled with the tensions between the gathered and territorial views of the Church inherent in their commitments both to societies and to the Establishment.

Because Evangelicals, following the Scottish Reformers, believed that education encouraged biblically-based Christianity, they were actively involved in all levels of education, from Sabbath schools to the universities, helping to spread Evangelical ideas and practice among young people. Evangelicals' emphasis upon corporate prayer not only reflected their belief that they needed divine aid to achieve their aims, but built up social bonds at a local level and reinforced commitment to the other Evangelical institutions.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As I reflect upon all that has gone into producing this work, it seems to me that producing a Ph.D. thesis is a lot like nuclear fission! It takes a variety of different factors combined in just the right environment to prepare for the event. Then, after a long time when it seems like nothing is happening, critical mass is achieved and everything falls into place.

While this analogy probably reveals more about my ignorance of physics than about post-graduate research, it reminds me of the variety of people who have helped make this project possible. I am grateful to Richard Luman of Haverford College for inspiring in me a love for Church History and a passion for primary sources, and to Richard Lovelace of Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary for introducing me to the study of Evangelicalism. My thanks to David Weir of Centenary College for suggesting that I consider doing my research at St. Andrews and for setting such high standards for other young Church historians to emulate.

Dervck Lovegrove has been a superb supervisor, helping me to focus my random thoughts into a coherent topic, encouraging me through the struggles of my first year, and pushing me to express my arguments as clearly and precisely as possible. His willingness to share himself as well as his academic expertise has transformed our supervisory relationship into a friendship.

Several fellow research students who have been working on topics related to mine have graciously shared the fruits of their labours with me. The work of John McIntosh of Dollar Academy on the Popular Party in the eighteenth century and Ken Stewart of New College on British Calvinism in the nineteenth have been especially useful. Chris Mitchell of St. Andrews has been a great help, not only in explaining the mysteries of Jonathan Edwards to me, but in renewing my excitement about research through his own infectious enthusiasm.

My parents-in-law have cheerfully accepted having their only daughter and grandchildren separated from them by the Atlantic Ocean and have been of great personal encouragement to me as well. My wife, for her part, has endured the trials of being married to a post-graduate student with great patience. Her belief in my calling to do this work at this time enabled me to persevere through all the times I wanted to give up. She also translated my tortured constructions into comprehensible English, though a number of sentences remain that her stubborn husband refused to alter!

Most of all, I would like to thank my parents, without whose support in every way, this thesis would never have been begun or finished. I dedicate it to them.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT & REFERENCES

AIAEPYMM	Association at Inverness for Aiding the Education of Pious Young Men for the Ministry
APS	Anti-Patronage Society
AUMA	Aberdeen University Missionary Association
B&FBS	British and Foreign Bible Society
CBARP	Calton and Bridgeton Association for Religious Purposes
CBSSS	Calton and Bridgeton Sabbath School Society
CLS	Clerical Literary Society
DABS	Dundee Auxiliary Bible Society
DBS	Dunblane Bible Society
EAAS	Edinburgh African and Asiatic Society
EBS	Edinburgh Bible Society
ECM	Edinburgh City Mission
EGSS	Edinburgh Gaelic School Society
EGSSS	Edinburgh Gratis Sabbath School Society
EMS	Edinburgh Missionary Society
EUMA	Edinburgh University Missionary Association
<i>FES</i>	<i>Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae</i>
GABS	Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society
GBBS	Greenlaw Branch Bible Society
GCSP	Glasgow Corresponding Society for Prayer
GEA	Glasgow Educational Association
GECS	Glasgow Evangelical Corresponding Society
GMS	Glasgow Missionary Society
GSC	Glasgow Colonial Society
GUMA	Glasgow University Missionary Association
ISEPH	Inverness Society for the Education of the Poor in the Highlands

LMS	London Missionary Society
LSPCAJ	London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews
NBSS	National Bible Society of Scotland
NCL	New College Library
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NMS	Northern Missionary Society
<i>RSCHS</i>	<i>Records of the Scottish Church History Society</i>
SBS	Scottish Bible Society
SGPRR	Society in Glasgow for Promoting the Revival of Religion
SMS	Scottish Missionary Society
SPCS	Society of Probationers of the Church of Scotland
SPGH	Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home
SRO	Scottish Records Office
SSPCK	Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge
SSPRKP	Society in Scotland for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor
SSUS	Sabbath School Union for Scotland
StAUL	St. Andrews University Library
STAUMA	St. Andrews University Missionary Association

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INTRODUCTION

In 1793 the *Evangelical Magazine*, Britain's first large-scale, long-term religious periodical, began to circulate in Scotland. Fifty years later, in 1843, a large portion of the Evangelical Party of the Church of Scotland withdrew from the Establishment at the Disruption to form the Free Church. Were these two events connected? Was the first a direct cause of the second? Their common association with the word 'evangelical' suggests that they were related, but how? In short, what did it mean to be an 'Evangelical' in the Church of Scotland during the first half of the nineteenth century?

Most discussion of the Church of Scotland during this period has tended to answer this last question in relation to ecclesiastical politics. The Disruption era historians defended their particular party's role in the conflict, portraying 'Evangelicals' as heroes or villains depending upon their perspective.¹ Reacting against this partisan approach, several later historians covered the same ground seeking to clarify the roles of each party and to argue against biased claims such as

1. Robert Buchanan gave the Evangelical Party version in *The Ten Years' Conflict: Being the History of the Disruption of the Church of Scotland*, 2 vols. (Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1849); James Bryce gave the Moderate Party version in *The Church of Scotland from 1833-1843*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1850); and Alexander Turner gave the Middle Party version in *The Scottish Secession of 1843* (Edinburgh: Paton and Ritchie, 1859).

the assertion that one party was more orthodox than the other.² Recent scholarship has examined General Assembly voting records in an attempt to discover the identity of the Evangelicals on the basis of their response to various motions, especially those related to patronage.³ All of these historians have tended to define an 'Evangelical' of the pre-Disruption era as one who voted according to the party line. This definition reached its ultimate precision at the Disruption itself when 'true' Evangelicals could be determined on the basis of who joined the Free Church.⁴

While this approach may have been precise, it provides an incomplete picture of what was happening in the Church of Scotland during the half-century preceding the Disruption. Party division diminished significantly following the French Revolution in 1789, remaining in decline until the conclusion of hostilities with France in 1815. How does one determine the identity of the Evangelicals, therefore, during this period, when, out of a common desire to present a united front in the face of an external threat, patronage and most other controversial issues were neither debated nor voted upon in the Assembly? Even after ecclesiastical politics began to heat up again in the mid-1820s, some ministers and most lay people in

 2. Andrew J. Campbell, *Two Centuries of the Church in Scotland, 1707-1929* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, Ltd., 1930); and Andrew L. Drummond and James Bulloch, *The Scottish Church 1688-1843: The Age of the Moderates* (Edinburgh: St. Andrew Press, 1973).

3. Don Chambers, 'Mission and Party in the Church of Scotland, 1810-1843' (Cambridge University, Ph.D. Thesis, 1971); and Iain F. Maciver, 'The General Assembly of the Church, the State and Society in Scotland: Some Aspects of their Relationships, 1815-1843' (Edinburgh University, M.Litt. Thesis, 1977).

4. This approach, initially developed by James M'Cosh, *The Wheat and the Chaff Gathered into Bundles* (Perth: James Dewar, 1843) has been supplemented on a national scale by James E. Robb, 'Kirk Parties in Scotland, circa 1843: the Non-theological Factors' (Edinburgh University, M.Litt. Thesis, 1977) and on a local scale by George B. Robertson, 'Spiritual Awakening in the North-east of Scotland and the Disruption of the Church in 1843' (Aberdeen University, Ph.D. Thesis, 1970) and Roderick MacLeod, 'The Progress of Evangelicalism in the Western Isles, 1800-1850' (Edinburgh University, Ph.D. Thesis, 1977).

the Kirk⁵ declined to take a partisan position, and many did not vote in the church courts on key party-related issues. How then can Evangelicals be identified?

To answer these questions, and thus to provide a more complete picture of Evangelical developments within the Church of Scotland⁶ as well as a more contextual understanding of the Evangelical Party, this thesis will attempt to examine Evangelicalism as a broadly-based intellectual and social movement which sought to shape the overall thought and life of the Kirk during the first half of the nineteenth century. A set of distinctive organisations --religious periodicals, voluntary societies, education, and corporate prayer-- provided the institutional structure of this movement.⁷ They represented the practical response to a general concern for revitalising the Church, for evangelism, and for social morality. Evangelicals were those who combined participation in this set of institutions with a fundamental commitment to the Church of Scotland as an established, national church.

 5. Unless otherwise qualified, 'minister' refers to the Established clergy, and 'Kirk' is synonymous with the Church of Scotland.

6. Since Thomas Chalmers has received so much scholarly attention, this thesis, while discussing Chalmers, will focus more upon the work of other Evangelical leaders. Chalmers, like so many great figures, was idiosyncratic in some of the things he did, and thus, there is danger in drawing generalisations about Evangelicalism as a whole from him. This thesis will attempt to sketch an overall picture of Evangelicalism in which to place Chalmers, supplementing recent efforts in this direction such as: W. John Roxborough, 'Thomas Chalmers and the Mission of the Church, with Special Reference to the Rise of the Missionary Movement in Scotland' (Aberdeen University, Ph.D. Thesis, 1978); Stewart J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982); and Alexander C. Cheyne, ed., *The Practical and the Pious: Essays on Thomas Chalmers* (Edinburgh: St. Andrew Press, 1985).

7. While this movement was related to the similarly named ecclesiastical party, the two were not identical. In this thesis, unless otherwise qualified, 'Evangelical' will relate to the broadly-based intellectual and social movement within the Scottish Established Church ('Evangelicalism'), and 'Evangelicals' will refer to those who participated in the set of ministry institutions associated with this movement regardless of party affiliation. When referring to parallel movements outside the Church of Scotland, 'evangelicalism' will be used.

Understanding Evangelicalism as an intellectual and social movement reveals that its influence upon the Kirk extended far beyond the church courts and partisan ecclesiastical politics. As an intellectual movement, Evangelicalism affected how people thought, providing them with a general worldview. It communicated its own distinctive ideas, especially regarding the Christian life and the Church. As a social movement, Evangelicalism affected not only people's ideas, but the way in which they put them into practice, especially the way in which they interacted with one another. It encouraged particular forms of corporate activity and had its own characteristic organisations. Evangelical institutions promoted the spread of both the intellectual and the social dimensions of the movement.

Kirk Evangelicalism during the first half of the nineteenth century was not unique in being an intellectual and social movement embodied within a distinctive set of institutions. Twentieth-century evangelicalism in New Zealand may be understood in a similar way,⁸ as may the Scottish Enlightenment⁹ and Moderatism¹⁰ in the eighteenth century. The latter two examples suggest that nineteenth-century Evangelicalism as well as Moderatism was influenced by the Scottish Enlightenment, at least in its structural form.

Comparing Evangelicals and Moderates as representatives of different intellectual and social movements flowing in part from the Scottish

8. Peter J. Lineham, 'Finding a Space for Evangelicalism: Evangelical Youth Movements in New Zealand' in *Voluntary Religion*, ed. W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood, vol. 23 of *Studies in Church History* (Worcester: Billing & Sons, 1986), pp. 477-494.

9. Anand C. Chitnis, *The Scottish Enlightenment: A Social History* (London: Croom Helm, 1976), see especially chapter seven: 'New Institutions and the Scottish Enlightenment'.

10. Richard B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1985), see especially chapter three: 'Institutionalization'.

Enlightenment and not simply as opposing ecclesiastico-political parties illumines three important differences between the two groups. Firstly, they promulgated different ideologies. While Moderates valued most highly the maintenance of order and harmony within the Kirk and between Kirk and State, Evangelicals accorded the highest priority to the encouragement of spiritual vitality and conversion. Secondly, in part because of these differing ideologies, Evangelicalism was a broadly-based intellectual and social movement, whereas in contrast, Moderatism was elitist. Thirdly, Moderates concentrated their institutional focus upon the Established Church, while Evangelicals tended to develop a range of extra-ecclesiastical institutions to assist in the furtherance of their aims.

Thus, the process of examining differences in institutional participation among ministers and members of the Church of Scotland can provide an important means of distinguishing between Moderates and Evangelicals. This approach also helps to explain some of the seemingly curious similarities between the two groups. Because their primary differences lay elsewhere, both Evangelicals and Moderates used the same order of worship.¹¹ There were no explicit doctrinal differences between them. Evangelicals were not 'more orthodox' than Moderates since almost everyone in the Church of Scotland during the first half of the nineteenth century shared a common orthodoxy as defined by the Westminster Confession.¹² While some Moderates may have flirted with heterodoxy in the early and mid-eighteenth century, the French Revolution led to a closing in the Mod-

 11. Allan B. Henderson, 'Evangelism, Worship, and Theology: A Study of Certain Revivals in Scottish Parishes Between 1796 and 1843, and their Relationship to Public Worship' (St. Andrews University, Ph.D. Thesis, 1977), pp. 1-4.

12. Alexander C. Cheyne, 'The Westminster Standards: A Century of Re-appraisal,' *RSCHS* 14 (1963):200-202. Don Chambers, 'Doctrinal Attitudes in the Church of Scotland in the Pre-Disruption Era: the Age of John McLeod Cambell and Edward Irving,' *Journal of Religious History*, 8 (1975):159-182.

erate ranks as they rallied around the Confession as a buttress of the Establishment. Theological differences between Moderates and Evangelicals were primarily a matter of emphasis, usually emerging indirectly in practice as a result of the Evangelicals' participation in their own distinctive institutions rather than in open doctrinal debate.

Nineteenth-century Evangelicalism was built firmly upon the theological foundation forged in the fires of the Scottish revivals of 1742 and hammered out by the Popular Party in the course of doctrinal debate throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century. In the 1780s John Erskine turned the attention of the Popular Party away from the external threat of infidelity as something which threatened to overwhelm orthodox Christianity, concentrating instead upon the internal threat of a dead faith which promised to undermine it. Erskine was one of the first to question Scotland's status as a godly commonwealth. As he reflected upon the nature of saving faith, he wondered if being a *communicant* member of the Church of Scotland was sufficient for salvation, or, at least, if this was a sufficient measure of sanctification.¹³ Erskine and his colleagues began to search for new solutions to the problems of dead orthodoxy and nominal adherence.

These solutions were forthcoming in the 1790s as a result of the collaborative efforts of others, primarily in England, who were struggling with similar problems. Kirk Evangelicals were involved in these efforts, and reproduced in Scotland a number of the new institutions being developed in England that were designed to further spiritual awakening and evangelism. Thus, Evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland was in part a manifestation of a larger pan-British and even international evangelical

 13. The author is grateful to Dr. John R. McIntosh of Dollar Academy for sharing this result of his research in advance of the publication of his thesis, 'The Popular Party in the Church of Scotland, 1740-1805' (Glasgow University, Ph.D. Thesis, 1989).

movement that underwent a major growth spurt around the turn of the century.¹⁴

Kirk Evangelicalism was also a product of its specifically Scottish context, reflecting not only the separate ecclesiastical and theological developments of the Scottish Established Church, but also the overall social conditions of Scotland. The movement was affected by the multiple transitions that Scotland underwent during the first half of the nineteenth century as it headed from a rural to an urban society, from an agricultural to an industrial economy, from the cultural values of the Enlightenment to those of Romanticism, and from the politics of the age of management to those of the age of Reform. Evangelicalism combined elements from both sides of each of these changes, a fact which made it attractive to people who were themselves caught in transitional crises and were looking for some way of bridging the gap between two states.

Evangelicals felt free to draw ideas and practices from a variety of sources both within Scotland and elsewhere. The unifying feature in the midst of this diversity was their central concern for spiritual vitality and mission. They were willing to use almost anything to further this overarching aim. The ability of this goal to hold together so many different, sometimes conflicting, elements was both a source of the vitality and dynamism of Evangelicalism and a cause of its instability, as the tensions inherent in the movement's diverse composition became stretched on various occasions, finally reaching their breaking point when subjected to the extreme social and ecclesiastical pressures of mid-century Scotland.

14. David W. Bebbington outlines four main characteristics of this movement in Britain: conversionism, activism, biblicism, and crucicentrism (*Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* [London: Unwin Hyman, 1989], pp. 2-19). Of these four, this thesis will focus upon activism, and will supplement Dr. Bebbington's second and third chapters, providing a more detailed discussion of the particularities of Kirk Evangelicalism than is possible in such a broad survey.

The keys to understanding Evangelicalism as a broadly-based intellectual and social movement within the Church of Scotland, and the focus, therefore, for this thesis, are its four distinctive institutions designed to promote awakening, evangelism, and social morality. These four institutions were the primary means of spreading Evangelical ideas and practice, and while they worked together to reinforce one another, each had a special role to play within the overall movement. Corporate prayer was Evangelicalism's spiritual dynamic, emphasising the need for divine power in order to effect conversion and sanctification. Education was Evangelicalism's cognitive foundation, formulating and spreading Evangelical ideas among succeeding generations of students. Both of these institutions were manifestations of a long religious tradition in the Kirk, going back to the Scottish Reformation.

In contrast, the two remaining institutions were new, being developed around the turn of the nineteenth century as a result of technological and organisational advances in the wider British society. Participation in these institutions distinguished nineteenth-century Evangelicals from their predecessors in the Popular Party, and hence will be given special attention in this thesis. Religious voluntary societies were Evangelicalism's active expression, enabling its members to translate their general, theoretical concern for religious revival and mission into concrete action on a wide range of specific issues. Religious periodicals acted as Evangelicalism's communications network, spreading information about Evangelical ideas and practice widely throughout the Kirk.

This thesis will examine each of these four institutions separately, highlighting their particular influence upon clerical and lay participants from the Church of Scotland. Special attention will be paid to the distinctive patterns of institutional participation developed in each succeeding generation of Evangelicals, particularly in relation to periodi-

cals and voluntary societies. While this study could begin with any of these four institutions, religious periodicals provide the best starting point since they provide an overview of the other institutions, and since the first tangible manifestation of the new approach to religion in Scotland came with the appearance of the *Evangelical Magazine* in 1793.

SECTION I--PERIODICALS: EVANGELICALISM'S COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

INTRODUCTION:

Individuals and groups seeking to revitalise the Church and to influence society as a whole, use for their efforts the latest communications technology available to them. In the sixteenth century the Reformers employed the printing press in their attempts to reform the Church. In the late twentieth century American evangelists have developed their own satellite television networks to enable them to bring their message to the widest possible audience. Those seeking to renew the Church of Scotland around the first half of the nineteenth century adopted a similar strategy. They adapted the most popular communications tool of their day, the periodical press, to express their fundamental concern for spiritual vitality within the Church, for evangelism, and for social morality.

Between 1793 and 1843 Evangelicals in the Church of Scotland developed their own distinctive periodicals. These periodicals applied general evangelical emphases specifically to the Kirk and more generally to Scotland as a whole. They provided Evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland with a communications network that was essential to its development as a broadly-based intellectual and social movement. They helped to unite scattered individuals within the Scottish Established Church who shared a desire to spread experiential Christianity. By providing a com-

mon articulation of this spiritual concern, a common forum for discussing issues related to it, and a common source of current information about practical efforts designed to promote it, these periodicals helped to communicate Evangelical ideas and practices throughout the whole Kirk.

During the half century under review, periodicals associated with Evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland grew larger in content and circulation, increased in frequency of publication, and became more sophisticated in organization. They also became more aggressive and propagandistic as they focused ever more narrowly upon ecclesiastical and political party issues in addition to, or to the exclusion of, an overall interest in deeper piety and evangelism.

CHAPTER 1

PERIODICALS: THE FOUNDATIONAL YEARS, 1793-1810

Distinctively religious periodicals began circulating in Scotland on a wide scale in the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth. At this same time a growing number of people within the Church of Scotland began to show increasing concern for spiritual vitality within the Church and for evangelism at home and abroad. The popularity of these periodicals is one indication of the growth of Evangelicalism within the Kirk during these 20 years and suggests that they were important catalysts of this growth.

The rise of religious periodicals in Scotland paralleled a rise of periodicals in general throughout Great Britain, as more and more newspapers and magazines appeared and attained circulations far greater than any previous to them.¹ This overall growth of the periodical press was made possible by better communications technology. Unlike in the Reformation no single new invention such as the printing press radically

1. Monthly political and literary magazines were especially popular. The growth of the periodical press in Scotland was particularly marked. The number of newspapers in Scotland jumped from 8 in 1782 to 27 in 1790. William Ferguson, *Scotland: 1689 to the Present* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1968), p. 251.

increased mass communications.² Instead there were a number of broader social improvements that made periodicals more economically viable and more broadly influential. During the second half of the eighteenth century the mail became faster and more reliable as transportation throughout the whole of Scotland improved through better roads and canals.³ Improvements in agriculture and commerce and the beginning of industrial development led to general economic growth in Scotland, providing extra money that enabled more people to buy things like periodicals. In turn, the number of printers and booksellers increased, creating a more efficient and economical system for their production and distribution.⁴

Furthermore, the political and intellectual climate of this period increased the demand for periodicals. The French Revolution and the rise of Romantic literature stimulated a hunger for current political and literary news, a hunger most effectively met by weekly or monthly periodicals. This development may have stimulated a similar hunger for current religious news among religious people, a hunger which sermons and books

 2. The first iron printing press and a mechanical process for manufacturing paper were developed in 1798. However, these inventions did not become commercially viable until the late 1820s and 30s when they were combined with steam power. John O. Hayden, 'Introduction', *British Literary Magazines: The Romantic Age, 1789-1836*, ed. Alvin Sullivan (Westport, Conn. & London: Greenwood Press, 1983), pp. xv-xvi. Cf. S.H. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing* (London: Faber & Faber, 1959), pp. 199-201.

3. John Mill's diary reflects a surprising awareness of contemporary political events for someone living in distant Shetland at the turn of the century. He specifically mentioned receiving several different Edinburgh newspapers. See *The Diary of the Reverend John Mill, Minister of the Parishes of Dunrossness Sandwick and Cunningsburgh in Shetland 1740-1803*, ed. Gilbert Goudie, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1889), pp. 102, 106. Communications continued to improve in Scotland throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, linking previously isolated areas to publishing centres. At the time of the New Statistical Account it was claimed that papers from Edinburgh reached North Uist in four days (R. MacLeod, 'The Progress of Evangelicalism in the Western Isles', p. 15).

4. In 1763 there were 6 print establishments in or near Edinburgh. In 1790 there were 16. R.M.W. Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland: A Study of Its First Expansion, 1815-1860* (Glasgow: George Outram & Co., 1946), pp. 8-10.

could not satisfy. As demand grew, the price of periodicals decreased, especially compared to the price of books.⁵ Thus, periodicals became the most popular mass communications medium of the day.

Consequently, periodicals must have appeared to be a highly attractive form of communication to those interested in improving the spiritual wellbeing of Scotland. Here was a tool with which they could spread their ideas to more people more quickly than ever before. It was too effective a tool to pass over, especially since it seemed that most general periodicals were becoming increasingly inimical to religion. Therefore, it is not surprising that a number of Church of Scotland ministers became involved in various new religious periodicals during the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth.⁶

The London-based *Evangelical Magazine* led the way for this new Scottish religious periodical press. Its surprising popularity and sig-

 5. Periodicals were cheaper because they had a much larger number of impressions than most books had, enabling them to take better advantage of technological improvements in mass production, and because they came unbound. For example, the *Edinburgh Review* was as high quality as anything published at the time, yet even at 5s. its quarterly numbers were less than half the price of a comparable book (*British Literary Magazines: The Romantic Age*, pp. xv-xvi). Popular religious periodicals were even less expensive. For example, the *Religious Monitor* cost only six pence per monthly issue (vol. 17 [Dec. 1819]:459,464).

6. These new religious periodicals were not 'new' in the sense that nothing like them had ever been produced in Scotland before, but in their relative longevity and national circulations. The first religious periodical in Scotland was *The Glasgow-Weekly History Relating to the Late Progress of the Gospel at Home and Abroad...*, which ran from 1741 to 1742. It was a product of the Cambuslang Revival and largely contained accounts of this and other revivals associated with George Whitefield. Mary Elizabeth Craig, *The Scottish Periodical Press, 1750-1789* (Edinburgh & London: Oliver & Boyd, 1931), p. 9. A similar monthly periodical, *The Christian Monthly History, or an Account of the Revival and Progress of Religion Abroad and at Home*, began in 1743 and appeared semi-regularly until 1746. It was printed in Edinburgh and edited by one of the main participants of the Cambuslang Revival, James Robe, the minister of Kilsyth. W.J. Couper, *The Edinburgh Periodical Press: Being a Bibliographical Account of the Newspapers, Journals, and Magazines Issued in Edinburgh from the Earliest Times to 1800*, 2 vols. (Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 1908) 2:86-89.

nificant influence overshadowed the failures of previous religious periodicals and demonstrated what a powerful communications tool the periodical could be. Most later Scottish works reflected its influence in their basic content, style, and format. In addition, though, during the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth the *Evangelical Magazine* was an important source of information and opinion in its own right, circulating widely throughout much of Scotland. Its pages contained regular coverage of Scottish religious affairs and included some contributions from Church of Scotland members.

The first number of the *Evangelical Magazine* appeared in July 1793. All twenty-four of its founding 'Stated Contributors and Trustees' were English ministers, both Dissenters and Churchmen. An anonymous preface took several pages to explain why this group united to produce a magazine at this time and how they intended to carry out their plan. While some of this explanation was limited to the particular circumstances surrounding the formation of the *Evangelical Magazine*, much of it also would apply to its later Scottish imitators. It offers a concise summary of why those desiring to promote religious revival and evangelism, both north and south of the Border, believed that periodicals were an especially useful medium with which to communicate their views.

The preface began by describing the powerful influence that periodicals in general had attained at that time. Part of their power was due to their popular character. Magazines were read by many ('thousands') who had neither the time to read nor the money to purchase books. Moreover, their potential influence was multiplying as literacy increased through the growing numbers of schools for the poor. Unfortunately, this potential had been tapped almost exclusively by those who were hostile to

Christianity with disastrously effective results.⁷ This situation made it even more incumbent that Christians begin using this powerful communications tool to combat infidelity and heresy at a popular level:

For should the servants of Christ neglect the use of those means, which circumstances have rendered favourable for the propagation of evangelical sentiments, it would argue criminal supineness... What better method can be devised, than a small periodical work, level to every one's capacity, and suited to every one's time and circumstances, in which the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel are elucidated and confirmed, misrepresentations exposed, errors refuted, and the lives and experience of eminent Christians faithfully recorded?⁸

The preface next outlined the editorial policies of the *Evangelical Magazine* and the different kinds of articles it would contain, policies and articles that most new Scottish religious periodicals adopted for themselves. Its contents were to be uniformly uncontroversial and irenic, 'devoid of personality and acrimonious reflections on any sect of professing Christians'. The *Evangelical Magazine* contained a variety of articles and features. Many of them concentrated upon instructing those who were already Christians on how to understand and to experience their faith more fully. The work promised to provide 'a manly and impartial Review of Religious Books'. This was needed to offset the monopoly of 'infidel and illiberal critics' that caused almost all religious books either to be ignored or attacked in the press.⁹ In addition, short Christian biographies, religious poetry, and articles on theology, Church History, and Biblical studies, provided theological ideas for acceptance and held up role models for imitation.

Other features highlighted the need to spread the gospel among those who were not Christians and encouraged the formation of numerous societies

7. 'A certain description of writers, by monopolizing a work of this kind, have...done more mischief to the cause of religion, than all the folios of Socinus,...' *Evangelical Magazine* 1 (July 1793):1.

8. *Evangelical Magazine* 1 (July 1793):2.

9. *Evangelical Magazine* 1 (July 1793):2.

that sought to convert people at home and abroad through a variety of means.¹⁰ Through its monthly 'Religious Intelligence' column the *Evangelical Magazine* focused the attention of a broad section of the British Christian public on the efforts of these societies, including some Scottish ones. This process helped to create a sense of unified action among the myriad of local and national groups. When, within a few pages of one another, it reported on the efforts of the missionaries of a national organisation such as the London Missionary Society [LMS] in the South Seas and those of some obscure local tract society, it gave the impression that both flowed out of the same religious impulse.

From its inception the *Evangelical Magazine* was a surprising success. Its prefaces regularly claimed a large and growing circulation, and the large sums it raised for charity each year suggest that there was some truth to these claims.¹¹ It was the first sustained, economically viable religious periodical in Britain, clearing profits through the first decade of the nineteenth century. Its success suggests that there was a large group of Christians in Britain who shared its basic approach to the Christian life.

Since the founders and early stated contributors to the *Evangelical Magazine* were all English, it is reasonable to assume that the bulk of its readers were also English. Yet, the size and growth of the work's cir-

 10. For example, the *Evangelical Magazine* played a formative role in the organization of the London Missionary Society [LMS] in 1795 and remained its primary mouthpiece for many years.

11. Dudley Reeves indicates that the *Evangelical Magazine's* initial circulation was several thousand ('The Interaction of Scottish and English Evangelicals, 1790-1810' [Glasgow University, M. Litt. Thesis, 1973], p. 50), and Roger H. Martin attributes a circulation to it of 12,000 in 1803 and of 18,000 in 1805 ('The Pan-Evangelical Impulse in Britain 1795-1830: with Special Reference to Four London Societies' [Oxford University, D.Phil. Thesis, 1974], p. 68). These figures represent an exceptionally large readership for a periodical of this time since the circulation of most major monthly reviews and magazines in 1797 averaged between 3,250 and 5,000 (*British Literary Magazines: The Romantic Age*, p. xv.).

culatation suggests that it soon penetrated Scotland as well. Reports and letters from throughout Scotland appeared fairly early on in its pages and eventually became a semi-regular part of its features. Its reviews included Scottish works, and some of its memoirs were of Scottish ministers who had recently died. Members of the Church of Scotland figured prominently in the Scottish coverage of the *Evangelical Magazine*. This suggests that during the decades preceding and following the turn of the century the *Evangelical Magazine* played an important role in shaping the thought and life of a group within the Kirk who identified with its primary interest in spiritual awakening and evangelism.

Within the Church of Scotland, the *Evangelical Magazine* seems to have had the most formative influence upon younger members and ministers, several of whom were featured in its earliest Scottish coverage. Surprisingly, the first reference to Scotland of any kind was a death notice of a relatively obscure, young Church of Scotland minister at the East Parish Church in Aberdeen named Hugh Hay.¹² It is unlikely that the editors would have learned about this death unless someone in Aberdeen who had already been reading the work had written to inform them of it. It is also unlikely that the editors would have included this item unless they thought that it would be reaching readers in Aberdeen and elsewhere in Scotland who would be interested in it. This suggests both that the *Evangelical Magazine* had penetrated deep into Scotland within a few months of its inception and that issues related to the Church of Scotland were important to it.

The first Scottish book reviewed in the *Evangelical Magazine* came in November 1794: *Letters and Dialogues on the Lord's Supper*, written by another young, relatively obscure, Church of Scotland minister, Joseph

 12. *Evangelical Magazine* 1 (Nov. 1793):210. See *FES* 6:3.

Robertson of the Leith Wynd Chapel-of-ease, Edinburgh.¹³ Only a month later Robertson published another work, a small pamphlet concerning barbers and hairdressers working on the Sabbath. In this short time the influence of the magazine's review of his earlier book already had emerged, for the title page of this pamphlet cites Robertson as the author of *Letters and Dialogues on the Lord's Supper* and adds a footnote, 'See No. 17 of the *Evangelical Magazine*'.¹⁴ Evidently the *Evangelical Magazine* was already well enough known and respected in Scotland for Robertson, or his publisher, to have viewed a positive review in its pages as too good of a recommendation to Scottish religious readers to go unmentioned.

By November 1794 the *Evangelical Magazine* also had received its first article from a Scottish contributor. This too was from a young, relatively obscure, Church of Scotland minister, Greville Ewing, the assistant at Lady Glenorchy's Chapel in Edinburgh, who submitted it under the signature, 'Onesimus'.¹⁵ Evidently the editors were pleased with this article, requesting on the cover of the number in which it was published that 'Onesimus' contact them so that they might receive more material from him. In his reply Ewing revealed not only his identity, but his overall evaluation of the publication:

I admire the plan of the *Evangelical Magazine*. It is calculated to disseminate religious knowledge; to inspire and to cherish a religious spirit. It is a newspaper, which contains intelligence respecting the state of the Redeemer's kingdom, in different parts of the earth; which unites more closely the Christian world, by promoting their intercourse; which sends us, from time to time, to the

13. *Evangelical Magazine* 2 (Nov. 1794):478-480. See *FES* 1:185.

14. Joseph Robertson, *A Letter to the Barbers and Hairdressers, concerning Labouring at their Ordinary Employments On the Lord's Day* (Edinburgh: John Ogle, 1794).

15. 'A Comparative View of Calvinism and Arminianism' in the November 1794 number of the *Evangelical Magazine*. J.J. Matheson, *A Memoir of Greville Ewing, Minister of the Gospel, Glasgow* (London: John Snow, 1843), p. 54. Because most articles were signed with either initials or pseudonyms, it is unclear if there were any earlier contributions from Scotland.

throne of grace, in behalf of those whose faces we have never seen in the flesh.¹⁶

These comments reveal that Ewing particularly identified with the work's emphasis upon missions and religious revival. He seemed especially pleased with the way in which a periodical could unite disparate Christians who shared this interest, encouraging them to pray for a wide range of specific efforts designed to promote awakening in the Church and conversion among non-Christians. Perhaps this experience led him to consider how he and his like-minded colleagues in the Kirk might apply the approach of the *Evangelical Magazine* more directly to Scotland through a Scottish-based periodical.

The editors of the *Evangelical Magazine* acknowledged the extent of the work's influence in Scotland by selecting three Scottish ministers to become 'Stated Contributors and Trustees' in 1797. One of these three, Ronald Bayne, who remained on the board through 1810, was from the Church of Scotland. Surprisingly he was neither from a major population centre nor a stronghold of the Popular Party. Bayne was minister of the 'Little Kirk' Chapel-of-ease in Elgin at the time of his selection, but in 1800 he left for the Chapel-of-ease in Inverness after the General Assembly upheld an interdict placed upon him by his Moderate-dominated Presbytery.¹⁷ His selection to the board demonstrates how periodicals enabled even fairly

 16. 8 Dec. 1794, letter from Greville Ewing to the editors of the *Evangelical Magazine*, in Matheson, *Memoir of Greville Ewing*, pp. 54-56.

17. The *FES* does not indicate when Bayne came to Elgin. It only mentions vaguely that he 'officiated' there in 1798 (*FES* 6:470). However, another source places Bayne's arrival at the Little Kirk in 1788. John MacDonald, *Isobel Hood's Memoirs and Manuscript: Being a Record of Spiritual Experience by a Christian Woman in Humble Life, in Letters to her Pastor, the late Dr. Ronald Bayne of Kiltarlity. To which is Added an Appendix, Containing Notices of the Little Kirk, Elgin, and the Rev. Dr. Bayne's connexion with that Church* (Aberdeen: Geo. Cornwall, 1843), pp. 10-11. In a letter to David Black of Lady Yester's Church in Edinburgh in 1798 Bayne mentions that his ministry was opposed by all the members of the Elgin Presbytery except one (pp. 94-5).

isolated individuals to share in the larger religious movement of the entire nation.

There are other indications that the *Evangelical Magazine* affected Church of Scotland ministers in remote areas. Perhaps as early as 1796 and certainly by 1797 the entries in the diary of John Mill of Shetland reflect information that most likely came from the periodical.¹⁸ The work had a more significant impact upon Alexander Stewart of Moulin, who attributed his own decisive spiritual growth, which helped lead to a revival of religion in his parish, to its influence: 'The biographical sketches in the *Evangelical Magazine* were principal means of impressing my heart, of opening my eyes to perceive the truth, of exciting a love to godliness, and a desire after usefulness.'¹⁹

The *Evangelical Magazine* proved popular early on with lay members of the Church of Scotland from far-flung areas as well as ministers. Robert Findlater Sr., a merchant and farmer in Ross-shire in the Eastern Highlands, subscribed to it from at least 1794, if not from its inception, acquiring his commitment to foreign missions from it and circulating copies among his Christian friends throughout the country.²⁰ William Hamilton's own words convey the profound effect that this work had upon

18. *Diary of John Mill*, pp. 106 ff. Mill's reference to letters related to missions by Shirnding, a Saxon nobleman, in March 1797 certainly suggests that he had read these either directly in the *Evangelical Magazine* or in the *Missionary Magazine's* extracts from it.

19. Alexander Stewart, *An Account of a Late Revival of Religion in a Part of the Highlands of Scotland: by Alexander Stewart, Late Minister of Moulin,--now of Dingwall. In a Letter to the Rev. David Black, Minister of Lady Yester's, Edinburgh. To Which is Added An Appendix, Containing Some Account of the Present State of the Work*, 4th ed. (London: Briscoe, 1815), p. 23.

20. William Findlater, *Memoir of the Rev. Robert Findlater, Late Minister of the Chapel of Ease, Inverness. Together with a Narrative of the Revival of Religion during His Ministry at Lochtayside, Perthshire, in 1816--1819. To which are Prefixed Memoirs of His Parents* (Glasgow: William Collins, 1840), p. 41.

him while he was still a teenager living in a small village about midway between Edinburgh and Glasgow:

When the *Evangelical Magazine* was commenced, I regularly made a monthly pilgrimage of three or four miles to the quarters of the Edinburgh carrier, to get possession of the inestimable treasure. When the road was too steep and rugged to allow me to read it on my way back, I used to button it up under my coat and overbreast, that I might have the pleasure when I could not read it, to feel that it was near my heart.²¹

Hamilton, who grew up to become a minister in the Church of Scotland, also claimed that this publication inspired his lifelong interest in religious revivals.²²

These examples suggest that the *Evangelical Magazine* helped to introduce a concern for experiential Christianity and missions to areas in Scotland where this was little known and to unite those who shared this concern with like-minded individuals both within Scotland and in Britain as a whole. It played an important role in spreading English Calvinist evangelical thought and practice throughout Scotland, influencing both lay people and ministers in the Kirk.

Although the *Evangelical Magazine* had significant direct influence in the Church of Scotland between 1793 and 1810, this influence steadily decreased, especially after the turn of the century. Its coverage of Scottish issues in general, and of Church of Scotland issues in particular, became increasingly inadequate. This was not due to any intentional policy of the work, but simply reflected some of the limitations inherent in its very nature, design, and organization, particularly limitations of space.

21. [James Hamilton,] *Life and Remains of the Late Rev. William Hamilton, D.D., Minister of Strathblane*, 2 vols. (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle & Son, 1836), 1:6-7.

22. [J. Hamilton,] *Life of William Hamilton*, 1:155.

The *Evangelical Magazine's* fixed amount of space decreased its overall coverage of Scotland in two ways. Firstly, there was simply an increasing amount of material in Scotland to cover. Growing interest in awakening and proselytism sparked the formation of numerous new Scottish religious voluntary societies, adding to the materials for the Religious Intelligence section. It also stimulated more writing and publishing by Scots on these subjects, increasing the number of works for the Review section. Secondly, a similar process created more and more material for the *Evangelical Magazine* to cover in England. Since this work was based in London and most of its trustees and contributors were English, its main priority naturally was first to try to keep pace with the expanding English scene. As more space was given to cover England, there was less available for Scotland, even though there was more to cover in Scotland than ever before.

Although it began as a consciously interdenominational effort, the *Evangelical Magazine* increasingly became a mouthpiece for English Dissenters, particularly Congregationalists. This tendency may have made the publication less attractive to some in the Church of Scotland who shared its general religious interests, but who were suspicious of what they perceived as its anti-establishment leanings. The sympathetic coverage which the development of Scottish non-presbyterian Dissent received in the *Evangelical Magazine* may have confirmed these suspicions for some in the Kirk and caused others to begin to entertain them.²³

Both the success and the limitations of the *Evangelical Magazine* paved the way for the rise of new Scottish religious periodicals during the decade after its formation. Its success revealed the existence of a

 23. For example, its positive reports on formation of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home [SPGH], the Tabernacle in the Edinburgh Circus, the resignations of Greville Ewing and William Innes from the Church of Scotland.

large audience in Scotland as well as England that was eager for a magazine addressing issues such as religious revival and missions. The *Evangelical Magazine* proved that a religious periodical could be successful over an extended period of time and provided a model of a successful approach that the later Scottish works imitated. Its limitations gave Scots incentive to develop their own specifically Scottish periodicals. These limitations created room for Scottish magazines to develop alongside their predecessor as they covered Scottish issues, especially those related to the Church of Scotland, far more extensively than it could.

As these new Scottish periodicals developed, the significance of the *Evangelical Magazine's* influence in the Kirk decreased. Nevertheless, this reduced role should not overshadow the work's decisive impact during its early years on the Church of Scotland. As the first sustained, widespread religious periodical in Scotland, it shaped many people's understanding of what the Church and the Church's work in the world should be. Furthermore, because of its title, the word 'Evangelical' took on an altered meaning in the Church of Scotland after 1793. From this time on it suggested someone who broadly identified with the concerns and causes of the *Evangelical Magazine*.²⁴

During the decade after the *Evangelical Magazine* was founded, a new Scottish religious periodical press blossomed in its own right. Most of these new periodicals imitated the format of the *Evangelical Magazine* to varying degrees and shared its overall interest in revitalising and expanding the Church at home and abroad. They sought to apply this approach more specifically to Scotland than could the London-based work. The level of participation by members and ministers of the Church of Scot-

24. For example, young ministers at that time like Greville Ewing, Joseph Robertson, Robert Bayne, and Alexander Stewart whose own self-understanding was especially influenced by the *Evangelical Magazine*.

land in these new interdenominational periodicals varied from work to work. Several of the largest and longest lasting magazines from this period had strong support from many in the Kirk, especially ministers.

All of these new Scottish religious periodicals originated in Edinburgh. Edinburgh was the most promising place to begin any new magazine at this time. Its periodical press was both the oldest and strongest in Scotland. Magazines were growing especially popular there toward the end of the eighteenth century.²⁵ It was also an ideal distribution centre for the whole country. By the end of the eighteenth century Edinburgh journals circulated throughout Scotland through the post; even the most remote areas received them.²⁶

The preeminence of Edinburgh as a centre for periodicals gave Church of Scotland ministers in that city special importance in the development of the new Scottish religious periodical press. As some of the most important religious leaders of the community, they were in the best position to start up and edit new works, as several of them did. They were also some of the main contributors to these new works, though by no means the only ones.

The *Missionary Magazine* was the first of these new Scottish religious periodicals to appear. It demonstrated both the potential and the problems of religious periodicals for Evangelicals.²⁷ On the positive side,

 25. Glasgow was the other main Scottish publishing centre, but it specialised in newspapers because of the strong commercial interest in news. In 1788 Edinburgh had more than twice as many magazines as Glasgow. Craig, *The Scottish Periodical Press*, pp. 6-7, 39. See also Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland*, pp. 8-10. This difference may be one reason why the first Kirk-related religious magazines originated in Edinburgh, while the first Kirk-related newspaper arose in Glasgow.

26. Couper, *The Edinburgh Periodical Press* 1:125-130.

27. 'Evangelical' in the sense of identifying with the *Evangelical Magazine's* general goal of promoting spiritual awakening and conversion and supporting at least some of its specific means to fulfill it (for example, missionary societies).

the initial popularity of the *Missionary Magazine* showed how influential a Scottish religious periodical could be as a means to unify like-minded individuals throughout the Kirk. It effectively promoted common discussion and action on a diversity of issues related to awakening and proselytism. However, the *Missionary Magazine* also exposed several problems with religious periodicals for Evangelicals. It revealed that the editor played an important role in shaping a magazine's overall character, and thus how crucial the selection of an editor was for a magazine's consistency. It also raised the question of how critical a periodical should be in its reviews and in its discussion of problems within the Kirk. Most importantly, it revealed the complexities and resulting difficulties of translating the interdenominational approach of the *Evangelical Magazine* to Scotland. The exciting promise of the *Missionary Magazine* as a long-term tool to promote Evangelicalism largely went unfulfilled as a result of growing tension between the Church of Scotland and the movement associated with the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home [SPGH].

The first number of the *Missionary Magazine* appeared on 18 July 1796. No one person was responsible for its formation. A number of people within and outside the Church of Scotland seemed to think of starting a religious periodical for Scotland at about the same time.²⁸ They agreed to join forces and produce one magazine with Greville Ewing, assistant minister at Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, as its editor. As its name implies, the *Missionary Magazine* was primarily a response to growing missionary

28. One group was headed up by John Campbell, then an Edinburgh layman who belonged to the Church of Scotland, Robert Philip, *The Life, Times, and Missionary Enterprises of the Rev. John Campbell* (London: John Snow, 1841), pp. 193-194. Another group consisted of Greville Ewing, assistant minister at Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, and Dr. Charles Stuart, a Baptist physician, Matheson, *Greville Ewing*, pp. 81-86. Established clergymen were supportive of the plans of both groups, with Archibald Bonar, minister of Cramond, encouraging Campbell, and Robert Lorimer, minister of Haddington, encouraging Ewing.

awareness in Scotland. Although the *Evangelical Magazine* first stimulated this awareness, by 1796 missions supporters in Scotland began to want their own magazine. Two major missions related events in that year may have encouraged this desire.

On 9 February 1796 the Edinburgh Missionary Society [EMS] was founded. Other new missionary societies soon followed in most of Scotland's cities and major towns. Although the *Missionary Magazine* denied that it was the 'property [or] production of any Missionary Society', it had close ties with the EMS.²⁹ Many of those who earlier in the year had been involved in starting the EMS also were involved in its publication. As the founding secretary of the EMS, Greville Ewing was a logical choice to edit Scotland's first religious periodical, especially one devoted to missions. The *Missionary Magazine* was seen as a useful means to feed growing Scottish interest in missions especially by publicising the work of the EMS and the other new Scottish missionary societies.³⁰

On 27 May 1796 the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland debated two overtures supporting missions. In the course of this debate missions, and especially missionary societies, came under heavy attack, and these overtures were dismissed by the Assembly by a majority vote.³¹ This public defeat for missions also may have encouraged the formation and support of the *Missionary Magazine* during the next few months following the Assembly. Since the General Assembly had refused to support missions to the heathen, missions-minded members of the Church of Scotland may have

29. *The Missionary Magazine for 1796, A Periodical Monthly Publication Intended as a Repository of Discussion and Intelligence Respecting the Progress of the Gospel Throughout the World* 1 (July 1796):i.

30. The relationship between the founding of *Missionary Magazine* and the EMS was the reverse of that between the *Evangelical Magazine* and the LMS. In the latter case the periodical led to the missionary society; in the former the missionary society led to the periodical. This dialectical relationship between societies and periodicals resulted from their origin in the same general religious impulse.

31. See chapter 4 for a fuller discussion of this debate.

decided to bypass the courts of the Church by seeking public support through a magazine. While the *Missionary Magazine* contained no direct reference to the General Assembly debate, it published letters defending missionary societies from correspondents who explicitly identified themselves as members of the Established Church.³²

The *Missionary Magazine* clearly reflected the strong influence of the *Evangelical Magazine*. It adopted the same general format as the older magazine; both were octavo size with roughly the same number of pages per number. Both included the same types of articles (for example, miscellaneous theological and religious topics, book reviews, and religious intelligence) and shared a similar lay-out (for example, concluding each number with poetry). The *Missionary Magazine* often included large extracts from the *Evangelical Magazine*, especially reports on the LMS, which the editor justified on the basis of the two magazines' common goals: 'We extract these articles from the *Evangelical Magazine*, not with any design to diminish the value of that useful Publication, but merely to diffuse, as extensively as possible, intelligence so highly interesting.'³³

Nonetheless, the *Missionary Magazine* was more than simply a regional version of the *Evangelical Magazine*. It had its own distinctive identity and character as a periodical which focused more specifically upon mis-

32. See letter signed 'Edinburgh, 30th July, 1796. BENEVOLUS' in *Missionary Magazine* 2 (Apr. 1797):158-160; and 'Letter to a Lady of Fortune, in Vindication of the [EMS]' in vol. 2 (Nov. 1797):489. The second letter is unsigned, but was attributed to Archibald Bonar, minister of Cramond (Matheson, *Greville Ewing*, p. 109).

33. *Missionary Magazine* 1 (Sep. 1796):127. The editor of the *Evangelical Magazine* referred to the *Missionary Magazine* in equally positive terms in a report on its formation (*Evangelical Magazine* 5 [Dec. 1797]:512).

sions, supplementing the older work's general coverage.³⁴ The *Missionary Magazine's* articles, letters, reports, intelligence and reviews tended to be more missions orientated than those of its predecessor. It concentrated upon shaping current opinion and action in Scotland by providing as much practical, up-to-date information and commentary on missions as possible.

Along with its emphasis on missions, the *Missionary Magazine* showed a strong interest in revitalising the Church. It presented these two concerns as integrally and inseparably connected. On the one hand, missionary outreach could not be sustained or successful if the churches sending out missionaries were not themselves enlivened by the gospel.³⁵ On the other hand, one means of encouraging religious revival at home was through involvement in missions.³⁶ Prayer united both of these concerns, and the *Missionary Magazine* regularly announced and encouraged prayer meetings for revival and missions.³⁷

This combination seems to have fit what the Scottish religious reader wanted. During its first few years the *Missionary Magazine* had a substantial impact on Scottish religious life as its early circulation attests.

 34. In their opening preface the founders of the *Missionary Magazine* described its basic purpose as 'disseminating all the information which they can procure, respecting attempts to propagate the Gospel of Jesus Christ' (*Missionary Magazine* 1 [July 1796]:i). Their emphasis on missions also is reflected in their policy of distributing any profits solely to missions. Although some of the profits of the *Evangelical Magazine* went to missions, the majority went to widows and orphans of ministers.

35. See the report on 'An Address to Christians on the Revival of Religion' presented at a missions society in Kirkcaldy, *Missionary Magazine* 2 (June 1797):289-90.

36. See 'Extract of a Letter from a Scotch Clergyman in London', in which he claimed that a general revival of religion had occurred in his congregation, 'especially since I have taken such an active and open part in the Missionary business'. *Missionary Magazine* 1 (Aug. 1796):82-83.

37. 'An Address to Christians on the Revival of Religion' concluded with a call for individual and corporate prayer for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. This same theme is developed more extensively in the first book reviewed by the *Missionary Magazine* (1 [July 1796]:35-37), Alexander Pringle, *Prayer for the Revival of Religion in all the Protestant Churches, and for the Spread of the Gospel among Heathen Nations, Recommended.*

One of its founders claimed that prospectuses describing its plan obtained 'thousands of subscribers from all parts of Scotland' before the first number was printed.³⁸ Greville Ewing's biographer purported that between 5,000 and 6,000 copies were sold during its first 13 months.³⁹ Although these figures cannot be tested precisely, they are indirectly confirmed by reports of the distribution of the work's profits.⁴⁰

The extent of the early success of the *Missionary Magazine* seems to have surprised even its editors. In their preface for 1797 they claimed, 'the number of their readers has already far exceeded their most sanguine expectations', and attributed part of this success to the unprecedented growth of religious periodicals as a whole in Britain at that time.⁴¹ With such a large circulation the *Missionary Magazine* seems to have reached people throughout Scotland. John Campbell found copies of it on the most westerly of the Shetland Isles in 1803 and noted that it was the only periodical of any kind available on the island.⁴²

There were many reasons for the work's substantial impact during its early years. Perhaps the best summary of these comes from Greville Ewing's biographer in 1843:

38. Philip, *John Campbell*, p. 193.

39. Matheson, *Greville Ewing*, p. 126.

40. Its editors reported profits of about £240 after its first 13 numbers (*Missionary Magazine* 2 [Nov. 1797]:522). The work continued to earn substantial profits through at least 1798. In January 1799 the *Evangelical Magazine* indicates that the LMS received a share of its profits from the previous year, a little over £38 (vol. 7 [Jan. 1799]:41). This figure suggests that the overall profits of the *Missionary Magazine* for 1798 were around £190. While this figure may imply a slight decrease in circulation, it nonetheless shows that the work still seems to have enjoyed good support. Given its more restricted focus upon Scotland, the figures for the *Missionary Magazine* compare favourably with those of the *Evangelical Magazine* during this same period, £332 in 1797 and £293 in 1798.

41. *Missionary Magazine* 2 (Jan. 1797):i-iii. The editors claimed that religious periodicals were being published and read in unprecedented amounts, citing 30,000 as the aggregate number of copies printed in Britain each month.

42. Philip, *John Campbell*, p. 339.

It is impossible, in the present age of periodicals without number, to estimate the importance and value of the *Missionary Magazine*, at the time of its first appearance... To many,..., it was the only vehicle of information, as to the means employed for the diffusion of evangelical truth, in England, in America, and in other parts of the world. And by thus making known a variety of plans and operations, it called forth sympathy, encouraged feeble efforts and directed energies, which might otherwise have been misapplied... In many a secluded and distant dwelling, its monthly arrival was cold waters to the thirsty. It took its place beside the family Bible, or among the well-worn volumes of Boston, and Witherspoon, Ralph Erskine, Leighton, and Willison; and while these were none the less highly prized, it was felt (by junior readers in particular) to be of a more lively and attractive form. It opened also,..., a channel of communication; enabling them most profitably to interchange their sentiments, and drawing them closely together, in the fellowship of truth.⁴³

The *Missionary Magazine* united a diversity of readers who shared a common commitment to spreading live orthodoxy at home and abroad, reexpressing it in contemporary language in a way that commended it to a new generation. The publication also provided up-to-date information which helped to translate this theoretical commitment into unified practical action through various new religious voluntary societies.

While these new groups naturally included missionary societies, the *Missionary Magazine* also encouraged a wide variety of other types of organisations. Its pages were open to anyone who had an idea for a society and wanted to contact others for support. Some of these ideas were ignored,⁴⁴ others caught on and led to the formation of new societies. If a society was successful in one place, the *Missionary Magazine* helped to spread it elsewhere in Scotland. For example, in September 1796 it published a report on the Society in Edinburgh for the Relief of the Destitute Sick and a letter to the editor recommending that similar groups be formed in other cities and towns.⁴⁵ In the following year the

43. Matheson, *Greville Ewing*, pp. 125-126.

44. For example, 'A Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Rich', *Missionary Magazine* 2 (July 1797):365-368.

45. *Missionary Magazine* 1 (Sep. 1796):120-123.

work noted the formation of two such organisations, one in Huntly and the other in Dundee.⁴⁶

At least during its first two or three years, the *Missionary Magazine* seems to have had significant influence in the Church of Scotland, demonstrating how effectively a Scottish religious periodical could promote Evangelicalism throughout the Kirk. While it began as a consciously interdenominational effort, many of the work's leaders and contributors were from the Church of Scotland. Most of those mentioned by Greville Ewing's biographer as the earliest contributors to the publication were Established clergymen.⁴⁷ Of this group many were from the Edinburgh area, but several were from more distant parts of Scotland. As the *Missionary Magazine* became established, it attracted further contributions from other ministers and laypeople throughout the Kirk.⁴⁸

With so many contributors from the Established Church, it is not surprising that the publication regularly included features discussing various issues of interest to its Church of Scotland readers. When one of their number was criticised for his support of missions in a secular magazine, the *Missionary Magazine* came to his defence.⁴⁹ When another of their number had a difficult pastoral problem, he turned to its correspon-

46. *Missionary Magazine* 2 (Nov. 1797):530 and (Dec. 1797):576f.

47. Matheson, *Greville Ewing*, pp. 87-90. In addition to Ewing and Bonar, this list included these other ministers: Alexander Stewart of Moulin, Walter Buchanan of Canongate, George Muirhead of Dysart, James Burns of Brechin, David Savile (then a licentiate lecturing in theology at Northampton), and George Cowie (also a licentiate at that time). Two Church of Scotland laymen also are included as early contributors: James Bonar (brother of Archibald and office-bearer at Lady Glenorchy's Chapel) and Thomas Wemyss (also of Lady Glenorchy's).

48. For example, A poem, 'On the Interesting Subject of Missions', signed 'A.P. Manse of Logie and Vert, Oct. 24, 1797' undoubtedly came from Alexander Peters, minister of this small parish in the Presbytery of Brechin. *Missionary Magazine* 2 (Dec. 1797):580.

49. *Missionary Magazine* 2 (Dec. 1797):577-578; this incident involved John Love, minister of a Church of Scotland congregation in London.

dents for advice.⁵⁰ As these two examples demonstrate, the *Missionary Magazine* became an instrument to help these readers understand and work out their spiritual aims within the Scottish Establishment.

The monthly 'Review of Religious Publications' played a crucial role in this process. Although this section included some works by non-Scottish and non-Kirk authors, the majority were by Church of Scotland clergymen, particularly featuring their printed sermons before various missionary societies throughout Scotland. Many of these reviews were highly positive, praising the work, the author, and the society that printed it. Others were more critical.

Some of the critical reviews were of works by those who shared the *Missionary Magazine's* overall concern for awakening and evangelism.⁵¹ However, most of these critical reviews were of works by those in the Church of Scotland who either ignored or opposed these aims. Two of the most critical reviews targeted works by ministers who had spoken against the overtures supporting missions in the 1796 debate in the General Assembly.⁵² The works of other leaders of the Kirk's Moderate establish-

50. A letter signed, 'your constant reader, and fellow servant, A MINISTER OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND', expressed the writer's frustration with the lack of instruction on the terms of admission to the Lord's Supper in the Kirk's form of government, showing concern for both spiritual vitality within the parish and for adherence to ecclesiastical law, *Missionary Magazine* 2 (Nov. 1797):514.

51. For example, John Russel, minister of Kilmarnock, was criticized for his missions sermon being too long and too theoretical. *Missionary Magazine* 1 (Dec. 1796):280-282.

52. The sermon of William Taylor (minister of the High Church, Glasgow) was dismissed as 'a uniform strain of common-place remark' (*Missionary Magazine* 1 [Nov. 1796]:229-231). Alexander Carlyle, minister of Inveresk, received even harsher treatment. 'Could Thomas Paine wish for a better colleague, than a man who can preach the doctrines held by our author, in this sermon? And yet he is a father of the Church of Scotland, has long seemed to be a pillar in her judicatories, and is well known as her professed "defender against Fanaticism".' This leads to an even broader rebuke of the Church of Scotland as a whole. 'Time has been, when the sermon before us would not have been published with impunity. Whether any notice shall be taken of it by his brethren, in the way of censure, we pretend not to predict.' (*Missionary Magazine* 2 [May 1797]:227-232.)

ment were also singled out for severe censure.⁵³ For some in the Church of Scotland who were frustrated by its official lack of commitment to missions and its seemingly low spiritual vitality, the *Missionary Magazine* was an attractive means to criticise publicly those whom they held responsible. This may have been especially attractive to those who felt stifled by or lacked a voice in the official church courts.⁵⁴

Some within the Kirk who sympathised with the *Missionary Magazine* felt uncomfortable with its aggressive review policy. In May 1797 John Erskine, minister of Old Greyfriars, Edinburgh, the venerable leader of the Popular Party, and the founding president of the EMS, expressed his reservations about several of its reviews in his preface to *Sketches and Hints of Church History and Theological Controversy*. His main reservation was that critical reviews did more harm than good to missions by increasing the prejudices of its enemies and possibly alienating its friends. He found judgments on the style as well as the content of a work particularly inappropriate for religious periodicals and suggested that they simply should list without comment religious publications the contents of which they approved.⁵⁵

 53. For example, the *Sermons* of William Moodie, Minister of St Andrews Church, Edinburgh: 'The distinguishing doctrines of Christianity are here almost, if not altogether unnoticed' (*Missionary Magazine* 2 [Nov. 1797]:520); and of William Greenfield, one of the ministers of the High Church and Joint Professor of Rhetoric and Bell Lettres in the University of Edinburgh: 'For what conceivable purpose could this thing be published? Was it necessary to proclaim to the world the shameful fact, that, on a day set apart for fasting and humiliation...a minister of Church of Scotland delivered an Address to his Congregation, in which there was not so much as the most distant allusion to their sins, far less to the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ?' (vol. 2 [Apr. 1797]:184.)

54. For example, chapel ministers like Greville Ewing.

55. John Erskine, *Sketches and Hints of Church History and Theological Controversy: Chiefly Translated or Abridged From Modern Foreign Writers*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1797), pp. v-vi. Erskine specifically mentioned the *Missionary Magazine's* reviews of the sermons by Taylor and Russel, as well as one by Robert Balfour (vol. 2 [Mar. 1797]:135f). He also mentioned a review of a sermon by Thomas Davidson in the *Evangelical Magazine* (vol. 5 [Feb. 1797]:83). Erskine was careful at the beginning of his comments to express his general approval of both periodicals.

The *Missionary Magazine* responded to Erskine's objections in its review of *Sketches and Hints of Church History and Theological Controversy* in June. This reply was a highly respectful, but nonetheless firm, justification of the legitimacy of its critical review policy. It claimed that whatever possible harm these reviews might have caused missions was more than offset by the good that the magazine had done, and since the public desired reviews, a periodical had the right to comment on both the style and the content of any published work as long as this was done truthfully.⁵⁶ After this interchange, the *Missionary Magazine* continued to pursue an aggressive review policy without seemingly losing Erskine's support.⁵⁷ However, this interchange raised several issues which remained unresolved. Later religious periodicals which were related to the Church of Scotland struggled to find a review policy that balanced criticism with propriety. Moreover, this interchange pointed ahead to increasing dissatisfaction with the *Missionary Magazine* among the more traditional elements of the Church of Scotland who looked to John Erskine for leadership.

The aggressive review policy of the *Missionary Magazine* was one expression of an overall editorial policy that was becoming increasingly critical of the Church of Scotland. At first these criticisms were fairly mild.⁵⁸ As they grew more strident, though, the proposed solutions to the Kirk's problems also grew seemingly more radical.⁵⁹ This transformation

56. *Missionary Magazine* 2 (June 1797):272-275.

57. In August the *Missionary Magazine* printed an extract of a personal letter (dated 3 August 1797) to Erskine from Dr. Ryland of Bristol about the work of Baptist missionaries. It is unlikely that this could have been done without Erskine's permission (2 [Aug. 1797]:386).

58. For example, a letter to the editor that briefly mentioned the problems caused by the present exercise of patronage, but mainly offered suggestions on how to alleviate this situation. It suggested that parishes try to buy their patronages if they could and that a society be formed to assist this process, *Missionary Magazine* 2 (Apr. 1797):161-163.

59. See two articles signed 'Puritanicus' arguing that the ill effects of patronage can best be remedied by itinerant lay preaching: *Missionary Magazine* 2 (July 1797):315-317; and (Dec. 1797):533ff.

closely paralleled the growth of the editor's own personal disillusionment with the Church of Scotland and his attraction to the new forms of ministry introduced by Robert and James Haldane and others. In 1798 Ewing began to support the work of the Haldanes more boldly in the *Missionary Magazine* and to question the legitimacy of the Scottish Established Church.⁶⁰ At the end of that year Ewing's personal struggles reached their climax with his resignation from the Church of Scotland for full time ministry with the Haldanes. This accelerated the transformation of the *Missionary Magazine* into the mouthpiece for this new Scottish non-presbyterian movement.⁶¹

Consequently, the *Missionary Magazine* became increasingly unattractive to its Church of Scotland supporters who were unwilling to leave the Establishment and uneasy about lay preaching and congregational polity. It is unclear exactly when this group withdrew their support for the *Missionary Magazine*. Many seem to have done so around the turn of the century, if not earlier.⁶² Even those who continued to read the publica-

 60. The *Missionary Magazine* gave extensive positive coverage to the opening of the Edinburgh Circus under Rowland Hill and noted with approval the establishment of a chapel for James Garie when the General Assembly refused him admittance as a minister because he lacked a Scottish university education. Soon after this decision, Ewing questioned presbyterian polity in an article in the *Missionary Magazine* ('A Brief Inquiry into the Nature, order, Offices, & Worship of the Christian Church, as delineated in the Scriptures of Truth'). Matheson, *Greville Ewing*, pp. 169ff.

61. For example, it applauded the establishment of the Edinburgh Circus under a congregational constitution and the ordination of James Haldane as its first minister. Alexander Haldane, *The Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey, and of his Brother, James Alexander Haldane* 3rd ed. (London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co., 1853) p. 237.

62. Gavin White dates this disillusionment around the time of the 1799 General Assembly's Pastoral Admonition, "Highly Preposterous": Origins of Scottish Missions', *RSCHS* 19 (1977):117-118. The *Evangelical Magazine* contained no reports on contributions of the *Missionary Magazine* to the LMS from 1799 until 1803. In 1803 it noted a contribution of a little more than £13 from the profits of the previous year (vol. 11 [Sep. 1803]:409). Assuming that the *Missionary Magazine's* profits were distributed as in the past, this indicates that its profits had fallen to about a third of their level in 1798 and suggests that its circulation had decreased proportionally.

tion must have found it less relevant to their goal of encouraging evangelism and deeper piety within the Church of Scotland.

The *Missionary Magazine* revealed a major difficulty with interdenominational periodicals for its Church of Scotland supporters. They could not be sure that it would refrain from attacking the Kirk and forcing them to choose sides in the ensuing interdenominational squabble. If they sided with the periodical, they would seem to be undermining their own Establishment. If they sided with the Kirk, they would seem to be abandoning their support for spiritual awakening and missions. As the *Missionary Magazine* declined, perhaps they began to consider a safer alternative which removed the possibility of having to make such awkward choices, developing their own 'in house' periodical.

The first Scottish religious periodical in which members of the Church of Scotland were involved highly over an extended period of time was the *Religious Monitor, or Scots Presbyterian Magazine*.⁶³ Emerging out of the chaos of the Scottish religious periodical press that followed the identification of the *Missionary Magazine* with the Haldanes, the *Religious Monitor* carried on what Evangelicals had found attractive about earlier periodicals, while avoiding what they had disliked. It combined their

63. Two short-lived attempts to develop periodicals supporting the Church of Scotland were developed around the turn of the century. The first, *Edinburgh Clerical Review*, appeared in November 1799 and barely produced two issues before folding in response to intense criticism. The Presbytery of Edinburgh rebuked Joseph Robertson of the Leith Wynd Chapel of Ease, for his involvement in this venture to provide a weekly review of all the sermons of the Established clergy in the city. (Minutes of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, 26 Feb. 1800, SRO, CH/2/121/20a).

The second attempt, *Religious Intelligence from Abroad*, was edited by John Erskine, minister of Old Greyfriars' parish in Edinburgh, perhaps in response to his continued dissatisfaction with the *Missionary Magazine*. Only five issues were produced, the first in September, 1801 and the last in late spring, 1802, just a few months before his death. This work primarily contained letters from American ministers describing religious revivals in their parishes, which Erskine openly acknowledged were taken from the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*.

spiritual commitment to religious revival and proselytism with their institutional commitment to the Church of Scotland, relating more closely to the Kirk than had previous religious periodicals. It also embodied a restrained editorial policy, intentionally avoiding controversy and incorporating mainly positive reviews. Representing, as it did, traditional Evangelical clergy who were uncomfortable with the Dissenting perspective of other religious periodicals,⁶⁴ the *Monitor* reflected their participation in its special focus on the needs of ministers.

The preface to the second volume of the *Religious Monitor* claimed that it was 'undertaken at the earnest desire of some very respectable persons in this country; who thought that such a work, notwithstanding the number of religious Magazines already in circulation, was highly necessary.'⁶⁵ As such the *Monitor* was designed to be reputable as well as religious. It would not 'excite a spirit of controversy', nor would it 'promote the interests of a party'. Instead, the preface promised that the work would provide a variety of articles reflecting an overall concern for the spread of experiential Christianity. Perhaps to lay to rest apprehensions that the *Monitor's* respectability might make it seem out of touch, the preface also claimed that it would 'still be found to contain the earliest accounts, of the state and progress of religion throughout the world.'⁶⁶

64. The *Monitor's* denominational approach paralleled that of two other new Scottish religious periodicals: the *Christian Magazine; or Evangelical Repository*, first published in 1797 in Edinburgh by a group of Secession ministers (Couper, *The Edinburgh Periodical Press* 2:231-232) and the *Edinburgh Quarterly Magazine*, appearing in 1798 and related to Scottish Baptists (Couper, 2:255-256). Periodicals had proved to be too powerful a communications tool to be left solely in the hands of Dissenters. These works provided both the model and the impetus for Evangelicals in the Establishment to develop their own denominationally-related magazine.

65. *Religious Monitor* 2 (Jan. 1804):i.

66. *Religious Monitor* 2 (Jan. 1804):i-ii.

This preface suggests that the founders of the *Religious Monitor* were firmly committed to working within Scottish society as a whole, and within the Church of Scotland in particular, as they were. Unlike those associated with the Haldanes or even the Seceders, they had no desire to make any radical structural or practical changes in the way the Kirk functioned as a national establishment. They were not primarily interested in ecclesiastical politics or with gaining power for an ecclesiastical party. They accepted the *status quo* and simply wanted to promote their spiritual aims within it using a religious periodical.

Evidently, many others throughout Scotland identified with this approach. The work's early circulation far exceeded its editors' expectations.⁶⁷ No mention is made of its later circulation, but it was at least sufficient to sustain it for over 15 years, no mean feat for any periodical in the early nineteenth century.⁶⁸ Although the *Monitor* was edited and printed in Edinburgh, its pages reflected the interests of readers from throughout Scotland.⁶⁹

Although the *Religious Monitor* was founded as an alternative to existing religious periodicals, in several ways it was similar to the *Evangelical Magazine* and the *Missionary Magazine*. It was the same size and was laid out similarly. It contained the same types of articles and basic features such as reviews and Religious Intelligence.⁷⁰ The *Monitor*

67. *Religious Monitor* 2 (Jan. 1804):i.

68. See Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland*, pp. 23-24.

69. For example, mentioning an original subscriber from Perthshire, *Religious Monitor* 4, (June 1806):230-231; a Sabbath Evening School in Kirkcaldy, vol. 4, (July 1806):279-80; an article from a minister of a 'plain country congregation' in the Highlands, vol. 5, (Nov. 1807):495ff.

70. *Religious Monitor* 2 (Jan. 1804):i-ii. The *Monitor* often included extracts from the *Evangelical Magazine* in its own Religious Intelligence.

also publicised current religious events and affairs, especially the work of voluntary societies.⁷¹

Most importantly, it carried on the earlier periodicals' basic religious orientation. The *Monitor* was not focused as exclusively upon missions as the *Missionary Magazine* had been, being rather more theological and pastoral. Nevertheless, it did not ignore missions. Its pastoral emphasis underlined the interconnection between deepening piety and proselytism. Continued spiritual vitality in the Church was necessary to sustain the propagation of Christianity at home and abroad.⁷² This emphasis may reflect alarm over decreasing support for missions in the Church of Scotland after the initial wave of missionary enthusiasm which gave birth to the *Missionary Magazine*.

The most significant difference between the *Religious Monitor* and the *Missionary Magazine* was that the former adopted an intentionally less aggressive editorial policy than the latter had maintained. This difference emerged soon after the new work appeared when its predecessor dragged it into a series of nasty interchanges. These interchanges suggest that the *Monitor* was formed in response to growing discontent with the *Missionary Magazine*, especially with its combative nature. They also reveal that the readers of the *Monitor* were particularly sensitive about

 71. The *Religious Monitor* actively promoted the work of many societies in Scotland. It publicized the needs of existing groups (for example, when the Magdalen Society of Edinburgh was raising money for a new building, vol. 1 [June 1803]:157-159). It encouraged the spread of societies to new areas in Scotland by describing the work of existing ones in detail (for example, its report on the Edinburgh Tract Society included a copy of its governing rules from which new societies could derive their own, vol. 1 [Sep. 1803]:280-282). It also helped give birth to new kinds of societies (for example, it covered the progress of the British and Foreign Bible Society [B&FBS] from the idea stage to fruition: see 'The Excellence of the Holy Scriptures, An Argument for their more General Dispersion at Home and Abroad', vol. 1 [May 1803]:83-98; a community survey designed to measure interest in Bible distribution, vol. 1 [July 1803]:182-183; and a report on where in Scotland contributions for the B&FBS could be received, vol. 3 [July 1805]:277-279).

72. *Religious Monitor* 2 (Mar. 1804):98-100.

controversy of any kind and would insist that this new publication avoid it no matter what the provocation.

The occasion for this initial tension was the *Monitor's* report on the EMS in its very first issue, which evoked a stinging rebuke of both the publication and the missionary society in the July issue of the *Missionary Magazine*. Ostensibly the rebuke was for their failure to disapprove more strongly of an act by the Jamaica legislature forbidding preaching to slaves and holding religious meetings. Implicitly it seemed as much a response to a 'P.S.' attached to this report in which the EMS denied any past or present connection to the *Missionary Magazine* and indicated that 'when any thing worthy of notice, occurs in the transactions of the Society, a correct and authentic account of it will be given in the *Religious Monitor*'.⁷³ The EMS clearly had become uncomfortable with its close association with the *Missionary Magazine* as this work increasingly identified with Scottish Congregationalism.⁷⁴ The *Monitor* provided the EMS with a more respectable means to publicise its work among its supporters, most of whom were Presbyterians.

The *Monitor* did not reply directly to this attack, but in October it printed a letter to the editor, originally sent to the *Missionary Magazine*, criticising that work for its treatment of the EMS and the new publication.⁷⁵ This letter reveals several important contemporary attitudes toward both the *Missionary Magazine* and the *Religious Monitor*. It shows that readers were growing increasingly dissatisfied with the former's con-

73. *Religious Monitor* 1 (Mar. 1803):34-35. Walter Buchanan, the editor of the *Monitor* had replaced Greville Ewing as the secretary of the EMS by this time.

74. The EMS had published repeated notices disclaiming any connection with the *Missionary Magazine* in public newspapers before the *Monitor* appeared. *Religious Monitor* 1 (Mar. 1803):34-35.

75. *Religious Monitor* 1 (Oct. 1803):307-312. The editor of the *Missionary Magazine* burned this letter upon its arrival, so its author resubmitted it to the *Monitor* with an introductory note explaining what had happened.

troversial nature. The letter's author, 'A Friend to Christian Candour,' indicated that he had subscribed to the *Missionary Magazine* since its inception. Previously he had found things in it that had dissatisfied him, but this latest incident was by far the worst. He accused it of harbouring a grudge against the EMS and of delighting in controversy. In contrast he noted this about the editor of the *Monitor*: 'I have heard that you dislike controversy, and also that you are unwilling to insert in your Magazine, any thing that relates to papers published in other Magazines.'⁷⁶ Other 'Friends of Christian Candour' may have found this approach a refreshing alternative to the *Missionary Magazine* and adopted its successor as their primary religious periodical.

Even this indirect response to the attacks of the *Missionary Magazine* was too controversial for some readers. In December the *Monitor* printed a letter submitted by a 'respectable Correspondent' to the editors of both publications, criticising them for not behaving Christianly toward one another and for jeopardising the work both of their publications and of missionary societies.⁷⁷ He urged the *Monitor* in particular to remain silent despite renewed attacks in the November issue of the *Missionary Magazine*, recommending that it not even print another letter to the editor about the affair. He went on to defend the EMS against the accusations of the *Missionary Magazine* and to express his disgust as 'a clergyman of the Church of Scotland' with its comment that too many of the clergy 'are bred on dunghills and afterwards grow proud'. His remarks indicated how greatly this work offended the respectable sensibilities of EMS supporters from the Kirk and why they did not want to see the *Monitor* follow a similar path.

76. *Religious Monitor* 1 (Oct. 1803):307.

77. *Religious Monitor* 1 (Dec. 1803):402ff.

After this incident, the *Religious Monitor* was anxious to reassure its readers that it had learned from the errors of departing from its non-controversial editorial policy and would not do so again. It prefaced its publication of the December letter to the editor by noting: 'With this paper, we take leave of our assailants, and assure our friends that it will be provocation of no common kind that shall make us enter again the field of controversy with such persons'.⁷⁸ In the following month the preface to its second volume reiterated this commitment.⁷⁹ By and large the *Monitor* put this commitment into practice and generally excluded controversy from its pages for the remainder of the decade.⁸⁰ It generally avoided potentially controversial subjects such as politics, and, like the *Evangelical Magazine*, limited itself to a narrowly defined religious sphere.

The work's reviews also reflected a less aggressive editorial policy. None of its reviews contained the kinds of scathing criticisms that sometimes had appeared in the *Missionary Magazine*. Every review was generally positive, and many contained extensive extracts for the reader's edification. Occasionally a review contained comments on how a work could be improved, but this was usually in the context of overall praise. The editor of the *Monitor* indicated that he self-consciously chose to adopt a

78. *Religious Monitor* 1 (Dec. 1803):402.

79. *Religious Monitor* 2 (Jan. 1804):i-ii. Cf. a similar disavowal of controversy in the preface to a later volume when the work was again under attack, vol. 5 (Jan. 1807):i-ii.

80. The only major exception was when it criticized the *Edinburgh Review* for its hostility to Evangelicalism several times. For example, for making severe remarks about a collection of published sermons by Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood, minister of St. Cuthbert's in Edinburgh and leader of the Popular Party (*Religious Monitor* 6 [May 1808]:226ff); and for an article on Methodism and missions, which the *Monitor* described as 'an attack on all who profess vital religion, and are friendly to the progress of the gospel' (vol. 7 [August 1809]:368ff).

more positive review policy in response to the negativism of many other periodicals:

There is among certain readers in the present day, a fastidiousness of criticism, particularly with respect to religious publications, which, ...cannot be too severely reprehended. Some of them are doctrinal, and others of them mere verbal critics... We certainly would not commend either unsound opinions, or slovenly composition; but, at the same time, we would loudly deprecate a disposition to find fault with everything that does not exactly accord with our own prejudices.⁸¹

The magazine tried to promote works of which it approved and simply did not review any of which it disapproved. This approach would have pleased those who shared John Erskine's earlier reservations about the propriety of religious periodicals containing critical reviews, and it exemplified the *Monitor's* overall traditional character.

The *Religious Monitor* was related closely to the Church of Scotland, much more closely than were the *Evangelical Magazine* or the *Missionary Magazine*. It basically reflected the views of traditional Evangelical clergy who identified with leaders like John Erskine and Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood. They were strongly committed both to the Kirk and to many of the new religious societies like the EMS. They shared a deep interest in evangelism and especially in congregational renewal through committed ministers exercising diligent pastoral care in their parishes.

Walter Buchanan, the founding (and only) editor of the *Monitor*, exemplified this group of older, traditional Evangelical clergy. He was 48 when the work began publication, nearly 20 years older than Greville Ewing had been when the *Missionary Magazine* was instituted. Over the years Buchanan had proven himself to be a reliable and responsible leader

81. *Religious Monitor* 6 (Aug. 1808):369.

in respectable bodies such as the Edinburgh Presbytery and the EMS.⁸² His leadership of the *Monitor* reassured those in the Church of Scotland who had become uncomfortable with the *Missionary Magazine* that this new periodical would not follow the same course.

The *Monitor* exhibited its close association with the Church of Scotland in a number of ways. Its first article was a memoir of John Erskine, and it regularly included memoirs of leading Evangelical ministers in its pages. It attracted articles from ministers from a variety of places,⁸³ and works by clergy were the topic of the bulk of its reviews. In February 1810 the *Monitor* introduced a new feature, the 'Monthly Register'--a list of deaths, transfers, ordinations, etc. from throughout the Kirk--that emphasised its close association with the Establishment even more.

In general the *Monitor* provided fairly objective coverage of Church of Scotland affairs, including descriptive reports of the General Assembly without any comment. Occasionally it commended actions of the church courts of which it approved.⁸⁴ However, the work remained silent about the Kirk's problems. Its editor seems to have felt that its pages were not an appropriate medium in which to discuss troublesome issues such as

82. For example, in 1794 he led a successful effort in the Presbytery to establish a new chapel-of-ease to help meet the religious needs in his parish, Minutes of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, 26 Feb. and 4 Mar. 1794, SRO, CH2/121/19.

83. For example, Erskine's memoir was by Thomas Davidson of the Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh; Bryce Johnston, of Holywood near Dumfries, was the author of an article defending religious establishments (*Religious Monitor* 1 [August 1803]:222ff); James Scott of the East Church in Perth was the author of a series of articles on the lives of the Scottish Reformers that ran for 11 consecutive months beginning in January 1806 and in 1809 was 'writing for the R. Monitor with all his might' according to Andrew Thomson (Letter to Robert Lundie, 11 Feb. 1809, Lundie Letters, NLS, MS 9848). William Hamilton of Strathblane, was a frequent contributor of articles and reviews, especially during the last decade of the work's existence ([J. Hamilton,] *William Hamilton*, 1:195). Buchanan made it a practice of befriending promising divinity students at Edinburgh such as Hamilton, and perhaps worked through this informal network to secure other correspondents for his magazine.

84. For example, a collection for the B&FBS ordered by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, *Religious Monitor* 4 (Feb. 1806):74-75.

patronage. Even though this issue affected him personally in 1808 and again in 1810, the *Monitor* contained no reference to it.⁸⁵

The *Religious Monitor* was considerably more vocal, though, in defending the Church of Scotland from criticism, especially by the new Independents associated with Greville Ewing and the Haldanes. In several articles it provided a rationale for why those committed to religious revival and evangelism should remain in the Kirk despite its problems.⁸⁶ The periodical also took special care in its reviews to note that particular Church of Scotland ministers held 'evangelical' views.⁸⁷ Its most vigorous defence of the Kirk against its new critics took the form of a review of unprecedented length of a book entitled *Vindication of the Presbyterian Form of Church Government, as Professed in the Standards of the Church of Scotland* by John Brown, minister of Gartmore.⁸⁸

Although the *Monitor* was not openly critical of the Church of Scotland, it occasionally did offer a subtle critique of the Kirk. One example of this occurred in its coverage of the Leslie affair which, while basically descriptive, implied that he was not given a fair hearing by the

85. Despite the support of both the heritors and the kirk-session, Walter Buchanan, who was the minister of the second charge of the Canongate, was passed over by the Crown for presentation to the first charge when it became vacant in 1808 and again in 1810. Buchanan's letters to Lord Melville show that he was greatly aggravated by this situation. See his letters of 28 Oct. 1809 and 3 Oct. 1810, Melville Papers, NLS, MS 352.

86. See 'Letter to a Friend, Dissatisfied with the Established Church, and Meditating a Separation From It', *Religious Monitor* 2 (May 1804):171-176; and a letter to the editor arguing that those who remain in established churches do so for equally conscientious reasons as those who separate from them, vol. 3 (Apr. 1805):143-144.

87. For example, in reviews of sermons by David Black and Andrew Hunter of Edinburgh, *Religious Monitor* 1 (July 1803):184-187.

88. In his introductory remarks the reviewer explained the source of Kirk Evangelicals' discontent with the SPGH in the years after its founding: '...their preachers are now sent to every part of Scotland, even where, by their first acknowledgement, "faithful ministers" labour; not to strengthen, but to weaken their hands, by sedulously disseminating their antipresbyterian principles, and organizing churches...on the congregational plan' (*Religious Monitor* 4 [Jan. 1806]:28).

Presbytery of Edinburgh and expressed satisfaction with the General Assembly's final decision.⁸⁹ Its presentation, though, of this victory for the Popular Party was very restrained, and in general the *Monitor* refrained from promoting the Popular Party or addressing ecclesio-political issues.⁹⁰ A second example of the work's subtle critique of the *status quo* emerged in its many reports on the support for prayer and missions of various church courts in the American Presbyterian Church.⁹¹ These reports provided an alternative Presbyterian model to the approach of the Scottish courts, implicitly criticising their comparative disregard of these issues.

As a product of traditional Evangelical clergy, the *Religious Monitor* had a special interest in ministers. It presented a distinctive vision of pastoral ministry and sought to provide practical assistance to those in the Church of Scotland seeking to fulfill this vision in their own parishes. It began by appealing to ministers to become correspondents. The *Monitor* based this appeal not just on its own need for publishable material, but also on its ability to multiply their ministry beyond their

 89. 'Of this meeting Mr Leslie was informed only a very short time before it took place,...' (*Religious Monitor* 3 [Apr. 1805]:152-155). The one paragraph report on the General Assembly concludes with this mild editorial comment, 'This business, which has occasioned so much discussion, both in public and private, is now happily at an end' (vol. 3 [June 1805]:237).

90. For example, neither the *Monitor's* short account of Bryce Johnston's life (vol. 3 [June 1805]: 234-236) nor its review summarising his memoir (vol. 5 [June 1807]:268ff) drew attention to his ecclesiastical party. In contrast, his biographer went on at considerable length about the history of patronage and Johnston's voting record on various key issues throughout his career, see John Johnstone, ed., *Sermons by the Late Rev. Bryce Johnston, D.D., Minister of Holywood, to which is Prefixed a Memoir of his Life, Character and Writings* (Edinburgh: John Andeson, 1807), pp. 14-42.

91. For example, a letter from the Committee on Missions of its General Assembly describing its various missionary efforts (*Religious Monitor* 2 [July 1804]:267-273) and an extract from the minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia recommending that the churches within its bounds join together in 'Concert-Prayers for the Revival of Religion and the Extension of the Redeemer's Kingdom' (vol. 3 [Nov. 1805]:438).

immediate vicinity, reaching people who otherwise might never be exposed to Evangelical teaching.⁹²

Perhaps in response to this appeal, the magazine carried numerous articles about the nature and proper execution of the pastoral office. Its memoirs held up various Church of Scotland ministers as models of what a godly pastor should be. They set forth a concern for congregational renewal and conversion as an overarching guide for ministry and illustrated different practical means of working this concern out in the lives of these clergy.⁹³ In other articles the *Monitor* highlighted the importance of zealous pastoral care, especially continuing specific practices that seemed to be on the decline, such as parish visitation and lecturing on whole books of the Bible.⁹⁴ It also drew attention to contemporary aids to ministry such as new religious societies and periodicals.⁹⁵ In all of its discussion of ministers it sought to develop a picture of this office which was distinct from that held by both Moderates and Independents. This picture combined personal piety and a desire for conversion with education and a commitment to ardent parish ministry within the Church of Scotland.⁹⁶

The *Religious Monitor* encouraged clergy to fulfill its vision for ministry by opening up its pages as a forum to discuss specific questions and issues related to pastoral care. Correspondents submitted requests for advice about a variety of problems such as responding to those who thought that they were beyond salvation, maintaining zeal in ministry, and

92. *Religious Monitor* 3 (Jan. 1805):i-ii.

93. For example, John Erskine (*Religious Monitor* 1 [Mar. 1803]:9) and Robert Coutts (vol. 4 [Oct. 1806]:387-393).

94. See *Religious Monitor* 4 (Oct. 1806):384-386 and vol. 7 (Nov. 1809):516ff.

95. See *Religious Monitor* 4 (Dec. 1806):464-466 and its review of *The Evangelical Preacher*, a collection of sermons, vol. 7 (Mar. 1809):129-130.

96. See 'A Letter to a Friend: "On the Indispensable Qualifications of a Gospel Minister"', *Religious Monitor* 2 (Dec. 1804):447-452.

remedying congregational impatience with long sermons.⁹⁷ After suggesting that individual Christians bring cases of conscience to their ministers, the publication began including examples of how ministers dealt with different cases. Its editor drew a parallel between this and the practice of medical journals printing up cases for discussion.⁹⁸ By encouraging professional discussion of pastoral care, the *Monitor* helped to spread and to strengthen Evangelical influence among ministers throughout the Church of Scotland, especially in more isolated areas.⁹⁹

The *Monitor* was an important mouthpiece of older, more traditional, Evangelicals in the Church of Scotland. It applied their foundational concern for spreading experiential Christianity within the Kirk without greatly disturbing the *status quo*. Ministers were encouraged to carry out their pastoral duties conscientiously and zealously in order to revitalise their parishes. These efforts were supplemented with extra-ecclesiastical involvement in various national and local societies designed to propagate the gospel at home and abroad. The *Monitor* kept the Church of Scotland in touch with the broader Scottish, British, and world evangelical community without abandoning the Establishment. In so doing, it became the first religious periodical to remain closely related to the Church of Scotland for an extended period of time, standing alone as such until the foundation of the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* in 1810. The *Monitor* stabilised the relationship between religious periodicals and Kirk Evangelicals. The *Evangelical Magazine* and the *Missionary Magazine* had demonstrated how influential periodicals could be. The *Religious Monitor* proved that they could also be respectable and committed to the Establishment.

All of these major early publications contributed to the first phase of the growth of Evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland. Between 1793

 97. *Religious Monitor* 3 (Dec. 1805):469.

98. *Religious Monitor* 4 (Feb. 1806):63-66.

99. *Religious Monitor* 3 (Sep. 1805):344.

and 1810 they created a communications network that helped to spread Evangelical ideas and unite likeminded individuals throughout the Kirk. Religious periodicals provided a particularly effective new means to communicate the Evangelicals' fundamental concern for spiritual awakening and proselytism, as a contemporary account attested:

The introduction...of religious periodical publications deserves to be mentioned, as an excellent means of diffusing theological truth. They are of easy purchase; and have for their object, to illustrate and explain the scriptures; to promote the interests of piety and virtue; and to give such a view of the progress of religion in other countries, as well as in this, as every Christian would wish to possess. And though, it is to be lamented, they may have been sometimes employed as the tools of a party, yet they have undoubtedly contributed much to promote the purposes for which they were introduced.¹⁰⁰

100. 'Hints to Students of Theology', *Religious Monitor* 4 (Dec. 1806):466.

CHAPTER 2

THE *EDINBURGH CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTOR*--THE KEYSTONE OF THE NEW EVANGELICAL PERIODICAL PRESS

The publication of the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* in 1810 marked the beginning of a new approach to religious periodicals among those in the Church of Scotland interested in the revitalisation the Church, in its expansion, and in social morality. This new approach was not a radical departure from earlier periodicals, but was built solidly upon the foundation laid by older works such as the *Evangelical Magazine*, the *Missionary Magazine*, and especially the *Religious Monitor*. Their successors developed the existing communications network in a way which enabled Evangelicalism to become an even more broadly-based intellectual and social movement. These new publications continued the task of uniting individuals within the Scottish Establishment who were concerned about spiritual awakening and proselytism into a coherent group. However, after 1810, periodicals increasingly played a new role of communicating the group's ideas and practices to larger, more diverse, audiences within both the Kirk and the nation as a whole.

To fulfill this communications role the new publications were larger and more sophisticated than their predecessors. They attempted to integrate a concern for deeper piety and conversion into almost every area

of life. Many were intended to meet secular periodicals on their own ground, which is one reason that their editorial styles became more aggressive, controversial, and even propagandistic. The religious controversies of the 1820s and 30s also contributed to this shift in style, and led some periodicals to concentrate upon ecclesiastical and political party issues in addition to or even to the exclusion of earlier emphases such as religious revival and missions. In the early 1840s the extreme ecclesiastico-political agitation of the approaching Disruption accelerated this process, leading to the demise of a number of established works. Yet, the longest lasting and most influential publications of this period retained a central commitment to the spread of heart-felt Christianity at home and abroad.

Soon after its appearance in August 1810 the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* became the leading religious periodical closely related to the Church of Scotland, virtually standing alone as such from 1820 to 1831. It was undoubtedly the most important and influential publication in the development of Evangelicalism within the Kirk, and probably was the dominant religious periodical for the whole of Scotland during its first twenty years. The source of its success lay in its comprehensive approach, which sought to expand the narrowly religious coverage of earlier works to include discussions of literature and science. This broader focus represented the thinking of a group of younger Establishment ministers who embraced both the distinctive spiritual concern of the older traditional Evangelicals and the general cultural concern of the Moderates. As such, the *Instructor* was intended to serve as the religious counterpart of, and often opponent to, the leading secular periodicals of the day, particularly the *Edinburgh Review*.

The *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 1810-1819--A New Experiment in
Religious Periodicals in Scotland

During its first decade of existence the *Instructor* developed its distinctive approach by combining elements of older religious periodicals like the *Religious Monitor* and new secular literary magazines like the *Edinburgh Review*.¹ While the *Instructor's* similarity to the *Edinburgh Review* is generally recognised,² its indebtedness to contemporary religious magazines has largely been overlooked. Yet, understanding its continuity with the earlier Scottish religious periodical press provides a fuller picture of the nature of its relationship with the *Review* and of the development of Evangelicalism in the Establishment during this period.

The *Instructor* reflected its religious predecessors in both content and format. As its full title suggested, from its inception the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* was intended to communicate religious truths for the purpose of developing deeper religious faith among its readers. It praised 'warm and rational piety'³ and argued that theoretical orthodoxy without 'a greater regard to practical godliness, and more personal and family religion' was not fully Christian.⁴ The *Instructor* also drew attention to religious revivals throughout the Christian world and provided specific instructions to encourage similar awakenings at home.⁵

1. The *Instructor* also may have been modelled upon a pair of new English religious periodicals, the *Eclectic Review* (1805) and the *Christian Observer* (1802). Although the *Instructor* shared some similarities in style and content with these works, in important ways it differed from both. It had a far broader scope than the *Eclectic Review*; it was more literary and controversial, and less political, than the *Christian Observer*. The *Instructor's* distinctive qualities reflected the particular needs of Scotland and its Established Church and the influence of the earlier development of the Scottish religious periodical press.

2. J.H.S. Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 313.

3. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 2 (Jan. 1811):57-67.

4. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 11 (Dec. 1815):389.

5. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 15 (Dec. 1817):375ff.

The *Instructor* devoted special attention to defending from criticism those promoting spiritual vitality. Its first number contained two consecutive articles addressing this issue,⁶ and later numbers contained similar sentiments.⁷ These articles reveal the defensive mentality of a group which believed that its opinions constituted a minority both in society as a whole and in the Church of Scotland in particular. This group increasingly took the offensive as the decade progressed and the *Instructor* became more established. Articles began articulating and advancing specifically 'evangelical' approaches to areas of the Christian life such as worship attendance and preaching.⁸

Encouraging proselytism was another important purpose for the *Instructor*. Through articles on a variety of contemporary issues written in a way that would appeal to non-Christian readers, the magazine was intended to serve as an evangelistic tool. Like earlier Scottish religious periodicals the *Instructor* also promoted the formation of voluntary societies designed to propagate Christianity. Correspondents submitted contributions sharing ideas for starting new societies. The Religious Intelligence section contained regular reports of them, including detailed accounts of the formation and regulations of new bodies that could serve as models for the spread of similar organisations elsewhere.

 6. 'The Misconduct of Professing Christians much Exaggerated by the Enemies of the Gospel' by the editor, Andrew Thomson (See 'List of Chief Writers and Articles of the Ed^r Christian Instructor', 1 Mar. 1819, Lundie Letters, NLS, MS 1676.f167.); and 'Dislike of the World to Vital Religion', which specifically indicated that the *Instructor's* support of 'vital religion' would lead to a cool reception from 'the greater part of what is usually termed the Christian world', *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 1 (Aug. 1810):15-23.

7. For example, 'A Defence of Experimental Religion', *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 4 (May 1812):289-93. This article denied that this was the same as fanaticism or inconsistent with right reason and morality.

8. For example, when a letter to the editor questioned the appropriateness of designating certain clergy as 'evangelical', the editor replied that the term was a useful means to distinguish from other clergymen those whose preaching was intended to produce experientially based orthodox Calvinism in its hearers (*Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 12 [Mar. 1816]:205ff).

The *Instructor* shared a concern for social issues with its predecessors. In fact, its coverage went beyond their earlier moralistic approach. Although the *Instructor* occasionally addressed matters of personal morality such as theatre attendance,⁹ it gave more attention to broader societal ills. It condemned slavery and highlighted the need for prison reform, encouraging the formation of organisations designed to address these problems.¹⁰

In addition to content, the *Instructor* adopted the same general format and design as earlier Scottish religious periodicals, especially the *Religious Monitor*. Each monthly issue began with miscellaneous general articles and letters to the editor in its 'Religious Communications' section, followed by reviews and Religious Intelligence. Like the *Monitor* it included items dealing with non-established religion, but it mainly concentrated upon the Church of Scotland.¹¹ Both magazines displayed their special interest in the clergy by concluding most issues with a list of deaths, preferments, ordinations and licencings from throughout the Kirk.¹²

These similarities between the *Religious Monitor* and the *Instructor* are not surprising. As the mouthpiece of traditional Evangelicals, the *Monitor* was a logical model for any new religious periodical related to the

9. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 2 (June 1811):374-5.

10. See its report on the Edinburgh African and Asiatic Society, *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 2 (Jan. 1811):72-4. See its positive review of a book suggesting prison reform (vol. 1 [Sep. 1810]:124-133); a letter to the editor suggesting how Bible societies could work in prisons (vol. 2 (May 1811):293-4); and statistics on the number of prisoners in Britain in the March 1821 issue followed by news of the formation of the Glasgow Bridewell Association (vol. 20 (May 1821):314ff).

11. This focus reflected the predominance of members of the Establishment among its writers. Out of a list of 46 different contributors to volumes 1-6: 5 were of unknown religious affiliation; 7 were Seceding ministers; while nearly 3/4 were from the Church of Scotland (30 clergy and 4 laymen). See Appendix 1.1, Table 1.

12. The *Religious Monitor* began this practice in February 1810; the *Instructor* included it from its inception in August 1810. Both sets of lists seem to have included all clergy and not simply Evangelicals.

national Church. Walter Buchanan, its editor, had a significant influence on many divinity students during their studies in Edinburgh, including Andrew Thomson, the founding editor of the *Instructor* and minister of St. George's, Edinburgh, and several important clerical contributors: James Brewster of Craig, Robert Lundie of Kelso, and William H. Burns of Kilsyth.¹³ Thomson had himself contributed to the pages of the *Monitor*.¹⁴ The two works shared other common contributors, one of whom, James Scott, acknowledged that one of his articles in the *Instructor* was a revised version of one that had already appeared in the *Monitor*.¹⁵ Yet, despite their similarities, the establishment of the *Instructor* reflected a growing dissatisfaction with the *Monitor* among some within the Kirk who shared its basic spiritual orientation, but who questioned its limited scope.

Their dissatisfaction probably stemmed from comparing the *Religious Monitor* with highly popular contemporary literary journals. With its narrow focus on piety, pastoral ministry and missions the *Monitor* must have seemed increasingly out of touch and old fashioned to a generation beginning to be influenced by the growth of Romantic literature. Not only did this limited perspective make it less interesting for younger Christian readers, but it made the work a less effective tool with which to respond to the growing irreligion of the secular periodical press. The *Instructor* was founded as an attempt to meet these new journals on their own ground. It consciously imitated elements of their content and style in order to attract their readers to Evangelicalism and to defend the movement from their criticisms.

 13. Islay Burns, *The Pastor of Kilsyth; or, Memorials of the Life and Times of the Rev. W.H. Burns* (London: T. Nelson & Sons, 1860), pp. 29-32.

14. [Charles Watson,] 'Memoir of Dr. Thomson', *Sermons and Sacramental Exhortations by the Late Andrew Thomson, D.D.* (Edinburgh: Wm. Whyte, 1831), p. lxii.

15. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 5 (July 1812):1ff. William Hamilton, minister of Strathblane, also contributed to both works, [J. Hamilton,] *William Hamilton*, 1:194-195.

The *Edinburgh Review* had the most direct influence upon the approach of the *Instructor*. It was unquestionably the dominant periodical not only in Scotland but in the whole of Britain during the first decades of the nineteenth century, amassing an immense number of subscribers.¹⁶ In addition to its obvious appeal to writers and other intellectuals, the *Review* seems to have been particularly popular and influential among the rising middle class.¹⁷ Many Church of Scotland clergy were among its regular readers, including Evangelicals.¹⁸ The work's popularity stemmed from an innovative approach that transformed the periodical press of its day. It introduced greater intellectual vigour and more professional organisation to periodicals. Most importantly it departed from the older review style of strictly critiquing books to include a wider discussion of a variety of related subjects.¹⁹

The *Instructor* adopted much of the *Edinburgh Review's* innovative approach to periodicals. Their similarities partly may be explained by how much the young Evangelical clergy who founded the *Instructor* shared in common with the young Whig intellectuals who founded the *Review*. Both groups were roughly the same age, representing the new thinking of the rising generation. Francis Jeffrey was 29; Francis Horner, 24; and Sydney

16. Bruce Lenman indicates that the *Edinburgh Review* had 12,000 subscribers, representing about 50,000 readers, in 1813, compared to only 8,000 subscribers for the *London Times* in 1816, *Integration, Enlightenment, and Industrialization: Scotland 1746-1832* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981), pp. 110-111. In 1818 its circulation reached 13,000, about three times that of most major monthly reviews around the turn of the century, *British Literary Magazines: The Romantic Age*, p. 140, see also p. xvi.

17. Ferguson, *Scotland: 1689 to the Present*, pp. 266-267

18. For example, Thomas Chalmers' journals reveal that he continued to read the *Edinburgh Review* avidly after his conversion experience (see entries for 28 Jan., 16 Mar., 28 Dec. 1811 in William Hanna, *Memoirs of Thomas Chalmers, D.D. LL.D.*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable, 1854) 1:150, 153, 175). The diaries of Charles Watson, minister of Burntisland in Fife, included it in a list of the periodicals to which he regularly subscribed, 'Memoranda', 3 July 1824--8 Sep. 1827, NCL, back cover. William H. Burns, a leader of the 1839-40 revival at Kilsyth, indicated that he regularly read it, I. Burns, *The Pastor of Kilsyth*, pp. 66ff.

19. *British Literary Magazines: The Romantic Age*, pp. xvii.

Smith, 31 when they founded the *Review* in 1802. Andrew Thomson was 32 when he founded the *Instructor* in 1810.²⁰ They had come through the Scottish university system together, many of them at Edinburgh, where they had had close interaction with one another. While they were both students at Edinburgh, Robert Lundie, an Evangelical minister of Kelso and one of the chief writers of the *Instructor*, preceded Henry Brougham, a leading Whig contributor to the *Review*, as treasurer of the same literary society.²¹ Young Whig intellectuals and young Evangelical clergy were also involved together in a similar literary venture, the *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*. Andrew Thomson was a major contributor to the *Encyclopaedia*, and James Brewster, brother of the its editor, wrote extensively for the *Instructor*.²²

The *Instructor* was influenced most clearly by the aggressive review style of the *Edinburgh Review*. The *Instructor* carried much longer and more numerous reviews than the *Monitor* did. They were also of a very different nature. The *Instructor* followed the lead of the *Edinburgh Review* in transforming the review from a dry abstract of the contents of a book with lots of extracts into a genuinely critical evaluation highlighting the opinions of the reviewer. It adopted forms like the 'review article' ('several books on a given topic reviewed together') and the 'review

20. Slightly more than half (16 out of 30) of the clergy listed as 'chief writers' for its first six volumes were born within five years of Thomson, and two-thirds (12 out of the 18) of the most active writers (i.e. those contributing more than one article) were born during this time. See Appendix 1.1, Table 2. For comparison, note that Walter Buchanan was 48 when he founded the *Religious Monitor*.

21. See Brougham's letter to Lundie of 21 Nov. 1795, Lundie Letters, NLS, MS 9847.ff. 154-5.

22. Of the 27 contributors to the *Encyclopaedia* listed in the Lundie Letters, NLS, MS 9848.ff9-10, 8 were also listed among the *Instructor*'s chief writers, 6 of whom were Church of Scotland ministers. Professor Brown identifies ten of these 27 as 'young Evangelical clergymen', *Thomas Chalmers*, p. 51.

essay' ('a book is the pretext or starting point for a broader discussion of its topic').²³

The *Instructor* also shared the *Review's* strong concern for good literary style, both in the books reviewed and in the reviews themselves. One reviewer took George Cook's *History of the Reformation* to task for having 'a few Scotticisms'.²⁴ Andrew Thomson, in an early letter to one of his regular reviewers, emphasised the importance of having the review section of the *Instructor* reflect contemporary literary tastes: 'Our Review department promises to be very acceptable to the public. We are doing every thing in our power to make it respectable. It is necessary to be *smart*. So be *you* careful to be *smart*. That is the order of the day.'²⁵

Like the *Edinburgh Review*, and unlike the traditional *Religious Monitor*, the *Instructor* was unafraid to be controversial in its reviews. At times it seemed almost intentionally so, adopting a light, flippant, and occasionally sarcastic style.²⁶ Its approach sometimes offended both the traditional views of older clergy like Samuel Charters and the pietistic taste of Independents such as Robert Haldane, who felt the similarity to the *Edinburgh Review* was unbecoming in a religious periodical.²⁷ Even some of the *Instructor's* own reviewers did not embrace this new review style as enthusiastically as did its editor. In 1814 Thomson

 23. *British Literary Magazines: The Romantic Age*, p. 124. For an example of a review article, see *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 1 (Nov. 1810):251-62, which discussed a number of pamphlets on the B&FBS. For an example of a review essay, see vol. 1 (Sept. 1810):124-133, which discussed prison reform.

24. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 4 (Feb. 1812):139.

25. Letter to Robert Lundie, 9 Sep. 1810, NLS, MS 9848.ff.15-6.

26. For example, the opening lines to a review of an anti-Presbyterian tract: 'The author of this low scurrilous production has prudently with-held his name from the title page. This is the only symptom of wisdom which he has exhibited throughout...' *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 3 (Aug. 1811):108.

27. Letters of Samuel Charters to Thomas Chalmers between 8 Apr. 1811 and 19 Sep. 1811, Chalmers Papers, NCL 4.1.31-34. A. Haldane, *Lives of R. Haldane...and J. Haldane*, p. 390.

admonished his friend Robert Lundie in the following terms after receiving his latest review:

I wish you had given more of your own discussion and less extract from the volume. But this I presume arises from your *old fashioned* notions of a Review. Whether these notions are intrinsically just or not I shall not pretend to say, but it must be allowed, they are not so popular. People nowadays wish to know what the *critic* says rather than what may be found in the Author.²⁸

Thomson's preference for an up-to-date review style had a purpose beyond merely being popular or controversial. He wanted the *Instructor's* reviews to reflect a consistent point of view, showing much more concern about the content of the review section than he did about the rest of the work.²⁹ His review policy was the keystone of his overall strategy to make the magazine a tool to shape public opinion since he recognised that increasing interest in reviews was the 'striking peculiarity of the age'.³⁰

The *Instructor* played the same role for Thomson's young Evangelical associates as did the *Edinburgh Review* for Jeffrey's young Whig associates. Both groups shared the belief, as Stewart Brown has described it, 'that the most effective means to level entrenched and corrupt elites was to educate the new generation of public opinion by an intelligent criticism of the ideological bases which supported those elites.'³¹ Unlike their older, more traditional counterparts who supported the *Religious Monitor*, these young Evangelical clergymen refused to accept the

28. Letter of Andrew Thomson to Robert Lundie, 20 Jan. 1814, Lundie Letters, NLS, MS 9848.ff69-70.

29. Thomson insisted that a review submitted by Thomas Chalmers be printed among the religious communications section rather than in the review section because of its inconsistency with the *Instructor's* overall review policy. Letter from Andrew Thomson to Thomas Chalmers, 18 Feb. 1811, Chalmers Papers, NCL CHA 4.1.57.

30. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 5 (Nov. 1812):338.

31. S.J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, pp. 48-9.

status quo in either Kirk or society and were willing to use a religious periodical to undermine it.

Ironically the *Instructor* adapted the *Review's* own style and approach in order to attack it as well. By 1810 the *Edinburgh Review* had established itself as an elite vehicle of communication in Scottish society, so Andrew Thomson and his young Evangelical clerical associates formed the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* to provide intelligent criticism of its ideological bases, namely enlightened human reason and common sense.

The criticism began with a strong general defence of Evangelicalism. Two years earlier, the *Review* had attacked the central aims of the movement in a pair of articles, one against 'Methodists' (all those concerned for deeper piety within the Church regardless of denomination) and the other against missions.³² Since these articles more directly criticized English evangelicals, the latter were the first to respond, but Kirk Evangelicals were equally disturbed. In the ensuing pamphlet war, the *Instructor* strongly defended the main English reply to these articles, criticising the *Review* for continuing its attack.³³

The *Instructor* explicitly countered other specific articles which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*.³⁴ Those who wrote for and read the

32. The first article (*Edinburgh Review* 11 [Jan. 1808]:341-362) criticised 'Methodism' for being a form of fanaticism, 'one general conspiracy against common sense, and rational orthodox christianity' (p. 342). Its most serious flaw was trying to make people 'more religious, than it is possible, from the constitution of human nature, to make them' (p. 358) rather than simply accepting customary participation in the worship of the Established Churches as the normative level of Christian experience. The second article (vol. 12 [Apr. 1808]:151-181) discussed the ill effects and the unnecessary nature of missions in India. Both articles gave special attention to religious periodicals, the first basing almost all its arguments from extracts from the *Evangelical Magazine* and the *Methodist Magazine* rather than from books. This suggests that even its enemies intuitively recognized British evangelicalism as a periodical-based movement.

33. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 4 (Mar. 1812):187-191.

34. For example, 'Remarks on Honour, and the Edinburgh Review', *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 1 (Nov. 1810):228f; 'On Miracles and the Edinburgh Review', vol. 9 (Dec. 1814):357ff and a similar article pp. 372ff.

Instructor followed the *Review* closely and respected, or at least feared, its influence upon public opinion.³⁵ Thomas Chalmers seems to have been particularly concerned about its perceived negative influence, as perhaps were other former Moderates whose approach to religion had earlier been shaped by the ideas found in the *Review*.³⁶

The primary, and perhaps most effective, response of the *Instructor* to the challenge of the *Edinburgh Review* was more general than replying to specific objectionable articles. Its most important purpose was to provide an alternative to the *Review* that was equally literary and fashionable, yet also unequivocally Evangelical. The *Instructor* was a bold attempt by its young clerical supporters to beat the *Edinburgh Review* at its own game. In so doing, they hoped to attract those who read the *Review* to Evangelical Christianity. This purpose lay behind Thomson's concern that his reviewers follow the *Review's* new style and above else 'be smart'. In addition, articles such as, 'Hints to Young Men respecting Infidelity', addressing doubts or questions about Christianity, presented a straightforward apologetic particularly orientated toward a generation beginning to be strongly influenced by Romanticism, the peers of those behind the *Instructor*.³⁷ In this sense, the *Instructor* served as a more

35. A letter to the editor criticising an article from the *Edinburgh Review* began, 'All, or almost all your readers, are of course acquainted with the *Edinburgh Review*, and peruse its pages, I doubt not, with considerable interest and avidity.' *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 16 (May 1818):315ff.

36. In his journal on 28 Jan. 1811, Chalmers commented: 'Was much distressed by the cutting insinuations of the *Edinburgh Review*; and may I henceforth maintain a most strenuous devotion to ecclesiastical literature, that I may be enabled to repel them.' Hanna, *Memoirs of Thomas Chalmers*, 1:150). Perhaps the 'ecclesiastical literature' to which Chalmers alluded was the *Instructor*. In a letter to Andrew Thomson just 11 days later, he cited a specific paragraph from the *Edinburgh Review* as the incentive for an article he wished to write for the *Instructor* defending the historicity of the Bible. (Letter from Thomas Chalmers to Andrew Thomson, 8 Feb. 1811, Chalmers Papers, NCL, CHA 3.6.19).

37. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 6 (Jan. 1813):20ff.

orthodox response to religion's 'cultured despisers' than Schleiermacher's famous speeches a decade earlier.

Building on the foundation of earlier Scottish religious periodicals and adapting elements of the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Instructor* reshaped the nature of Evangelicalism in the Establishment by aggressively seeking to apply its basic spiritual concern to every area of life. The young clergy associated with the *Instructor* did not view what they were doing as a radical departure from their Evangelical heritage. Rather they thought of their efforts as the logical development of a central theological concept that undergirded Evangelicalism, the concept of the kingdom of God. Just as older, traditional Evangelicals desired to see God's reign deepened throughout the whole Church through spiritual awakening and to see God's kingdom spread throughout the whole world through proselytism, these young Evangelicals desired to see God's reign extended throughout the whole of human culture through a distinctively Christian interpretation of it.

As a result, the *Instructor* was less 'pietistic', in the sense of being narrowly religious and devotional, and less 'puritan' than was its immediate predecessor, the *Religious Monitor*. The *Instructor* sought to develop a theological rationale for showing greater interest in culture:

We would be untrue to our principles, were we not to contend for [religion's] pre-eminence in all the possible varieties of business and of life. As true disciples of Christianity, we cannot in conscience surrender the universality of its empire. We are not for confining it to the place of devotion; we are for carrying it forward into the shop and the market...³⁸

Although The *Instructor* addressed business and politics, it took greater interest in science and literature,³⁹ perhaps reflecting the more

38. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 2 (May 1811):315. Review by Thomas Chalmers, see *Lundie Letters*, NLS, MS 1676, f.169.

39. For example, it developed a regular monthly feature, 'Literary and Scientific Intelligence', in July 1812.

academic interests of its predominantly clerical writers. In one of its first reviews of an expressly scientific book, *American Ornithology*, it explained why a religious periodical like the *Instructor* should be reviewing a work such as this. The review began by rejecting an interest in science simply for mental gratification. Science for science's sake was too limited of an approach for a 'moral and immortal being'. Having criticised this abuse of science, the review went on to argue for a distinctively Christian appreciation of it, based upon the doctrine of general revelation:

Let us not be thought inimical to physical...pursuits... We consider the investigation of nature as chiefly valuable, by reason of the friendly aspect which it bears towards the moral and religious interests of men. We cannot conceive any method of reasoning, in support of the existence and attributes of Deity, better fitted to command success, than that which has for its basis the striking and varied phenomena of the material creation.

When pursued from this perspective, science counteracted the tendency of 'the pursuits of trade and merchandise...to contract the heart; to debase its nobler feelings, and to produce a parsimonious humour.'⁴⁰

Perhaps to encourage these positive effects of scientific study, the *Instructor* continued to review scientific works regularly and expressed special concern to show that the latest findings of science did not contradict the Bible. In 1813 Andrew Thomson made this concern explicit when he asked Thomas Chalmers to review the latest book by the French geologist, Cuvier:

It would afford you a fine opportunity of expostulating on the connection between science and religion and of shewing how firmly the Mosaic history keeps its ground amidst the speculations of the Infidel and how the researches and discoveries even of antichristian

40. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 4 (June 1812):412-413.

philosophers (for Cuvier is no saint) tend to illustrate and confirm it.⁴¹

In his review Chalmers strongly affirmed the compatibility of science and revelation, arguing that the theories of Cuvier and other geologists who hypothesised that the earth had developed over great lengths of time were not necessarily inconsistent with the account of creation in Genesis.⁴² Chalmers rejected allegorising the days of creation or interpreting them as representing indefinite periods of time, suggesting instead that an interval of indeterminate length occurred between the first two verses of Genesis.⁴³ This interval theory allowed time for geological development while reaffirming the basic truthfulness of the Biblical account.

Reflecting the strong literary interest of its day, the *Instructor* paid the most attention to developing a distinctively Christian approach to literature. Its argument for this was a subtler and more extensive version of its recommendation of Christian scientific inquiry. The *Instructor* vigorously condemned aspects of literature that it perceived as irreligious or immoral. It was as intolerant of clergy attending the theatre as was anyone in the Popular Party during the eighteenth century, even suggesting that brethren who obstinately attended be brought under the discipline of presbytery.⁴⁴ Most novels were held in suspicion for being light and morally suspect.

41. Letter from Thomson to Chalmers, 19 Nov. 1813, NCL, CHA 4.2.47.

42. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 8 (Apr. 1814):261-274.

43. He argued that the description of the the earth as being formless and empty (Genesis 1.2) implied that time had elapsed and transformations had occurred in an interval of time following the creation of the heavens and the earth in the beginning (Genesis 1.1). For further discussion of Chalmers's approach, see Paul Baxter, 'Science and Belief in Scotland, 1805-1868: the Scottish Evangelicals' (Edinburgh University, Ph.D. Thesis, 1985), pp. 71-72.

44. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 2 (June 1811):374f.

Yet, the vigour of these criticisms does not imply that the *Instructor* rejected literature as a whole, or rejected even these particular kinds of literature. While attending the theatre was not a good idea for Christians since they mixed with bad company there, reading plays was perfectly acceptable, as long as they were not openly profane.⁴⁵ The *Instructor* sought to encourage attempts by Christian writers to redeem disreputable genres like the novel, giving highly positive reviews to several novels.⁴⁶ The magazine was even more positive about poetry. It exhorted Christians to appreciate even non-religious poetry since its descriptive powers, especially of nature, provide a heightened experience of the beauty and majesty of the creation, and thus implicitly of the Creator.⁴⁷ The *Instructor* also called Evangelical poets to communicate Christian content to their contemporaries using the the latest poetic styles, thereby providing an equally fashionable alternative to the work of immoral and infidel poets.⁴⁸

While the *Instructor's* criticisms of literature undoubtedly were sincere, they may also have served another purpose. Its negative comments created a more favourable context for its more traditional Evangelical readers to receive its positive comments about literature. The strength of its rejections of certain aspects of literature gave credence to its calls for a greater appreciation of literature as a whole. Several of Andrew Thomson's letters suggest that he realized that the *Instructor* could not become too literary too quickly without losing readers. Once it had been established for a few years and had proved its reliability, then

45. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 18 (Jan. 1819):80.

46. These tended to be strongly moralistic, with titles such as *Self-Control* (*Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 3 [Oct. 1811]:259ff) and *Discipline* (vol. 10 [Mar. 1815]:185ff).

47. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 5 (July 1812):39ff.

48. 'On the Introduction of the Doctrines and Precepts of Christianity into Modern Poetry', *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 18 (Sep. 1819):608ff.

he felt free to begin trying to change Evangelical attitudes toward literature.⁴⁹

The *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* served as a forum in which young Evangelicals could attempt to apply their modified appreciation of literature to the major literary works of their day. Their evaluations of contemporary writers reveal both considerable differences about the limits of acceptable literary style and content for Christians and considerable interest in understanding contemporary literature from a distinctively Christian perspective, even when they disapproved of it.

The magazine's very first number began this discussion by including an article on Walter Scott's latest poem, 'The Lady of the Lake', which exemplified the *Instructor's* two-pronged approach to literature, using strong criticism as the basis for also offering some appreciation.⁵⁰ The bulk of this article was negative, accusing the poem of promoting irreligion and immorality. Yet, after the writer's signature ('Xn. '), two unsigned paragraphs followed suggesting that the writer was 'rather severe in his strictures' of Scott since the poem discussed, but did not promote these things.

A letter from Andrew Thomson to his close friend Robert Lundie during this time suggests that Thomson may have encouraged Lundie to provide these additional positive comments about Scott.⁵¹ Ironically, in a later

 49. By 1812 Thomson seems to have sensed that the *Instructor* could become bolder in the literary sphere. He concluded a letter to Henry Duncan of Ruthwell dated 13 Jan. 1812 (Lundie Letters, NLS, MS 9848.ff.25-6) with this request: 'By the way we wish to introduce into our work a little more *literature*.' Thomson expressed similar sentiments around this time to one of his contributors: 'I agree perfectly with you in thinking that our magazine should have more of a literary cast than it really has.' (Letter of Thomson to Robert Burns, 14 Jan. 1812 in R.F. Burns, *Life and Times of the Rev. Robert Burns, D.D.* [Toronto: James Campbell & Son, 1871], p. 116).

50. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 1 (Aug. 1810):26ff.

51. Letter from Andrew Thomson to Robert Lundie, 9 Sep. 1810, Lundie Letters, NLS, MS 9848.ff.15-6. In addition, Thomson included a long letter defending Scott from Xn.'s criticisms in the third issue of the *Instructor* (vol. 1 [Oct. 1810]:166ff).

letter Thomson indicated that he did not share his friend's fondness for Scott: 'I have...often said to you that I thought Walter the Poet destitute, alike of religious principle and good moral feeling. Deny it now if you can.'⁵² Thomson's willingness to forego his own personal opinions in this situation shows just how strongly he was committed to encouraging a greater appreciation for and discussion of literature among Evangelicals through the *Instructor*.⁵³

Thomson seems to have adopted a similar two-pronged approach to argue for a less speculative, less doctrinal, and less culture-denying form of Calvinism in the *Instructor*. Before he began his periodical, Thomson showed considerable ambivalence about Calvinism, especially disliking high Calvinists who seemed to him to glory in speculating on how few the elect were. After Thomson moved to Perth he complained about its ultra-high Calvinists to Robert Lundie:

In Perth there is no theology almost;...And it is all over Calvinism --red hot Calvinism--that sort of Calvinism which dooms, in cold blood and for the glory of God 99/100 of the human race to everlasting destruction...O Lundie, I miss you sadly on such subjects. There is nobody here who thinks of starting a doubt. You must either be a Calvinist or go to Hell.

 52. Letter from Andrew Thomson to Robert Lundie, 20 Jan. 1814, Lundie Letters, NLS, MS 9848.ff69-70.

53. The other great Scottish literary figure of this period, Robert Burns, was held in greater suspicion than was Scott, though even he had his supporters among the *Instructor*'s correspondents. A proposal in 1814 to erect a monument in his honour provoked a letter to the editor strongly disapproving his poetry (*Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 8 [Mar. 1814]:175f). 'A constant reader' of the *Instructor* replied to this letter with a strong defence of both the monument and Burns' poetry. He argued that the authorised works of Burns, especially his songs, did much to improve popular literary taste in Scotland and should be evaluated separately from his personal immorality and infidelity (vol. 9 [July 1814]:4ff). This sparked off a flurry of condemnations of Burns and his poetry (for example, vol. 10 [1815]:15ff, 21ff, 23ff, 233ff, 371ff; and vol. 11 [1815]:20ff).

He contrasted this attitude to his discussions with Lundie in which they spoke freely, though with reverence, about 'anything esseential to Revelation'.⁵⁴

Despite these misgivings, the *Instructor* contained lengthy and vigorous promotions of Calvinism, including the doctrine of election and the Westminster Confession of Faith.⁵⁵ Thomson may simply have swallowed his conscience and included these articles out of a fear that any questioning would have alienated the *Instructor's* more traditional readers and jeopardised the magazine's success. However, Thomson was not one to shy away from controversy. Moreover, the overall pattern of the *Instructor's* articles on Calvinism suggests a less devious explanation for this seeming inconsistency.

The majority of the articles most strongly promoting Calvinism were more precisely defences, defending Calvinism from external criticisms, especially by English writers. These English Arminian, often Episcopalian, critiques offended Thomson's strong national and Presbyterian sentiments. The *Instructor* defended Calvinism because it was part of the foundation of the Church of Scotland. These defences also ensured a better reception for the work's positive suggestions about how the Kirk's doctrinal foundation should be understood by its orthodox Scottish supporters.

54. 3 June 1808, Lundie Letters, NLS, MS 9847.ff.277-8.

55. See a review of a book by the Bishop of London, (*Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 2 [Mar. 1811]:206); 'Some Objections to the Calvinistic Doctrine of Election Stated & Answered' (vol. 10 (Jan. 1815):11ff); a reply to the *Christian Observer's* comments on the bad influence of the Confession on Scotland's spiritual vitality (*Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 12 [June 1816]:404ff). Thomson joked with Lundie about the irony of the *Instructor* now defending reprobation and election by including a 'terrible thrashing' of Tomline's *Refutation of Calvinism* in its review section (vol. 4 [May 1812]:318ff), 22 July 1811, Lundie Letters, NLS, MS 9848.ff.21-2.

The *Instructor* tried to moderate the extremes of high Calvinism by encouraging a less speculative approach to doctrine. It praised those who embraced Calvinism as a result of a general reading of the Bible rather than as an abstract theological system.⁵⁶ A review of some published sermons singled out the following high Calvinist statement for criticism: 'the non-volition of the Divine Being is the only ultimate barrier to the salvation of those who are doomed to everlasting misery'. The reviewer criticised it for implying that God is the author of sin and for contradicting Biblical passages that speak of God's love for people and desire for their repentance. He went on to summarise the *Instructor's* approach to Calvinism in his concluding remarks on this statement: 'On a subject so mysterious and awful, let us beware of the rashness of metaphysical speculation, and let us modestly adhere to the language of scripture.'⁵⁷

Ironically, the reviewer was Robert Lundie, whom Thomson characterised in their earlier correspondence as much more pro-Calvinist than Thomson himself.⁵⁸ This suggests that the *Instructor's* more moderate approach to Calvinism reflected the desire of young Evangelicals as a whole and not simply Thomson's personal predilection. Lundie's remarks were based upon the sentiments of another young Evangelical minister, Peter Cosens of Lauder, who wrote to Lundie to express his concern about several strong statements in this collection of sermons.⁵⁹

The *Instructor's* approach to Calvinism was not a rejection of Calvinism. It felt free to criticise fellow Evangelicals like Thomas Chal-

 56. For example, in a biography of Robert Coutts, a young Evangelical minister, *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 5 (July 1812):22ff.

57. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 8 (Feb. 1814):117.

58. Thomson referred to Lundie as 'My Dear Supporter of our Confession of Faith', 23 May 1806, Lundie Letters, NLS, MS 9847.f.266.

59. See his letter to Lundie, 23 Nov. 1813, Lundie Letters, NLS, MS 9848.ff65-6.

mers when it detected Arminian tendencies in their writings.⁶⁰ Overall, this approach seems to have strengthened the influence of Calvinism in the Church of Scotland. The *Instructor* made Calvinism more acceptable, and even appealing, to contemporary readers by expressing it in less philosophical and more biblically-based language. By developing this progressive and practical version of Calvinism, it provided young intellectuals, increasingly influenced by Romanticism, with an alternative to simply rejecting Scotland's theological heritage.⁶¹ Moreover, by toning down the preoccupations of high Calvinism with God's eternal decrees and humanity's depravity, the *Instructor* created more room for Calvinists to appreciate human culture, reinforcing its own calls for Christian approaches to literature and science.⁶²

The appreciation of the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* both for spiritual concerns like religious revivals and missions and for cultural concerns like literature and science distinguished the clergy who founded it from other groups of ministers within the Kirk. Although they shared a

60. See S.J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, pp. 76-77 for a discussion of the *Instructor's* apprehensions that the emphasis of Chalmers upon practical morality implicitly denied the central Calvinist affirmation of justification by grace alone through faith.

61. For example, James Grierson, the Evangelical minister of Errol, indicated that two reviews by Robert Burns of Paisley in the *Instructor* of 1814 'were the means of SETTLING my mind in regard to the entire consistency between Calvinism and the Word of God.' Letter of Grierson to Burns 1 Feb. 1835 in R.F. Burns, *Robert Burns*, p. 118.

62. This also reinforced the *Instructor's* strong emphasis on the need for practical action to disseminate Christianity in Scotland and around the world. Calvinism was taking similar shape throughout Britain during this period. Thomas Haweis and Thomas Scott championed this approach among Anglicans and David Bogue and, above all, Andrew Fuller did so among English Nonconformists. This Calvinism was progressive as well as practical, reflecting elements of the values and methodology of the Enlightenment and Romanticism in contrast to scholastic system building (for example, its interest in building theology from a literary analysis of the Bible rather than from a study of dogma). The author is grateful to Ken Stewart of New College, Edinburgh for sharing some of the fruits of his research on nineteenth-century Calvinism in Britain from his forthcoming Ph.D. thesis, particularly for suggesting 'progressive and practical' as the most accurate designation for this form of Calvinism.

commitment to the former with older, traditional Evangelicals, their strong cultural interest, or at least their willingness to express this interest in a religious periodical, differentiated them from their forebears. These young Evangelicals took pains to show that they were not narrowly religious, and even expressed appreciation for the works of some Moderates which their older colleagues suspected.⁶³ Nonetheless, their activist approach to Christianity differentiated them from the Moderates. The young ministers associated with the *Instructor* attempted to draw a line between traditional Evangelicalism and Moderatism in order to create their own distinctive approach to Christianity and to ministry in the Church of Scotland.

Andrew Thomson, the editor of the *Instructor*, stood in the forefront of this group of young Evangelicals. His ministry at St. George's, Edinburgh exemplified the magazine's approach as he sought to make Evangelicalism socially acceptable to the educated and professional classes of the capital's New Town. He adapted elements of Moderate preaching style to communicate Evangelical content from its pulpit, just as he had adapted elements from the *Edinburgh Review's* periodical style to communicate this in the *Instructor*.⁶⁴ Thomson viewed his work as editor

63. Cf. the reviews of *History of the Reformation in Scotland* by George Cook, minister of Laurencekirk and a member of a leading Moderate family, in the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 4 (Jan. 1812):54ff and in the *Religious Monitor* 10 (July 1812):257ff. The *Instructor's* review praised this work for its literary style and for examining the overall political and cultural context of the Reformation. On the other hand, the *Monitor's* review criticised Cook for neglecting doctrine: 'It has by far too worldly a cast, a circumstance, which, though occasioned in some measure by his original plan, is not on this account the less to be regretted or even reprehended.' (p. 258)

64. For a further discussion of Thomson's use of Moderate methodology in his preaching see: Henderson, 'Evangelism, Worship, and Theology', pp. 54-5.

of the *Instructor* as an extension of his parish ministry, expressing the same message to a wider audience.⁶⁵

Thomson's well-developed aesthetic sensibilities distinguished him from some of his older, traditional Evangelical colleagues in the Edinburgh Presbytery, occasionally evoking their displeasure.⁶⁶ In a similar way the *Instructor's* broader cultural interests set it apart from the mouthpiece of traditional Evangelical clergy, the *Religious Monitor*. Perhaps this difference made the *Instructor* more appealing to a lay readership, especially among the educated and professional middle classes, and extended the influence of Evangelicalism beyond the *Monitor's* predominantly clerical audience.⁶⁷

Multiple influences worked together to broaden the cultural interests of young Evangelicals in the Kirk. Several general social trends in Scotland during the early nineteenth century would have encouraged this development. The works of early Romantic authors like Walter Scott created a burst of interest in literature. Likewise, the technological advances of the early Industrial Revolution promoted scientific learning. In addition many hoped that exposure to literature and natural science would help off-

65. See Thomson's defence of a parish minister editing a religious periodical in *Report of the Debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland on the Overtures anent the Union of Offices, May 1825* (Edinburgh: John Lindsay, 1825), p. 154.

66. For example, Thomson told Charles Watson, minister of Burntisland, that when John Campbell of the Tolbooth Church discovered that he had attended the Music Festival at Liverpool while away on his summer holiday in 1823, Campbell reported this to the Presbytery and had him fined a bottle of wine. Diaries of Charles Watson, NCL, 7 Nov. 1823 in volume entitled, 'Memoranda: 27 Nov. 1822--2 July 1824'.

67. For example, soon after his conversion, James Anderson, a young educated Dundee merchant with strong literary and scientific interests, began considering making some contributions to the *Instructor*. See his letter to Thomas Chalmers, 13 Jan. 1812, Chalmers Correspondence, StAUL, MS 30385.17.ff.1-4.

set the depersonalising effects of urbanisation and industrialisation.⁶⁸ Trends within the wider Church also contributed to the greater cultural appreciation of the *Instructor*. English evangelicals were moving in a similar direction, and influential works like William Wilberforce's *Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians* helped to spread a vision for a comprehensive Christian approach to all areas of life.

Moderatism probably was the most important and pervasive influence. All of the clerical supporters of the *Instructor* had been educated in Moderate-dominated universities, and some of them were themselves newly converted from Moderatism to Evangelicalism.⁶⁹ The cultural emphasis of the Moderates was so strong that it remained a basic presupposition for these young Evangelicals, though they did attempt to reinterpret this presupposition on more biblical principles.

Even older, traditional Evangelicals may have contributed to the broader cultural appreciation of their younger counterparts. Although their primary focus was upon spiritual concerns such as parish ministry and missions, many of them also showed a strong secondary interest in literature and science.⁷⁰ However, while cultural issues remained secondary

68. See reviews by Robert Burns of Paisley on a scientific work (*Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 4 [June 1812]:410ff) and a poem (vol. 5 [July 1812]:39ff), where he sounded like a typical Romantic in his commendations of science and literature for the ways in which they counteracted urban life's tendencies to constrict humanity's moral and aesthetic nature.

69. For example, Thomas Chalmers, Henry Duncan of Ruthwell, and Robert Lundie had all either openly identified with the Moderate Party or were at least sympathetic to it before their involvement in the *Instructor*.

70. For example, Bryce Johnston, minister of Holywood near Dumfries from 1771 to 1805, was not only a director of the LMS, but the author of a strictly scientific book entitled *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Dumfries: with Observations on the Means of its Improvement* (London: T. Wright, 1794).

even for the young clergy associated with the *Instructor*,⁷¹ in general they did show greater attention to these than did their forbears. This development within Evangelicalism reflected a basic tension within the Reformed Kirk, going back to its origins in Renaissance humanism with its strong cultural emphasis and Reformation theology with its strong spiritual emphasis.⁷²

The *Instructor*'s combination of religious fervour and cultural relevance seems to have been highly popular.⁷³ By 1819 the magazine had become the dominant religious periodical in Scotland, with a majority of its readers coming from the Kirk. Its comprehensive approach provided something for almost any reader. It was as orthodox and evangelical as any other religious periodical, yet as in touch with the latest literary and scientific developments as most secular periodicals. The *Instructor* contained a wide variety of articles and letters to the editor, incisive reviews, and up-to-date intelligence, religious and otherwise. No other

71. 'Literary and Scientific Intelligence' always was given far less space than 'Religious Intelligence', and most of the *Instructor*'s articles dealt with more specifically religious topics such as theology or Biblical studies.

72. These emphases were overall tendencies and not mutually exclusive. Many humanists were also interested in spirituality, and some Reformers were also interested in culture. For a more extensive discussion of how this tension affected earlier Scottish church history see two articles by James K. Cameron: 'The Church of Scotland in the age of reason,' *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 58 (1967):1939-1951; and 'The Renaissance Tradition in the Reformed Church of Scotland,' *Studies in Church History* 14 (1977):251-269.

73. Although the *Instructor* makes no direct claims about its circulation, indirect evidence suggests that its popularity was extensive and growing between 1810 and 1819. During this period every other Scottish religious periodical suffered major difficulties, in part perhaps because they could not compete with the *Instructor* (Couper, *The Edinburgh Periodical Press*, 2:226-228, 233-237). By 1820 even one of the magazine's critics had to admit on the floor of the General Assembly that he could not ignore 'a work which had so great an influence on public opinion.' (*Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 19 [June 1820]:409.)

religious periodical in Scotland brought so much material together in such an attractive, fashionable package.⁷⁴

The *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* had significant influence upon the development of Evangelicalism within the Church of Scotland between 1810 and 1819. Its most important role lay in providing a public forum for young Evangelicals to discuss the application of Christianity to all areas of life. The work's involvement in the prominent religious controversies of the 1820s and 30s has tended to overshadow the importance of this earlier objective. As a result some general misconceptions have arisen about the magazine's distinctive character before 1820.

Between 1810 and 1819 the *Instructor* did not play a significant role in formally promoting the Evangelical Party. Although Andrew Thomson and many of its chief contributors identified with that party, the *Instructor* did not concern itself much with ecclesiastical politics, at least to the point of making openly partisan statements, until the 1820s and 30s. Indeed, in the second volume Thomson was careful to disavow any connection between the work and an ecclesiastical party: 'We must inform B.B. that we cannot think of making our Magazine the vehicle of party-politics either in Church or State.'⁷⁵ By and large the *Instructor* fulfilled this expressed intention in practice and generally avoided party issues. Although it included reports on the General Assembly and other church courts, these were objective descriptions, lacking comments of any kind.⁷⁶

74. One practical reason that the *Instructor* could give as much, or more, attention to spiritual concerns as other religious periodicals and still address cultural issues was its size. It had more than twice as much space for copy as most older religious periodicals. The *Religious Monitor* contained 40 single column pages per number. The *Instructor* contained about 75 pages per number, and beginning in its third volume (July 1811) these were all double column in smaller print.

75. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 2 (May 1811):356.

76. Even when Andrew Thomson dissented from actions taken, the *Instructor* made no comment. For example, see its reports on Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 2 (May 1811):347f, and on the General Assembly, vol. 2 (June 1811):411ff.

Just as the *Instructor* was not the mouthpiece of the Evangelical Party between 1810 and 1819, neither was it purely the expression of Andrew Thomson during that time. The list of its chief contributors indicates that Thomson did not write all or even most of the work.⁷⁷ In its first decade, the magazine contained a wide diversity of opinion on a variety of issues, especially in the letters to the editor.⁷⁸ Correspondents often disagreed with Thomson even in the review section.⁷⁹

Not everything was open to debate within the *Instructor*. All discussion took place within a framework that assumed indisputable acceptance both of Calvinist orthodoxy and of basic evangelical emphases upon spiritual awakening and evangelism. Nonetheless, the debate which occurred involved real argument. Thomson was more than willing to include opposing positions in the magazine and even seems to have encouraged debate among his own regular contributors.⁸⁰

The *Instructor* stimulated discussion about a range of issues, which occasionally extended beyond the pages of the work itself. Sometimes

77. See Lundie Letters, NLS, MS 1676.ff 167-171. Note that others contributed as much or more than Thomson. His direct participation may have decreased significantly after his transfer to St. George's in 1814. His speech in 1825 defending a minister's right to combine the pastoral office with editing a magazine suggested this: 'It often happens that for months he [the editor] does not compose a single sentence of all that goes forth to the public under his inspection.' *Report of the Debate in the General Assembly...on...the Union of Offices*, p. 154.

78. Some readers felt that the work carried too many different opinions and that its debates were too long and heated; see a letter to the editor entitled, 'A Word to Angry Critics', *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 13 (Sep. 1816):148f.

79. Thomson joked with Robert Lundie about negative comments in one of his reviews about fishing and hunting being intended as a personal attack on Thomson 'as a quondam fisher and fowler'. Thomson also noted that Lundie's review contradicted an earlier article in the *Instructor* on giving to missionary societies, but printed the review as written all the same. Letter of Andrew Thomson to Robert Lundie, 20 Jan. 1814, Lundie Letters, NLS, MS 9848.ff69-70. Thomson also printed reviews by Thomas Chalmers that were critical of poor rates, though Thomson himself favoured them. See letter of Andrew Thomson to Robert Lundie, 14 Aug. 1814, Lundie Letters, NLS, MS 9848.ff81-2.

80. See letter from Andrew Thomson to Robert Lundie, 9 Sep. 1810, NLS, MS 9848.ff.15-6.

reviewers sought advice from their friends about works they were reviewing.⁸¹ Many of its chief contributors began publishing works of their own, which the *Instructor* took care to review. While these reviews often were positive, the magazine did not hesitate to make criticisms too, providing an internal critique of evolving Evangelical thought.⁸²

The *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* served as an important context in which young Evangelicals could air and test ideas as they developed their own identity, which, in turn, encouraged creative thinking and practical action on a wide range of issues. It helped to build up a network of people sharing a similar worldview within the Church of Scotland and provided a vehicle through which Kirk Evangelicals could interact with those of a similar persuasion from other bodies.⁸³ In so doing, the magazine played a crucial role in the growth of Evangelicalism as an intellectual and social movement within the Scottish Established Church.

The *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 1819-1831: Controversy & Continuity

Between 1819 and 1831 the *Instructor* reached the peak of its influence. After the *Religious Monitor* ceased publication at the end of 1819, it became the only religious periodical closely associated with the

81. See letter of Peter Cosens of Lauder to Robert Lundie, 23 Nov. 1813, Lundie Letters, NLS, MS 9848.ff65-6.

82. The *Instructor* criticised Chalmers's works, though he did not seem to take these criticisms personally (see letter of Chalmers to T.S. Jones, 23 Feb. 1816, Lundie Letters, NLS, MS 9848.ff.108-9). The *Instructor's* internal critique balanced its strong defence of Evangelicals against external attack. See Hanna, *Thomas Chalmers*, 1:281 for a discussion of its criticism and defence of Chalmers' article, 'Christianity' in the *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*.

83. For example, Thomas M'Crie of the Secession Church who was a major contributor to its pages; also English evangelicals such as John Styles of Bristol, who began corresponding with Robert Lundie of Kelso in response to Lundie's review of one of Style's works (Lundie Letters, 12 Mar. 1814, NLS, MS 9848.ff73-4).

Church of Scotland, remaining alone as such until 1831. During this period the *Instructor* continued to reflect its earlier distinctive character, combining a strong spiritual emphasis upon issues such as religious revival and missions with a strong appreciation for cultural activities such as literature and science. Yet, it also grew increasingly polemical as it came to align itself with Andrew Thomson's personal stances and with the Evangelical Party during the religious controversies of the 1820s and early 30s. As the *Instructor* devoted more space to these controversies, it gave comparatively less attention to spiritual and cultural concerns.

Around 1819 the *Instructor* began showing increased interest in ecclesiastico-political controversies within the Kirk. This shift was reflected in its report on the General Assembly for 1819. In addition to the usual description of the proceedings there was a new feature, entitled 'Remarks', which were footnotes containing comments on various actions of the Assembly. While some of these comments were positive, many were negative, specifically castigating both the Moderate Party and some of its members by name.

The Moderates responded by passing an overture in the 1820 Assembly instructing the procurator of the Church of Scotland to take action compelling the *Instructor* to make amends for these comments and ensuring that it did not make similar remarks in the future.⁸⁴ It is uncertain what legal proceedings, if any, the procurator initiated against the work, but it is clear that the *Instructor* was neither penitent nor intimidated.

 84. The remarks in the *Instructor* that the Assembly singled out as particularly offensive were: 'If we were not speaking of the *venerable* Assembly, we should certainly denounce such a measure as iniquitous, cruel, and tyrannical in the extreme. As to the drivellers who supported it by their votes, we think them vastly silly, and not a little malignant.' *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 18 (Oct. 1819):725-6.

Immediately, it issued a long, critical report on the Assembly.⁸⁵ While admitting that some of its language had not been in 'very good taste', the magazine defiantly affirmed its right to comment on the Assembly:

Some no doubt are expecting that we will henceforth observe a respectful silence as to its proceedings; or at least, that fear of its displeasure will prevent us from saying anything but what is dull,...and obsequious. They are mistaken. We know our privileges, and we are determined to maintain them.⁸⁶

The *Instructor* fulfilled this promise by incorporating full reports with comments on the Assembly in succeeding years. After the fury generated by the initial confrontation died down, the reports became less hostile. Yet, the magazine's partisan interest in ecclesiastical politics was not abated; instead it became more sophisticated, incorporating voting lists on key issues in its Assembly reports after 1824 and extending its coverage and criticisms to the lower church courts.⁸⁷

Some of the *Instructor's* readers disliked its growing ecclesiastico-political orientation, especially its open, sometimes vitriolic, attacks on the Moderate Party.⁸⁸ Others supported its criticisms of the Assembly as a means of stimulating public opinion, 'the only check to which any body of men, from whom there is no appeal, can be subjected'.⁸⁹ The bulk of its readers, or at least the bulk of those who continued to read it,

85. Almost the entire June issue was devoted to the proceedings of the 1820 Assembly, *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 19 (June 1820):361-436. The July issue filled its Religious Intelligence section with 'remarks' on the Assembly, including fifteen pages castigating its overture against the *Instructor*.

86. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 19 (July 1820):483.

87. For example, the Presbytery of Edinburgh, *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 20 (Mar. 1821):177ff.

88. One letter to the editor probably summed up the attitude of many of the *Instructor's* more traditional readers: 'I heartily concur in your leading views of theology, and in the professed object of your Magazine, but disapprove very much of the way in which it is conducted. There is an asperity mingled with every controversial subject, which does not suit a Christian Instructor.' *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 20 (May 1821):337.

89. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 19 (Aug. 1820):536.

seem to have belonged to latter group. As the 1820s progressed its letters to the editor increasingly concentrated upon ecclesiastical debates such as pluralities and patronage.⁹⁰

A variety of factors stimulated the *Instructor's* partisan coverage of the church courts after 1819, causing it to abandon its earlier discreet silence on such issues. The work's growing interest in ecclesiastical politics paralleled growing interest of secular publications in state politics around this time.⁹¹ After the Napoleonic wars when national security no longer required strict conformity to the *status quo*, the secular press began making increasing demands for political reform, and periodicals as a result became increasingly controversial and partisan. These social changes probably encouraged the *Instructor* to follow suit, adapting its controversial style, previously reserved for the Kirk's external critics, to call now for reforms within the Church of Scotland.

Nonetheless, the *Instructor's* increased interest in ecclesiastical politics was not simply a result of external social changes. It also was inherent in the comprehensiveness of its approach. Unlike the *Religious Monitor* which restricted itself to 'pietistic' religious concerns, the *Instructor* sought to apply Evangelicalism to every area of life. The *Instructor* could not consistently feature debates on literature and science in its pages, while including none dealing with problems in the Kirk. Moreover, the strong commitment of Evangelicalism to promoting

 90. These included several letters specifically on the merits of the Evangelical and Moderate Parties: for example, 'Letter to a Student in Divinity on the Parties in the Church', *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 20 (Feb. 1821):73ff. For a more extensive discussion of the role the *Instructor* played in promoting the Evangelical Party and in increasing party rivalry see Chambers, 'Mission and Party in the Church of Scotland', pp. 160-8.

91. Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland*, p. 33. The movement for political reform stimulated much of this growing interest. Note that the first piece of reform-related legislation (on burgh reform) was introduced to Parliament in 1819.

spiritual vitality within the Church related directly to some ecclesiastico-political issues.⁹²

The differing approaches to ecclesiastical politics on the part of the *Instructor* and the *Religious Monitor* may reflect contrasting conceptions of the proper relationship between the Kirk and society among the young Evangelicals as represented in the former and the older, traditional group as represented in the latter. Ironically, the members of this second group seem to have adopted a more 'modern' view than their younger counterparts. Despite their strong commitment to the Kirk, these older Evangelicals seemed to accept the breakdown of the 'godly commonwealth' in Scotland, at least implicitly. Perhaps they realised that no group within the Kirk, nor even the Establishment as a whole, could dominate Scotland's increasingly pluralistic and secular society. By restricting itself to narrowly religious issues and avoiding ecclesiastical politics, the *Monitor* showed that these older Evangelicals were willing to take their place alongside Moderates and Dissenters and work within society as it was to promote their own distinctive spiritual concerns. They seem to have realised that society was no longer wholly Christian. They responded to these new social conditions by promoting both zealous pastoral ministry within the Establishment and involvement in religious voluntary societies outside it, thereby accepting an essentially religious function in a generally secular society.

In contrast the supporters of the *Instructor* refused to accept such a narrowly religious role. While recognising that society was becoming increasingly pluralistic and secular, they responded by seeking to regain elements of the 'godly commonwealth' instead of simply abandoning this

 92. For example, the importance of a parish minister giving full attention to the needs of his parish in the pluralities debate; see discussion of patronage below.

social ideal. Their first step was to reject the growing tendency of people to separate life into religious and secular spheres; they did so by incorporating distinctively Christian approaches to seemingly secular areas of life such as literature and science. Their next step was to seek to reassert the authority of the Established Church over society, for they saw the Kirk as the primary means of restoring the supremacy of religion in every dimension of Scottish life. Since the Moderate Party seemed fundamentally committed to subordinating the Kirk to secular political interests, young Evangelicals recognized that in order to reassert the Church's authority they would need to wrest control from Moderate hands. Thus, after 1819 the *Instructor* increasingly focused on ecclesiastico-political debate, building upon its earlier emphasis upon cultural issues.

Another reason for the *Instructor* paid more attention to ecclesiastical politics after 1819 was the growing acceptance and prestige of the Evangelical Party. During the preceding five years, it had shown renewed strength and influence. To the surprise of many observers, several of its younger members had been appointed to prominent pulpits and university positions.⁹³ In 1816 the General Assembly passed an overture restricting pluralities (the practice of simultaneously serving in a university post and as a parish minister), which became law in June 1817 when the presbyteries gave their approval. This was the first major victory of the Evangelical Party in many years and a sign of their increasing influence in the church courts.⁹⁴ After decades of Moderate domination, it now seemed possible for the opposition group to mount a legitimate challenge.

Developments within the Evangelical Party also contributed to the *Instructor's* growing interest in ecclesiastical politics after 1819.

93. For example, Stevenson Macgill as Professor of Divinity at Glasgow in 1814; Andrew Thomson as minister of St. George's in Edinburgh's New Town in 1814; Thomas Chalmers as minister of Glasgow's Tron Church in 1815 and of St. John's in 1819.

94. S.J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, p. 88.

About this time its younger members began questioning the non-partisan policy of its older, traditional leadership, especially that of Henry Moncreiff Wellwood. In 1818 Wellwood reasserted this policy in his *Life of John Erskine*, declaring: 'The controversies relating to patronage are certainly now, in a great measure, at an end.'⁹⁵ Perhaps part of the reason for the magazine's partisan comments in 1819 was to show clearly that Wellwood no longer spoke for the Evangelical Party as a whole.⁹⁶

The older generation of Evangelicals was beginning to succumb to the ravages of age and death around this time.⁹⁷ Sensing that victory now was possibly within reach, their younger counterparts abandoned the old non-partisan approach of peaceful coexistence with the Moderates. Young Evangelicals decided to fight the Moderate Party on its own ecclesiastico-political ground, but with a new weapon: their own popular religious periodical, the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*.

The *Instructor* adapted the method it had used in its first decade to promote revival and evangelism to promote ecclesiastico-political issues in the 1820s and 30s. Its coverage of the patronage debate illustrates this process. Firstly, the magazine served as a forum in which its readers could discuss the various issues related to patronage. While they agreed that patronage was not the dead issue that Wellwood purported it to

 95. Henry Moncreiff Wellwood, *Account of the Life and Writings of John Erskine, D.D.* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co., 1818), p. 473.

96. Perhaps no young Evangelical resented Wellwood's leadership more than the *Instructor's* editor, Andrew Thomson. The work's increased attention to ecclesiastical politics certainly reflected Thomson's personal aspirations within the Evangelical Party. After about 1814 the main topic in his correspondence in both the Lundie Letters and Chalmers Papers switched from discussing arrangements for articles in the *Instructor* to ecclesiastico-political topics.

97. For example, Walter Buchanan ended publication of the *Religious Monitor*, the mouthpiece of traditional Evangelicalism, in 1819, at age 64.

be,⁹⁸ they were divided about how best to respond to this problem.⁹⁹

This discussion eventually led to a concrete proposal in the May 1823 issue of the *Instructor*: a 'Prospectus of a Society for Promoting the Appointment of Evangelical Ministers, by placing Church-Patronages on a Popular Footing'.¹⁰⁰ This prospectus suggested that a voluntary society, similar in organization to existing missionary and Bible societies, be formed for the purpose of raising money to purchase any patronages that came up for sale and then establishing the selection of the minister upon popular choice. As a result, in part, of this article, a society was formed along these lines in the following year, the progress of which was noted carefully in the *Instructor*.¹⁰¹

Moderates were not the only ones to come under attack by the *Instructor* attack between 1819 and 1831. Toward the end of this period the magazine condemned the new theological ideas put forth by both Edward Irving and John McLeod Campbell. In so doing it contributed to their deposition by the General Assembly in 1831, an action supported by both Evangelicals and Moderates alike.¹⁰²

 98. Review of Wellwood's *Life of John Erskine, Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 19 (Jan. 1820):47ff.

99. Some feared popular election and desired only to modify the abuses of patronage; others preferred to do away with it altogether. For the former see 'Observations on the Declension of the Church of Scotland, and on Patronage, and a Plan for remedying the Evils of Patronage' (*Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 20 [Mar. 1821]:149ff) and a review essay (vol. 20 [Apr. 1821]:256ff); for the latter see 'On Church Patronage' (vol. 20 [Oct. 1821]:643ff).

100. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 22 (May 1823):285ff.

101. See reports on the 'Society for Improving the System of Church Patronage in Scotland', beginning *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 23 (Nov. 1824):774f. Andrew Thomson was a leading figure in this society. In February 1825 the *Instructor* issued a call for local auxiliaries of this society to be formed throughout Scotland, just as it had done 15 years earlier for the B&FBS.

102. The *Instructor* strongly defended the Assembly's decision, a marked contrast from its more typical criticism of the decisions of that body, *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 30 (June 1831):436ff.

Historians of this episode agree that the *Instructor* took a leading role in stirring up opposition against Irving and McLeod Campbell.¹⁰³ Yet, the magazine's response was not as one-dimensional as some modern accounts imply. Although its condemnation was strong and extensive once it came, it seems to have delayed its attack until the unorthodox nature of the new doctrinal formulations was established beyond doubt.¹⁰⁴ The publication was much more critical of Irving than it was of McLeod Campbell, perhaps out of long held reservations about the former's pentecostal tendencies.

The strength of the *Instructor's* hard-line rejection of Irving and McLeod Campbell may seem inconsistent with its earlier attempts to develop a moderating approach to Calvinism. However, its discussion of the different doctrines under debate in these controversies reflected a basic continuity with its past approach. It focused much more of its condemnation upon issues related to Christ's human nature and to the atonement than to those which dealt with the nature of assurance. The first two doctrines threatened the core of Calvinist belief, undermining its conception of salvation, which lay at the heart of Evangelical support for vital

 103. See Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland*, pp. 332-333; Drummond and Bulloch, *The Scottish Church 1688-1843*, pp. 212-213; J. Philip Newell, "'Unworthy of the dignity of the Assembly": the Deposition of Alexander John Scott in 1831', *RSCHS* 21 (1983):260; see also Duncan Finlayson, 'Aspects of the Life and Influence of Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, 1788-1870,' *RSCHS* 20 (1980):37.

104. As late as April 1828 the *Instructor* was still defending Edward Irving from his critics in the secular press and drawing attention to his sincere piety, though it had major reservations about his teachings on prophecy, *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 27 (Apr. 1828):292. Two articles appeared in 1829 that were critical of Irving's view on Christ's human nature, but the full-blown attack on Irving and Campbell did not come until 1830 when the January, February and March issues of the *Instructor* were devoted exclusively to a condemnation of their views, as was a great proportion of the subsequent issues from April to July.

piety and proselytism.¹⁰⁵

In contrast to its single-minded condemnation of these new ideas regarding Christ's humanity and the atonement, the *Instructor* showed some degree of openness to McLeod Campbell's views on assurance, at least before the 1831 depositions lumped all these theological concepts together. In 1828 the *Instructor* carried a long series of letters to the editor debating the nature of assurance. Christ's humanity and the atonement were core issues, not open for debate, but assurance was less central. Moreover, Scottish Calvinism had experienced persistent difficulties both with formulating its doctrine of assurance¹⁰⁶ and especially with practically applying it in the lives of church people. Because of its moderating Calvinist approach, the *Instructor* seemed willing at first to entertain some of the new ideas as a possible solution to these old difficulties.

Ironically, the magazine's success at moderating the extremes of Calvinism may have encouraged Irving, McLeod Campbell and others to reexamine some of its more central doctrines. It is a further irony that they may have done so, in part, for the same reason that the *Instructor* both originally developed its moderating approach to Calvinism and eventually condemned their reexamination: to promote deeper piety in the Church and evangelism. The publication's condemnation of those deposed by the General Assembly in 1831 marked a shift in its attitude toward Calvinism. It became less apprehensive about the ill effects of extreme Calvinism and more concerned about defending its central doctrines. Perhaps this shift prepared the way for the revival of high Calvinism among many of the Free

 105. A preface by the *Instructor*'s editor to one of the earliest articles condemning Irving's view of Christ's human nature distinguished this issue from some of Irving's earlier novelties. It indicated that the *Instructor* had not opposed Irving's millennial doctrines because they would soon be disproved, but his latest Christological teaching had to be refuted firmly since it 'struck at the basis of eternal hope'. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 28 (Oct. 1829):705ff.

106. For example, the Marrow Controversy of the eighteenth century.

Church fathers who succeeded the generation of Evangelicals associated with the *Instructor*.

The *Instructor* also participated in several controversies outside the Church of Scotland between 1819 and 1831. The longest lasting and most vituperative of these, and indeed of all its controversies, was the vehement support it gave to those who opposed the dissemination of the Apocrypha by the British and Foreign Bible Society (B&FBS). The *Instructor's* participation in this controversy reflected several important changes in its character.

For the first time a single issue dominated the pages of the *Instructor*, greatly constricting its comprehensive coverage. Once it seemed clear that the B&FBS was not going to meet Scottish objections to Apocrypha distribution, the *Instructor* threw its whole weight into attacking the B&FBS. The Apocrypha Controversy consumed the attention of the publication from January 1826, when it made its first critical comments on this issue, until 1830, when doctrinal controversies came to the forefront. Almost every number during this period contained something on this issue, with many articles running to thirty or forty pages. The amount of space given to the Apocrypha Controversy reduced the publication's coverage of other areas, even supplanting normal ecclesiastico-political interests such as the General Assembly.

Unlike earlier controversies when many different opinions were expressed, the *Instructor* contained only anti-Apocrypha sentiments in this controversy.¹⁰⁷ It adopted a highly propagandist approach, praising or criticising individuals and organizations solely on the basis of their stand on this issue. This one-sided approach to the Apocrypha Controversy

 107. Ironically, the *Instructor* continued to open its pages to divergent opinions on other controversial issues such as patronage even in the midst of the Apocrypha Controversy.

reflected Andrew Thomson's strong personal involvement. He seems to have altered the periodical's primary purpose, at least on this issue, from being a forum for discussion to being a platform for his own polemics.

Thomson's tendentious handling of the Apocrypha Controversy seems to have soured some readers' opinions of the *Instructor*. In June 1827, after praising the work for so ably arguing against the Apocrypha and opposing the B&FBS, one letter to the editor politely suggested: 'But...I am beginning to think, and I know that a large portion of your readers are of the same opinion, that it would be as well if the contest were now given up'.¹⁰⁸ Thomson ignored this suggestion and angrily dismissed later ones that were not as polite. Some readers seem to have abandoned the *Instructor* at this time, perhaps switching to the other major Scottish religious periodical, the Seceders' *Edinburgh Theological Magazine*, which admitted pro-B&FBS articles.¹⁰⁹

The *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 1831-1840: Decline & Demise

On 9 February 1831 Andrew Thomson, the *Instructor's* founding editor, unexpectedly dropped dead on his own doorstep at the age of 52. This loss plunged the work into the major crisis of its existence, one from which it never fully recovered. Thomson had been the dominant figure in the development of the *Instructor*, editing it without assistance for two decades. Moreover, he was the acknowledged head of the Evangelical Party within the Established Church, a widely respected, and feared, religious leader of national reputation. Thomson's personal stature greatly contributed to the magazine's widespread influence and authority.

108. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 26 (June 1827):441-2.

109. Couper, *The Edinburgh Periodical Press*, 2:237-239.

Thomson played an irreplaceable role for the *Instructor*. Thomas Chalmers was the only other Evangelical leader of comparable stature, but he was far too busy with his own writing and academic duties to take on the added demands of editing a monthly periodical. The magazine struggled throughout its final decade trying to find a suitable successor to Thomson, with several editors doing their best to sustain it with varying degrees of success. Despite their efforts, the *Instructor* quickly lost its dominant position among Scottish religious periodicals, becoming simply one of a number of Church of Scotland related publications, and by the mid-1830s, not even one of the strongest ones.

At first the *Instructor* seemed to cope with the shock of Thomson's unexpected death without too much trouble. Throughout the remainder of 1831 it continued to appear on schedule, continuing the same basic format that Thomson had been following.¹¹⁰ At the end of the year its proprietors announced that they had secured the services of a new permanent editor and that the January 1832 issue would be the first in a new series under his supervision.¹¹¹

Thomson's successor was Marcus Dods, father of the famous New Testament scholar of the same name, a somewhat surprising choice. Although Dods was a long-time contributor to the *Instructor* and fairly well-known throughout Scotland as a result of his controversial and theological writings, he lived in Belford, Northumberland, where he was minister of a Scottish Presbyterian congregation. Dods struggled along for four years,

 110. The periodical seems to have been edited during this time by a group of Thomson's friends, with David Dickson, minister of St. Cuthbert's in Edinburgh, and Charles Watson, minister of Burntisland, bearing the bulk of the burden. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, 4th Series, 2 (Nov. 1839):448. *FES* 5:83f. Several entries in Watson's diary for 1831 suggest that he served as primary editor during the late spring and early summer, working with an editorial board consisting of Dickson and several other ministers, most notably John Cormack of Stow (see entries from May through August, especially 26 May 1831, *Diaries of Charles Watson*, NCL).

111. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 30 (Dec. 1831):877ff.

but his distant and secluded residence curtailed his effectiveness, leading to a change in editors in 1836.

The new editor, Archibald Bennie, minister of Lady Yester's Church, Edinburgh and a favourite among university students, appeared to be an ideal successor to Dods. However, Bennie was equally unable to stem the *Instructor's* decline during his two years as editor.¹¹² The work's problems lay deeper than finding a competent local editor, reflecting the growing inadequacy of its generalised approach. Thus, at the end of 1837, when the magazine announced another change of editors, it also outlined a series of sweeping changes in its basic format.

These changes transformed the magazine into a much more popular and specialised periodical. To bring the *Instructor* 'within the range of ordinary readers' each issue was made shorter and cheaper¹¹³, and the length of individual articles was reduced. The work also identified itself closely with the Glasgow Colonial Society, as suggested by its new lengthened title: the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor, and Colonial Religious Register*.

Although its new editor claimed that he was following Andrew Thomson's original plan with very few alterations,¹¹⁴ the *Instructor* had become a very different work from the one originally intended to provide an equally literary and intellectual alternative to the *Edinburgh*

 112. A contemporary Evangelical newspaper criticised the September 1836 issue of the *Instructor* for being 'somewhat dull and monotonous', *Scottish Guardian* 5 (11 Oct. 1836):329. Bennie's memoir was curiously silent about his tenure as editor, only noting defensively that 'he felt obliged to resign, solely in consequence of the pressure of increasing and more incumbent obligations.' *Discourses by the Late Archibald Bennie D.D....to which is Prefixed a Memoir of the Author* (Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 1847), p. xlii.

113. To 40 pages and 6d. per number, *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 3rd Series, 2 (Dec. 1837):806ff.

114. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, 4th Series, 1 (1838):iii.

Review.¹¹⁵ The main continuities with the old *Instructor* were its strong spiritual and controversial interests.

¶ Ironically, the new editor who initiated these radical changes was Robert Burns, minister of Paisley, one of the *Instructor's* earliest and most literarily minded contributors. His willingness to reshape the *Instructor* along such different lines reveals how much the work was floundering and how far its basic audience had changed. Burns seems to have accurately assessed the desires of periodical readers in the late 1830s. According to sources sympathetic to Burns, his efforts reversed the publication's decline.¹¹⁶

¶ Nonetheless, these improvements did not seem to be sufficient to sustain the magazine through the tumultuous times immediately preceding the Disruption. Burns gave a cryptic explanation of the decision to end publication in December 1840:

The reasons of the cessation of the work *now*, it may not be at all interesting to the public to know. Suffice it to say, that nothing would have been wanting in the liberality of the proprietors and publishers to carry it on; that its literary resources were rather on the advance than otherwise; and that the editor was, and still is, most willing to continue *his* utmost efforts in its behalf.¹¹⁷

Most likely, the *Instructor*, even with its more popular, specialised format, still had too general an approach to be considered worth continu-

115. These differences were underlined in 1839 when the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*... began to be published in Glasgow, perhaps to be closer to its new base of support among the members of the Glasgow Colonial Society.

116. His biographer claimed that as a result of Burns' editorial labours the *Instructor*, 'which for some time had been on the wane, greatly revived, and it regained not a little of its ancient glory'. R.F. Burns, *Robert Burns*, p. 118. See also circulation claims in the preface to the *Instructor's* 1840 volume.

117. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, 4th Series, 3 (1840):iii.

ing at a time when many Evangelicals were concentrating all their efforts upon supporting the Non-Intrusion cause.¹¹⁸

The struggles of the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* between 1831 and 1840 reflected its inability to keep up with new trends within the religious periodical press in Scotland. These trends, in turn, reflected larger changes in the nature of Evangelicalism within the Church of Scotland itself during this time. Ironically, both these trends and these changes were the result, to a significant degree, of the powerful influence of the *Instructor*. The magazine's decline in the 1830s was perhaps the clearest evidence of its success in the 1810s and 20s. It had created an audience of Evangelicals who had come to expect comprehensive coverage of spiritual, cultural, and ecclesiastico-political issues. However, by the 1830s it was no longer possible for any single magazine to keep up with the developments taking place in all of these fields of interest. The role that the *Instructor* could play alone in its early years could only be fulfilled by a group of specialised publications, comprising a diversified Evangelical periodical press.

 118. In addition, in 1840, the year in which it was decided to suspend publication of the *Instructor*, the Glasgow Colonial Society was absorbed by the Colonial Committee of the General Assembly, and its activities were publicised in a periodical specially devoted to the Assembly schemes, thus making this dimension of the *Instructor's* coverage no longer necessary.

*CHAPTER 3***THE KIRK-RELATED RELIGIOUS PERIODICAL PRESS IN SCOTLAND 1831-1843:
MULTIPLICATION AND SPECIALISATION**

After Andrew Thomson's death in 1831 the religious periodical press in Scotland underwent explosive growth. Publications connected with the Church of Scotland appeared frequently, especially during the first five years of this period. These new efforts differed in several ways from their predecessors. They were more diverse and specialised. Instead of providing comprehensive coverage of a wide range of issues, they concentrated upon a specific area of interest or a particular audience, a policy which led to a great variety among the journals that appeared in this period. Religious periodicals broke out of their monthly mould, adapting the formats used in secular publications such as the semiweekly newspaper and the weekly magazine.

These changes reflected a growing desire among Evangelicals to propagate their distinctive message throughout both the Established Church and the nation as a whole. While they felt free to present this message in new forms, the basic content remained essentially the same as in earlier publications. Although Kirk-related periodicals tended to become increasingly polemical during this period, the most long-lived ones con-

tinued to show an overall commitment to revitalising the Church and to propagating Christian teaching and ethics.

Developments both outside and within Evangelicalism contributed to the explosive growth of Church of Scotland-related publications after 1831. Periodicals became significantly cheaper to produce, especially in large quantities, around this time. Technological improvements from the turn of the century such as the steam printing press and the paper making machine were only then becoming widely available, significantly reducing the cost of production.¹ Several changes in government regulations around this time helped to make the paper on which Scottish periodicals were printed less expensive.² *The success of the Reform Bill in 1832 stimulated freer debate and discussion throughout Scotland, encouraging the development of periodicals in general.*³

The death of Andrew Thomson may have encouraged the development of new Kirk-related religious publications. His fellow Evangelicals no longer needed to worry that such a move would offend their leader, evoking his stinging rebuke in the *Instructor*. Yet, even Thomson himself sensed that the times called for new approaches. Just before his death he recommended that a religious newspaper be formed to supplement the efforts of the *Instructor*.

Evangelicalism was growing rapidly at this time, both as an ecclesiastical party and as a broader social and intellectual movement

 1. Hayden indicates that this technology did not begin to decrease the price of publications until 1827, *British Literary Magazines: The Romantic Age*, p. xvi.

2. Before 1828 all paper on which Scottish periodicals were printed had to be stamped in London. In 1828 the government finally allowed paper to be stamped in Edinburgh as well, thus cutting out the cost of transporting paper all the way from London. (Couper, *The Edinburgh Periodical Press* 1:152-154.) In 1836 the Stamp Tax was itself reduced from four pence to a penny, Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland*, pp. 165-6.

3. Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland*, p. 134. Legal precedents set in several libel cases in 1831 lessened the threat of libel against an editor, perhaps contributing to the growth of controversial periodicals.

within the Kirk. By 1831 too much was going on in the Evangelical world for any one magazine to cover as the *Instructor* had done in the 1810s and 20s. As a result, several works became necessary to fulfill its former role with each new periodical concentrating upon a single dimension of the *Instructor's* earlier overall coverage.

Prior to 1831 the *Religious Monitor* and its successor, the *Scottish Missionary Register*, had concentrated upon the practical dimension of Evangelicalism, specifically as it was expressed through voluntary societies.⁴ In July 1831 a specialised religious periodical focusing on the cultural dimension of the movement appeared in Edinburgh, the *Presbyterian Review and Religious Journal*. This work sought to develop a distinctively Christian interpretation of every area of life through a highly intellectual and literary approach.

While the *Scottish Missionary Register* sought to expand the increasingly inadequate Religious Intelligence section of the *Instructor*, the *Presbyterian Review* sought to redress its growing neglect of cultural issues, resulting in part from its preoccupation with various religious controversies in the 1820s. The *Instructor's* reviews were almost exclusively of religious books, and its letters to the editor rarely discussed literature and science anymore. The *Presbyterian Review* was an attempt to provide a forum in which Evangelicals could discuss cultural concerns, recapturing the intellectual cutting edge that the *Instructor's* general format and controversial nature had blunted.

4. During the 1810s, perhaps because it could not match the *Instructor's* comprehensive coverage, the *Monitor* increasingly gave over its pages to 'Religious Intelligence', devoting its attention to the work of Scottish religious voluntary societies, particularly the Scottish Missionary Society [SMS]. Its transformation into a magazine specialising in missions became complete in 1819 when the *Monitor* ended publication, turning its subscription list over to a new periodical sponsored by the SMS, the *Scottish Missionary Register*, which made its debut in January 1820 (*Religious Monitor* 17 [Dec. 1819]:459).

▶ The *Presbyterian Review* reflected the interests of a new generation of young Evangelicals who had been greatly influenced by the generation associated with the *Instructor*.⁵ A group of four Edinburgh divinity students in connection with the Church of Scotland were the prime movers behind this venture.⁶ They explained some of their reasons for taking this step in an advertisement prefixed to the first volume. In part, the periodical was a response to the Voluntary Controversy which was then developing momentum, but only indirectly so. While the *Presbyterian Review* explicitly identified itself with the Church of Scotland, it was not intended to attack directly those who opposed the Kirk. Its primary purpose was to provide:

for the supporters --but especially the clergy-- of the Church of Scotland, the advantage of an open and honourable arena of trial, for the full exhibition of their comparative strength, and of their familiarity with those higher walks of theological literature, philosophy, and science, which have been supposed to be frequented by few in this country.⁷

To underscore the fact that the *Presbyterian Review* was intended to be a serious intellectual review and not a polemical rag, the advertisement indicated that any profits would go toward paying an editor and increasing the remuneration paid to its contributors.

In this practice and in several other ways the *Presbyterian Review* strongly reflected the influence of the *Edinburgh Review*. The Pres-

5. A contemporary newspaper commented on the similarity between the founding of this new work and that of the *Instructor* over two decades earlier, noting particularly the influence of Thomas Chalmers upon its founders. *Scottish Guardian* 1 (14 Feb. 1832):33.

6. Alexander Turner, age 23, later minister of the Gorbals and Port Monteith; Patrick Campbell Macdougall, 25, later Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh; John Grant, 27, later minister of Petty and Brachollie in Inverness-shire before joining the Free Church; John Reid Omond, 27, later minister of Monzie in Perthshire before joining the Free Church. Norman L. Walker, *Robert Buchanan, D.D.: An Ecclesiastical Biography* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1877), pp. 35-36.

7. Advertisement, 31 Dec. 1831, prefixed to the *Presbyterian Review* 1 (July 1831-Jan. 1832), no page number.

byterian Review imitated the style and format of the *Edinburgh Review* much more closely than the *Instructor* had done in its early days. As its title suggested the new work was also much more exclusively a review. The bulk of its contents were long, essay-like reviews, laid out by number as in the *Edinburgh Review*. Although the *Presbyterian Review* contained ecclesiastical and religious intelligence in its closing pages, it did not include general articles or letters to the editor.

While the style and format of the *Presbyterian Review* reflected the *Edinburgh Review* more than the *Instructor*, its content showed the strong influence of the latter. The *Presbyterian Review* combined a basic commitment to spreading heart-felt Christianity with a strong appreciation for culture, just as the early *Instructor* had done. In a certain sense the *Presbyterian Review* was an attempt to beat the *Instructor* at its own game of providing an Evangelical, but equally intellectual and literary, alternative to the *Edinburgh Review*. By concentrating upon this one dimension of the *Instructor's* overall approach, the *Presbyterian Review* could accomplish this task much more efficiently than its predecessor.⁸

Although its founders specifically mentioned the clergy as a source of contributors and readers, they seem to have intended the *Presbyterian Review* to appeal to a general intellectual audience, and to this end included articles of particular interest to the educated and professional middle classes.⁹ The work's lay orientation accelerated after mid-1834 when Alexander Dunlop, a young Edinburgh lawyer, was persuaded to become

8. The *Presbyterian Review's* similarities to both the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Instructor* indicate that it stood very much in the small, but highly influential, Whig/Evangelical intellectual tradition. For further discussion of the relationship between Whigs, the Evangelical Party, and religious periodicals like the *Presbyterian Review* see Chambers, 'Mission and Party in the Church of Scotland', pp. 173ff, 232ff, 278ff.

9. For example, its first number included a review of *Outlines of the Ancient History of Medicine*, *Presbyterian Review* 1 (July 1831):78ff.

its editor.¹⁰ As the first lay person to edit a Kirk-related religious periodical, Dunlop exemplified the growing appeal of Evangelicalism among the laity during the 1830s, particularly among professionals.¹¹ In addition his appointment suggests that the movement was becoming less dominated by clergy.

Perhaps to ensure the continued interest of its lay readers, the new magazine reviewed a wide variety of works, not just religious ones. Although it felt free to evaluate things like new calculus textbooks according to purely practical criteria, it usually attempted to develop distinctively Christian approaches to seemingly secular fields of study such as science and literature. It paid particular attention to the compatibility between science and biblical Christianity. For example, an article criticised attempts to reconcile these by rewriting either geology or Genesis, arguing that both were adequate for their own particular sphere of knowledge. Since Genesis was written from a simple observer's point-of-view, it was not intended to provide the kind of precise scientific analysis for which modern geology strove.¹²

The *Presbyterian Review* also sought to develop a Christian approach to literature. A review of a poem in its first issue sought to justify its interest in literary matters by arguing for a distinctively 'presbyterian' appreciation for poetry. It maintained that pres-

 10. Initially the work was edited by its founders as a committee, but eventually one of their number, John Reid Omond, took on sole editorial responsibilities. In the middle of 1834, around the time Omond was appointed as a preacher at Logiealmond, Alexander Dunlop took over the *Presbyterian Review*. Walker, *Robert Buchanan*, pp. 35-36.

11. See for example a letter to Fox Maule from John Cunninghame 16 June 1835, SRO, GD/45/14/625 identifying a group of Edinburgh lawyers as 'very godly'. For the role of the *Presbyterian Review* in supporting the aspirations of the urban middle classes against the rural landed classes in the debate on eldership reform, see Maciver, 'The General Assembly of the Church, the State and Society in Scotland', pp. 76ff.

12. 'Revelation and the Physical Sciences--Geology', a review article evaluating several works, *Presbyterian Review* 10 (May 1838):708ff.

byterianism was not inherently inimical to poetry, only to 'gross profanity, or mere meretricious prettiness'. It went on to claim that presbyterianism encouraged poetry, since 'true' poetry arose when society was free from political oppression and religious superstition. It stated further: 'We shall not lightly award the meed of our approbation to anything claiming the name and honours of poetry, which has not for its object either to elevate and ennoble the mind, or to awaken and purify the affections'.¹³ The reviewer was quick to clarify this critical guideline by noting that poetry was not good simply because it happened to deal with religious themes. On the contrary, he held that most religious poetry was deficient in both style and theology, being little more than a crude attempt to achieve easy popularity.

The *Review* did not develop an Evangelical approach to culture to the neglect of traditional spiritual concerns. From its beginning it showed a strong interest in promoting religious revival, proselytism, and social morality. This interest grew stronger as the work continued, particularly after 1839.

The magazine contained numerous articles on missions, both defending missions from external attacks¹⁴ and providing an internal critique of how Evangelicals carried out their missionary activities.¹⁵ It also encouraged new proselytising efforts such as the General Assembly's mission to

 13. Review of *The Pleasures of Benevolence; A Poem in Two Parts*, *Presbyterian Review* 1 (July 1831):37-38.

14. For example, 'Present State of the South Sea Missions' argued that criticisms of missionary work made by several secular magazines were unsubstantiated and that missions had improved the quality of life in these islands. *Presbyterian Review* 1 (Nov. 1831):370-405.

15. For example, a critical notice of two works on the Moravians made the following comment: 'It is with feelings of sorrow and indignation, that we see the endeavours of *some* of our own societies, to control their missionaries, and to prevent their moving a step without their specific permission!...Will the Scottish Missionary Society not take a lesson from these Moravian Missions?' *Presbyterian Review* 1 (Jan. 1832):579.

the Jews in 1839-40.¹⁶ The work paid particular attention to social concerns, arguing that Christians had a special responsibility to become involved in issues such as prison reform and the education of the physically and mentally handicapped,¹⁷ and an article on parochial schools was the primary catalyst for the formation of the Glasgow Educational Authority in 1834.¹⁸

The *Presbyterian Review* displayed an early and recurring interest in religious revivals. It argued that the Kirk was in desperate need of spiritual awakening, claiming that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit was almost lost during the 'age of Blair and Robertson'.¹⁹ Nonetheless, its approval of revivals did not imply an acceptance of any means to stimulate them. Several reviews criticised American revivalists such as Charles Finney for substituting human techniques for the sovereign work of the Holy Spirit.²⁰ The work maintained a moderate Calvinistic approach to revivals, calling for special prayer for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, while cautioning against using extraordinary means like 'revival men' to generate enthusiasm. It believed that the faithful ministry of parish ministers provided a more suitable context for revival to emerge in Scotland.

The publication's interest in awakening in the Church accelerated after several religious revivals broke out in Scotland during the summer

 16. *Presbyterian Review* 11 (Oct. 1838):254ff. For further discussion of the work's role in establishing the Assembly's mission to the Jews see Chambers, 'Mission and Party in the Church of Scotland', pp. 115ff.

17. See *Presbyterian Review* 9 (Nov. 1836):1ff and vol. 9 (May 1837):504ff respectively.

18. Letter from Robert Buchanan to Alexander Dunlop, 27 Nov. 1834, in Walker, *Robert Buchanan*, pp. 37ff.

19. *Presbyterian Review* 8 (Sept. 1836):610ff.

20. Review of *History and Character of American Revivals* by Calvin Colton, *Presbyterian Review* 2 (Sept. 1832):521ff; review of Finney's *Lectures on Revival*, vol. 11 (Oct. 1838):264ff. For a more extensive discussion of the criticisms of Scottish Evangelicals of this approach to revival see chapter 9.

of 1839. It gave these spiritual awakenings extensive coverage in its Religious Intelligence section and vigorously defended their authenticity against criticism from both within and outside the Kirk.²¹ The magazine also attempted to aid the revival movement directly by reviewing two works on dealing with 'anxious inquirers' in April 1839²² and by publicising various unions for prayer in the 1840s.

Ecclesiastical politics and religious controversies competed with cultural and spiritual concerns for space in the pages of the *Presbyterian Review* just as they had in the *Instructor*. However, unlike the its predecessor, these never came to dominate the *Review*. The new magazine confined the majority of its anti-Voluntary and anti-Moderate comments to its 'Ecclesiastical Intelligence' section and short 'Critical Notices', leaving most of its longer review articles free to address other issues. Ecclesiastical politics were an important, but usually secondary, part of its overall package, yielding place to its main focus upon cultural and spiritual issues.

The *Presbyterian Review* began to pay more attention to ecclesiastical politics in the late 1830s as the Non-Intrusion Controversy gained prominence. However, two developments in 1839 reversed this trend, returning the work to its primary interests. The first development was the outbreak of revivals in Scotland mentioned above. The second was a rebuke by Alexander Duff, the Kirk's first missionary, during his furlough back in Scotland. In a preface to the printed version of his speech before the General Assembly, Duff criticised religious periodicals for giving missions such indifferent coverage compared to more controversial issues, citing the example of a 'leading religious periodical' that gave 200 lines to a case of petty discipline in its coverage of the General Assembly, but

 21. For example, *Presbyterian Review* 12 (Oct. 1839):360ff.

22. *Presbyterian Review* 11 (April 1839):649ff.

only 17 to the report of the missions committee, a thinly veiled reference to the *Review*.²³

Stung by this criticism from the Kirk's popular and respected missionary and spurred on by contemporary revivals, the *Presbyterian Review* paid renewed attention to these issues in the early 1840s.²⁴ Even on the eve of the Disruption, the work warned its counterparts about misplacing their priorities: 'Many periodicals, engrossed with things ecclesiastical, lose sight of the still more momentous religious impulses which are awakening in many parishes.'²⁵ Perhaps this perspective enabled the magazine to survive the trauma that proved to be the undoing of several other Kirk-related periodicals as the Disruption approached. Its continued vitality after 1843 may indicate that its combination of a strong appreciation for culture with a fervent approach to the Christian life had a broad appeal to many who stayed in the Kirk as well as to those who went out, transcending differences over issues such as Non-Intrusion or Spiritual Independence.²⁶

Six months after the *Presbyterian Review* began, a new genre was introduced into the Kirk-related periodical press, the semiweekly newspaper.²⁷ The idea of an Evangelical newspaper originated with Andrew

 23. Alexander Duff, *Farewell Address on the Subject of Scotland's India Mission; being the Substance of a Speech Delivered before the General Assembly of the Church* (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1839), p. 4.

24. In its next two volumes, covering from July 1839 through January 1841, the *Presbyterian Review* contained five major articles on the importance of missions, most of which highlighted the work of Duff and the General Assembly committee. It also contained three major articles on religious revival in addition to ongoing coverage of the spread of spiritual awakening in its Religious Intelligence section.

25. *Presbyterian Review* 16 (Apr. 1843):108.

26. One of the founders of the *Presbyterian Review*, Alexander Turner, did not join the Free Church, later defending the so-called 'Middle Party' in *The Scottish Secession of 1843*.

27. Henry Duncan, minister of Ruthwell in Dumfries-shire, had founded a weekly newspaper in 1809, but it was not a specifically religious newspaper in the sense that the *Scottish Guardian* was, nor did it have the *Guardian's* national readership. George J.C. Duncan, *Memoir of the Rev. Henry Duncan, D.D.* (Edinburgh: William Oliphant & Sons, 1848), pp. 77-79.

Thomson. Dismayed that the newspaper press of Scotland had fallen into the hands of 'mere politicians' who failed to address the country's spiritual needs, Thomson had drawn up before his death the plans and the principles on which a religious newspaper should be conducted. Thomson does not seem to have intended to edit such a work himself, but was grooming a young licentiate, George Lewis, for this responsibility.²⁸ Encouraged by leading Evangelicals including Thomas Chalmers, Lewis carried out Thomson's plans, eventually bringing out Scotland's first Evangelical newspaper, the *Scottish Guardian*, on 17 January 1832.²⁹

The *Scottish Guardian* was intended to communicate the same basic message as the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* and, to a lesser extent, as the *Presbyterian Review*, to a broader audience and on a more regular basis. Lewis outlined the paper's purpose in an early leading article. Traditional forms of religious communication such as preaching and parochial schools were no longer sufficient to communicate spiritual truths throughout every level of Scottish society:

They are totally inadequate to sustain the Christianity of a highly civilized and commercial nation. They may secure the general respect for religion and its ministers among the middling classes who come under their influence; but they will never succeed in carrying religious principles into the business and politics of the world.

The times required a new approach, one that would apply Evangelicalism to every area of life much more frequently than could a monthly or bi-monthly periodical. In his concluding remarks Lewis alluded to the recent success of the political reform movement and its close relationship to newspapers:

In short, we desire to take a lesson from political agitators, --like them, to seize the public mind, to keep Christian principles before

 28. Lewis turned 29 in the year the *Scottish Guardian* appeared.
 29. *Scottish Guardian* 2 (17 Jan. 1833):413.

it,--to season politics, science, and literature with its elevated views,--...to impress upon our countrymen, that Christianity must not only appear at church, or at prayers, or on the Lord's day, but must be carried to the plough, to the workshop, to the transactions of business, and into the deliberations of Parliament.³⁰

Although a religious newspaper may have had the potential to shape Scottish public opinion as powerfully as Lewis hoped, the early difficulties of the *Guardian* suggest that this idea was slightly ahead of its time. Despite Thomson's influence Lewis found little support in Edinburgh for his novel project. He encountered a more favourable reception in Glasgow, where newspapers were more important than in Edinburgh and 'the prejudices against a new undertaking less obstinate'.³¹

Nonetheless, the *Guardian* barely made it through its first year, avoiding bankruptcy only when a leading group of Evangelical ministers and laymen from the Glasgow area organised a collection on its behalf in response to a public appeal for help from its supporters.³² This injection of funds helped the paper to survive this crisis, but it continued to limp along over the next five years.³³

30. *Scottish Guardian* 1 (27 Jan. 1832):13.

31. *Scottish Guardian* 2 (18 Jan. 1833):413. Although the *Guardian* was published in Glasgow, it was intended to be a truly national newspaper. It was carried by booksellers throughout Scotland: Aberdeen, Air-drie, Arbroath, Ayr, Cupar Angus, Cupar, Dunfermline, Dumfries, Dundee, Edinburgh, Elgin, Falkirk, Forres, Greenock, Hamilton, Inverness, Kilmarnock, Kirkcaldy, Lanark, Montrose, Newton Stewart, Paisley, Perth, St Andrews, Stranraer, Tain.

32. *Scottish Guardian* 2 (25 Jan. 1833):429. Some of the leading figures of this group were Thomas Brown, minister of St. John's, Glasgow; Stevenson Macgill, Professor of Divinity at Glasgow; James Henderson, minister of St. Enoch's, Glasgow; John Gordon Lorimer, minister of St. David's, Glasgow; Robert Burns, minister of St. George's, Paisley; as well as laymen, David Stow, the educationalist, and William Collins, the publisher.

33. The *Scottish Guardian's* prospects began to improve in 1836 when the Newspaper Stamp Duty was reduced, lowering its price per copy from 7d. to 4 d., or annually from £3 to £2. When announcing this change, it boasted that its circulation was 'already extensive and steadily increasing. It enjoys the second circulation of the twice a-week Journals in the West of Scotland, and passes into the hands of all classes throughout the country.' *Scottish Guardian* 5 (13 Sep. 1836):299. This boast was somewhat hollow since in 1837 the *Guardian's* circulation was only 600, significantly less than the two leading Glasgow papers: the *Glasgow Herald* (2538) and the *Scotch Reformers' Gazette* (1000). See Cowan, *The Newspaper*

Internal confusion and discord contributed to the *Guardian's* problems. Its early financial troubles may have made it over-dependent on the support of leading Glasgow ministers, who seem to have decided to run it by committee. One of their number, Robert Buchanan, the young minister of the Tron Church, took primary responsibility for the newspaper. He began writing the *Guardian's* leading articles soon after his arrival in Glasgow in 1833.³⁴ He eventually became the paper's 'principal editor' in July 1836, ending over a year's worth of uncertainty as to who was in charge of the publication.³⁵

The Auchterarder decision of 1838 ensured the success of the *Scottish Guardian* by bringing ecclesiastical politics into the forefront of the news. Its fortunes rose along with those of its new editor, reaching its peak the year after Buchanan moved his famous Spiritual Independence motion in the 1838 General Assembly.³⁶ Yet, even at its height, the *Guardian* was not as influential as later religious newspapers were to become, most notably *The Witness*.³⁷

Despite its religious orientation, the *Scottish Guardian* was essentially like most other newspapers in Scotland. It followed the same basic price and format, consisting of two four-page issues per week. Advertisements filled three to five columns, including ones for activities like 'Dancing Assemblies' at which many Evangelicals might have looked askance. It contained world, British, and local news, as well as reviews and other

in Scotland, p. 167.

34. Buchanan transferred to the Tron Church on 22 Aug. 1833, age 31. *FES* 3:475-6.

35. After the *Guardian's* original editor, George Lewis, ended his duties in 1835, several clergy are mentioned as having had editorial responsibilities. Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland*, pp. 142-143, 229-230.

36. A new editor for the *Guardian* took over in 1841, probably because by then Buchanan was absorbed in the work of the Non-Intrusion Committee. Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland*, p. 143.

37. See the chart of the 'Circulation of Scottish Newspapers, 1837-1843', Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland*, pp. 169-170.

general articles. Like its secular counterparts, the *Guardian* gave extensive coverage to political affairs, even endorsing political candidates, though not on a strictly partisan basis.³⁸ As a newspaper, the *Guardian* could show far more interest in politics than would have been acceptable in a monthly periodical like the *Instructor*. The *Guardian* could specialise in news, providing an expanded, more pointed version of the *Instructor's* Religious Intelligence section.

The political and journalistic interests of the *Guardian* made spiritual concerns less central to it than they had been to earlier religious periodicals. Nonetheless, issues related to awakening and evangelism formed an important, albeit secondary, part of its coverage. The *Guardian* contained a regular 'Religious Intelligence' section, reporting on the work of various religious voluntary societies and the General Assembly schemes, and publicising prayer meetings for religious revival. It also regularly included a feature called the 'Cabinet', a short devotional column. The paper addressed leading articles on topics related to proselytism, calling for 'each parish and congregation apart, to take up the cause of the Heathen at home'³⁹, and, taking advantage of its political orientation, objecting to a candidate for Parliament because of his opposition to overseas missions.⁴⁰

Two new monthly Kirk-related periodicals appeared in the mid-1830s as a result of the increasing tension between Scottish Dissenters who opposed an established church and the Kirk's defenders. The first of these, the

38. The *Guardian's* political orientation carried over to ecclesiastical and university politics as well. It campaigned vociferously, though unsuccessfully, on behalf of Thomas Chalmers for the chair of divinity at Glasgow in 1840. Gareth Davies and Lionel A. Ritchie, 'Dr. Chalmers and the University of Glasgow', *RSCHS* 20 (1980):214-220.

39. *Scottish Guardian* 1 (13 Mar. 1832):65.

40. *Scottish Guardian* 1 (15 May 1832):137.

Church of Scotland Magazine, expressed the interests of Evangelicals, and the second, the *Church Review*, marked the first attempt at a national publication representing a Moderate perspective. These works accelerated the trend of emphasising controversy in religious periodicals begun by the post-1819 *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* and continued by the *Scottish Guardian*. As religious periodicals devoted almost exclusively to polemical purposes, they departed from the approach of earlier works which concentrated mainly upon spiritual concerns, anticipating the rapid growth of the Non-Intrusion press in the early 1840s.

In March 1833, perhaps emboldened by the success of periodicals concentrating upon the single issue of political reform, the Voluntary Church Association launched a periodical to advance its criticisms of church establishments, the *Voluntary Church Magazine*. Adapting the familiar format of their earlier monthly religious periodicals, Evangelicals responded in March 1834 with a work defending church establishments, the *Church of Scotland Magazine*. The *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, heretofore the Kirk's strongest defender, praised the inception of the *Church of Scotland Magazine*, arguing that the threat of Voluntarism demanded a specialised periodical which devoted its full attention to this controversy.⁴¹

The *Church of Scotland Magazine* fulfilled the *Instructor's* expectations, almost exclusively devoting its attention to attacking Scottish Dissenters and defending church establishments. It strongly emphasised the importance of an established church to maintaining Scotland as a godly commonwealth, a Christian society with a special covenanted relationship to God. All other issues were subordinate, including those related to spreading heart-felt Christianity. As a result the *Church of Scotland*

41. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* New Series, 3 (Apr. 1834):266ff.

Magazine rarely addressed spiritual concerns, usually doing so only incidentally in order to justify the principle of establishment.⁴² In contrast to its relative silence on religious revival and missions, the publication contained numerous articles on Sabbath observance, an essential component of a godly commonwealth. Sabbath breaking was seen as a major violation of God's special relationship with Scotland, bringing wrath down upon the nation as a whole.

Although the intense rhetoric of the Voluntary Controversy brings all circulation claims for the *Church of Scotland Magazine* under suspicion, it seems to have enjoyed wide popularity.⁴³ Despite its success, it ended publication in 1838, ostensibly because it had achieved its object and refuted Voluntarism.⁴⁴ Regardless of whether the work achieved this object or not, the threat of Voluntarism receded in importance after the Auchterarder case in 1838, when Evangelicals began concentrating on defending their claims for the Church's 'spiritual independence' over against the civil courts. Perhaps they believed that a monthly periodical like the *Church of Scotland Magazine* did not appear frequently enough to keep up with the latest legal decisions and shifted their attention to newspapers like the *Scottish Guardian*.

The brief history of the *Church of Scotland Magazine* reveals several developments within Evangelicalism and its relationship to religious peri-

 42. For example, reviews of works on revivals (*Church of Scotland Magazine* 1 [Oct. 1834]:308ff; vol. 3 [Sep. 1836]:328ff) or a report on the General Assembly's foreign missions committee (vol. 3 [Apr. 1836]:135ff) served primarily as evidence that God works specifically through the Established Church.

43. The *Instructor* claimed that its first issue had three times the circulation of the *Voluntary Church Magazine*, *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* New Series, 3 (Apr. 1834):266ff. At the beginning of 1835, its editor made the following boast: 'We have met with encouragement far beyond that of any Scottish religious periodical', adding that many Established clergy had become correspondents, *Church of Scotland Magazine* 1 (Jan. 1834):488.

44. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, 4th Series, 2 (Jan. 1839):1. The *Instructor* expressed hope that the *Church of Scotland Magazine's* many readers would adopt it as a suitable successor in defending the Established Church.

odicals during the mid-1830s. The most important development was the growing influence and activity of urban Evangelicals from the west of Scotland. Like the *Scottish Guardian*, its immediate predecessor among religious periodicals, and unlike its earlier counterparts, the *Church of Scotland Magazine* was published in Glasgow rather than in Edinburgh. Glasgow's brash, growing commercial and industrial economy and its history of lively political debate made it a more sympathetic base for controversial periodicals. Perhaps the Evangelicals from this area were less concerned about respectability than their eastern colleagues and more willing, and financially able, to take action in polemical wrangles.⁴⁵ The increasing influence of these western Evangelicals may have contributed to the growth of controversy within the Church of Scotland during the late 1830s and early 40s.

Although the *Church of Scotland Magazine's* strong defence of the establishment principle may have indirectly reflected a belief that an established church was the best means to spread experiential Christianity, its narrow polemical approach prevented it from giving this overall concern much attention. The work's popularity suggests that a significant number of Evangelicals were becoming increasingly distracted by single issues, losing the broad vision of earlier Evangelicals for seeing the kingdom of God deepened in the Church and extended to every area of life and to every area of the world. Although a single controversial issue like the Voluntary Controversy instantly secured a large audience for the

45. The fate of the editor of the *Church of Scotland Magazine* after its termination reflected the willingness of western Evangelicals to use their financial resources to further controversial causes. The editor, James Gibson, had been an assistant minister unable to secure a permanent charge. When he had concluded his duties, some influential laymen placed £2,000 at his disposal, which he either could accept as a gift or could devote to the erection and endowment of a chapel. He elected the latter and became the first minister of the resulting chapel in Kingston, a suburb of Glasgow. *Dictionary of National Biography* 21:277.

Church of Scotland Magazine, it also led to its rapid demise, at least compared to earlier Kirk-related periodicals such as the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* or the *Presbyterian Review*. This contrast suggests that a central commitment to furthering essentially spiritual aims was essential for a periodical to maintain long term viability.

The *Church Review*, the first national Moderate religious periodical, demonstrated both the success of earlier Evangelical periodicals and the weakness of a purely polemical approach. Involvement in religious periodicals was a characteristically Evangelical practice up until this time. Moderates did not seem to have any interest in developing their own religious periodicals before the mid-1830s. Several reasons may explain their lack of interest. As members of an elitist social and intellectual movement, they were less concerned about influencing popular opinion through the wider audience that periodicals could reach. Learned books and essays better suited their purposes. Since they controlled the church courts and the universities, they also had less need to develop new means of communicating their ideas. In addition, many of their ideas were expressed already in the secular press. A number of Moderate ministers had been editors of Tory newspapers.⁴⁶ Because Tory papers already presented their opinions on what the Kirk should be, Moderates did not seem to feel any need to form their own national periodical before the *Church Review* appeared in April 1836.⁴⁷

46. See Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland*, pp. 43-45.

47. Moderates were behind a short-lived Gaelic-language monthly religious magazine, *Teachdaire Gaelach* (or the *Gaelic Messenger*), which appeared in 1829. This publication was conceived of by George Baird, Principal of Edinburgh University, and edited by Norman M'Leod Sr., then minister of Campsie near Glasgow. It seems to have grown out of the work of the Assembly's Highland Education Committee of which Baird was the convener and M'Leod a prominent member. They hoped to provide something for newly literate Highlanders to read in their own language that would be morally and religiously beneficial. Despite being a pioneering work in Gaelic prose, the *Messenger* ended publication after only two volumes due both to a breakdown in M'Leod's health and to a lack of subscribers, the latter partially a result of the suspicions of Highland Evangelicals regarding its Moderate origins. Undaunted by these difficulties, M'Leod

However, the anti-establishment agitation of Scottish Dissenters and the rising preeminence of the Evangelical Party in the church courts in the mid-1830s spurred Moderates to try this new means to defend their position. Implicitly acknowledging the influence that periodicals had exerted in defending and promoting Evangelicalism, Moderates adapted elements from a number of Evangelical periodicals for their own new publication. Its full title, the *Church Review, and Scottish Ecclesiastical Magazine*, suggests that it was intended to be the Moderate counterpart of the *Presbyterian Review*.⁴⁸

Nonetheless, the *Church Review* was less truly a review than its Evangelical counterpart, coming out monthly and containing relatively few reviews, and those mainly of religious books. It adopted a more general format, similar to the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, incorporating essays and letters to the editor as well as large amounts of intelligence of special interest to its readers.⁴⁹ It used this general format primarily for polemical purposes, fixing upon a single issue as did the *Church of Scotland Magazine*. Like this work, the *Church Review* pledged itself to defending the Establishment, citing the Voluntary Controversy as the first stimulus for its formation.⁵⁰

 launched another Gaelic monthly in 1840, *Cuairtear Nan Gleann* (or the *Visitor of the Glens*). This work combined information on emigration, which he believed was the best way to alleviate Highland poverty, with highly religious content in a non-polemical package. He stipulated that contributors were 'not to take any part whatever in the ecclesiastical disputes of the day, but at the same time full information [was] to be given on spiritual and missionary work.' (p. 172) This magazine continued for nearly three years. John N. Macleod, *Memorials of the Rev. Norman Macleod (Senr) D.D.* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1898), 81-89, 172-173.

48. The *Church Review* often directly challenged articles from the *Presbyterian Review* for their bias toward the Evangelical Party, for example, its report on the 1836 General Assembly, *Church Review* 1 (Aug. 1836):297ff.

49. The *Church Review's* orientation toward the concerns of the largely rural Moderate clergy was reflected in its practice of listing the year's Fiar Prices upon which stipends were determined.

50. *Church Review* 1 (Apr. 1836):2.

Unlike its Evangelical counterpart, the *Church Review* paid relatively little attention to Voluntaries, almost exclusively addressing itself to ecclesiastical politics within the Kirk. In part, the opposition of the *Church Review* to the Evangelical Party reflected the decline of the Voluntary Controversy. Moderates viewed the ascendance of their rivals within the Establishment as a greater threat than external attacks. The *Church Review* stood for a return to the *status quo* within the Church of Scotland.⁵¹ A remark in its first article summed up its basic stance: 'innovation may be mistaken for real improvement'.⁵²

The *Church Review* mainly ignored spiritual issues such as religious revival and proselytism. Usually they were addressed only in the course of its coverage of the General Assembly, in the report on its four schemes. The *Church Review* championed the Kirk's approach to overseas missions over that of missionary societies, but, otherwise, it took little interest in these schemes.⁵³

Perhaps its focus on polemics to the neglect of broader spiritual issues, contributed to the early demise of the *Church Review*. In March 1838, the same year that the *Church of Scotland Magazine* ended publication and less than two years after the *Church Review* was founded, its last issue appeared. Although both works imitated elements of earlier Evangelical periodicals, they lacked the clear spiritual foundation upon which the most long lived ones were based. These two ephemeral publications reveal that controversy alone was insufficient to sustain interest among most periodical readers from the Kirk even in the midst of a con-

 51. The *Church Review* also stood for a return to the *status quo* in politics. It was much more explicitly partisan than any Evangelical periodicals, openly calling for ministers of the Church of Scotland to vote Tory and oust the Whig government as a matter of duty, *Church Review* 2 (Aug. 1837):385ff.

52. *Church Review* 1 (Apr. 1836):4.

53. *Church Review* 2 (Sep. 1837):494ff.

troversial period, suggesting that a great deal of vitality existed within the Established Church at this time.

While the controversial nature of periodicals like the *Scottish Guardian* and *Church of Scotland Magazine* distracted Evangelicals from issues directly related to religious revival and proselytism, two new works appeared in the second half of the 1830s reaffirming the centrality of these spiritual interests to Evangelicalism. Each focused upon one dimension of this twofold concern: the *Scottish Christian Herald* upon deepening piety within the Church; and the *Home and Foreign Missionary Record for the Church of Scotland* upon promoting evangelism. These specialised works reflected the ascendancy of Evangelicals in the Kirk and their growing desire to extend their influence more broadly throughout Scottish society.

The *Scottish Christian Herald* appeared first, beginning publication on 5 March 1836. Its original prospectus described its special aim as carrying 'religion home to the heart'.⁵⁴ One of the *Herald's* founders, Robert Candlish, minister of St. George's, Edinburgh, summed up its basic thrust in the title of its first article: 'Religion--a Matter of Supreme Importance'.⁵⁵ This article argued that common attitudes towards religion were the equivalent of infidelity since religion was subordinated to other ends such as promoting morality or upholding the social order.

The *Herald* was intended to combat this prevalent, though often undetected, form of 'infidelity' by showing that if Christianity was true and God was real, then God must be pre-eminent and God's purposes pervade all of life. Numerous articles addressed the problem of nominal Christianity in the Church, large numbers of people who were outwardly

54. *Scottish Christian Herald* 3 (23 Dec. 1838):817.

55. *Scottish Christian Herald* 1 (5 Mar. 1836):1ff.

moral and attended church services but who inwardly felt little love for God and paid little attention to God apart from participating in socially expected religious observances.⁵⁶ The *Herald* called these people to seek God in a deeper, more experiential and personal way, suggesting means to distinguish a 'real Christian' from a nominal one.⁵⁷

With this central emphasis upon deepening piety within the Church, the *Herald* naturally was attracted to the intense, emotional Christianity associated with religious revivals. It ran a number of articles on this topic even before spiritual awakening was reported in many parts of Scotland in 1839. Some articles contained descriptions of British revivals in the mid-18th century⁵⁸ or of more recent revivals in distant parts of Scotland like the Western Isles.⁵⁹ Other articles defended unusual spiritual experiences associated with spiritual awakenings such as 'sudden conversions'.⁶⁰ The *Herald* also encouraged direct action to stimulate revival, calling congregations to organise prayer meetings in hopes that 'the quickening of believers to a higher and a holier standard of faith and practice' would result.⁶¹ The magazine's interest in religious revivals intensified after 1839. It gave early and extensive coverage to the first outbreak of spiritual awakening around Kilsyth in the summer and autumn of 1839, and then traced the spread of revival to many other places in Scotland.

56. For example, 'Why are Christians Averse to Recognise their own Christianity?', *Scottish Christian Herald* 1 (9 Apr. 1836):81ff; and 'The Prevalence of Practical Atheism', vol. 1, 2nd series (13 July 1839):433ff, 449ff.

57. 'The real Christian is distinguished from the merely nominal Christian, by nothing so much as by his perseverance in well-doing.' *Scottish Christian Herald* 1 (12 Mar. 1836):24.

58. *Scottish Christian Herald* 1 (9 July 1836):299ff.

59. *Scottish Christian Herald* 1 (16 July 1836):309ff.

60. *Scottish Christian Herald* 1 (28 May 1836):203f. This article was by Robert Murray McCheyne, minister of St. Peter's, Dundee, who became a major leader of the revival movement in that city and throughout Scotland in 1839-40.

61. *Scottish Christian Herald* 1 (1 Oct. 1836):494.

The *Herald* also discussed evangelism, but emphasised this less than revitalising the Church. It contained occasional articles on topics like overseas missions, but these tended to be general descriptions of the spiritual needs of foreign countries rather than outlines for specific action.⁶² The magazine encouraged interest in missions and other evangelistic activities primarily as a means of personal spiritual enrichment.⁶³

Nonetheless, the *Herald* affirmed the basic unity of both dimensions of Evangelicalism. For example, it highlighted the need for 'prayer for the Revival of the Lord's work at home, through the Divine power accompanying his ordinances, and the spreading of his Word abroad for the conversion of Jews and Gentiles'.⁶⁴ As a specialised work concentrating upon improving the spiritual vitality of the Church, the *Herald* was seen by Evangelicals as indirectly encouraging evangelism and missions through strengthening the Kirk, thus making her better able to propagate Christianity among the unchurched at home and abroad. It functioned as a supplement to pastoral practices such as preaching and parish visitation that had long been high priorities for Evangelicals, providing a means to make these traditional ways of encouraging congregational enrichment more effective.⁶⁵

Reflecting its overall focus upon sanctification, the *Herald* had a strongly devotional character. It sought to stimulate deeper religious

 62. For example, 'A Picture of China in its Religious and Moral Aspect' by Andrew Bonar, assistant minister of Collace in Perthshire, *Scottish Christian Herald* 1 (19 Mar. 1836):44f. When the *Herald* discussed particular evangelistic activities, these were almost exclusively of the General Assembly's various schemes.

63. For example, an article by Robert Murray McCheyne enjoined the study of missionary subjects as a means to improve personal holiness, *Scottish Christian Herald* 1 (5 Mar. 1836):10ff.

64. *Monthly Supplement, Scottish Christian Herald* 2 (Dec. 1840):119.

65. An advertisement for the *Herald* urged ministers to publicise the work from the pulpit and in 'their private domiciliary visits'. *Home and Foreign Missionary Record*, New series 1 (Feb. 1841):i.

feelings and attitudes through short, simple articles such as Biblical expositions, biographies, deathbed scenes, and poems. Its contents were more similar to early religious periodicals such as the *Evangelical Magazine* and the *Religious Monitor* than to its contemporaries such as the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* and the *Presbyterian Review*.

The *Herald* intentionally adopted a 'pietistic' approach, explicitly restricting its contents to narrowly religious concerns: 'The Journal is intended to be exclusively of a Spiritual and Practical Character.'⁶⁶ While it promised to address literature, science and other general topics, these would all be 'viewed under a purely religious aspect'.⁶⁷ The work did not discuss these issues for their own sake or on a theoretical or theological level, but for devotional purposes.⁶⁸

In keeping with its strongly devotional character, the *Herald* eschewed controversy. At the end of 1840 when ecclesiastical disputation was reaching new heights, its editor felt that he had to make this commitment explicit: 'Our uniform desire has hitherto been, and...will continue to be, to avoid all sectarian or polemical discussions and to exhibit, in all its native simplicity and power, that Truth which alone is able to make wise unto salvation'.⁶⁹ The *Herald's* reviews exemplified its non-controversial approach. They usually contained only positive comments and mainly consisted of extracts from the work under review, echoing the old

66. Original Prospectus in *Scottish Christian Herald* 3 (23 Dec. 1838):817.

67. *Scottish Christian Herald* 2 (1837):iii.

68. The *Herald* showed particular interest in encouraging a devotional approach to science, carrying a regular series entitled, 'Christian Philosophy' for this purpose. This series typically outlined devotional applications suggested by scientific phenomena. For example, the first article in this series began with a scientific description of the properties of light, but mainly addressed the way in which these properties illustrated the way in which Christians should reflect God, *Scottish Christian Herald* 1 (25 June 1836):267f.

69. Advertisement, 31 Dec. 1840 to volume 2 of the *Scottish Christian Herald* 2nd series.

review style of the *Religious Monitor*. In fact, the *Herald* strongly reflected the *Monitor* in its overall pastoral, devotional, and non-polemical approach, suggesting that the latter work's traditional values continued to prevail among many Evangelicals.⁷⁰

One of these values was a strong commitment to the Church of Scotland, and the *Herald* highlighted its connections with the Kirk. The phrase, 'Conducted under the Superintendence of Ministers and Members of the Established Church' immediately followed its title on the first page of each issue. The magazine underlined the truth of this claim by including the names of the authors of almost all its articles, the first Kirk-related religious periodical to do so.⁷¹

The *Herald's* explicit identification with the Kirk was partly a consequence of the Voluntary Controversy, which was at its height in 1836 when the work was founded. Yet, the publication was not openly sectarian⁷² and claimed readers from all denominations:

The extensive circulation which the Periodical has obtained, among all denominations of professing Christians, shows how fully the Public appreciate a work which combines the advantage of emanating from a responsible body, and thereby affording a security for the respectability of its Contributors, the additional benefit of inculcating the principles and the precepts of Christianity, in such a form as, instead of offending, to be cordially welcomed from one end of the country to the other, by every devout follower of Jesus.⁷³ [emphasis added]

70. The *Herald* contained several extracts from the *Religious Monitor*, for example, *Scottish Christian Herald* 1, 2nd series (23 Nov. 1839):748.

71. Earlier periodicals usually gave only pseudonyms for the authors of their articles.

72. The *Herald* felt free to draw from any source that would encourage strong piety, including a poem by John Keble, despite his association with the Oxford Movement, *Scottish Christian Herald* 1, 2nd series (24 Aug. 1839):532.

73. *Scottish Christian Herald* 2 (1837):iii.

This description of the work's appeal suggests that its identification with the Kirk mainly reflected the ascendancy of Evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland by the mid-1830s.

The movement changed as Evangelical belief and practice became accepted widely in the Kirk and when the Evangelical Party gained a majority in the General Assembly. Now that they were dominant, Evangelicals became increasingly concerned about respectability. This concern may have been behind the *Herald's* novel practice of printing the names of its contributors with their articles. Since they were now in control, Evangelicals did not need to hide behind the veil of anonymity as Andrew Thomson did when the Moderate-controlled Assembly censured the *Instructor* in 1820. They did not want a periodical openly identifying with the Kirk to jeopardise their growing public esteem through even the hint of disrepute, which anonymous contributions might suggest.

Moreover, including contributors' names may have seemed like a good business decision to the founders of the *Herald*. By the mid-1830s a number of Evangelical ministers had become well-known, highly popular figures in Scotland. Their names might attract more subscribers. Thus, the *Herald* may both have reflected and have contributed to the growth within Evangelicalism of a kind of cult of personality surrounding various prominent ministers.⁷⁴

The *Scottish Christian Herald's* lists of original authors for each of its volumes confirm its strong identification with the Kirk. Although

 74. Growing concern for respectability and increasing preoccupation with individual ministers characterised evangelicalism in general throughout Britain at this time, and it accelerated during the Victorian era. For discussion of this trend in the Church of England, see Ian Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness: The Evangelical Impact on the Victorians* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1976); and in English Dissent, see Deryck W. Lovegrove, *Established Church, Sectarian People: Itinerancy and the Transformation of English Dissent, 1780-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

these mention a few contributions by ministers from other denominations and by lay people, Church of Scotland ministers predominate. These clergy were spread throughout the nation, though many were from urban areas surrounding Glasgow and especially Edinburgh.⁷⁵ While some contributions came from Evangelicals associated with the *Instructor*, like Henry Duncan of Ruthwell, the driving force behind the *Herald* seems to have been young Evangelicals of the next generation such as Robert Murray McCheyne, a major contributor; Robert Candlish, its chief founder; and James Gardner, its editor.⁷⁶ These young Evangelicals belonged to the same generation as those associated with the *Presbyterian Review* and the *Scottish Guardian*, perhaps attempting to supplement the intellectual and political approaches of those works with a more devotional, popular magazine.⁷⁷

The *Herald* specifically targeted a mass audience, especially the largely non-middle class audience whose piety increasingly seemed to be subverted by popular secular publications and who were largely unreached by most Evangelical periodicals. In a circular dated 8 January 1836, Robert Candlish described the work's aim as an attempt 'to do something towards infusing a religious leaven into the mass of the people, now so industriously plied with all sorts of influences through the abundance of cheap popular literature.'⁷⁸ The *Herald* adopted a format, style and con-

75. See Appendix 1.2.

76. McCheyne was only 23, Candlish 30, and Gardner 32 in 1836 when the *Herald* began publication. For Candlish's involvement in founding this work, see William Wilson, *Memorials of Robert Smith Candlish, D.D.* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1880), pp. 73-74. Almost twice as many ministers from the third generation of Evangelicals contributed articles to the *Herald* as did those from the second generation. See Appendix 1.2.

77. Both works carried highly positive reviews of the *Herald*, the *Presbyterian Review* (10 [Feb. 1838]:583) adding that 'probably there is none of our readers who does not take it in.' This overlap may explain the high percentage of *Herald* contributors who joined the Free Church despite its relative silence on Non-Intrusion issues. See Appendix 1.2.

78. Wilson, *Robert Candlish*, pp. 73-74.

tent that would appeal to as broad an audience as possible.⁷⁹ Each weekly issue contained only 16 pages, bringing the price per copy down to 1 1/2d., within reach of at least working-class readers.⁸⁰ Articles were short, usually no more than two pages, and simple, with lots of anecdotes and personal interest stories. The *Herald's* approach was similar to that of secular weekly serial magazines then just appearing in Britain, which Charles Dickens later helped to popularize.⁸¹

The *Herald* was designed to provide a religious alternative to these popular secular periodicals and to combat growing secularism in the press. This approach was the same as that which Evangelicals had earlier taken in developing the *Religious Monitor* and the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*. By the mid-1830s adopting the latest periodical style to communicate spiritual content had become a characteristic procedure for Evangelicals, needing no special justification. The *Herald's* organizers and contributors attempted to deepen the spirituality of their peers in the rising generation by providing devotional material of the same theological tradition as their Calvinist ancestors but in a more contemporary guise:

Our endeavour to give a religious turn...to modern modes of light reading, will yet find favour with the sons and daughters of those, whose few but well-worn volumes of deep and sound divinity,

79. The *Herald's* first advertisement claimed that it was diffused widely among all classes of people and that it reached districts 'hitherto excluded from the range of periodical literature, whether secular or religious', a claim repeated in its 1838 'Address to Our Readers'. This address also indicated that the magazine was intended to relate to the 'Poor Man's interests', *Scottish Christian Herald* 3 (23 Dec. 1838):817.

80. The *Herald* took advantage of the latest technological developments such as the steam press and stereotyping to keep its costs low, *Scottish Christian Herald* 1 (30 Apr. 1836):144.

81. The author is grateful to Geoffrey Hargreaves, Rare Book Librarian at St. Andrews University, for drawing attention to this similarity on the basis of these works' common quarto size. By contrast, most earlier monthly religious periodicals were octavo. The *Herald* may have been influenced by two English religious periodicals designed along similar lines, which appeared shortly before the *Herald*. The *Presbyterian Review* (10 [Feb. 1838]:583f) suggested that it was modeled upon the *Church of England Magazine* and the Dissenter-oriented *Christian Teacher*.

bequeathed by former worthies, may well put shame on many a frivolous and flimsy ephemeral of the Press, which we idly handle, and then carelessly lay aside.⁸²

Although the *Herald* followed the same general approach as earlier Evangelical periodicals, it used this approach to address a slightly different problem. Its publication marked a shift in attitude amongst Evangelicals in the mid to late 1830s about the nature of the Kirk's primary religious problem. During the first few decades of the nineteenth century, Evangelicals seemed to give top priority to the difficulties caused when an ungodly minister was inflicted upon a godly congregation. In response they developed religious periodicals designed to attract ministers to their cause. The *Religious Monitor* presented the pastoral advantages of Evangelicalism and the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* presented its intellectual and cultural advantages.

Evangelicals continued to address the problem of ungodly clergy into the 1830s and 40s. The *Presbyterian Review* may be seen as partly a response to this problem. However, by the mid-1830s Evangelicals increasingly began to address themselves to a different problem, created in part by the success of their early periodicals. As more and more ministers embraced Evangelicalism, another set of difficulties arose: those of the godly minister who was confronted by a nominal congregation in an ungodly society. In response to this problem these ministers developed the *Herald*, a medium for mass communications through which they could revitalise the spiritual life of the Church of Scotland.⁸³

82. *Scottish Christian Herald* 3 (23 Dec. 1838):817.

83. Other Evangelical periodicals reflected the Evangelicals' shifting perception of the primary religious problem in the Kirk in the mid-1830s. The changes in the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor's* style and format in 1837 were designed to make it more appealing to a popular audience. To a lesser extent, the *Scottish Guardian* and the Non-Intrusion newspapers of the 1840s, such as *The Witness*, also were efforts to bring Evangelicalism to the masses.

The founders of the *Herald* placed their hopes for the success of the work in the belief that 'the people will greedily read a Periodical of a higher literary standing'.⁸⁴ This belief seems to have been well founded since the work quickly amassed a large circulation of unprecedented size for a Scottish religious periodical, even dwarfing those of secular newspapers. Several sources suggest that it achieved a weekly circulation of around 50,000 during its first few years.⁸⁵

Around 1839 as the Non-Intrusion Controversy grew in prominence, the *Herald's* large circulation created a difficult dilemma for its Evangelical supporters. On the one hand, the urgency of the Non-Intrusion cause following 1839 seemed to demand that they promote their ecclesiastical political position through such a popular medium. On the other hand, to do so would deflect from the work's primary purpose of providing devotional materials to encourage deeper piety among the working class and poor. The *Herald's* struggle to resolve this dilemma during its last three years reflected a major tension within Evangelicalism at this time.⁸⁶

The *Herald's* organizers first attempted a compromise solution. The weekly issues remained purely devotional as they had been, but in 1839 when its second series began, a 'Monthly Supplement' was introduced to provide news as well.⁸⁷ The 'Preliminary Address' to this new feature

84. *Scottish Christian Herald* 3 (23 Dec. 1838):817.

85. The *Herald* claimed a circulation of 40,000 for itself at the end of 1836, Advertisement to volume 1, 31 Dec. 1836. The *Scottish Guardian* made the following comment on 6 May 1836 (Vol. 5, p. 146): 'Already it [the *Herald*] can speak of a circulation of 35,000 a week--a circulation for magnitude unknown in Scotland in religious periodicals.' The newspaper updated this figure to nearly 60,000 on 13 Sep. 1836 (Vol. 5, p. 299). A modern newspaper scholar suggested a figure of 50,000, Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland*, p. 230.

86. This tension was reflected in the significant percentage (40%) of *Herald* contributors who remained in the Auld Kirk at the Disruption. See Appendix 1.2.

87. Including news in the weekly issues would have classed the *Herald* with newspapers and made it liable to the expensive Newspaper Stamp Act.

explained its purpose:

At a period of peculiar interest in the history of that Church from which our Periodical emanates, it seemed almost indispensable to the completeness of our undertaking, that upon our original design should be engrafted a subordinate...but still highly important object --that of conveying to the public a plain historical notice of the progress of Christianity, both at home and abroad.⁸⁸

As this description suggests, the Monthly Supplement in part simply extended the *Herald's* existing approach by including contemporary information about religious revivals at home and missions abroad. However, this address went on to indicate that the Monthly Supplement also would include news relating to the major ecclesiastico-political controversies of the day. The *Herald* tried to soften the reaction that this approach might cause by noting that its coverage would attempt to be impartial: 'It is not our intention to argue, but, as faithful journalists, to make our readers acquainted with facts.'⁸⁹

By and large the Monthly Supplement fulfilled the purpose set forth for it in its 'Preliminary Address'. It contained a mixture of information on a variety of issues. There was much on revivals, especially after spiritual awakening broke out in Kilsyth during the summer of 1839, and on missions, almost exclusively related to the General Assembly schemes. The Monthly Supplement included regular summaries of the various legal cases related to Non-Intrusion. While it implicitly favoured the Evangelical Party's position, its coverage of these cases was essentially factual and without comment.

The compromise approach of the Monthly Supplement does not seem to have satisfied many of the *Herald's* supporters for very long. The tension between the the work's devotional orientation and the increasing urgency

88. *Monthly Supplement, Scottish Christian Herald* 1 (Jan. 1839):1.

89. *Monthly Supplement, Scottish Christian Herald* 1 (Jan. 1839):1.

of the Non-Intrusion Controversy began to reach the breaking point by the end of 1840. The advertisement prefixed to the 1840 volume reflected this tension. It strongly reaffirmed that the magazine would continue to pursue its 'great object --the advancement of vital godliness among all classes of the people' despite 'the temptations we may have occasionally felt to deviate from the original plan.' However, it went on to call on its readers to 'put forward their most urgent efforts' to increase the *Herald's* circulation, implying that its commitment 'to avoid all sectarian or polemical discussions and to exhibit, in all its native simplicity and power, that Truth which alone is able to make wise unto salvation' was not as popular as it had once been.⁹⁰

Nonetheless, falling circulation did not seem to be the primary reason that the *Herald* ended publication with its 1841 volume. In his 'Concluding Address to our Readers', its editor indicated that the main reason for disbanding the work was fewer contributors, not fewer readers. Some contributors had died during the previous six years, and most of those remaining:

who both felt and expressed the liveliest interest in the prosperity of our peaceful undertaking, have been compelled, reluctantly, to enter the field of fierce and agitating conflict, and to devote their time...and their almost exclusive attention, to the noble work of 'contending for the faith once delivered to the saints.'⁹¹

His comments suggest that the *Herald's* essentially non-polemical, devotional orientation undermined the support of many of its main contributors, young Evangelical ministers. As the Non-Intrusion Controversy reached its climax, this single ecclesiastico-political issue replaced broader spiritual interests as the primary concern amongst this group and

90. Advertisement, 31 Dec. 1840, *Scottish Christian Herald* 2nd Series, vol. 2.

91. *Scottish Christian Herald* 3, 2nd series (25 Dec. 1841):818.

many of their older colleagues. Thus, the *Herald* moved from being an essential cornerstone of the Evangelical agenda of reaching the masses in the mid-1830s to being a dispensable stumbling block in the early 1840s, obstructing the all-important defence of Non-Intrusion.

Two years after the *Scottish Christian Herald* began, another specialised religious periodical appeared, the *Home and Foreign Missionary Record for the Church of Scotland*. While the *Herald* focused inward upon the Church, the *Record* addressed the outward, evangelistic dimension of Evangelicalism. This new work had other close associations with the *Herald*. It was printed by the same publisher. Its title page carefully noted that it was available from all 'Agents of the Scottish Christian Herald', suggesting that its founders may have been trying to tie into the *Herald's* success. Some of the same people who were involved in the *Herald* later helped to launch the *Record*.⁹² The *Record's* close association with the *Herald* suggests that it was part of an overall strategy adopted by young Evangelicals to use specialised popular periodicals in order to communicate their full-orbed vision for the Kirk to Scottish society as a whole.

Like the *Herald*, the *Record* was designed to reach a mass audience. Although a monthly, it adopted many features of weekly popular magazines and newspapers. Each number was short and relatively inexpensive. This combination seems to have been successful. By 1841 it boasted of a monthly circulation of 'upwards of 10,000'.⁹³ Although this claim was much smaller than that of the *Herald*, perhaps suggesting that there was less interest in information on missions than in devotional materials, it was still substantial.

92. Robert Candlish, the chief founder of the *Herald*, was the *Record's* first editor. Wilson, *Robert Candlish*, p. 128.

93. *Home and Foreign Missionary Record*, New series 1 (July 1841):i.

Part of the reason for the *Record's* success may have been its close association with the Kirk, far closer than that of any previous Scottish religious periodical. The *Record* was the official mouthpiece of the General Assembly's major evangelistic committees.⁹⁴ Its pages were filled largely by their reports and notices. Free copies of the *Record* were sent to all Church of Scotland ministers at home and abroad, and for a time, to all kirk-sessions and parochial associations.⁹⁵ This practice implies that Evangelicals viewed the *Record* as a means to make the most of the parochial system, supplementing its existing organisational structure with a new communications network.

The adoption of a distinctive element of Evangelical practice, a religious periodical, by these General Assembly committees reflected the ascendancy of Evangelicalism as an intellectual and social movement in the Kirk by the late 1830s. Despite the evangelistic orientation of these committees, Moderates had been the prime movers behind most of them, using their ecclesiastical political skills in the Assembly to form several of the committees in the mid-1820s.⁹⁶ While these Moderates were effective ecclesiastical politicians, they were inexperienced fundraisers, and the

 94. These committees were Education, Missions, Church Extension, and Colonial Churches. When the Assembly added a fifth committee, Mission to the Jews, in 1839, the *Record* covered it as well. The *Record's* title page highlighted its close link to these committees, adding 'Issued by the Authority of the Committees of the General Assembly' immediately after the title. At the end of its first year the *Record* made its relationship to these committees explicit: 'The Committees intend to make the *Record* their stated and ordinary channel of advertising contributions and collections, and in general, they will employ this Journal exclusively in communicating with the Church and the Public.' Advertisement bound into the back cover of vol. 1 (May 1838--Apr. 1839) of the *Home and Foreign Missionary Record*.

95. Parochial associations functioned like the missionary committee of a parish church. The practice of distributing free copies to these groups and kirk-sessions was discontinued at the end of 1841 in order to curtail expenditures, though ministers continued to receive them.

96. Don Chambers demonstrates the crucial role of Moderates in the development of the first four General Assembly committees in his PhD thesis, 'Mission and Party in the Church of Scotland'.

committees suffered from inadequate financing due in part to poor publicity.

Unlike Moderates who had only developed only two short-lived magazines in the 1830s, Kirk Evangelicals had gained considerable experience in mass communications through their long involvement in a variety of religious periodicals. In the *Record*, they applied this experience to the Assembly committees, adapting the style of periodicals associated with earlier missionary societies.⁹⁷ The *Record* publicised the work of the committees in a similar way to how the *Scottish Missionary Register* had highlighted the work of the Scottish Missionary Society.

The incorporation of a religious magazine into the official structure of the Church of Scotland culminated the relationship between Evangelicalism and periodicals. The *Record* also pointed ahead to the movement's continuing influence within the Church of Scotland, an influence felt even after much of the Evangelical Party left the Kirk at the Disruption. Although the *Record* experienced some difficulties as the Disruption approached, its close association with the Assembly committees seems to have enabled it to cope with the tensions that undermined its counterpart, the *Scottish Christian Herald*. The *Record* went on both to weather the Disruption itself and to continue publicising the work of the Assembly committees well into the late nineteenth century, even surviving today as one of the works that came together to form *Life and Work*, the present official magazine of the Church of Scotland.

While in the 1830s young Evangelicals developed periodicals such as the *Scottish Christian Herald* and the *Home and Foreign Missionary Record*

 97. The *Record* disseminated information about the Assembly committees to stimulate prayer for their work and especially financial giving. It used relatively sophisticated fundraising techniques such as printing forms which subscribers could clip and send in their contributions, and printing extensive lists of all individuals and groups that contributed to the funds of any of the committees.

to integrate Evangelicalism more fully into the Church of Scotland, in the 1840s they started a number of newspapers to prepare Evangelicals for a possible withdrawal from the Kirk. These works reflected a growing tendency among Evangelicals to adapt elements of distinctive Evangelical practice such as religious periodicals to serve ecclesiastico-political ends.⁹⁸ They also incorporated many dimensions of earlier periodicals, revealing the high level of media sophistication that a half-century of involvement in periodicals had given Evangelicals.

Although the approach of the Non-Intrusion newspapers of the 1840s was anticipated by the *Scottish Guardian* in many ways, the most important catalyst in their development was the formation of *The Witness* in Edinburgh. *The Witness*, which began publication on 15 January 1840, was by far the most popular and influential of all Evangelical newspapers. Its first leading article openly admitted that it was formed because of the antipathy of the secular newspaper press toward Non-Intrusion and it explicitly allied itself with the Evangelical Party in the Kirk.⁹⁹

Implicit in the formation of *The Witness* was a dissatisfaction with the way in which other Evangelical periodicals, including the *Scottish Guardian*, were defending and promoting the Non-Intrusion cause. During the summer of 1839 several young Evangelicals associated with other Edinburgh-based religious periodicals spearheaded the foundation of a newspaper that could bring pressure to bear upon public opinion on behalf of Non-Intrusion, more regular pressure than even their own periodicals were bringing.¹⁰⁰ Perhaps because these young Evangelicals were already

 98. See chapter 6 for a discussion of the adaptation of religious voluntary societies and chapter 9 for a discussion of the adaptation of prayer meetings.

99. *The Witness*, No. 1 (15 Jan. 1840):2.

100. Most notably Alexander Dunlop, editor of the *Presbyterian Review*, and Robert Candlish, founder of the *Scottish Christian Herald* and editor of the *Home and Foreign Missionary Record*. Note that *The Witness* was published by the same printer as these last two highly popular works, taking advantage of the technology and organization that had contributed to their success. Peter Bayne, *Life and Letters of Hugh Miller* (London:

busy with their own existing periodicals, they sought an editor from outside their number, choosing Hugh Miller, a self-educated former stonemason from Cromarty, on the basis of his strong Non-Intrusion stand and his popular literary style.¹⁰¹

This choice reflected the paper's primary purpose, to convince as many people as possible of the legitimacy of the Evangelical Party's opposition to the Moderates and to the secular courts, particularly by showing that these issues were not simply clerical concerns. Perhaps because Miller gave his paper a stronger lay orientation than the clerically dominated *Scottish Guardian*, and because the former work was organised more professionally than the latter¹⁰², *The Witness* largely fulfilled this purpose.¹⁰³ Its circulation quickly surpassed that of its religious predecessor and soon rivaled that of any newspaper in Scotland.¹⁰⁴

Although Non-Intrusion was the primary interest of *The Witness*, it also reflected many of the emphases of earlier periodicals not directly related to ecclesiastical politics. The paper strongly affirmed basic Evangelical spiritual interests, regularly including articles on religious

Strahan & Co., 1871) 2:179-181. Wilson, *Robert Candlish*, pp. 87-88.

101. Bayne, *Hugh Miller*, 2:179.

102. To reassure Miller about any adverse personal consequences of the possible failure of *The Witness*, its organizers promised to put three years of his salary (a respectable £200 per year) in the bank before the work began publication. Bayne, *Hugh Miller*, 2:200. Such professionalism sharply contrasted with the practice of earlier religious periodicals such as the *Evangelical Magazine* and the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* the clerical editors of which worked for free in their spare time. As Evangelical periodicals grew larger and more sophisticated, they required more professional management to ensure maximum effectiveness.

103. 'There can be no doubt that much of the credit for the popular support of the Free Church must go to the *Witness*.' Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland*, p. 237.

104. According to the yearly stamp duty returns, *The Witness* overtook the *Scottish Guardian* by 1841, and by 1843 had become the best selling newspaper in Edinburgh, with only two Glasgow papers slightly surpassing its circulation. *The Witness's* returns for 1843 reflected an overall readership of between 20,000 to 35,000. Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland*, p. 170.

revivals and missions.¹⁰⁵ It spoke out on a variety of social issues.¹⁰⁶ It also paid attention to cultural topics, demonstrating its literary concern by maintaining a high standard for even its polemical prose.¹⁰⁷ Miller's own geological studies gave the work a scientific orientation, and his common touch contributed to its popularity with working class readers.¹⁰⁸

The Witness also covered general news and contained several columns of advertisements like any secular newspaper. Yet, as the Disruption approached, ecclesiastical politics began to dominate its pages.¹⁰⁹ Although the paper never completely lost its interest in a variety of subjects, the single issue of Non-Intrusion increasingly edged all other concerns further and further into the background.

The success of *The Witness* spawned a host of regional newspapers throughout Scotland between 1840 and 1843 which were dedicated to defending the Non-Intrusion cause. As early as February 1840, *The Witness* itself ran the following advertisement: 'Wanted Immediately. An Editor for a Weekly Newspaper to be established on Scriptural and Christian Prin-

105. For example, *The Witness* gave extensive publicity to a United Kingdom-wide 'Union for Prayer' focusing on both religious revival in Church and the conversion of all nations and Jews. See leading articles in *The Witness*, No. 281 (21 Sep. 1842):3; and No. 282 (24 Sep. 1842):3-4.

106. As Alexander C. Cheyne has observed (*The Transforming of the Kirk: Victorian Scotland's Religious Revolution* [Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1983], p. 114), *The Witness* tended to reduce 'exceedingly complex political, social and economic problems to a simple matter of personal religion and personal morality', at least in certain instances. For example, a leading article argued that the solution to Chartism was revival, *The Witness* No. 2 (18 Jan. 1840):2. However, it also showed great sensitivity to the environmental causes of some social evils, especially those with which Miller was personally acquainted such as the bothy system and the poor condition of rural housing, Stewart Mechie, *The Church and Scottish Social Development, 1780-1870* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 161-162.

107. Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland*, pp. 136-137, 171.

108. Miller was a pioneer in writing 'human interest' articles, Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland*, p. 171.

109. The largest single heading by far in the index to 1842 volume of *The Witness* was 'Ecclesiastical Courts'.

ciples in [Aberdeen]. The Paper is intended to support the Principles and policy of the Evangelical section of the Church of Scotland.¹¹⁰ Non-Intrusion newspapers first appeared in secondary cities like Aberdeen and Dundee, but soon spread to many towns even in the country.¹¹¹ Although some of these regional papers were edited by literary men such as Henry Duncan (*Dumfries Standard*) and James McCosh (*Dundee Warder*), most of them did not match their predecessor's high literary standard or breadth of interest. They tended to be single-issue works, simply imitating its Non-Intrusion position.

The development of the Non-Intrusion press of the 1840s reflected an overall change within Evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland. During this time many Evangelicals began moving away from their fundamental commitment to work out their spiritual interests within the Established Church, in part because of the influence of these works. The appearance of the Non-Intrusion press marked the transition from Kirk Evangelicalism to Free Churchmanship.

The contrasting approaches of the *Religious Monitor*, the earliest Kirk-related religious periodical, and *The Witness* symbolise this transformation of priorities. Evangelicals became increasingly hesitant to promote spiritual awakening and proselytism while passively accepting the *status quo* in the Kirk and society, as the *Monitor's* supporters had done. They actively and aggressively began using whatever means were available, including religious periodicals, to attempt to transform the *status quo*

 110. *The Witness* No. 12 (22 Feb. 1840):1.

111. For example, in 1842 *The Witness* listed the following papers as sharing its position: the *Dundee Warder*, the *Aberdeen Banner*, the *Dumfries Times*, the *Inverness Herald*, the *Perthshire Advertiser*, the *Montrose Review*, the *Greenock Advertiser*, and the *Caledonian Mercury*. These were soon followed by the *Ross-shire Advertiser* (Dingwall), the *Fifeshire Sentinel* (Cupar), the *Dumfries Standard*, the *Western Watchman* (Ayr), and the *Border Watch* (Kelso). Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland*, pp. 243-244.

along Evangelical lines. While this attempt succeeded in many ways in the Church of Scotland, an increasingly secularised society resisted Evangelical efforts to Christianise it, especially through the structures of the Established Church. At first *The Witness* sought to overcome this resistance by stirring up popular opinion in support of Non-Intrusion. But, when it became clear that this approach would not succeed, the paper shifted its attention to the task of preparing Evangelicals to leave the Establishment and form the Free Church.

CONCLUSION--SECTION I:

Between 1793 and 1843 those in the Kirk who shared a concern for revitalising the Church, for conversion, and for social morality were involved in numerous religious periodicals, developing an extensive communications network essential to the spread of Evangelicalism as a broadly-based social and intellectual movement. Participation in periodicals combining strong commitments both to this spiritual concern and to the Church of Scotland became a distinctive characteristic of the Evangelicals, the former commitment distinguishing them from Moderates and the latter from Dissenters. Thus, the history of religious periodicals in Scotland from the founding of the *Evangelical Magazine* to the Disruption reveals important trends in the rise of Evangelicalism throughout the Church of Scotland.

After the *Evangelical Magazine* had demonstrated the usefulness of religious periodicals in Scotland, three successive generations of Evangelicals developed their own periodicals, reflecting each generation's particular interests and characteristics.¹ The *Religious Monitor* was the product of the first generation of Evangelicals.² This group emerged out of the confusion caused by the introduction into the Kirk of new ideas and

 1. The editors of the leading periodicals for each generation provide a good representative of the generation as a whole: the first generation--the editor of the *Religious Monitor*, Walter Buchanan; the second generation--the editor of the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, Andrew Thomson; the third generation--the lay editor of the *Presbyterian Review*, Alexander Dunlop and the minister involved in founding or editing the *Scottish Christian Herald*, the *Home and Foreign Missionary Record*, and *The Witness*, Robert Candlish.

2. I.e. roughly those born before 1760.

ministerial strategies which developed in the broader evangelical revival in Britain during the 1790s. While the members of the group embraced many of these new ideas and strategies, they maintained a fundamental allegiance to the Scottish Established Church. Thus, they sought to propagate heart-felt Christianity through both diligent pastoral ministry in the Kirk and participation in certain new religious voluntary societies such as the EMS.

As a result, this first generation of Evangelicals concentrated upon promoting their ideas and practice among the clergy. Their approach was 'pietistic', normally not involving areas of life that were not narrowly religious. This first generation was also highly traditional, not wishing to stir up controversy through its periodicals or otherwise, but attempting to spread Evangelical ideas and practices throughout the Kirk and society without greatly disturbing the *status quo*.

The *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* reflected the emergence of a second generation of Evangelicals³ during the 1810s. This second generation carried on much of the first generation's basic approach. They continued to emphasise diligent pastoral ministry and participation in extra-ecclesiastical voluntary societies as means of stimulating deeper piety and evangelism. Unlike their predecessors they also had a strong appreciation for culture, desiring to see the kingdom of God expressed in every area of life. Perhaps as a result, they had a stronger lay orientation, especially toward the educated middle class. This second generation also differed from the first in its willingness to upset the *status quo* to achieve its aims, using its periodical as an important weapon in various controversies, including, after the 1820s, those controversies occurring within the church courts.

3. I.e. roughly those born in the decade after 1775.

No single periodical characterised the third generation of Kirk Evangelicals⁴ as they came to the fore during the 1830s. The explosion of Kirk-related periodicals at this time reflected tremendous growth and diversity in the Evangelical movement within the Church of Scotland. The third generation intensified its commitment to most of the major emphases of the previous generation, developing specialised periodicals to address particular emphases more fully. These specialised periodicals reveal several characteristics about the youngest group of Evangelicals who founded them.

Firstly, they imply that this group was highly diverse. Different people were attracted to different dimensions of Evangelicalism. While many in Scotland embraced the devotional approach embodied in the *Scottish Christian Herald*, far fewer adopted the intellectualism of the *Presbyterian Review* or the ecclesiastical politics of the *Scottish Guardian* or even of *The Witness*. The growing diversity within the movement in the 1830s and 40s partly explains the emergence of 'evangelical Moderates' like William Muir, minister of St. Stephen's, Edinburgh, and the breakaway of the 'Middle Party' from the Evangelical Party immediately prior to the Disruption.⁵ Not everyone who was interested in deeper piety in the Church, proselytism, and social concerns also embraced the Non-Intrusion cause, especially the necessity or legitimacy of leaving the Kirk in defence of that principle. Thus, the Free Church failed to capture the

 4. I.e. roughly those born during the first decade after the turn of the century.

5. Muir willingly endorsed the *Scottish Christian Herald* along with his ecclesiastico-political opponents in the Evangelical Party, Thomas Chalmers and Robert Candlish, reflecting their common appreciation for Evangelical spirituality. Advertisement in *Home and Foreign Missionary Record*, New series, 1 (Dec. 1839):96. Alexander Turner, one of the founders of the *Presbyterian Review*, identified himself with the Middle Party and did not join the Free Church. James F. Leishman, *Matthew Leishman of Govan and the Middle Party of 1843, A Page from Scottish Church Life and History in the Nineteenth Century*, rev. ed. (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1924), pp. 140ff.

whole movement, and Evangelicalism continued to influence the Auld Kirk after the Disruption.

Secondly, these specialised periodicals suggest that the third generation of Evangelicals found it increasingly difficult to maintain a comprehensive Christian worldview embracing the whole of life. As society changed rapidly during the 1830s due to urbanisation, industrialisation and the pressure for political reform, many Evangelicals began to narrow their focus upon religious concerns, especially upon events *within the Kirk*. The youngest Evangelicals moved away from doing evangelism through extra-ecclesiastical voluntary societies, preferring to support General Assembly schemes. They also seemed especially susceptible to becoming preoccupied with controversial single-issues, such as those involved in the Apocrypha, Voluntary, and Non-Intrusion Controversies, causing them to lose sight of the broader spiritual concern that they were supposedly trying to defend.

Finally, the popular orientation of many of the periodicals founded by third generation Evangelicals indicates that they were concerned about spreading their ideas and practice among the masses. This approach differed from that of the first and second generations and suggests that third generation Evangelicals primarily addressed a different problem from that of their predecessors. Mainly concerned with what they saw as ungodly ministers being inflicted upon godly congregations, the first two generations used periodicals to develop a cohesive group of clergy within the Kirk who shared a similar approach to ministry and a common Christian worldview. In contrast, the third generation seemed to struggle more with the problem of godly ministers being confronted with nominal congregations in an ungodly society. In response, they developed periodicals that would appeal to a wide audience, enabling Evangelicalism to gain more non-

clerical adherents from within the Kirk and to communicate its vision for Scottish society as a whole on a popular level.

The thread that ran through most Church of Scotland-related periodicals between 1793 and 1843 and which tied together all three generations of Evangelicals, intertwined a spiritual commitment to religious revival and evangelism with an institutional commitment to the Church of Scotland.⁶ These publications helped to unite scattered individuals who shared these twin commitments into a coherent group. They also enabled Evangelicals to propagate their distinctive ideas and practices to large audiences, giving them far greater influence than their relative lack of power in the church courts at the turn of the century suggested they would have. Thus, whether they were aimed at ministers or lay people, whether they emphasized narrowly religious or wider cultural and intellectual concerns, whether they addressed issues within the denomination or mission outside it, periodicals were a major factor in the rise of Evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland during the first half of the nineteenth century, providing a communications network central to its spread as an intellectual and social movement.

 6. Even single-issue polemical works like the *Church of Scotland Magazine* or some of those in the Non-Intrusion press indirectly reflected this common theme. In part, they were attempts to maintain an establishment that would be based on Evangelical priorities.

SECTION II--SOCIETIES: EVANGELICALISM'S ACTIVE EXPRESSION

INTRODUCTION:

I must state, however, to the honour of the present times that much has of late been done to promote the progress of religious knowledge... The introduction...of religious periodical publications deserves to be mentioned, as an excellent means of diffusing theological truth... Societies [too] have been instituted, and have not been instituted in vain. They form a distinguished period in the history of the church; and the names of those who have defended and patronised them, will be held in everlasting remembrance.¹

As the quote above suggests, during roughly the first half of the nineteenth century two new institutions, religious periodicals and religious voluntary societies, worked together to stimulate the development of Evangelicalism as a broadly-based intellectual and social movement within the Church of Scotland. Periodicals provided the informational input for the movement, communicating to a wide audience its central concern for piety within the Church, for evangelism, and for public morals. Societies provided it with a practical outlet for this information. They enabled Evangelicals to translate their ideas into action on a wide range of specific issues.

As various types of societies spread throughout the nation during the three decades following 1795, a growing number of Church of Scotland ministers and members participated in them. These organisations consolidated

 1. 'Hints to Students of Divinity', *Religious Monitor* 4 (Dec. 1806):466 [slightly rearranged].

on a local level the national influence of periodicals, thereby both encouraging interaction among those sharing their interests beyond the publishing centres of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and reinforcing a commitment to Evangelical ideas through personal involvement. In addition, participation in societies exposed Evangelicals to sophisticated organisational and fund raising techniques, enabling them to acquire skills that became increasingly important as Scottish society grew more complex and wealthy.

The seeming effectiveness of the activist approach of societies in meeting the mounting challenges of urbanisation and industrialisation in Scotland. made Evangelicalism increasingly attractive to a wide range of groups within the Kirk, spreading its influence beyond the confines of the eighteenth-century Popular Party. Laymen, women, and youth discovered through these new organizations many more outlets for religious service than were available to them prior to 1795. By the 1810s even some members of the Moderate Party had become involved in the new societies. Some of these men later led the way in the mid-1820s to the adoption of elements of Evangelical thought and practice into the official programme of the Church of Scotland. They began the process, which was accelerated by the assistance of many Evangelicals in the 1830s, of incorporating the activist approach and organisational techniques of voluntary societies into existing Kirk structures.

The twists and turns in the relationship of ministers and members of the Church of Scotland to voluntary societies during the first half of the nineteenth century exposed a fundamental tension within Kirk Evangelicalism. Their commitment both to societies and to the Establishment involved Evangelicals in a struggle to hold together two contrasting views of the nature of the Church. Their activist desire to put their beliefs into practice through organised efforts in union with like-minded individuals, whether they were within or outside the Kirk, reflected a

voluntary, gathered church view. Their concern for parish ministry in particular, and for maintaining the role of the Establishment within a godly commonwealth in general, reflected a territorial church view.

Each generation of Evangelicals struggled in different ways with the tension inherent in their attempt as members of the Established Church to use the voluntary approach of societies. This tension was a source of their movement's tremendous dynamism during the first half of the nineteenth century. But, it also contributed to the Evangelicalism's instability. Many of its internal and external controversies arose as circumstances increased this tension, until finally it reached breaking point at the Disruption. However, this tension also contributed to popularity of the movement, ideally fitting it to appeal to the sensibilities of its times. Its contrasting views of the Church embodied elements from each of the two sides of pre-Victorian Scotland's multiple transitions: from a rural to an urban society, from an agricultural to an urban economy, from an oligarchic to a more democratic form of government, from an Enlightened to a Romantic intellectual milieu, and from a religious to a secular worldview. As a result, many people caught in the midst of those transitions embraced Evangelicalism as a social and intellectual movement which, through its commitment to actively spreading vital Christianity throughout the Kirk, the nation, and the world, had the best potential to transcend the growing divisions within Scotland.

'This is the age of societies.'²

The proliferation, both in number and variety, of religious voluntary societies during the first half of the nineteenth century in Scotland was

 2. Thomas Babington Macaulay, writing in 1823, quoted in Ford K. Brown, *Fathers of the Victorians: The Age of Wilberforce* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), p. 317.

part of a wider phenomenon extending throughout Britain, America, and some parts of Europe.³ These organizations took basically the same form in Scotland as elsewhere: a group of people, acting as individual Christians rather than as a church, formally agreed to associate together to fulfill some specified purpose.⁴ This agreement was embodied in a written statement of purpose and set of regulations. These regulations outlined the society's activities, its membership requirements (almost always involving payment of an annual donation above a designated amount), and its administrative structure. A committee of directors and office-bearers (president, secretary, and treasurer), elected from the membership at an annual general meeting, had the authority to make most of the society's decisions. None of these directors or office-bearers received any payment for their labours, except in a few of the largest societies toward the end of the period, and almost all of a society's income came from voluntary donations.

Early nineteenth-century Scottish voluntary societies drew upon both religious and secular models for their organization. They had strong similarities to presbyterian church government in their elected authority structure, to fellowship meetings for prayer and Bible reading in their voluntary character, and to eighteenth-century societies like the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) or Orphan Hospitals in their specialised ministries. They also closely paralleled joint stock companies in which individuals formally associated together to ful-

 3. In this broader context societies also attracted the involvement of other members of established churches and other Presbyterians. For a discussion of the relationship between societies and Church of England evangelicals, see F.K. Brown, *Fathers of the Victorians*, chapter 9. For a similar discussion for evangelical Presbyterians and others in Ulster see Myrtle Hill, 'Evangelicalism and the Churches in Ulster Society: 1770-1850' (Queens University, Belfast, Ph.D. Thesis, 1987), chapter 4.

4. For example, to send out missionaries, to print and distribute Bibles, or to support larger societies that did these things.

fill a common purpose in commerce and industry. The growing prevalence, complexity, and success of these companies during roughly the first half of the nineteenth century suggests that they were perhaps the most influential model for religious voluntary societies, at least in commending societies as effective means of promoting religion in a newly industrialising age.⁵

Most of the voluntary societies in which Church of Scotland ministers and members involved themselves during this period grew out of a desire to promote spiritual awakening within the Church, proselytism, and social morality. The large majority of these societies were evangelistic, seeking to communicate the basic Christian message to the unchurched at home and the unreached abroad through a variety of means (for example, sending missionaries, distributing Bibles or tracts). A number also sought to ameliorate social problems, including poverty, prostitution, and the handicapped.⁶

Relatively fewer societies directly attempted to encourage vital piety within the Church, in part perhaps because prayer and fellowship meetings already were meeting this need. However, Evangelicals believed that societies had powerful indirect benefits for the Church in two ways. They argued practically that participation in organised efforts to spread Christianity to others caused Christians to value their own faith more

 5. For the growth of trading and industrial companies in Scotland during this period, see T.C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830* (Glasgow: William Collins Sons & Co. Ltd., 1969), pp. 230-239.

6. The distinction between evangelistic societies and those dealing with social concerns is somewhat artificial. Prior to the Disruption, Evangelicals tended to hold these issues together. Thus, they frequently included religious instruction in schemes to alleviate specific social problems (for example, preaching at a soup kitchen) and viewed purely evangelistic efforts as means of improving social conditions. For a more extended discussion of the interrelationship between proselytism and social concern among Evangelicals see Olive Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland: Social Welfare and the Voluntary Principle* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, Ltd., 1980), especially Part I, 'Pre-Victorian Charities', and Part II, 'The Philanthropy of Piety'.

highly and to experience it more deeply. They also affirmed theologically that God would providentially honour these evangelistic efforts by pouring out the Holy Spirit on the Church.

Just as the three generations of Kirk Evangelicals developed their own religious periodicals, so they also developed their own sets of voluntary societies. Organised religious activity by Church of Scotland ministers and members increased throughout the first half of the nineteenth century as later generations of Evangelicals enlarged upon the organisational structure developed by their predecessors, attracting more and more people and funds with which to sustain growing efforts to spread heart-felt Christianity. As each generation came of age, its members reaching their mid-twenties to mid-thirties, a wave of new voluntary societies or of new society-inspired activity followed. Since these waves were a manifestation of the particular concerns of successive generations of Evangelicals, they provide an illuminating indirect means of tracing the development of Evangelicalism as a whole.

CHAPTER 4

THE FIRST WAVE--1795-1809: MISSIONARY SOCIETIES

'The present age seems to be the aera of voluntary missions.'¹

Between 1795 and 1809, first generation Evangelicals warmly embraced religious voluntary societies, especially missionary societies, as a new means to translate their central concern for spiritual awakening and evangelism into action. Their commitment both to participating in voluntary societies and to remaining in the Church of Scotland distinguished them from others within the Kirk, and from other evangelicals outside it. This first generation struggled to maintain both dimensions of this commitment despite their Moderate colleagues' open rejection of the new societies, and despite their Seceding and especially their Independent fellow society members' abandonment of the Establishment.

The catalyst that began this first wave of voluntary society activity was the foundation of the London Missionary Society [LMS] in 1795.² Despite the distance between London and Scotland, the ties between the

1. Bryce Johnston, 'On the Universal Promulgation of the Gospel', *Sermons*, p. 411.

2. Three years earlier William Carey and his associates in England had launched the first British missionary society, the Baptist Missionary Society, but it does not seem to have directly influenced members of the Church of Scotland to a significant degree during its early years, though John Erskine, minister of Old Greyfriars, played a role in its formation. A. Christopher Smith, 'The Edinburgh Connection: Between the Serampore Mission and Western Missiology', *Missiology: An International Review* 18 (1990):202.

leaders of the LMS and members of the Kirk were both numerous and strong. Some of the London ministers present at the meetings that led to the formation of the LMS were connected with the Church of Scotland, most notably the founding secretary of the LMS, John Love.³ Love included his colleagues back in Scotland in his correspondence and as a result read 'many encouraging letters from Scotland' promising prayers for this new venture at the first public meeting of the LMS on 21 September 1795.⁴

Kirk members soon added their pounds and pence to their prayers, as early contributions to the LMS from Scotland suggest.⁵ Charles Calder, minister of Ferrintosh in Ross-shire, held a collection for the LMS in his parish around 1796, preceded by special missions-related sermons that created a novel enthusiasm for missionary work among many of his parishioners.⁶ The LMS formally acknowledged its support in Scotland at its first annual meeting in May 1796 by adding seven Scottish residents to its committee of directors, including John Snodgrass, minister of the Middle Parish in Paisley, and James Somerville, minister of the the First Charge in Stirling.⁷ At its 1797 annual meeting, the LMS increased the number of its Scottish directors to 15, nine of whom were Church of Scot-

 3. Other members of the London Presbytery involved in the early days of the LMS included Henry Hunter, James Steven, William Nicol, and William Smith. Note that the two from this group, Love and Steven, finished up their careers back in Scotland. Love returned in 1800 as the first minister of Anderston Chapel in Glasgow and continued his strong support of missionary societies, later becoming secretary of the Glasgow Missionary Society. Steven followed in 1803 as minister of Kilwinning and Dalgarnen parish in the Presbytery of Irvine. George G. Cameron, *The Scots Kirk in London* (Oxford: Becket Publications, 1979), pp. 93-99.

4. *Evangelical Magazine* 3 (Oct. 1795):421.

5. A donation of £100 from Stirling was among the first contributions to the LMS listed in the *Evangelical Magazine* [4 (Feb. 1796):77]. A more detailed list of collections for the LMS included Church of Scotland parishes in Stirling, Kippen, St Ninians, and the Chapel-of-Ease in Ardach [vol. 5 (Mar. 1797):116].

6. Findlater, *Robert Findlater*, p. 41.

7. *Evangelical Magazine* 4 (Jun. 1796):253.

land ministers.⁹ The LMS also regularly invited Scottish established clergymen to preach at their annual meetings, beginning with Snodgrass in 1796.⁹

Despite the LMS's open welcome of Kirk Evangelicals and their eagerness to support its efforts, there were limitations to their having much direct participation in the work of the organisation. Although communication and transportation between Scotland and England were improving, most Scots could afford neither the time nor the money to travel regularly to London where the LMS committee of directors met. The timing of the annual general meeting of the LMS in mid-May made regular attendance at even this event awkward for Kirk members, especially ministers, since the General Assembly met only about a week afterwards back in Edinburgh.

Nonetheless, the LMS played a crucial role in encouraging Evangelicals in the Church of Scotland to embrace religious voluntary societies as a means of working out their evangelistic commitment. It generated tremendous enthusiasm for organised missionary activity and served as a model for similar organisations in Scotland. The LMS provided a compelling theological rationale for an activist approach to religion to many in the Kirk who shared its Calvinistic, paedobaptist orientation. The interdenominational character of the LMS raised high hopes that concerted action to promote missions abroad might lead to religious revival and church union at home, hopes that may have been especially attractive to

 8. These included Kenneth Bayne of Greenock, John Campbell of Kippen, Thomas Fleming of Kirkcaldy, Colin Gillies of Paisley, Angus (also called Augustus) Mackintosh of Tain, John Mill of Shetland, John Russel of Kilmarnock, and Walter Tait of Lundie. LMS Report for 1797 in *Reports of the Missionary Society, from its Formation in the Year 1795, to 1814*, vol. 1 (London: J. Dennett: n.d.). For a full analysis of the denominational background of the Scottish directors of the LMS, see Roxborough, 'Thomas Chalmers and the Mission of the Church', Appendix 4.7, pp. 408-415.

9. Other clergy who preached included Robert Balfour of Glasgow in 1798, John Findlay of Paisley in 1799, David Dickson Sr. of Edinburgh in 1804, and John Campbell, formerly of Kippen and then at the Tolbooth Church in Edinburgh, in 1808. See Appendix 2.2.

Scottish evangelicals, most of whom already shared presbyterian church government and theology. The impressive organisational structure of the LMS also contributed to its powerful impact. It united more individuals on a larger scale to attempt a more complex goal than any religious group had done previously. Moreover, at first it seemed highly successful in a relatively short period of time, despite the difficulties of its task and the opposition it faced. In its first four months of existence, the LMS raised over £6,000.¹⁰

The LMS contributed to the new sense of expectancy among many Christians throughout Scotland after 1795. If God was at work, Christians could not remain idle. They needed to become active too, especially since the example of the LMS suggested that tremendous potential for achievement existed once they were organised. The LMS particularly encouraged Church of Scotland ministers to become involved in organising the missions movement. In an address to 'the Faithful Brethren in the Established Churches of England and Scotland', a leading member of the LMS made this plea:

Brethren, if you love [Jesus], and approve the plan we have adopted, join us. Or if you think more effectual steps can be taken, unite vigorously among yourselves to promote the same great object, and then we shall equally rejoice.¹¹

A significant number of Scottish established clergymen adopted the latter of these two approaches, spearheading the formation of numerous missionary societies throughout Scotland beginning in 1796. In February of that year, missionary societies were formally organised for the cities of Glasgow [GMS] and Edinburgh [EMS]. Similar locally-based organisations soon followed in many of Scotland's cities and large towns, including Paisley, Dundee, Perth, Aberdeen, Dumfries, Stirling, and Kilmarnock. The

10. *Evangelical Magazine* 4 (Feb. 1796):76.

11. *Evangelical Magazine* 5 (Apr. 1797):153.

movement was not limited to urban areas, spreading quickly to rural centres such as Kelso in the Borders and Huntly and Keith in Aberdeenshire. By 1800, when the Northern Missionary Society [NMS] was organised in Inverness and Tain, it had reached the Highlands.

Church of Scotland members, and especially ministers, were highly involved in organising many of these new missionary societies, often going on to serve as directors or office-bearers. In 1796 the EMS was chaired by John Erskine, minister of Old Greyfriars and leader of the Popular Party; it included five other members of the Edinburgh Presbytery on its committee of directors, as well as James Bonar, a leading elder and second solicitor of the excise. Robert Balfour, minister of St. Paul's in Glasgow, and Alexander Ranken of St. David's, served as the founding president and secretary respectively of the CMS. Bryce Johnston, minister of Holywood in Dumfries-shire, preached one of the first sermons for the Dumfries Missionary Society, hosting the meeting in the parish church. The NMS was organised and led almost exclusively by Kirk members and ministers.¹²

Missionary societies developed a loose network of like-minded individuals within the Church of Scotland by providing a context outside the formal structures of the Kirk for frequent interaction centred upon a common evangelistic enterprise. Although this network was similar to the one emerging at about the same time among Church of England evangelicals, there were several differences. Scottish Evangelicals lacked both a central leader like William Wilberforce and a tightly knit, well organised

 12. For a more detailed analysis of the growth of Scottish missionary societies and Church of Scotland participation in them see Appendices 2.1 and 2.2.

core group like the Clapham Sect that could dominate the national leadership of societies.¹³

Most of these regional societies were highly autonomous. Although they acknowledged the LMS as the inspiration for their existence and contributed some of their own funds to its work, the large majority of Scottish societies had no direct, formal connection with it.¹⁴ In part this reluctance to subordinate themselves to the LMS may have stemmed from traditional Scottish suspicions about English institutions coupled with a presbyterian preference for regional, rather than centralised, administrative authority. John Erskine probably summed up the attitudes of most of his fellow missionary society leaders from the Kirk when he commented:

I did not altogether approve of the Paisley society putting themselves under the management of a society of men at a distance, however wise or good. I think every society should judge for itself, how best to dispose of its funds...¹⁵

These same attitudes prevented any single missionary society like the EMS or the GMS from achieving in Scotland the kind of central position that the LMS first had in England. Most Scottish missionary societies began as miniature versions of the LMS, intended to perform most of the same functions within their local region as the London-based group had done during its first year in Britain as a whole. For many of the larger areas one of these functions included sending out their own missionaries.

Despite the independent tendencies of Scottish missionary societies, they cooperated with both one another and the LMS, helping to build rela-

13. For discussion of Wilberforce and the Clapham Sect's involvement in English voluntary societies see F.K. Brown, *Fathers of the Victorians*, pp. 318ff.

14. The Paisley Missionary Society was one of the few Scottish societies that turned all its funds over to the LMS.

15. *Account of the Proceedings and Debate, in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 27 May 1796; On the Overtures from the Provincial Synods of Fife and Moray, Respecting the Propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen* (Edinburgh: Alex. Lawrie, 1796), p. 57.

tionships among Scottish evangelicals and between Scottish and English evangelicals. The complicated logistics and the high costs of transporting a worker to a foreign country encouraged several societies to pool their resources together, contributing both men and funds to reach the same area. In 1797 missionaries from the EMS, the GMS, and the LMS headed out together for Africa, and in 1798 a Mr. Macdonald from the Perth Missionary Society joined a team from the EMS intended for the South Seas.¹⁶ Although these particular joint efforts collapsed because of difficulties in the field, they strengthened ties among their constituent organisations at home, providing a subject for regular correspondence between them.

Societies without missionaries of their own also engaged in correspondence, often requesting information about the progress of missions abroad or passing on information about their own activities.¹⁷ These contacts developed lines of communication between groups of individuals from different regions in Scotland who were similarly concerned about propagating Christianity. Annual meetings provided additional opportunities for interaction, both through the circulation of printed annual reports and through the practice of inviting representatives from other societies to participate in these meetings, often to preach the annual sermon.

Within their regions missionary societies attracted scattered individuals committed to proselytism and religious revival as magnets attract iron filings scattered on a table. In addition, just as separate magnets on a table are loosely connected through the common magnetic field they

 16. *Evangelical Magazine* 5 (Nov. 1797):462ff. *Christian Magazine* 2 (Dec. 1798):568.

17. In its annual report for 1797 the EMS indicated that it was in correspondence with not only the GMS and LMS, but with missionary societies in Aberdeen, Ayr, and Perth, p. 5 of the appendix to Andrew Hunter, *Christ Drawing All Men unto Him: A Sermon preached before the [EMS] in Lady Glenorchy's Chapel on Thursday July 20, 1797* (Edinburgh: J. Ritchie, 1797). See also the Minutes of the Northern Missionary Society, 1800-43, NLS, DEP 298 (198-9), passim for its contacts with other groups.

create, so too were these regional groups loosely connected through their mutual involvement in the missionary movement they created in Scotland. The structure of this movement was highly conducive to further the spread of Evangelicalism throughout the Established Church.

Many more ministers and laymen in the Kirk could become deeply involved in Evangelical activity by serving as office-bearers in local societies than if administrative authority had been centred in London (as with the LMS) or in Edinburgh (as with the SSPCK). Regional societies built up existing organisation among Evangelicals within an area (often roughly paralleling presbytery or synod boundaries), offering a means for them to express publicly the support for evangelism that previously they had expressed only privately. Numerous Church of Scotland ministers took advantage of the opportunity to present their views on missions-related issues to large audiences through the annual sermons of missionary societies, many of which were printed later.¹⁸ Evangelicals also benefitted from the communications network that linked regional societies together throughout Scotland since many of the secretaries who handled this correspondence were established clergymen.¹⁹ Thus, missionary societies channelled Evangelicalism in a dynamic new direction after 1796, enabling it to become a broadly-based social and intellectual movement within the Kirk.

The involvement in Scottish missionary societies of so many from the Established Church raises an intriguing question: Why did Evangelicals choose to organise these new societies instead of simply working through the SSPCK? In several ways this older society seemed ideally suited to

 18. See Appendix 2.2 for a list of sermons preached before missionary societies by Church of Scotland ministers between 1796 and 1809.

19. See Appendix 2.1 for a partial list of secretaries from the Church of Scotland.

pursue foreign missions. Although its primary purpose was providing education in the Highlands, its original articles also encompassed 'endeavours for the advancement of the Christian Religion, to Heathen Nations; and, for that end, to give encouragement to ministers to preach the Gospel among them.'²⁰ Spurred on by the offer of an estate in 1717 on the condition that it send three qualified ministers to preach overseas to non-Christians, the society began work among Native Americans in the United States, also supporting catechists and schools.²¹ In 1795 the SSPCK had two missionaries in America and was considering expanding its work there.²²

While not officially a part of the Church of Scotland, the SSPCK was closely associated with the Kirk. All of its directors and office-bearers had to be members of the Established Church, and a committee nominated by the General Assembly managed the funds it received from the Royal Bounty.²³ Leaders of the Popular Party, including those who later founded some of the new missionary societies, frequently served on the board of the SSPCK and preached its annual sermons.²⁴

David Bogue's awareness of the SSPCK's overseas work and its close association with the Church of Scotland led him in 1794 to excuse his counterparts in the Kirk from his accusation that Calvinists were doing

20. Henry Hunter, *A Brief History of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands; and of the Correspondent Board in London; from the Establishment of the Society in the Year 1701, Down to the Present Time* (London: n.p., 1795), p. 21.

21. H. Hunter, *A Brief History of the SSPCK*, pp. 22ff.

22. H. Hunter, *A Brief History of the SSPCK*, pp. 53ff.

23. H. Hunter, *A Brief History of the SSPCK*, p. 29.

24. Walter Buchanan, David Johnston, and Andrew Hunter, leading Popular Party members in the Edinburgh Presbytery and three of the prime movers behind the EMS, were directors of the SSPCK in the early 1790s. Prominent Evangelicals from outside Edinburgh also publicly supported the SSPCK. Bryce Johnston of Holywood managed two of its estates free of charge [J. Johnstone, ed., *Sermons by Bryce Johnston*, pp. 43-48], and Robert Balfour of Glasgow (1789), John Snodgrass of Paisley (1794), and John Love of London (1794) all preached sermons on its behalf.

nothing for the conversion of the heathen.²⁵ Nonetheless, Scottish Evangelicals found the eventual result of Bogue's remonstrance, the LMS, a far more attractive vehicle for missions than the SSPCK. Although a committee investigating the SSPCK's funds in 1796 publicly expressed interest in expanding the society's overseas work, almost no one seems to have pursued this suggestion further.²⁶ Between 1793 and 1800 the minutes of both the SSPCK's committee of directors and its general meetings mention increasing the society's foreign missions efforts on only one occasion.

Ironically, this occasion involved Bogue and three individuals from the Church of Scotland who soon after left the Establishment under controversial circumstances, rather than the SSPCK's traditional Evangelical supporters. On 2 February, 1797 Robert Haldane of Airthrey and the Rev. Greville Ewing, assistant minister of Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, Edinburgh, submitted a letter on behalf of themselves, Bogue, and the Rev. William Innes of the Second Charge, Stirling, to the directors of the SSPCK requesting 'a Commission from the Society and authority to such as are Ministers among us to preach the Gospel abroad, and to those of us who are not Ministers to assist them as Catechists.'²⁷ The directors, finding this request 'not less new and singular, than interesting and important', appointed a committee consisting mainly of the most senior Evangelical clergy in Edinburgh to evaluate it and recommend what action should be taken.²⁸ This committee concluded that 'that the Society are not only

25. *Evangelical Magazine* 2 (Sept. 1794):379.

26. *An Account of the Funds, Expenditure and General Management of the Affairs of [the SSPCK]* (Edinburgh: J. Paterson, 1796), p. 64.

27. Minutes of Committee of Directors' Meetings of the SSPCK, SRO, GD/95/2/11, p. 267.

28. The members of this committee were the Rev. Drs. John Erskine, Andrew Hunter, and David Johnston; the Revs. T.S. Jones and William Paul; and two laymen. 2 Feb. 1797, Minutes of the Committee of Directors' Meetings of the SSPCK, SRO, GD/95/2/11, p. 267.

warranted but called upon to give their countenance and encouragement' to Haldane and his associates, and the SSPCK general meeting in March granted them a commission as catechist and 'Missionary Ministers of the Gospel to the Heathen'.²⁹

While it may seem odd for Bogue, a founder of the LMS, and Ewing, the secretary of the EMS, to seek a commission from the SSPCK rather than from these newer societies, and for the SSPCK to include a man of wealth like Haldane as one of its catechists since the rest of its agents were grindingly poor, both groups had good reasons for forming such an unexpected coalition. Respectability was the major benefit that each party hoped to derive from entering into a formal relationship with one another, as the timing of the prospective missionaries' request suggests.

In mid-January 1797 the East India Company had denied Haldane and his associates permission to begin missionary activity in Bengal.³⁰ In response, they initiated a two-pronged strategy in early February to convince the Company to overturn this decision. Part of their plan was to apply pressure on the Company, mainly through a letter writing campaign by Scottish ministers mobilised through the network of the new missionary societies. Significantly, even though the EMS co-ordinated this campaign, ministers seem to have been instructed to send their letters in their own name rather than as representatives of societies, probably out of fear that any connection with these novel groups only would increase the suspicions of the conservative Company directors regarding Haldane's mis-

 29. 2 Mar. 1797, Minutes of the General Meetings of the SSPCK, SRO, GD 95/1/6, pp. 36-37.

30. Letter from W. Ramsay to Haldane, Bogue, Ewing, and Innes, 12 Jan. 1797, Haldane MSS, Gleneagles. The author is grateful to Dr. Deryck W. Lovegrove for this reference.

sions scheme.³¹ To allay these suspicions the prospective missionaries implemented the second part of their plan, seeking accreditation from one of the oldest and most respected religious organisations in Britain, the SSPCK. Although the Company had denied them entrance to India as private individuals, it might let them in as representatives of a society with a royal charter of its own.³²

The SSPCK may have appreciated that commissioning this group also would increase its own respectability, reaffirming its position as a leading missionary sending organisation in a way that would satisfy both its most Establishment-orientated supporters and its most evangelical critics. By accepting the proposal of Haldane and his associates the SSPCK gained a set of missionaries with high educational and social standing. In contrast to the mainly artisan missionaries of new groups like the Baptist Missionary Society and LMS, the old society could boast of three Church of Scotland trained ministers (two of whom were members of the Establishment)³³ and one gentleman.³⁴

31. Ewing, as the EMS secretary, appears to have urged ministers in a circular letter sent out at the beginning of February to write the East India Company. John Mill, a minister in Shetland, mentioned receiving a letter from the EMS to this effect in his diary, noting the importance of signing the letter in his name alone, *Diary of John Mill*, pp. 110-111.

32. The group's application to the SSPCK was not wholly mercenary. They also seem to have approved of the society's character and work in general, even prior to February 1797. Ewing was elected as a member of the SSPCK on 5 Mar. 1795 (Minutes of the General Meetings of the SSPCK, SRO, GD 95/1/6, p. 1) and Haldane on 7 Jan. 1796, having been nominated by the directors after he and his brother James made a contribution of over £50 on 9 Nov. 1795 (Minutes of Committee of Directors' Meetings of the SSPCK, SRO, GD/95/2/11, p. 212). James served as a director himself from 1796 through 1798.

33. Bogue pursued his university and theological education with the intention of entering the Kirk, but his disaffection with patronage led him to abandon this plan and to move to England where he became the minister of a Congregational church in Gosport.

34. Despite their later retractions, their initial affirmation of some aspects of the French Revolution had tainted the respectability of Bogue and Haldane to some degree, but their education and social status was still superior to most prospective missionaries, perhaps offsetting their earlier political indiscretions in the minds of the directors of the SSPCK. For Haldane's position in comparison to the majority of Scottish aristocrats, see Lenman, *Integration, Enlightenment, and Industrialization*, pp. 105-106.

The opportunity to associate itself with four prominent Christian leaders with such undeniable Evangelical credentials may also have contributed to the SSPCK's enthusiastic response to their request for a commission. Bogue was considered to be the father of the LMS; Ewing was the secretary of the EMS and the editor of the *Missionary Magazine*; Innes was involved in missionary societies in Stirling and Dundee; and Haldane was a director of the LMS. They provided the SSPCK with an easy way to prove its evangelical character and silence the rumours, which had become increasingly troublesome by 1796, that the society was unconcerned about conversion.

This way was easy because it required a minimum of financial and organisational commitment from the SSPCK, as the terms of its commission make clear. Despite previous indications from Haldane that he would underwrite out of his personal fortune all the costs associated with the mission, the general meeting of the SSPCK felt uncomfortable with the wording of the commission until it included a clause obviating the society of any financial obligations.³⁵ In return, the SSPCK only provided very loose supervision of the group's activities in the field, simply requesting that the missionaries submit a report of their work at least annually.

Despite the SSPCK's endorsement, the East India Company stood firm in its refusal to admit Haldane, Ewing, Innes, and Bogue into its territories. While this incident raises some intriguing, though unfortunately for the historian unanswerable, questions about how the evangelical movement in the Kirk and in Britain in general might have developed differently if the end result of this prospective coalition had been successful, it is nonetheless helpful in suggesting some of the

 35. Note this amendment to the commission in 2 Mar. 1797, the Minutes of the General Meetings of the SSPCK, SRO, GD 95/1/6, p. 37.

reasons why Church of Scotland Evangelicals did not turn to the SSPCK as their missions sending agency. Because they were highly involved in the administration of the society, they realised that its major financial and organisational limitations effectively prevented it from initiating any additional efforts in foreign countries.

Although the SSPCK had accumulated a massive amount of funds through various large donations and legacies during its long existence, it was struggling financially during the 1790s for two reasons. Firstly, its royal charter required that its directors invest all contributions, with only the interest on these investments being available to support its work. Secondly, its primary commitment to Highland education involved large, and relatively fixed, annual expenditures to support its numerous schools and teachers.³⁶ Thus, in 1795 despite a capital fund of over £81,000 producing over £4000 of interest, the SSPCK's expenses in Scotland still exceeded its revenue by £359.³⁷

The SSPCK was also struggling in the 1790s to fulfill its administrative responsibilities. Supervising and maintaining schools and teachers scattered throughout the Highlands required tremendous amounts of time and effort, as the minutes of the committee of directors reveal. These minutes also indicate that the SSPCK regularly turned down applications from various parts of the Highlands for new schools during this period because of its administrative and especially its financial limitations.

In light of these limitations, the SSPCK's wariness about the costs of extending its labours abroad is not surprising. Its experience working in America suggested that such a decision would only compound its problems. The society's directors had encountered frequent frustrations,

36. The SSPCK had 323 schools in 1795, H. Hunter, *A Brief History of the SSPCK*, pp. 73ff.

37. *Account of the Funds of SSPCK*, pp. 17ff.

usually money related, as they attempted to supervise their American missionaries.³⁸ They had no desire to multiply these frustrations by expanding the SSPCK's responsibilities and payroll to support workers in some other foreign country, especially since such new efforts abroad might take away from the resources available at home that were already inadequate for sustaining its primary obligation, meeting the religious needs of the Highlands.

At the heart of the SSPCK's problems in the 1790s was the difficulty of trying to function in the increasingly complex late eighteenth century with an early eighteenth-century organisational structure. While its royal charters, the first dating from the reign of Queen Anne, gave the society considerable prestige, they also restricted the scope of its activities and its administrative flexibility. Hence, at a time when merchants were forming private companies to carry out their overseas trade rather than waiting to receive charters like that which the East India Company had received from the Crown, Kirk Evangelicals chose to form new societies incorporating a similar up-to-date organisational approach to carry out their foreign missions rather than trying to work through the already overburdened SSPCK.

The new missionary societies of the mid-1790s were able to act much more quickly and were much more flexible than the SSPCK. Because they were free to spend more than just the interest on the funds they received, they could generate large sums of money to be put to work in the field right away. It would have taken years to build up the capital necessary to produce enough interest to send out just one missionary through the SSPCK. In addition, because missionary societies were not tied to setting

 38. See the Minutes of the Committee of Directors' Meetings of the SSPCK, SRO, GD 95/2/11: 2 Apr. 1795-p. 180, 1 Sep. 1796-p. 241, and 6 July 1797-p. 298f.

up schools or working through ordained ministers, they could begin work immediately by employing itinerant lay preachers.

Living in an age when companies were finding it increasingly profitable to specialise in a single product or market may also have influenced Evangelicals in their decision to form new societies rather than to try to do missions through the SSPCK. Specialisation would produce greater efficiency all around. Societies concentrating purely on overseas work would be better able to meet the major challenge of foreign missions than would one taking an omnibus approach. This decision also allowed an already overburdened SSPCK to focus upon its Highland work without any additional overseas distractions, as its Edinburgh Evangelical directors seemed to appreciate.³⁹ Even before the 1790s the American work of the society had become marginal, effectively making it a society specialising in Highland education.

Therefore, the enthusiasm for and significant participation in missionary societies of Evangelicals from the Church of Scotland should not be seen as a rejection of the SSPCK. The Evangelicals did not abandon the SSPCK after 1796 in preference for new missionary societies.⁴⁰ Most continued to support it financially, to serve on its committee of directors, and to preach its annual sermons.⁴¹ They did so because they did not view

 39. See John Erskine's comments to this effect in *Account of the..Debate in the...Assembly...27 May, 1796*, pp. 27-37.

40. Contrary to the interpretation given by Dr. Gavin White, "Highly Preposterous", p. 118.

41. Of the 48 preachers of SSPCK annual sermons between 1793 and 1843 all but 13 can be identified positively as Evangelicals (73%). The SSPCK and the EMS shared four common office-bearers in every year in which records for both groups survive (1796, 1797, 1799, 1801, and 1802) except in 1799, when only two of the SSPCK directors were also on the board of the EMS (note that the SSPCK usually had eight directors, and the EMS, around 20). In 1806 John Campbell, formerly minister of Kippen and one of the earliest supporters of the LMS, was elected secretary of the SSPCK. Prominent second and third generation Edinburgh Evangelicals such as David Dickson Jr., Andrew Thomson, Robert Gordon, and Thomas Guthrie continued to serve regularly as SSPCK directors until 1843. Less evidence has survived regarding financial contributions, though such strong Evangelical participation in the other two areas suggests that financial support at least held steady after 1796. Note that a list of the society's members

the the two groups as competing agencies since each fulfilled a different, though complementary, function. The SSPCK propagated the gospel in the Highlands; the missionary societies propagated it overseas. Kirk Evangelicals supported both as active expressions of their basic desire to convert the unreached at home and abroad.

The similar aims of the SSPCK and missionary societies may have inspired two overtures related to foreign missions to the 1796 General Assembly. The Assembly had developed close ties with the SSPCK both through the administration of the Royal Bounty and through two collections it had appointed in the early 1760s on behalf of the society's work in America.⁴² The two overtures called for the Assembly to take the same interest in foreign missions in general and in the work of new missionary societies in particular that it had taken in the SSPCK. The refusal of the Assembly to adopt this approach and the debate that led to that decision reveal that missionary societies introduced a new source of division within the Church of Scotland.⁴³ Although the general goal of exporting Christianity to other nations was partly responsible for this division, it mainly revolved around using voluntary societies as the specific means to achieve this goal. The willingness of Evangelicals to participate in societies, and the activist approach to ministry this participation reflected, distinguished them from others in the Kirk. In contrast to the Moderates, they were open to working outside the existing structures of the Establishment in order to further the spread of Christianity.

 in 1837 contained many Evangelicals, including even future Free Church leaders such as James Begg and Robert Candlish. The cumulative weight of this evidence suggests that instead of abandoning the SSPCK after 1796, the Evangelicals increasingly dominated it.

42. Robert W. Weir, *A History of the Foreign Missions of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, Ltd., 1900), pp. 8ff.

43. New in the sense that traditional issues such as patronage or the exercise of church discipline that had long divided the Kirk into the Popular and Moderate ecclesiastical parties were not involved.

Because of the later involvement of the General Assembly in missions and because an account of this debate was published soon after it took place⁴⁴, a great deal of discussion has arisen during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries regarding the issues involved. Unfortunately some of this discussion has given rise to misconceptions about precisely what the Assembly debated and about the consequences of its decision for Evangelicalism in the Kirk.

Despite the usual impression given by some commentators, the Assembly was not debating whether or not the Church of Scotland as a church should be involved directly in missionary activity.⁴⁵ This misconception seems to arise from anachronistically viewing this debate through the lens of the Assembly's decision in 1824 to form its own foreign missions committee which sent out missionaries under its own jurisdiction. The actions of these two Assemblies do not correspond directly to one another even though both discussed missions. The earlier debate primarily decided that the Kirk would not aid missionary societies. None of the parties on either

 44. *Account of the Proceedings and Debate, in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 27 May 1796; On the Overtures from the Provincial Synods of Fife and Moray, Respecting the Propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen* (Edinburgh: Alex. Lawrie, 1796). This work has commonly been ascribed to Robert Heron, mainly because in 1841 Hugh Miller attributed its authorship to him ('Debate on Missions', *The Headship of Christ, and the Rights of the Christian People* [Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1861], p. 131). However, Robert Lundie, in a letter dated soon after the pamphlet probably appeared, claimed that he was the reporter who recorded the speeches and arranged for its publication (30 Aug. 1796, Lundie Letters, NLS, MS 9847.ff.168-9). Lundie was responding to George Hill's positive letter to the publisher of 'the printed Account of the Proceedings and Debate in the GA, on the 27th of May last'. Lundie's description of his actions is consistent with the pamphlet's introduction, which indicated that it was produced by one man from memory who was an eyewitness to the debate and then showed his work to several of those involved in the debate from Edinburgh (pp. i-iii). Lundie, at the time a divinity student in Edinburgh, seems more likely to fit this description than Heron, an elder from New Galloway who actively participated in the debate.

45. Contrary to Campbell's suggestion that the debate centred on whether or not to bring missions under the aegis of the church courts, *Two Centuries of the Church in Scotland*, p. 152.

side of the question probably even considered suggesting the idea that the Assembly itself should sponsor missionaries since in 1796 no Reformed church in Europe with a connectional form of government was involved directly in missions except the Moravians and a group of Lutherans based in Halle.⁴⁶ Moreover, Moderate dominance of the General Assembly during the preceding half-century had restricted its purpose to almost exclusively serving as a legal court, not an instrument for ministry.

The wording of the two overtures and the development of the debate confirm that those involved in the 1796 Assembly basically viewed the choice as either supporting societies or doing nothing active about missions. The two overtures had slightly different emphases. The overture from the Synod of Fife was the more general of the two, only asking that the Assembly 'consider the most effectual methods, by which the Church of Scotland may contribute to the Diffusion of the knowledge of the Gospel over the world' without committing the Assembly to taking any specific action on the basis of these considerations.⁴⁷ On the other hand, the recommendation of the Synod of Moray, which one of its representatives, William M'Bean, minister of Alves, slightly reformulated into an official overture, was that the Assembly appoint 'a general collection throughout the Church, to aid the several Societies for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen Nations.'⁴⁸

Despite these differences, George Hill and his Moderate colleagues passed a motion, over the objections of John Erskine and other missions

46. Cowan, *Scottish Church in Christendom* (London, 1896), p. 37, quoted in John MacInnes, *The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland, 1688 to 1800* (Aberdeen: The University Press, 1951), p. 141.

47. 21 Apr. 1796, Minutes of the Synod of Fife, SRO, CH2/154/9, p. 280.

48. 26 Apr. 1796, Minutes of the Synod of Moray, SRO, CH2/271/8, p. 217. M'Bean's reformulation simply added the clause 'or adopting whatever other method may appear to them most effectual', probably in an attempt to make it more compatible with the general nature of the Fife overture. 27 May 1796, Register of the Acts of the General Assembly, SRO, CH1/1/72.

supporters, that these overtures be discussed conjunctly. The reason for Erskine's objection is obvious. While the Assembly might approve of some general approbation of missions in response to the first overture alone, it was highly unlikely to do so if such action would also involve a collection, always a controversial issue regardless of the cause. He preferred to debate the end of foreign missions independently of the means to achieve them.

Yet, why would Hill have performed this shrewd political manoeuvre to scuttle the general and seemingly innocuous overture unanimously passed by his own Synod? He recognised that considering 'the most effectual methods' to diffuse the gospel over the world essentially meant discussing which missionary societies were most effective, since the society approach was basically the only method by which to pursue missions then known.⁴⁹ Robert Heron reached the same conclusion when he moved that the Assembly appoint a committee to consider the overtures and report back the following year.⁵⁰ Significantly, Erskine did not seek to refute this conclusion, but seconded Heron's motion. Neither Erskine nor any of the others who spoke in favour of the original overtures suggested an alternative denominational approach to missions, though the Fife overture was vague enough to allow for this option. They simply defended societies from Moderate criticisms.

A second, related, misconception about the 1796 debate on foreign missions is that Church of Scotland Evangelicals turned to missionary

 49. See his speech introducing the ultimately victorious counter-motion to the original overtures, *Account of the...Debate in the...Assembly...27 May, 1796*, pp. 42-53. Note that he acceded to the overture from Fife only after it was changed to omit any reference to societies.

50. After agreeing with David Johnston's argument about the importance of missions, Heron added: 'But, although such are my sentiments, I am far from wishing to push them to the conclusion which they may be supposed to involve, namely, an immediate decision as to the object of the societies; far less an immediate resolution to make a collection.' *Account of the...Debate in the...Assembly...27 May, 1796*, p. 16.

societies only after the Assembly refused to support its own missionary scheme.⁵¹ Several of the most important societies in Scotland had been founded in February 1796,⁵² three months prior to the Assembly and two months prior to the synod overtures. Kirk members and ministers were key figures in forming many of these societies and continued to be active in them during the months leading up to the debate. They did not embrace them as a second choice to some preferred denominational plan. Such a plan would have completely undermined all the hard work and money that they had put into organising these interdenominational societies just a few months earlier. The primary issue in the debate was whether or not the Church of Scotland, as a corporate body speaking through its Assembly, would add its support to societies that Evangelicals already had been supporting as individuals.

As a heightened awareness of the need to spread Christianity to other nations swept through Scotland, individuals sharing this awareness from various denominations, including the Established Church, joined together to form missionary societies. The Assembly's decision did not force Church of Scotland Evangelicals to enter reluctantly into these interdenominational efforts.⁵³ Along with their Dissenting colleagues they affirmed that the ability of these new societies to transcend denominational divisions through united missionary activity was one of their major

 51. 'In Scotland the influence of the missionary societies built up by the Evangelical party was very great. Debarred from canalising their missionary enthusiasm in the Church of Scotland, the people interested in missionary enterprise started supporting societies or associations.' Elizabeth G.K. Hewat, *Vision and Achievement 1796-1956: A History of the Foreign Missions of the Churches United in the Church of Scotland* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1960), p. 8.

52. See Appendix 2.1.

53. Contrary to Hewat: 'This [the interdenominational character of societies] was due, however, not to any theory or principle regarding co-operative work, but to the practical circumstances of the time. The Church of Scotland by the decision of the 1796 Assembly could not officially support missionary efforts' (*Vision and Achievement*, p. 12.).

benefits. Moreover, they agreed that the challenge of propagating the gospel in foreign lands demanded the strength that only unified action could generate.⁵⁴ Thus, individually supporting interdenominational missionary societies was the first and dominant response among Church of Scotland Evangelicals to the problem of reaching the heathen abroad. Approaching the Assembly for additional support was essentially an afterthought.

Significantly, the societies themselves did not ask the Assembly for support,⁵⁵ nor do the overtures seem to have been produced either by the Popular Party⁵⁶ or even by those from the Kirk most involved in the new missionary ventures. The synods that petitioned the Assembly were neither strongholds of the Popular Party nor areas where societies already existed. If the Popular Party had adopted missions as part of its platform, the overtures more likely would have come from the floor of the Assembly or from a presbytery in its control such as Stirling. Likewise, if the Church of Scotland supporters from the missionary societies were behind the overtures, they probably would have come from urban areas like Edinburgh or the west of Scotland where these groups were strongest.

The overtures appear most likely to have arisen independently and fairly spontaneously. They were probably the product of a few individuals in each synod who were attracted to the new missionary movement but who

 54. See for example the circular letter of the EMS signed by Greville Ewing, secretary, dated 18 Mar. 1796, in *Account of the..Debate in the...Assembly...27 May, 1796*, p. 68.

55. Near the end of the debate William Taylor, a minister from Glasgow, argued that the overtures should be dismissed for this very reason. *Account of the..Debate in the...Assembly...27 May, 1796*, pp. 58f. However, he seems to have been more favourably disposed toward societies than this account of his speech suggests. According to Robert Lundie, he complained to the publisher that 'no mention is made of the wish he expressed for the success of the Missionary Societies; and of his readiness, as a member of Assembly, to co-operate with them, on proper application being made', Letter to George Hill, 30 Aug. 1796, Lundie Letters, NLS, MS 9847.ff.168-9.

56. Contrary to Prof. Brown's suggestion, *Thomas Chalmers*, p. 62.

lacked the opportunity to participate in it because their areas had not yet produced their own missionary societies.⁵⁷ They may have viewed the connectional government of the Established Church as a convenient organisational structure through which to unite the ongoing work of those already involved in existing groups with the efforts of others from regions that either were too sparsely populated or had too few Evangelicals to organise their own societies. A Kirk-wide collection provided a simple means for individuals scattered throughout the Church of Scotland to express their new missionary fervour.⁵⁸

Undoubtedly, the existing missionary societies would have welcomed the added income that such a collection might have produced, as well as any general approbation that the Assembly might have given them. However, they did not expect this kind of support from the Kirk while rejecting any voice by the Church of Scotland in their management.⁵⁹ Their approach loosely resembled that of the SSPCK, which accepted money from Assembly appointed collections,⁶⁰ but which was managed by an independent committee of directors elected by its members and not directly under the control of the church courts. The Church of Scotland had a significant voice in most missionary societies, not through any official ecclesiastical jurisdic-

 57. William M'Bean, who brought the Moray overture before the Assembly, seems to have been about the only Evangelical member of his presbytery according to a letter of 11 Dec. 1798 from his colleague, Ronald Bayne, minister of the Little Kirk in Elgin, to an unnamed clerical friend (in J. MacDonald, *Isobel Hood's Memoirs*, pp. 94-95).

58. Although a few societies that did nothing but collect money for other larger societies existed in 1796, the general attitude was that a society should support its own missionaries. This attitude effectively precluded ever forming these groups in many areas in Scotland such as Moray and Fife. The concept of forming small auxiliaries in connection with a large society was not fully developed in Scotland until the early 1810s.

59. Contrary to Dr. White's assertion, "Highly Preposterous", p. 116.

60. Unlike the missionary societies, the SSPCK had petitioned the Assembly to take collections on its behalf in the 1760s.

tion, but through its members who served as their office-bearers and on their boards of directors.

Those who were most enthusiastic about missionary societies in the Kirk also undoubtedly would have welcomed the Assembly's support, as their defence during the debate of missions in general and societies in particular suggests. Nevertheless, securing this support did not seem to have been a cornerstone of their overall missions strategy, nor did the Assembly's refusal to provide this support seem to create a major obstacle to the continued participation of most Church of Scotland members in societies. A few highly traditional Evangelical clergy may have reduced their involvement after 1796 in response to the Assembly's decision, but no mass exodus resulted.⁶¹ The lack of an Assembly appointed collection also did not inhibit a number of parishes from holding their own collections during the following year.⁶²

A clear understanding of the precise nature and consequences of the 1796 debate on missions reveals that Evangelicals and Moderates fundamentally differed in their conception of the Church and their approach to ministry. Each group asked a different question when appraising societies. For the Moderates the primary question was: how do societies relate to upholding the Establishment? Because they seemed either to undermine or to be unconnected with the Establishment, Moderates rejected them. Thus, those who spoke against the overtures during the debate noted the similarities between seditious political groups and missionary

61. Neither John Erskine nor Henry Moncreiff Wellwood continued in the leadership of the EMS after 1796, though the former may have done so mainly because of his advanced age since he continued to provide financial support until his death in 1803. Nonetheless, the overall representation of established clergy in the leadership of the EMS decreased only slightly from 1796 to 1797 (from seven to six).

62. See the list of collections taken on behalf of the EMS between July 1796 and July 1797 in its 1797 report (pp. 6ff). About 20 parishes, mainly in areas lacking their own societies, are mentioned as having held collections, including William M'Bean's Alves parish.

societies,⁶³ or they expressed concern both about ministers participating in these religious activities without presbytery permission and about the possible detrimental effects that their fund raising efforts might have on poor fund collections.⁶⁴ Evangelicals were asking this question too. While John Erskine thought that the possibility of missionary societies becoming seditious was highly remote, he did affirm that they needed to be under clerical supervision: 'Much prudence, I own, is requisite, in carrying forward a matter of equal importance and delicacy. It ought therefore to be promoted by the wisdom of the clergy, as well as the money of the people.'⁶⁵

Nonetheless, the relationship of societies to the Establishment was not the primary concern for Evangelicals. For them the most important question was: how do societies relate to the task of evangelism? Because they seemed to be the only means available to spread the gospel to non-Christian nations, Evangelicals accepted them. In one of his speeches during the debate, Erskine argued that since older groups like the SSPCK lacked the resources to propagate Christianity overseas, the Assembly should support the new approach of the missionary societies. His argument reflected a basically activist attitude, one of the distinctive characteristics of Evangelicalism. When the serious spiritual issue of others' salvation was at stake, Evangelicals held that it was better to do something, even something irregular, than to do nothing. Therefore, Erskine followed the remarks quoted above with this cautious, yet hopeful, call to

 63. See the speeches of George Hill and David Boyle in *Account of the..Debate in the...Assembly...27 May, 1796*, pp. 42ff and 55ff. Alarm about the effects of the French Revolution in Scotland was reaching its peak among those in authority in Church and State during the mid to late 1790s, Lenman, *Integration, Enlightenment, and Industrialization*, pp. 100-106.

64. See the speech of George Hamilton, minister of Gladsmuir, in *Account of the..Debate in the...Assembly...27 May, 1796*, pp. 17ff.

65. *Account of the..Debate in the...Assembly...27 May, 1796*, p. 33.

action: 'Many and great obstacles may be expected...; but we may reasonably hope for some success in executing it, and,...if it should fail, it may pave the way for a future and more prosperous effort.'⁶⁶

In contrast to the Evangelical activism of Erskine's speech, the Moderate speeches reflected an essentially passive approach to ministry, though for two different reasons. In his speech, Alexander Carlyle, minister of Inveresk, argued in essence that if the Church took care of itself then the propagation of the gospel would take care of itself, thus making involvement in societies unnecessary.⁶⁷ The extreme passivity of his approach suggests that he may have rejected the spiritual goal of propagating the gospel in non-Christian nations as well as the practical means of promoting this goal through societies. However, Carlyle seems to represent a minority of Moderates. George Hill seems to typify the more common Moderate attitude toward missions in his speech introducing the counter motion that the Assembly ultimately approved.⁶⁸ Although he affirmed the desirability of missions to the heathen, he rejected using societies to fulfill this desire and offered no specific alternative. Thus, while this second group of Moderates shared the same spiritual concern for proselytism as those who voted in favour of the original overtures, they differed from their Evangelical opponents in their unwillingness to act upon this concern.⁶⁹

66. *Account of the..Debate in the...Assembly...27 May, 1796*, p. 33.

67. *Account of the..Debate in the...Assembly...27 May, 1796*, pp. 37ff.

68. *Account of the..Debate in the...Assembly...27 May, 1796*, pp. 42ff.

69. The strength of this second position among Moderates was reflected in the fact that the major focus of the debate was upon societies. Nonetheless, some Moderates also raised other issues. In his famous speech, George Hamilton, minister of Gladsmuir, highlighted the need for natural religion to precede revealed religion if the heathen were to accept Christianity without falling into antinomianism and argued that the priority of the Established Church should be meeting the religious and social needs of Scotland before looking abroad (*Account of the..Debate in the...Assembly...27 May, 1796*, pp. 17-27). Yet, nothing in Hamilton's speech necessarily implied that he was opposed to missions in principle, simply to fact that and the way that missionary societies were pursuing

These Moderates were uneasy about any organised activity outside the courts of the church no matter how noble its aim, especially during a time when the war with France made the Establishment seem under threat. By contrast, first generation Evangelicals gave priority to their ministry concerns over the establishment principle in reference to missionary societies. They felt that the spiritual needs of the Church at home and non-Christians abroad demanded that they do something more than simply support the existing social structure by making religious instruction and worship available in their parishes. Societies created a *seemingly effective* way for them to do something more, providing a highly attractive means to express their primary interest in spreading heart-felt Christianity.⁷⁰

Voluntary societies for missions, and later for other purposes, were by their very nature activist, a characteristic that made them highly compatible with emerging Evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland. A combination of influences at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, both within and outside the Church, contributed to the growth of activist tendencies among first generation Evangelicals and their successors. Their involvement in societies both reflected and increased these tendencies, later resulting in significant internal tensions within the Evangelical movement.

 this task. The predominance of this second attitude towards foreign missions among Moderates helps to explain why they spearheaded the organisation of the General Assembly foreign missions scheme in 1824.

70. Societies maintained their attractiveness to Evangelicals into the the 1830s, as the absence of any further overtures to the Assembly on foreign missions until the Moderate-inspired proposals of the 1820s implies. Evangelicals, content with their personal involvement in missionary societies, simply felt no need to bring the issue before the Assembly again, in contrast to their persistent overtures about other concerns such as pluralities.

Industrialisation and urbanisation encouraged activism throughout Scottish society in general. Trading companies and factories brought together groups of individuals to accomplish some common, usually specialised, task. The success of organised activity in industry made adopting a similar approach to religion highly attractive, especially to those benefitting most from this success, the middle class. Many of the lay organisers of religious voluntary societies came from this background, including not only businessmen, but the professions closely associated with organising companies, lawyers and bankers.

Significantly, this same group largely was shut out of leadership within the Church of Scotland. Because middle-class wealth did not depend on land ownership, most of them were not heritors.⁷¹ While theoretically they could have become elders, several practical obstacles worked together to prevent the eldership from becoming a viable option for many in the middle class.⁷² Thus, to those from the middle class who wished to remain in the Established Church and to those from the Establishment who wanted to stem the defection of this class to the Secession, religious voluntary societies provided a useful alternative leadership structure, enabling middle-class Christians to express their religion actively in positions of authority without leaving the Kirk. As they participated in these societies, they in turn taught Evangelical clergy sophisticated organisa-

71. Local land owners who were responsible for maintaining the parish church and manse.

72. Around the turn of the century the eldership was largely moribund. Even where kirk-sessions did function, it could be difficult for members of the new middle class to become members since kirk-sessions, like many town councils of this time, elected their own successors. See Donald J. Withrington, 'Non-Church-Going, c. 1750--c. 1850: A Preliminary Study', *RSCHS* 17 (1972):109-111; Nelson P. Ross, 'Prelude to Conflict: the Movement for Church Patronage Reform in Scotland, 1824-1834' (University of Oregon, Ph.D. Thesis, 1968), pp. 161ff; Drummond and Bulloch, *The Scottish Church*, pp. 118-119; and Wendy S. Wilson, 'Religion and Society in the Early Nineteenth Century: A Comparative Study of Church Parties within the Established Churches of Massachusetts and Scotland' (Aberdeen University, M.Litt. Thesis, 1969), p. 9.

tional and financial skills originally acquired in their business experience.

By breaking down the traditional social bonds inherent in a godly commonwealth, industrialisation and urbanisation also created a social climate that made the activist approach to religion of societies highly attractive. Growing individualism gave the new bodies an entrepreneurial spirit. When a new religious concern arose, individual Christians organised themselves into a society devoted to addressing it, just as individual businessmen responded to new markets or products by forming new companies.⁷³ The pluralistic nature of urban life made organising religious groups outside the Establishment increasingly acceptable, and the utilitarian nature of the industrial process suggested that such specialisation would result in valuable efficiency.⁷⁴

The prevalence and seeming effectiveness of political activism also may have attracted Evangelicals to societies. Not only were political parties a similar form of activist organisation, but the organisational structure of societies embodied elements of Whig political philosophy, the party that most influenced first generation Evangelicals. The Whigs emphasised the power and action of the people, or at least the middle class, in contrast to Tory elitism. These contrasting emphases are reflected in the differences between the organisational structure of the SSPCK and of voluntary religious societies.

The SSPCK was an essentially elitist organisation, building from the top levels of society downwards. It was founded by royal charter and

73. Scottish Enlightenment thinkers such as Adam Smith emphasised that 'it was natural for man to be sociable' (Chitnis, *The Scottish Enlightenment: a Social History*, p. 93), perhaps contributing to the creation of an intellectual milieu favorable to society organisation.

74. For a more extended discussion of the influence of utilitarianism upon the evangelicalism see Stuart Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries 1789-1858: the Social Background, Motives and Training of British Protestant Missionaries to India* (n.p.: The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1984), pp. 245ff.

annually received funds from the Crown through the Royal Bounty. Large legacies and endowments, usually from the aristocracy, made up its other main source of support. In contrast, societies were built from the middle levels of society up and down. They provided opportunities for both the aristocracy and the working classes to participate in their activities. Although middle-class laity and their clerical supporters organised a new society, they usually tried to persuade an aristocrat to become its patron. While even the relatively low membership dues of most societies prevented all but the wealthiest workers from becoming voting members, their 'widow's mites' still were welcomed and seemed less insignificant than when compared to donations to the SSPCK of hundreds and thousands of pounds. Workers could also participate in missionary prayer meetings. Thus, the organisational structure of voluntary societies enabled a wide range of people to do something to express their religious faith.⁷⁵

Practical and theological developments within the Church also encouraged activism around the turn of the century. The prolonged dominance of the Moderate Party in the the church courts caused many Evangelicals to feel cut off from having any significant power in the Kirk's official structures. Moreover, the strong Moderate emphasis on maintaining right order in these courts largely restricted their function to performing the essentially passive legal tasks of settling vacancies and overseeing the

75. Organisation was every bit as much a key to the success of Moderatism as a social and intellectual movement in the eighteenth century (Sher, *Church and University*, pp. 121-130) as it was to that of Evangelicalism in the nineteenth century. In this sense Evangelicals such as Walter Buchanan, Andrew Thomson, and Robert Candlish were true heirs to Moderates such as William Robertson. However, each group used a different organisational model, reflecting the respective social systems of their day. Moderates adopted the oligarchic approach of a highly disciplined political party, following the pattern set during the 'age of management'. With the emergence of the desire for greater political representation among the middle class in the nineteenth century, Evangelicals turned to the more representative approach of voluntary societies, giving their movement a popular rather than an elitist orientation.

physical state of the Church.⁷⁶ Societies formed a parallel, alternative set of structures in which Evangelicals could put their spiritual interests actively into practice, unencumbered by a Moderate penchant for proper form and procedure. Through their frequent election as office-bearers, many Evangelicals also exercised considerable authority and power within these structures, a marked contrast to their position in the church courts, especially for chapel-of-ease clergy who lacked any official voice in the latter. Perhaps one reason that in the 1796 Assembly none of the Evangelical supporters of missions suggested that the General Assembly send out its own missionaries was because they knew that they would not have as much control over this approach as they would working through independent missionary societies.

Heightened eschatological expectations also contributed to Evangelical activism. The Church needed to be actively preparing for the return of Christ, especially since affairs on the Continent suggested that this return would be imminent. Contemporary Biblical interpreters identified the events surrounding the French Revolution, especially subsequent wars between the new French Republic and the Papal States, with the downfall of the Antichrist predicted in the Apocalypse. Missionary activity had strong eschatological implications for most Evangelicals since several Biblical passages suggested that the gospel must be preached to all nations before Christ would return. Others extended this interpretation into a providential argument that God would protect Britain from invasion and aid its armies on the Continent if the nation promoted the spread of

76. John R. McIntosh, 'Evangelicals in Eighteenth Century Scotland: the Presbytery of Stirling, 1740-1805' (Stirling University, M.Litt. Thesis, 1981), pp. 14-15.

Christianity abroad through missionary societies.⁷⁷

While all of the influences mentioned above contributed to the growth of activism among Evangelicals and encouraged their participation in voluntary societies, perhaps the most important stimulus came from their foundational concern for revitalising the Church and proselytism. This concern was inherently activist for two reasons. Firstly, the dynamics of spiritual renewal propelled Evangelicals into activity. As their personal experience of the benefits of being a Christian increased, they naturally desired to share their faith with others so that they too could enjoy these benefits.⁷⁸ Secondly, the mechanics of conversion required Christians to engage in specific activities to communicate the Christian message to others, a process described in the frequently quoted Biblical text, Romans 10.14-15: 'But how are men to call upon him in whom they have not believed? And how are they to believe in him of whom they have never heard? And how are they to hear without a preacher? And how can men preach unless they are sent?' First generation Evangelicals simply added another question to this string: 'And how shall preachers be sent unless we form a society?'

Nonetheless, first generation Evangelicals channelled their activism within certain self-prescribed boundaries. Their basic commitment to the Church of Scotland circumscribed their newly acquired taste for voluntary societies. If a society seemed to undermine this commitment, then they

 77. See *Diary of John Mill*, pp. 123-4; and Bryce Johnston, *The Divine Authority and Encouragement of Missions from Christians to the Heathen. A Sermon preached before the Dumfries Missionary Society, in the Church of Holywood, on Thur 16 Nov., 1797* (Dumfries: Robert Jackson, 1797), especially pp. 25-40, for strongly eschatological and providential interpretations of contemporary events and the role of missionary societies in them.

78. David Johnston, minister of North Leith and a founder of the EMS, describes this dynamic in *Christians, Debtors to the Heathen World, upon Apostolic Principles. A Sermon Preached for the Benefit of the EMS in the Church of South Leith on 28 July, 1796* (Edinburgh: J. Ritchie, 1796).

were unwilling to support it no matter how 'evangelical' its aim, as their response to the work of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home [SPGH] demonstrated.

The SPGH grew out of an experimental itinerant preaching tour throughout the Highlands undertaken by James Haldane and two other laymen in 1797. Encouraged by the results of this tour, Haldane and his associates desired to expand their efforts by organising a society to send out additional itinerant lay preachers, in effect adapting the approach of missionary societies working abroad to spread Christianity among 'the heathen at home'.⁷⁹ Others who shared their concern united with them and formed the SPGH at the end of 1797 and the beginning of 1798.

The reaction of Evangelicals to the itinerant lay preaching of Haldane and the SPGH was mixed. Some responded positively. A special prayer meeting on behalf of Haldane and his associates was held at the home of David Black, minister of Lady Yester's parish in Edinburgh, the night before they left for their original tour.⁸⁰ Haldane even considered himself to have been consecrated as an evangelist by Black's prayers.⁸¹ A number of Evangelical laymen warmly welcomed SPGH preachers, and one, Robert Findlater Sr., a merchant from Kiltarn in Ross-shire, corresponded with several of them.⁸²

However, other Evangelicals, especially clergy, were wary of the SPGH's approach, believing that itinerant lay preaching implicitly undermined the parochial structure of the Establishment. John Erskine, minister of Old Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh and the leader of the Popular

79. They also modeled the SPGH after already existing local itinerating societies among English Calvinistic Dissenters such as David Bogue's Hampshire Association. For a more extended discussion of these groups see Lovegrove, *Established Church, Sectarian People*, chapter 5: Organisation and Infrastructure.

80. A. Haldane, *Lives of R. Haldane...and J. Haldane*, pp. 152-3.

81. A. Haldane, *Lives of R. Haldane...and J. Haldane*, p. 234.

82. Findlater, *Robert Findlater*, p. 43.

Party, probably expressed the sentiments of most of his Evangelical colleagues when he suggested that lay preachers should avoid basing their sermons on Biblical passages and limit themselves to personal exhortation. Right order, greatly needed at a time when Britain was at war with France, demanded that Biblical exposition remain solely in the hands of the clergy who were trained and authorised by the Church for this task and that lay preachers refrain from publicly accusing specific ministers of teaching false doctrine.⁸³

Moderates in the Church of Scotland could not accept lay preaching even within Erskine's restricted scope and exercised their dominance within the General Assembly to pass a Pastoral Admonition condemning the SPGH and its activities in 1799. The response of Evangelicals to this Pastoral Admonition betrayed their considerable ambivalence toward the SPGH. While they refused to join the Moderates in openly attacking the SPGH, yet for the most part they refused either to defend or to support its work openly. In contrast to the close vote on the overtures related to missionary societies in 1796, the Pastoral Admonition passed unanimously. Robert Balfour, minister of St. Paul's in Glasgow, as a member of the committee appointed to draw up this letter, tried to temper its wording, but neither he nor any other Evangelical opposed it on the floor of the Assembly.⁸⁴

Some Evangelical clergy, such as John Mill of Shetland, refused to read the Pastoral Admonition from their pulpits as the Assembly had ordered. Mill even welcomed James Haldane and another SPGH preacher into

 83. A. Haldane, *Lives of R. Haldane...and J. Haldane*, p. 196. John Johnstone, minister of Crossmichael and a leading Evangelical supporter of missionary societies, expressed similar concerns in *The Influence of the Gospel on Order and Government: A Sermon Preached before the [SSPCK] at their Anniversary Meeting Thur. 31 May 1798* (Edinburgh: J. Ritchie, 1798), pp. 52-54.

84. A. Haldane, *Lives of R. Haldane...and J. Haldane*, pp. 257-8.

his parish in July 1799, allowing them to hold daily services.⁸⁵ However, most Evangelicals seem to have distanced themselves from the SPGH by this time for two main reasons.

Firstly, itinerancy and especially lay preaching seemed to undermine the clerical authority and parochial structure that they believed was foundational for effective parish ministry. First generation Evangelicals shared a basic commitment that the Church would be revitalised primarily through the devoted pastoral work of clergy within their own parishes. They were open to giving the laity increased opportunities for active involvement in ministry, mainly through teaching in Sabbath schools and participating in missionary societies, since these activities were under the supervision of Evangelical clergy. In contrast, though, the lay preachers of the SPGH lacked any clerical supervision. Unlike the board of directors of almost all the new missionary societies of the 1790s in which ministers took a leading role, the original board of the SPGH was exclusively lay.⁸⁶ This arrangement heightened the fears of traditional Evangelicals that itinerant lay preachers might usurp the role of the Established clergyman as the primary Biblical interpreter within a parish, a situation that they believed could lead to heretical teachings and social disorder.

The second reason that the Evangelicals looked askance at the SPGH was its tendency to promote independent church government. This tendency was implicit in the parallel between the SPGH and Dissenting itinerant preaching associations in England. It became explicit when Robert and James Haldane, two of the primary supporters of the SPGH, began establishing preaching 'tabernacles', first in Edinburgh and then in several other large Scottish cities. Although these tabernacles began late in 1798

85. *Diary of John Mill*, pp. 118-9.

86. A. Haldane, *Lives of R. Haldane...and J. Haldane*, p. 193.

simply as venues where visiting ministers could preach to large crowds outside regular church service times (following the earlier model of George Whitefield's tabernacle in London), they quickly developed into Independent congregations.

The Edinburgh congregation was constituted in January 1799 with 310 members, 30 of whom desired to retain their membership in the Established Church while being admitted occasionally to the Lord's Supper in the new congregation. James Haldane was ordained as pastor of the Edinburgh congregation in the following month. Although some of the members of this new body had been converted through his evangelistic efforts, his biographer suggests that most were not: 'But a very considerable number were old-established Christians, who had grown up under the admirable teaching of Dr. Erskine, Mr. Black, Dr. Colquoun, Dr. Walter Buchanan, and other faithful ministers of the Established Church, who could not be expected to look with satisfaction on this secession'.⁸⁷ The ill feeling created among this group of ministers, who were those most likely to support the SPGH, when their most committed and active members were creamed off by Haldane's tabernacle undoubtedly contributed to their unwillingness to defend the SPGH from criticism or openly to support its work.

Nonetheless, most Evangelicals also did not openly attack the SPGH, except in a couple of relatively minor instances. The only pamphlet that Greville Ewing, the main apologist for the SPGH, bothered to respond to by a member of the Church of Scotland was by John Robertson, at the time an

 87. A. Haldane, *Lives of R. Haldane...and J. Haldane*, p. 237. In a letter (22 Oct. 1799) to John Campbell, the Edinburgh ironmonger turned missionary, John Newton, the venerable Anglican evangelical, expressed similar sentiments: 'And if it be true that zeal for the *Circus service*, has induced many valuable persons to forsake such men as Mr. Black, Dr. Davidson, Mr. Buchanan, and others of like character, so that good ministers have been hurt and grieved by those whom they loved, I feel sorry for that likewise.' Philip, *John Campbell*, pp. 98-99.

obscure assistant minister at Cambuslang.⁸⁸ In 1801 John Erskine offered some mild 'Seasonable Advices' concerning lay preaching in the first issue of his *Religious Intelligence from Abroad*, though he did not directly attack the SPGH, but merely printed excerpts from Jonathan Edwards and from a group of mid-eighteenth century American ministers warning that if lay men invaded the office of minister then they were in danger of having a stop put to the work of God among them.⁸⁹

None of the other major Evangelical leaders seems to have been willing to censure their former colleagues in public.⁹⁰ Perhaps following Erskine's direction, they also seem to have been unwilling to invoke either civil or church courts to curtail the activities of the SPGH.⁹¹ Evangelical foot-dragging may have prevented the 1799 Pastoral Admonition from significantly hindering the work of the SPGH or from disciplining those from the Kirk like John Mill who continued to associate with lay preachers, a marked contrast from the Anti-Burgher General Synod which deposed George Cowie of Huntly for countenancing itinerant preaching.⁹²

The ambivalent response of Evangelicals toward the SPGH reflected a basic tension within Evangelicalism itself. Its fundamental commitments

 88. John Robertson, *Lay-Preaching Indefensible on Scripture Principles* (Glasgow: David Niven, 1800); Greville Ewing, *Animadversions on a Pamphlet Entitled Lay-Preaching Indefensible on Scripture Principles* (Glasgow: n.p., 1800).

89. *Religious Intelligence from Abroad*, Collection 1, pp. 43-62. In the preface to Collection 3 (pp. v-viii), Erskine replied to a critical review of these excerpts in the *Missionary Magazine*, but again, his response, though firm in its rejection of lay preaching, was highly irenic and even-handed. He saved his harshest words for the 'violent opposers' of the SPGH, particularly those who charged the group with disloyalty to the Crown.

90. However, in January 1806 an anonymous review in Walter Buchanan's *Religious Monitor* (vol. 4:26-28) criticised the SPGH for recently changing its policy of not sending preachers to parishes containing 'faithful ministers' and for promoting congregationalism more than the gospel.

91. Erskine closed his reply to the *Missionary Magazine* with the exhortation, 'let us not employ to suppress them, the methods of force and violence, so opposite to the genius of our holy religion'. *Religious Intelligence from Abroad*, Collection 3, p. viii.

92. A. Haldane, *Lives of R. Haldane...and J. Haldane*, p. 260.

to achieving its aims through both voluntary societies and the parochial structure of the the Established Church were brought into conflict with one another by the SPGH. As a result, Evangelicals rejected this new voluntary society in favour of their traditional emphasis upon parish ministry, though with considerable uneasiness and some regret. Many of those who remained in the Kirk were attracted to the spirituality that motivated the SPGH's activist approach to ministry, and challenged by the question implicit in its continuing activity: 'We in the SPGH are doing something more than simply maintaining normal parish life to spread vital religion in Scotland; what are you in the Establishment doing?'

The tension between the fundamental commitments of Evangelicals both to voluntary societies and to parish ministry explains the seeming inconsistency of their behaviour in the General Assembly in 1796 when they supported the overtures regarding missionary societies and in 1799 when they supported the Pastoral Admonition rejecting the SPGH. Their contrasting votes on these two related issues reflected their struggle to develop a position that mediated between what appeared to be reactionary Moderatism on their right and SPGH radicalism on their left. Because Evangelicalism sought to hold together elements from each of these two extremes, it lacked the simple ideological consistency of either. Moderates voted against the 1796 overtures and for the 1799 Pastoral Admonition because they opposed voluntary societies in general as inimical to an Established Church. Those who organised and supported the SPGH were committed to doing evangelism through societies just as they had done earlier when they had organised and supported missionary societies.

Nonetheless, the Evangelical mediating position, though more ideologically complex than either Moderatism or the SPGH, was still internally consistent. By developing the metaphor of the Sermon on the Mount describing Christians as the salt of the earth, the Evangelicals may be

seen as picturing the Church of Scotland as a delicate crystal salt shaker. They were attracted to the activist approach of missionary societies as a means to shake some of the salt out of this shaker in order to counteract what they saw as the decaying effects of infidelity and non-Christian religions in the world. They faulted the Moderates for rejecting these societies, complacently allowing all the salt to remain safely inside its shaker while the world decayed. In contrast, they were wary that the approach of the SPGH would undermine the foundational parish structure of the Kirk, shaking the shaker so violently that it eventually would shatter and all the salt be lost, to the long term detriment of both the unreached abroad and believers at home.

Thus, despite criticism from those both to the left and to the right of them, most Evangelicals continued their involvement in both the Established Church and missionary societies after 1799. Only two Evangelical ministers seem to have left the Church of Scotland and associated themselves with the SPGH, Greville Ewing of Lady Glenorchy's in Edinburgh and William Innes of Stirling. Although many of this pair's colleagues sympathised with their reasons for leaving and others received lucrative opportunities to become Independents⁹³, the vast majority of Evangelicals were convinced that the existing parish structure of the Kirk provided the best means for them to stimulate deeper piety in the Church at home and

 93. Between 1798 and 1800 Ronald Bayne, a member of the board of directors of both the *Evangelical Magazine* and the LMS, declined an offer of £1500 to continue as the pastor the congregation of the Little Kirk in Elgin when the congregation decided to withdraw from the Church of Scotland as a result of decisions by the ecclesiastical courts forbidding it to erect a new building (see J. MacDonald, *Isobel Hood's Memoir*, pp. 95ff). In 1800 Bayne moved to Inverness to become minister of the East Church in Inverness, eventually moving on in 1808 to become minister of the parish of Kiltarlity in Inverness-shire where he remained until his death in 1821 (*FES* 6:470).

chose to remain in the Establishment.⁹⁴

Most Evangelicals also were convinced that missionary societies were the best means to propagate Christianity abroad and continued to support them. Significantly, those concerned about missions within the Kirk did not pull out of existing societies in order to form their own separate denominational missionary society similar to the the Church Missionary Society, which their counterparts in the Church of England founded in 1799. As they had from the start of the missionary movement, Established Church Evangelicals in Scotland continued to value interdenominational cooperation in missions.⁹⁵ Ironically, the main group that withdrew from Scottish missionary societies were those associated with the SPGH as they adopted a surprisingly 'high church' position that congregations rather than voluntary societies should send out missionaries.

Scottish missionary societies did decline somewhat after the initial burst of missionary enthusiasm in 1796, but not primarily because of any mass exodus of their Church of Scotland supporters. They suffered more from other difficulties both at home and in the field. The turmoil surrounding the SPGH may have raised additional suspicions about the respectability of the older societies, and the withdrawal of the SPGH's supporters from these societies created considerable internal confusion. The reputation of missionary societies further declined in the late 1790s

 94. Ewing's friends in the Church of Scotland countered his argument that he could be more 'useful' as a minister outside the Establishment than in it by claiming that the reverse was true, especially if he wanted to help solve the problems within the Kirk that they all abhorred. Matheson, *Greville Ewing*, pp. 181ff.

95. Church of Scotland Evangelicals were much more active in the missionary movement originating with the LMS than were their counterparts in the Church of England (see Reeves, 'The Interaction of Scottish and English Evangelicals', pp. 69-70), in part perhaps because interdenominational cooperation was not as difficult in Scotland as it was in England, since most Scottish Dissenters shared presbyterian church government in common with the Established Church. By 1799 Kirk Evangelicals had invested too much time and effort in the societies they had founded only a few years earlier to abandon them.

when the first missionaries sent out by the EMS, GMS, and LMS achieved little success either because they were unable to cooperate with one another or because the 'heathen' to whom they were sent were indifferent or hostile to the Christian message.⁹⁶

Between 1796 and 1809 Church of Scotland ministers and members continued to be represented strongly among the office-bearers and boards of directors of missionary societies in Scotland. A few of the most traditional Evangelicals may have withdrawn because of the controversies in the Assembly in 1796 and 1799, but most of their counterparts stuck with their societies and sought to respond to critics of the missionary movement on both the right and the left. Thus, at the end of 1797 Archibald Bonar, the widely respected minister of Cramond, countered the opinion that members of the Established Church should not demean themselves by associating on equal terms with Dissenters in missionary societies,⁹⁷ and in 1803 Walter Buchanan, minister of the Canongate, founded the *Religious Monitor*, which purposefully dissociated the EMS and its supporters from the *Missionary Magazine* and the SPGH.

Evangelicals continued to develop new missionary societies after 1799, most notably the Northern Missionary Society [NMS], which was founded in August 1800. Almost all of its leaders and members were from the Kirk, and the idea of organising the many missions-minded Christians in the northernmost part of Scotland into a separate society emerged in a fellowship meeting of ministers from the Establishment.⁹⁸ Formerly the members of the NMS as individuals or through their congregations had simply sent contributions to existing missionary societies, particularly

 96. See White, "'Highly Preposterous'", pp. 120ff and Roxborough, 'Thomas Chalmers and the Mission of the Church', p. 187.

97. 'Letter to a Lady of Fortune, in Vindication of the [EMS]', *Missionary Magazine* 2 (Nov. 1797):489.

98. Preamble (n.d.), Minutes of the NMS, NLS, DEP 298 (198). Cf. Findlater, *Robert Findlater*, pp. 33f.

the EMS, but its founders felt that a separate society was more attractive for two reasons. Not only would it help stimulate further enthusiasm for missions in the area, but it also would enable them to send out their own missionaries.

By 1804 the NMS realised that it could not afford to support even one missionary and began sending its collections to larger societies.⁹⁹ This decision reflected the growing recognition throughout the missionary movement in Britain that foreign missions were turning out to be far more difficult than originally anticipated. The romantic idealism of the mid-1790s gave way to a new realism in the 1800s as missionary societies discovered that sending out and maintaining missionaries in distant lands was highly complex and expensive and that the conversion of the 'heathen' by these missionaries would be a long, slow process. The immensity of this task quickly strained to their limit the organisational, financial, and technological resources available to Scottish missionary societies at the turn of the century. Nonetheless, most first generation Evangelicals did not abandon the goal of evangelising the world, nor did they lose their conviction that the best means of achieving this goal was through inter-denominational missionary societies. They carried out this activity with less fanfare after 1799 than they had during the initial euphoria surrounding the birth of the missionary movement, but they continued it all the same.

Although first generation Evangelicals gave much of their attention to missionary societies, they also were involved in other kinds of religious voluntary societies between 1793 and 1809. These societies reflected other dimensions of their basic concern for vital piety within the Church, for evangelism, and for social morality. Ministers and mem-

99. 13 June 1804, Minutes of the NMS, NLS, DEP 298 (198).

bers from the Established Church founded and supported Sabbath school societies throughout Scotland.¹⁰⁰ The first tract society in Britain was founded in Edinburgh in 1793, and followed by several others in Scotland during the early 1800s.¹⁰¹ Although Kirk members seem not to have been the leaders of the tract societies, Evangelicals supported their activities, purchasing tracts for their own use and encouraging their colleagues to become members.¹⁰²

A number of voluntary societies addressing social problems ranging from the care of the poor to the rehabilitation of prostitutes and criminals arose between 1793 and 1809.¹⁰³ The most notable involvement of an Evangelical in this area was by David Johnston, minister of North Leith and vice-president of the EMS, who founded the Edinburgh Asylum for the Blind in 1793.¹⁰⁴ No society related to the reformation of manners similar to William Wilberforce's Society for the Suppression of Vice seems to have existed in Scotland, perhaps because kirk-sessions were intended to fulfill this purpose.

Soon after 1796 the increase in the formation of new religious voluntary societies in Scotland levelled off as first generation Evangelicals reached the limits of the organisational capacity that their existing numbers could sustain. As they continued through the 1800s to support the groups that they had formed, they influenced the next generation of Evangelicals, convincing them that religious voluntary societies were the

 100. For a discussion of the participation of Evangelicals in the Sabbath school movement, see chapter 7.

101. See Appendix 2.1 for a list of these.

102. The *Religious Monitor* carried a highly laudatory description of the Edinburgh Tract Society, complete with a commendation by John Erskine (vol. 1 [Sep. 1803]:280-2). For a later example, see Andrew Thomson's letter to Robert Lundie dated 22 July 1811 in which Thomson urges his friend to join the Edinburgh Tract Society, Lundie Letters, NLS, MS 9848.ff.21-2.

103. See Appendix 2.1 for a list of these.

104. *FES* 1:156.

best means to achieve their common spiritual aims. As the second generation came of age, the additional numbers that it contained helped to expand societies to much larger proportions, stimulating a new wave of organising activity beginning around 1809.

CHAPTER 5

THE SECOND WAVE--1809-1824: BIBLE SOCIETIES

Between 1809 and 1824 religious voluntary society activity by Evangelicals reached its peak. While continuing their earlier involvement in missionary societies, they embraced a new kind of organisation, the Bible society, which appealed to a far broader spectrum within the Kirk than its predecessor type. By the early 1820s Bible societies had spread to many parishes, becoming a highly respectable means for members of the Establishment to express their religion actively. Participation in these groups strongly emphasised the centrality of the Bible as the primary instrument by which to stimulate conversion, deeper piety, and social morality, reinforcing the commitment of Evangelicals to these primary aims and introducing them to many others outside their ranks.

The catalyst for this second wave of religious voluntary society activity was the British and Foreign Bible Society [B&FBS], established in London in 1805 for the single purpose of distributing the Bible without note or comment in Britain and abroad. The B&FBS immediately received strong support from members of the Church of Scotland. The *Religious Monitor*, the mouthpiece of first generation Evangelicals, carried the first report of the B&FBS in July 1805, adding a note indicating that subscriptions were being received in Edinburgh by three Established

clergymen: Andrew Hunter, T.S. Jones, and David Black, all of whom were prominent leaders of the EMS.¹

However, the strongest expressions of support for the B&FBS came through the appointment of collections on its behalf in various courts of the Established Church, especially those in areas where support for missionary societies was strong. The Presbytery of Glasgow seems to have led the way, unanimously resolving on 6 February 1805 to hold a collection in the churches within its bounds on the last Sunday of March.² In April an overture by William Dalrymple, the aged minister of Ayr, calling for the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr to imitate the presbytery's example was approved unanimously.³ Other presbyteries and synods soon followed with their own collections: the Presbytery of Edinburgh on 29 January 1806;⁴ the presbyteries of Paisley, Hamilton, Ayr, and Irvine also in 1806;⁵ the Presbytery of Stirling in 1807;⁶ and the Synod of Aberdeen in 1808.⁷

However, overtures calling for collections on behalf of the B&FBS failed to receive approval in the Synod of Dumfries in 1810 and in the Synod of Merse and Teviotdale in 1809, both comprising strongly Moderate areas where missionary societies had received little support.⁸ Neverthe-

 1. *Religious Monitor* 3 (July 1805):277-9. By the following year this group also headed up a subcommittee of the SSPCK designated to coordinate Bible distribution in the Highlands with the new organisation, B&FBS Report for 1806, in *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society, with Extracts of Correspondence, for the years 1805 to 1810 Inclusive; Reprinted from the Original Reports*, vol. 1 (London: J. Tilling, n.d.), pp. 111f.

2. Quoted in 1 Apr. 1805 Minutes of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, SRO, CH2/464/5.

3. 11 Apr. 1805, Minutes of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, SRO, CH2/464/5.

4. B&FBS Report for 1806, 1:110f; *Religious Monitor* 4 (Feb. 1806):74f.

5. B&FBS Report for 1806, 1:120.

6. B&FBS Report for 1807, 1:126.

7. 11 Nov. 1808, Minutes of the Synod of Aberdeen, SRO, CH2/840/5, p. 319.

8. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 1 (Nov. 1810):276-9 and vol. 2 (Feb. 1811):128.

less, hostility towards the B&FBS among Moderates and other non-Evangelicals in the Kirk did not seem to be as widespread as it had been toward the LMS and the Scottish missionary associations, and such defeats were exceptional. Although in 1810 the General Assembly refused to consider an overture appointing a collection throughout the Church of Scotland, it did so because such a measure was unnecessary since it was estimated that at least three quarters of all synods and presbyteries already had established their own collections.⁹

Despite the early and strong support for the work of the B&FBS in the Kirk, no major Scottish Bible societies were formed until 1809.¹⁰ This delayed response contrasted sharply with the string of missionary societies that had sprung up in Scotland in the wake of the foundation of the LMS, and it postdated the formation of Bible societies in some major English cities.¹¹ If so many in the Church of Scotland clearly were supportive of the aims of the B&FBS, what inhibited local society organisation for half a decade?

Developments both within the B&FBS itself and within Evangelicalism discouraged the early formation of Scottish Bible societies. During its first few years the B&FBS seems largely to have concentrated its nationwide activities upon raising funds, leaving all administrative duties in the hands of its London-based board. It wanted Scottish contributors, not

9. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 1 (Nov. 1810):276. Ironically this overture originated in the Synod of Dumfries.

10. The Edinburgh Bible Society [EBS] was instituted on 31 July 1809, soon followed by the East Lothian Bible Society on 4 Nov. 1809 (John Owen, *The History of the Origin and First Ten Years of the British and Foreign Bible Society* 2 vols. [London: L.B. Seeley, 1816] 1:430). A loosely organised group of supporters of the B&FBS in Glasgow began meeting in 1805 at the instigation of David Dale, but this group lapsed into inactivity after his death in 1806 (2:118f). In 1807 a small society primarily for the purpose of distributing Bibles locally was formed in Greenock and Port Glasgow, but disbanded in 1813 (1:404-5).

11. London, 1805; Birmingham, 1806, Reading and Nottingham, early 1809.

Scottish imitators. Therefore, as Kirk members became interested in contributing to the B&FBS, rather than organising local societies, they simply petitioned their presbytery or synod to hold a collection on its behalf.¹² This existing organisational structure provided a systematic means to collect money over large areas within the nation. Many presbyteries and synods, at least near urban centres, already held regular collections for local charities within their bounds.¹³

Adapting this existing practice to support the B&FBS may have recommended itself to first generation Evangelicals for two main reasons. Firstly, they may have become wary of imitating the latest English evangelical society scheme as a result of all the upheaval caused both by the establishment of missionary societies in Scotland and especially by the SPGH. Secondly, and more importantly, by 1805 their involvement in missionary societies had stretched them to the limits of their organisational capacity. They were struggling to maintain Scottish missionary societies, many of which simply served as collecting agencies for larger societies with missionaries in the field such as the EMS and especially the LMS. As this generation, a small group from the start, began to lose numbers and energy as it aged, it had neither the time nor the people to establish an additional set of societies, especially when the existing structure of the ecclesiastical courts provided a more than adequate means of raising funds to be sent off to the London-based administrative centre of the B&FBS.

 12. The choice of these lower courts for these petitions may have resulted from the General Assembly's refusal to appoint a Church-wide collection on behalf of missionary societies in 1796, since Moderates did not exercise the same degree of control in many presbyteries and synods that they had in the Assembly.

13. The Synod of Glasgow and Ayr had been collecting money for the Glasgow Royal Infirmary at least two years prior to the formation of the B&FBS (Nov. 1803, Minutes of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, SRO, CH2/464/5). The Aberdeen Infirmary was the beneficiary of collections for many years before the Synod of Aberdeen agreed to support the B&FBS (see the complaint about the prolonged lack of payment from Banff, 11 Nov. 1808, Minutes of the Synod of Aberdeen, SRO, CH2/840/5, p. 319).

The paucity of Bible societies in Scotland during the first years of the existence of the B&FBS was not a rejection of religious voluntary societies *per se* by Evangelicals, nor was it a permanent state of affairs. Further developments within both Evangelicalism and the B&FBS led to an explosion of local Bible society organisation throughout Scotland beginning in 1809. At about this time, the next generation of Evangelicals began to come of age and assume significant responsibilities. In 1810 Andrew Thomson became minister of New Greyfriars, Edinburgh and established the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*; soon afterwards Thomas Chalmers became an Evangelical. This generation provided the additional energy and people needed to organise a new set of societies.

After 1809 the B&FBS also began to encourage local organisation amongst its supporters, in part to aid in the B&FBS's distribution of Bibles within Britain. By the mid-1810s an extensive and sophisticated organisational structure had emerged, consisting of auxiliary Bible societies, branch Bible societies, and Bible associations. The B&FBS Report for 1815 included the following 'hints' about the relationship between these various groups:

To populous Districts it is recommended to form Auxiliary Societies; which may extend themselves by Branch Societies, embracing the less populous Districts of their neighbourhoods. The objects of the Society may be farther promoted by Bible Associations, formed by such persons as cannot afford to become Members, either of the Parent Institution, or of its Auxiliary or Branch Societies.¹⁴

Membership in auxiliaries and branches usually was a guinea a year, but was only a penny per week in associations. This money flowed up from associations into their related branches, then up from these branches into their related auxiliaries, and finally up into the B&FBS itself. A supply of Bibles for local distribution followed this path in reverse. The B&FBS

14. *Reports of the B&FBS* 3:496.

hoped to make involvement in Bible distribution available to anyone in Britain through this network of interconnected groups, devoting considerable effort to promoting its extension.¹⁵

The auxiliary system of the B&FBS quickly generated local Bible societies throughout Scotland, extending to small communities as well as to the urban centres where missionary societies had tended to concentrate.¹⁶ In 1815 the B&FBS reported the existence of 40 auxiliary and 37 branch societies in Scotland, which increased to 55 and 67 in 1816.¹⁷ The Edinburgh Bible Society [EBS], founded in 1809, developed its own set of auxiliaries and branches along the lines of the B&FBS system, counting over 60 local groups spread throughout Scotland in its connection in 1817.¹⁸ In the same year, the Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society [GABS] boasted 31 branch societies and Bible associations of its own, though mainly within the city and its immediate environs.¹⁹

 15. See C.S. Dudley, *An Analysis of the System of the Bible Society Throughout its Various Parts, including a Sketch of the Origin and Results of Auxiliary and Branch Societies and Bible Associations: with Hints for Their Better Regulation* (London: R. Watts, 1821). Dudley was a traveling secretary for the B&FBS who spent most of his time organising new auxiliaries, branches, and associations. This work contained detailed instructions about how people could set up their own groups, including not only ready-made rules and regulations, but a verbatim set of motions to be approved at the first few meetings (see pp. 210ff).

16. See Appendix 2.3, 'Scottish Bible Societies--1809-1824'.

17. B&FBS Reports for 1815 and 1816, *Reports of the B&FBS* 3:510 and 4:273.

18. List taken from Seventh Report of the EBS in B&FBS Report for 1817, *Reports of the B&FBS* 4:309f. Although it sent most of its funds to the B&FBS, the EBS itself was not officially an auxiliary of the B&FBS. The EBS's founding regulations clearly were intended to ensure its autonomy, defining its relationship to B&FBS in a similar way to the EMS's relationship to the LMS. Its first regulation indicated that the new society's purpose was to have 'the same object in view with the [B&FBS], and to act in concert with it, or separately, as circumstances shall require.' (No page number, opening 'Laws and Regulations', EBS Report for 1810 in *EBS Reports* vol. 1 [1810-1816], on deposit at the office of the National Bible Society of Scotland [NBSS], Bible House, Edinburgh.)

19. List taken from Fourth Report of the GABS in the B&FBS Report for 1817, *Reports of the B&FBS* 4:310.

Church of Scotland ministers and members were highly involved throughout the auxiliary system, regardless of whether a particular local society was affiliated with the B&FBS or with the EBS.²⁰ Evangelicals from both the first and second generations led the way. At the age of 75, David Johnston, minister of North Leith and vice-president of the EMS, was the prime mover behind the formation of the EBS.²¹ Another first generation Evangelical, James Bonar, second solicitor of excise, was the founding secretary of the EBS, and his brother Archibald, minister of Cramond, was the first vice-president of the Cramond Auxiliary Bible Society.

Second generation Evangelicals enthusiastically supported Bible societies and supplied the bulk of their leadership, especially outside urban centres like Edinburgh.²² The B&FBS Report for 1811 praised Henry Duncan, minister of Ruthwell, for his 'zeal in promoting the formation of [the Dumfries-shire Bible Society]'.²³ In 1812 Thomas Chalmers was instrumental in founding B&FBS auxiliaries in his own parish of Kilmany and in the county of Fife and Kinross.²⁴ Andrew Thomson championed the cause of Bible societies through the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, highlighting their formation throughout Scotland in its Religious Intelligence section. In a mock letter to the editor from his own hand signed, 'A Friend to the Bible Societies', he took glee in reminding Moderates of their duty to subordinate themselves to the church courts by holding col-

 20. For an analysis of the participation of Church of Scotland ministers in the EBS and its auxiliaries see Appendix 2.4.

21. Johnston was the first listed of seventy-three present at the 31 July 1809 meeting at the Royal Exchange Coffee House called 'for the purpose of considering the propriety of forming a Bible Society in Edinburgh' (EBS Minutes, 1809-1815, vol. 1, p. 1, on deposit with the NBSS). He was usually in the chair for the organising committee meetings and was elected a member of the EBS's first board of directors at its initial general meeting on 20 Nov. 1809.

22. See Appendix 2.4, 'Age of the Participants'.

23. *B&FBS Reports* 2:153. Duncan was also its secretary.

24. S.J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, pp. 63ff.

lections for the B&FBS which had been appointed by many presbyteries and synods.²⁵

Yet, not all Moderates needed such reminders, for some of them not only held collections in their parishes, but also participated in Bible societies themselves, a marked contrast to their rejection of missionary societies. At first this participation revealed some continuing reservations about voluntary societies, especially those in connection with London-based bodies working overseas like the B&FBS. In 1809, when the first Bible societies in Scotland came into existence, a group of Moderate ministers in Edinburgh seem to have attempted to co-opt this movement, or at least to create an alternative national system, by forming their own association, the Scottish Bible Society [SBS].

The organisational structure of the SBS reflected Moderate suspicions about the prevailing approach to societies among Evangelicals. Its leaders were drawn solely from among the members of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, probably out of distaste for the equal footing given to laymen and Dissenters with Established clergy in the leadership of other societies. In contrast to the global perspective of the B&FBS and its related societies, the SBS seems to have concentrated almost exclusively upon local and national needs for Bibles.

Although the SBS clearly was formed as an alternative to the EBS, the two groups do not seem to have come openly into conflict. In its first report the EBS praised its potential rival.²⁶ Later on, the two organisations developed a complementary relationship, as the EBS seems as a general rule to have turned any local requests that it received for Bibles

 25. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 2 (May 1811):305-7. Thomson also became a member of the board of directors of the EBS in 1813, actively participating in its regular meetings (EBS Minutes, vol. 1, 1809-1815, passim).

26. EBS Report for 1810, pp. 6-7.

over to the SBS.²⁷ For its part, the SBS began moving away from some of its more reactionary positions as it grew older, even sending a sizeable donation to the B&FBS by 1817.²⁸

In part, the EBS could afford to be gracious toward the SBS since the new society did not mount a serious challenge to the combined supremacy of the EBS and the B&FBS in Scotland. Despite interest in its clerical, local approach among some Moderates elsewhere in Scotland, the SBS failed to reproduce itself outside Edinburgh.²⁹ It seems to have lost its appeal even there by the early 1820s when Alexander Brunton and John Lee, two leading Moderate ministers, became directors of the EBS.

Some Moderates embraced the mainstream Bible society movement as soon as it spread to their area. As early as 1813 they had become involved with auxiliaries connected with the B&FBS and the EBS, perhaps following the example of the leader of the Moderate Party, George Hill, Principal of St. Mary's College, who served as president of the St. Andrews Bible Asso-

 27. For example, the EBS referred a request for Bibles from the Society for the Relief of Indigent Old Men, to the SBS (19 Apr. 1819, EBS Minutes, vol. 2 [1815-1824], p. 118).

28. In 1817 the B&FBS published a list of all the funds it had received from Bible societies in Scotland since its inception which included £300 from the SBS (B&FBS Report for 1817, *B&FBS Reports* 4:lxxxix). In a letter of 30 Mar. 1812 to Thomas Chalmers, Walter Tait, then minister of Tealing, reported that the SBS had sent £500 to the B&FBS (Chalmers Papers, NCL, CHA 4.2.20-21).

29. Francis Nicoll, then minister of Mains and Strathmartine near Dundee and a leader of the Moderate Party, unsuccessfully attempted to persuade his colleagues in the Presbytery of Dundee to affiliate with the SBS rather than form an auxiliary of the B&FBS because the latter group was perceived as a threat to the Establishment. Nonetheless, a B&FBS auxiliary was founded in Dundee on 24 Feb. 1812 with strong Church of Scotland support; its president was the moderator of the Dundee Presbytery. See letters of James Anderson, a young Evangelical layman from Dundee and the leader of those who wished to associate with the larger Bible society movement in Scotland, to Thomas Chalmers in which he described his frustrations with Nicoll's machinations (Chalmers Correspondence, StAUL, MS 30835, 13.1 [undated]; 15.5 [undated]; 18.1-4 [5 Feb. 1812]; 19.1-3 [13 Feb. 1812]; 27.1-3 [10 Mar. 1812]; 33.1-3 [10 Apr. 1812]).

ciation in that year.³⁰ Other noted Moderates who participated in their local Bible societies included Robert Moodie, minister of Clackmannan,³¹ and William Ferrie, minister of Kilconquhar and Professor of Civil History at the University of St. Andrews.³²

The auxiliary system stimulated society-organising activity not only among individual Kirk members, but even among two presbyteries. On 4 September 1811 the Presbytery of Arbroath 'unanimously resolved to promote to the utmost of their power the extensive plan that [the B&FBS] have proposed to execute' and appointed a committee to put this resolution into effect.³³ Although the resulting auxiliary's regulations made the moderator one of its vice-presidents by virtue of his office, it was a separate body from the presbytery, open to Dissenters and including ten laymen on its board of directors.³⁴ In similar fashion, on 20 April 1814 the Presbytery of Chanonry approved sending a circular letter to 'the Gentlemen of this district' inviting them to meet with the presbytery for the purpose of forming themselves into 'an Auxiliary Bible Society for these Bounds'. This meeting resulted in the formation of the Black Isle Auxiliary Bible Society on 3 May 1814.³⁵

The growth in Scotland of the auxiliary system of the Bible societies during the 1810s and 20s spread an Evangelical, society-based approach to

 30. Hill seems to have been more than a figurehead since at one meeting of the association he submitted a list of people in the community needing a Bible (EBS Report for 1813, pp. 39f). His biographer noted: 'He was in the practice of attending the meetings of a Bible Society, formed at St Andrews, of which he had become a member.' (George Cook, *The Life of the Late George Hill* [Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co., 1820], p. 342.)

31. Founding president of the Clackmannan Auxiliary, formed Sep. 1815 (EBS Report for 1816, p. 49).

32. President of the Kilconquhar and Elie Bible and Missionary Society in 1829 (EBS Report for 1829, p. 82).

33. Minutes of the Presbytery of Arbrothock [Arbroath] 1800-1837, SRO, CH2/15/7, p. 100.

34. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 3 (Nov. 1811):361-2.

35. Minutes of the Presbytery of Chanonry 1802-1827, SRO, CH2/66/6, pp. 171f.

ministry throughout the Kirk. Those who participated in auxiliaries learned sophisticated organisational techniques, especially ones related to raising funds. As local societies were formed in remote parts of Scotland, rural areas were introduced to urban methodology and values.³⁶ This process partially counteracted some of the divisions caused within the Church of Scotland by the growth of industrial cities.³⁷

The auxiliary system created an organisational structure roughly parallel to the church courts, uniting like-minded individuals throughout the Kirk in local, regional, and national bodies designed to meet a religious need. This activist orientation contrasted with the predominantly passive judicial function of the courts of the church, indirectly encouraging them to expand their interests beyond simply carrying out legal proceedings to include supporting and organising ministry activities such as Bible societies.

The auxiliary system also spread Evangelical ideas and practices more extensively throughout the Established Church. The annual reports of the major Bible societies filtered down through this system to their related auxiliaries, branches, and associations. These reports contained informa-

 36. The interconnected system of auxiliaries, branches, and Bible associations linked small groups in the country with more populous regions, and all these bodies shared the same basic organisational structure, with elected boards of directors (similar to those of joint stock companies) and membership dues. Instead of depending on the local heritors or passively receiving offerings for revenues as rural churches did, Bible societies aggressively and systematically sought out sources of income from the whole community, with their collectors regularly canvassing neighborhoods for 'penny-a-week' contributions. This approach reflected a similar appreciation for the power of a mass market embraced by many contemporary emerging industrialists, and implicitly affirmed that Scotland was becoming a pluralistic society in which the Kirk no longer held a monopoly on religious activity. For a discussion of similar developments in England, see Alan D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England: church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914* (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1976), pp. 17-18, 140-3.

37. This interpretation qualifies Callum G. Brown's argument that industrialisation widened the gap between urban and rural sections of the presbyterian churches (*The Social History of Religion in Scotland* [London & New York: Methuen, 1987], pp. 135ff).

tion about more than just Bible distribution, describing cooperative evangelistic efforts by the Bible societies both with the SSPCK in Scotland and with missionary societies overseas. Their readers gained a sense that participating in their local auxiliary made them part of a nationwide effort to achieve the common goal of spreading vital religion at home and abroad.

Bible society reports brought many within the Kirk into contact with the broader pan-Scottish and pan-British evangelical movements, introducing them to new ideas and approaches to ministry. In addition, Bible societies provided a context in which members of the Church of Scotland regularly related to Dissenters as equals. This cooperation implied that both groups accepted that meeting a religious need like distributing Bibles transcended differences over the constitution and the character of the Established Church.³⁸

The involvement of so many from the Church of Scotland in Bible societies during the 1810s and early 1820s raises an important question for understanding the growth of Evangelicalism: Why did this kind of society receive a far more favourable reception among members of the Establishment at this time than its predecessor, the missionary society, received in the 1790s?

A combination of factors contributed to the extraordinary popularity of Bible societies. By 1809 social conditions in Scotland were more con-

 38. Occasionally, Bible societies brought together individuals from radically different backgrounds. For example, William Ferrie, minister of Kilconquhar and Professor of Civil History at the University of St. Andrews, and Alexander Scott, minister of a Relief congregation in Colinsburgh, both served as office-bearers in the Kilconquhar and Elie Bible and Missionary Society in the 1820s. Ferrie was a Moderate, whose presentation to this parish led to a furore over pluralities in the mid-1810s, while Scott was a former SPGH missionary (Robert Small, *History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church*, 2 vols. [Edinburgh: David M. Small, 1904] 2:379). At first, over the short term, this kind of interaction and the pluralistic environment it created reduced both rivalry among denominations and 'high' churchmanship within the Kirk.

ducive to the growth of religious voluntary societies in general than they had been in 1796. The success of continued industrial and commercial development recommended the adoption of a corporate approach to religion, especially among middle-class factory owners and merchants.³⁹ This development also made additional wealth available to support voluntary activities. New societies were viewed less suspiciously in the 1810s than they had been in the 1790s, in part because the Establishment no longer seemed to be under the imminent threat of revolution.⁴⁰ Moreover, fears that missionary societies would be seditious had proved to be unfounded during the decade and a half since their foundation. By the first decade of the nineteenth century religious voluntary societies had ceased to be seen as radical, untried innovations.

The simplicity of the primary purpose of the Bible societies, distributing the Bible without note or comment, was probably the greatest source of their popularity.⁴¹ This purpose appealed to most Protestants and conveniently avoided divisive decisions regarding church polity that were inherent in missionary activity. Partly as a result, the B&FBS received far stronger support from Anglicans than had the LMS. Their example may have reassured Moderates and Establishment-orientated Evangelicals that it was respectable for members of an established church to participate in Bible societies.

 39. The most successful businesses during this period were associated with cotton and other textiles, Smout, *History of the Scottish People*, pp. 233-239.

40. The Peace of Amiens in 1802 defused the crisis atmosphere of the 1790s, and although the Napoleonic Wars began the following year, the whole basis of British society no longer seemed under threat. Ferguson, *Scotland: 1689 to the Present*, pp. 266-267.

41. It complemented the central Reformed doctrine of *sola Scriptura*, which continued to be emphasised strongly in Scotland, in part because of increasing anti-Catholicism. The simplicity of the primary purpose of the Bible societies also made them seem more successful in the field than missionary societies. It was a far easier task to print and distribute Bibles, even overseas, than it was to convert the heathen.

Enthusiasm for making the Scriptures available to all often grew out of personally experiencing the benefits of Bible reading. The newfound Biblical piety of many second generation Evangelicals gave them a particular interest in promoting Bible societies. This process is reflected in a series of letters which James Anderson, a young educated layman from Dundee, wrote to Thomas Chalmers at the end of 1811 and the beginning of 1812. In November Anderson mentioned that he had been impressed by the arguments of William Wilberforce for the supremacy of Scripture. In December he noted he had gained a new appreciation for the Bible, that he now had a tremendous desire to read it, and that he was deriving great comfort from doing so. Thus, it comes as no surprise that his January letter expressed his approval of the work of the B&FBS and his desire to organise a Bible society in Dundee so that others would have an opportunity to experience the same comfort from reading the Bible that he recently had come to enjoy.⁴²

Another source of the popularity of Bible societies was their emphasis on distributing the Scriptures locally as well as overseas. In the eyes of many contemporaries, this local dimension gave them two important advantages over missionary societies. Firstly, it answered the major objection that had arisen in response to missionary societies: What are you doing about the 'heathen' at home? Those Moderates, such as George Hill, who became involved in Bible societies seem to have done so primarily to respond to local needs.⁴³

Secondly, local Scripture distribution provided an opportunity for members of a Bible society to become involved personally in the work of their organisation, an option unavailable to missionary society members.

42. 18 Nov. 1811 (Chalmers Correspondence, StAUL, MS 30385, 22.9); 9 Dec. 1811 (23.5); and 30 Jan. 1812 (24.1-4).

43. Cook, *George Hill*, p. 343.

This advantage seems to have appealed especially to those who recently had undergone a significant religious experience of their own and were eager to put their newfound faith into practice. Although many Bible societies seem to have been able to meet local needs fairly quickly since the number of households lacking the Scriptures in most Lowland areas was relatively small,⁴⁴ this activity still gave people the impression that they were doing something to promote the religious well-being of their community.

The societal problems resulting from the continued growth of urbanisation and industrialisation after 1796 created a deep sense of urgency among members of the Established Church, who felt that something had to be done, and done soon, to respond to these problems. They especially were uneasy about the increasing prevalence of irreligion, feeling that something more than standard parish ministry was needed to reach the unchurched and to revitalise congregations. Thus, Bible societies seemed to offer a timely solution to achieve these goals. They worked directly to combat irreligion by putting Bibles in the hands of the unchurched, and it was hoped that they also worked indirectly to stimulate greater piety among church members, as giving money to provide Bibles for others led them naturally to read and to value their own Bibles.

This sense of urgency was especially powerful among second generation Evangelicals such as Thomas Chalmers, in part because societal problems

 44. The records of Bible societies often reported a significant amount of local distribution of Scriptures in their first few years, but relatively little afterwards. This pattern is reflected in the minutes of the rural Dunblane Bible Society (minutes on deposit with the NBSS) and those of urban groups such as the Dundee Auxiliary Bible Society (minutes on deposit with the NBSS) and the Calton and Bridgeton Association for Religious Purposes. This latter body's initial report related: 'your Committee have been very agreeably disappointed with regard to the wants, existing in their various districts, of the Word of Life. Although very general inquiry was made...the whole of their distribution amounts only to 15 Bibles and 11 Testaments...' (*First Annual Report of the Calton and Bridgeton Association for Religious Purposes with a Summary Account of the Societies Aided from Its Funds, and a List of Subscribers* [Glasgow: James Hedderwick, 1816], p. 13).

were growing worse as they came of age. Moreover, their intellectual heritage may have heightened their sense of frustration with these problems. Almost all second generation Evangelical clergy were taught by Moderates, and some of them had had been Moderates themselves. Their Moderate training had strongly emphasised the importance of social morality in theory, but had proved curiously unable to produce it in practice. Thus, for example, by the late eighteenth century, 'Scotland was a society whose intellectual and religious leaders had turned against slavery, without developing the slightest conception that anything should be done about it.'⁴⁵

To a generation caught in the tension between Moderatism's theoretical moral imperatives and its practical moral impotence Bible societies offered a welcome release. They provided a relatively simple and direct means to begin finally to do something that might encourage social morality. Even if these societies did not produce immediately the kind of social improvements that their supporters desired, their activist approach at least seemed to be a step in the right direction, moving beyond simply continuing to preach sermons urging people to be virtuous.

Finally, the auxiliary system greatly contributed to the popularity of Bible societies. This system enabled a broad range of people, including many groups who had little opportunity for involvement in organised religious activities either in the the official structures of the Kirk or in missionary and other older societies, to participate in Bible societies. Auxiliaries attracted strong lay support, especially among

 45. C. Duncan Rice, 'Archibald Dalziel, the Scottish Intelligentsia, and the Problem of Slavery', *Scottish Historical Review*, 62 (1983):121. Rice goes on to observe that this situation 'gradually changed, paradoxically when the ascendancy of the moderate establishment which had developed the anti-slavery critique was weakening. The rise of the evangelicals, in Scotland as in England brought with it radically changed conceptions of Christian commitment and Christian obligation', pp. 128-9.

their office-bearers and directors. As a result, the Bible society movement tended to be less clerically dominated than the missionary society movement had been.

Through their participation in auxiliaries laymen learned to use voluntary societies to express their religious preferences apart from the existing authority structures of the Establishment. For example, one contemporary history of the Bible society movement in Scotland noted that after a combination of Moderate clerical opposition and Evangelical clerical apathy led to the defeat of an overture to appoint a collection on behalf of the B&FBS in the Synod of Merse and Teviotdale in 1809, 'the lay brethren of these quarters have taken the subject into their serious consideration, and established Bible Societies in different places'.⁴⁶ Voluntary societies provided a means for laymen to circumvent the decisions of the ecclesiastical courts with which they disagreed in order to further their own spiritual goals.

The growth of lay activism and authority through the auxiliary system did not necessarily undermine clerical authority. Ministers probably continued to be the most influential individuals in many Bible societies just as they had been in missionary societies. They too were willing to organise new societies if the courts of the church did not offer the B&FBS the support they thought it deserved.⁴⁷ Nonetheless, the auxiliary system played an important role in giving lay activity greater legitimacy within the Kirk. Lay initiative became less exceptional and was viewed less suspiciously than it had been when the SPGH was founded.

 46. W.A. Thomson and W. Orme, *A Historical Sketch of the Translation and Circulation of the Scriptures, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time; Including an Account of the Origin and Progress of the B&FBS; and Intended as an Illustration of the Principles and Importance of Bible Institutions* (Perth: R. Morison, 1815), p. 170.

47. For example, after the Synod of Dumfries declined to appoint a collection for the B&FBS in 1810, Henry Duncan, the Evangelical minister of Ruthwell, responded by organising several auxiliaries throughout the bounds of the Synod in the ensuing years (Duncan, *Henry Ducnan*, pp. 80ff).

The majority of the laity involved in Bible societies came from the middle class. Many office-bearers and directors were businessmen and professionals. However, the Bible society movement also attracted members of the aristocracy and the working classes, far more so than missionary societies did. Most of the larger Bible societies had an aristocratic patron, usually someone from a local noble family.⁴⁸ While some of these patrons only gave their name and a few guineas to their society, others became personally involved in its work, perhaps influenced by the example of English evangelical aristocrats who strongly supported the B&FBS.⁴⁹

The development of 'penny-a-week' Bible associations made it possible for workers to participate in the Bible society movement. Some factory owners who were involved in local auxiliaries helped to form these associations among their own workers, even deducting their contributions from their wages each week.⁵⁰ However, other associations were organised in factories and neighbourhoods by members of the working class themselves.

Evaluating the overall impact of penny-a-week associations is difficult. Thomas Chalmers and some of his contemporaries probably oversold

48. In 1815 these Scottish Bible societies boasted the following noble patrons: Aberdeen--Marquess of Huntly; Arbroath--Earl of Northesk; Dumfries-shire--Duke of Buccleugh and Queensbury; Edinburgh--Viscount Cathcart; Elgin & Morayshire--Earl of Moray; Fife & Kinross-shire--Earl of Moray; Galloway--Earl of Galloway; Glasgow--Earl of Glasgow; Hamilton--Marquess of Douglas and Clydesdale; Kilsyth--Sir C. Edmonstone, Bart.; East Lothian--Sir A. Lauder Dick, Bart.; Paisley & East Renfrewshire--Earl of Glasgow; Perthshire--Duke of Athol and Lord Gray; Stirlingshire--Earl of Dunmore; Wick--Earl of Caithness (*B&FBS Reports* 3:537f).

49. For a discussion of the growth of evangelicalism among the English aristocracy, see F.K. Brown, *Fathers of the Victorians*, chapter 3.

50. The GABS actively promoted this process, passing a resolution on 5 Feb. 1816 to send a circular letter to managers of large public works in Glasgow suggesting that they encourage the formation of penny-a-week societies among their workers (GABS Minutes 1815-1818, on deposit with the NBSS). This strategy seems to have been successful as contributions to the GABS from these groups indicate, such as £6 from the Blantyre Works Association for Religious Purposes on 28 Feb. 1825 (GABS Cashbook, 1822-1831, on deposit with the NBSS).

the benefits of workers' involvement in them,⁵¹ and certainly large segments of the working class remained untouched. Nonetheless, Bible associations did seem to involve significant numbers of workers, at least from the upper levels of the working classes, in religious voluntary societies for the first time. The income that these associations produced for their related auxiliaries in industrial centres reflects the strength of working-class support for the Bible society movement. The GABS estimated that three quarters of its annual receipts, £1941 in 1816 and £1030 in 1817, came from Bible associations.⁵² These sums represent a sizeable number of penny-a-week contributors, giving some credence to Evangelical arguments that, by giving small amounts, workers gained a sense of pride from having the opportunity to participate in a religious activity, an opportunity previously out of their reach because of the high costs of membership in earlier societies. In addition, Bible associations exposed their working-class members to Evangelical ideas and practices and brought them into contact with similarly minded clergymen from the local auxiliary, thus strengthening the ties between Evangelicalism and at least a portion of the working classes.

In a variation of the penny-a-week association, many Scottish Bible societies developed a 'Ladies Auxiliary', especially after 1811. As their name suggests, these groups followed the same organisational plan as their related society, but were composed exclusively of women. Before their development women had almost no opportunity to express their religious commitment actively in public.⁵³ Many women, especially middle-class

51. See Chalmer's pamphlet, *The Influence of Bible Societies on the Temporal Necessities of the Poor*, and its glowing review in the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 8 (Feb. 1814):126ff. See also S.J. Brown's discussion of this work, *Thomas Chalmers*, pp. 67ff.

52. *B&FBS Reports* 5:254.

53. F.K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), pp. 9, 23ff.

women with large amounts of leisure time, enthusiastically embraced this new, socially acceptable outlet for their energies. However, Scottish working-class women also made significant contributions, organising the first women's auxiliary in Britain, the Aberdeen Female Servant Society for Promoting the Diffusion of the Scriptures, founded on 16 August 1809.⁵⁴ As women's auxiliaries proliferated throughout Scotland in the ensuing two decades, the wives of Church of Scotland ministers often provided the leadership in the parish 'Ladies Auxiliary', mirroring the roles that their husbands held in the parish regular auxiliary.

Children and youth comprised another segment of Scottish society that had few opportunities to express their religion publicly until Bible societies developed a system of 'Juvenile Associations', organised along much the same lines as the groups for women. The Edinburgh Juvenile Bible Association in connection with the EBS led the way in 1813, and soon was followed by similar societies in Aberdeen, Glasgow, Greenock, and Paisley.⁵⁵ This system effectively spread among the 'rising generation' the activist approach to religion embodied in societies. Its participants received early and repeated exposure both to Bible society reports reflecting Evangelical interests and to organisational techniques identical to those employed in adult societies. 'Juvenile Associations' also brought their members under the influence of young Evangelical clergymen who often helped to oversee their activities.⁵⁶

 54. Dudley, *An Analysis of the System of the Bible Society*, pp. 355f. The first auxiliary in Britain open to women from all backgrounds was also in Scotland, the Paisley Female Bible Association, founded in 1811 (pp. 358f).

55. Dudley, *An Analysis of the System of the Bible Society*, pp. 281ff.

56. For example, at age 33, David Dickson Jr., minister of St. Cuthbert's in Edinburgh, served as the founding president of the Edinburgh Juvenile Bible Association (EBS Report for 1813, p. 34).

Four case studies, two of urban auxiliaries and two of rural ones, illustrate the popularity of the auxiliary system of the Bible societies and its influence upon the development of Evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland. The early years of the Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society [GABS] reveal that not all Evangelicals welcomed the auxiliary movement. First generation Evangelicals in the city, led by John Burns, influential minister of the Barony Church, showed no interest in organising a local society in the first few years following the formation of the EBS. The society approach seems to have lost its appeal to them, perhaps due to post-SPGH disillusionment with interdenominational cooperation. Denominational pride also may have lay behind their coolness, since the B&FBS annual reports gave their presbytery collections a much higher profile than it did to auxiliary activities. They were satisfied with raising money for the B&FBS through these collections and saw no reason to go to the extra trouble of starting a society.

When a group of Dissenters, who were shut out of the Established Church collection scheme, eventually organised the GABS in 1812, Burns and his colleagues were displeased, fearing that this new society would decrease the presbytery's annual collections. They were unmoved by the arguments of the GABS that an auxiliary would help supply local needs and promote unity among Christians.⁵⁷ During the first few years of the GABS no ministers from the Church of Scotland served as office-bearers or made financial contributions.

This situation changed at the annual meeting of the GABS in 1815 when Burns 'acknowledged the decided advantages of an Institution, the propri-

57. 'Address of the Interim Committee', *First Annual Report of the Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society: With an Appendix, and a List of Subscribers* (Glasgow: Andrew Duncan, 1813), pp. 20-24.

ety of whose formation he had originally been inclined to doubt.⁵⁸ Publicly he attributed his new attitude to the sustained level of support that the presbytery collections continued to receive, but he also may have been influenced privately by his new colleague, Thomas Chalmers, who delivered an address at this meeting 'in vindication of the principle and procedure of the Bible Society'. The enthusiasm of Chalmers for the auxiliary system, derived from his experience in Fife, seems to have convinced his older fellow presbyters of its merits, and perhaps swayed other first generation Evangelicals through the publication of speeches such as this one.

In contrast to the cool reception that the members of the Glasgow Presbytery gave the GABS, the Dundee Presbytery helped to give birth to the Dundee Auxiliary Bible Society [DABS]. Its organisational meeting was held in the Old Church on 24 February 1812, and most of its major office-bearers were Established Church ministers, including its vice-president, who *ex officio* was the Moderator of the presbytery.⁵⁹ Their influence in formulating the regulations of the DABS may be reflected in the make-up of its twelve directors, six of whom were required to be from the Church of Scotland.

The DABS quickly attracted supporters from several of the groups, mentioned above, which had been relatively uninvolved in religious activities prior to the Bible society movement. Laymen, such as James Anderson, worked closely with sympathetic Evangelical clergy both in the

58. *Fourth Annual Report of the Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society: With an Appendix, and a List of Subscribers* (Glasgow: Andrew & James Duncan, 1816), p. 20.

59. Printed page of regulations bound into the beginning of the handwritten manuscript minutes of the DABS 1812-1917, on deposit with the NBSS. The founding secretary of the DABS was James Thomson, minister of St. Clement's, and its founding treasurer was Patrick Macvicar, minister of St. Paul's.

formation of the DABS and in its later work.⁶⁰ Near the end of 1812 the DABS divided the city into districts to facilitate the organisation of penny-a-week associations, and suggested that the women of Dundee form themselves into a 'Ladies Association'.⁶¹ By 1817 it had added a youth auxiliary, the Dundee Juvenile Bible and Missionary Society.⁶²

The growth of urban auxiliaries such as the GABS and the DABS contrasted with the struggles that some rural auxiliaries, such as the Dunblane Bible Society [DBS], experienced. The DBS was born in 1813 after the reading of some B&FBS reports resulted in a burst of enthusiasm for the Bible society movement. The local parish minister, Robert Stirling, took a leading role in the formation of the DBS and served as its founding secretary, working closely with the Burgher and Anti-Burgher ministers in town. The parish immediately was divided into districts in which 409 subscribers made regular donations.⁶³

The first annual report of the DBS reveals some of the reasons that its supporters were excited about forming a local society in a rural area. The greatest appeal lay in being able to do something themselves to put their spiritual concerns into practice:

The Church hath been long praying that Christ's Kingdom may come, that its boundaries may be enlarged and the Number of his Subjects increased. But the present generation hath gone beyond their Fathers in this, that along with their Prayers they are making uncommon exer-

60. See Anderson's letters to Thomas Chalmers describing his ongoing discussions with several other Dundee laymen and ministers preparatory to the organisation of the DABS (Letters 13 and 15-19, Chalmers Correspondence, StAUL, MS 30385). Anderson also served as co-secretary of the DABS with James Thomson.

61. 2 Nov. 1812, Minutes of DABS.

62. 21 May 1817, Minutes of the DABS.

63. See entries for 20 Mar. 1813, 3 Apr. 1813, and 10 Nov. 1813 in the Minutes of the Dunblane Bible Society 1813-1818, on deposit with the NBSS. The parish of Dunblane had a population of 2750 in 1791 (*The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799*, ed. John Sinclair, vol. 12 [East Ardsley, England: EP Publishing, 1977], p. 313). Since its population probably did not increase markedly in the following two decades, the number of subscribers to the DBS represented about 15% of the total.

tions to obtain the object prayed for. Witness the many Bible and Missionary Societies,...which have been erected in this and other Countries.⁶⁴

The supporters of the DBS also enjoyed the opportunity to participate indirectly in the B&FBS's work overseas through the DBS's connection with the Stirling Bible Society, which was an official auxiliary of the 'Parent Institution'.⁶⁵ At the annual meeting of the DBS reports were read from the B&FBS, the Stirling Bible Society, and the EBS.

In spite of such a promising start, the DBS gradually declined during the half decade after its foundation. In 1814 its directors became concerned that many in Dunblane still were not members, and that some subscribers had lapsed in their payments.⁶⁶ Part of the problem may have been that the directors found themselves with relatively little to do. The regulations of the DBS required them to meet monthly, but by the end of 1814, when the needs for Scriptures among the local poor mostly had been met,⁶⁷ little remained to occupy these meetings except the routine work of collecting funds from the districts. After 1816 entries in the minutes became sporadic and finally ceased altogether at the end of 1818, suggesting that the society may have dissolved because of disinterest at that time. The deaths of two of the ministerial supporters, the Burgher

64. DBS Annual Report, 10 Nov. 1813, Minutes of the DBS.

65. The DBS sent its funds to the Stirling Bible Society. In addition, a representative of the DBS, often Robert Stirling, was a member ex officio of the Stirling Bible Society's committee of directors, a relationship that helped to solidify ties between rural and urban Evangelicals.

66. 7 May 1814, Minutes of the DBS. In 1814 the DBS had 24 collectors for 15 districts, raising £73. In 1815 these totals dropped to 20 collectors for 15 districts, raising £42, and in 1816 to 18 collectors for 13 districts, raising £39.

67. At the DBS annual meeting on 12 Nov. 1814, it was reported that 6 Bibles, 127 New Testaments, and 17 Psalm books had been distributed locally.

minister at the end of 1816 and Robert Stirling in March 1817, may also have led to the society's demise.⁶⁸

Despite the decline of some rural auxiliaries such as the DBS, the Bible society movement remained dynamic, with other auxiliaries arising into the early 1820s. At the beginning of 1819 a branch Bible society in connection with the Berwickshire Auxiliary was formed in the small Borders village of Greenlaw, near Kelso.⁶⁹ The GBBS had a long and thriving existence, continuing late into the nineteenth century. One of its most interesting characteristics was the important role that divinity students played in its affairs. They occasionally addressed its annual meeting, and one served on its committee of directors in 1819. This pattern was repeated in other Bible societies throughout Scotland during the 1820s, as these groups served as a significant training ground for third generation Evangelicals coming of age.

The widespread popularity that Bible societies enjoyed compared to missionary societies exposed tensions and differences between first and second generation Evangelicals. Although these differences were primarily ones of degree and emphasis rather than of any fundamental divergence, they do reveal how Evangelicalism continued to evolve from generation to generation as new adherents sought to respond to the special needs of their day. Second generation Evangelicals tended to be less enthusiastic about foreign missions than their older colleagues, concentrating more on how societies could affect their local situation. Thus, they were much more interested in promoting Bible societies than missionary societies,

 68. Rural Bible societies seem to have been more dependent on clerical leadership than their urban counterparts, probably because fewer lay leaders existed in small communities. Note that the Kilmany Bible Society collapsed after Thomas Chalmers left for Glasgow (S.J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, p. 83).

69. All references in this paragraph are from Minutes of the Greenlaw Branch Bible Society [GBBS] 1819-1859, on deposit with the NBSS.

since the former directly influenced the unreached in their own communities.

The *Religious Monitor*, the mouthpiece of first generation Evangelicals, expressed concern about the detrimental consequences for missionary societies of the popularity of Bible societies. One contributor commented, '...while I view with pleasure the flourishing state of Bible Societies, I must confess that my pleasure is not unmingled when I behold the great diminution of missionary zeal.'⁷⁰ He went on to argue that since both kinds of groups were directed toward the same aim of spreading Christianity, missionary societies should have precedence over Bible societies because the Bible required a living interpreter to make it comprehensible to the unreached. Later articles in the *Monitor* developed this argument further, even asserting that '...the exertions of the Bible Associations, instead of rendering Missionary exertions less necessary, increase their importance.'⁷¹

In theory second generation Evangelicals agreed with the basic argument that Christians should support both Bible and missionary societies since conversion resulted from the influence of both the written and preached word of God. Thomas Chalmers summed up their attitude in a sermon preached before the Dundee Missionary Society in 1812 entitled, *The Two Great Instruments Appointed for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Duty of the Christian Public to Keep them Both in Vigorous Operation*, the printed version of which reached four editions.⁷² Andrew Thomson gave this work a glowing review in the *Instructor*, adding his own interpretation that participation in societies was the hallmark of authentically

70. *Religious Monitor* 11 (Feb. 1813):46.

71. *Religious Monitor* 12 (June 1814):204.

72. S.J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, pp. 64f.

evangelical Christianity.⁷³ In the following year he included in the *Instructor* an article, provocatively entitled, 'On the Excessive Preference of Bible above Missionary Societies', which reached many of the same conclusions as those in the *Monitor*.⁷⁴

However, in practice most second generation Evangelicals clearly favoured Bible societies. Neither Chalmers nor Thomson seems to have taken on the kind of leadership responsibilities in missionary societies that they assumed in Bible societies. In part, they may not have done so because first generation Evangelicals already filled these positions, yet by the mid-1810s they had achieved positions of preeminence that probably would have secured them a welcome into the leadership of any society in which they wished to involve themselves. Furthermore, no second generation Evangelical ministers seem to have offered themselves as potential missionaries. Although this situation may have resulted partly from the difficulties that Scottish missionary societies were experiencing in sending out missionaries of any kind at this time, it also suggests a lack of interest in missionary service amongst young clergy.

First and second generation Evangelicals both affirmed that Bible and missionary societies should be top priorities, but they differed slightly on how they emphasised these priorities. If they had been asked to list their priorities by number, the first generation would have designated missionary societies as priority '1A' and Bible societies as priority '1B', while the second generation would have done the reverse. This difference reflected the perception of the younger group that religion in Scotland was deteriorating at an unprecedented rate. The seriousness of

73. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 7 (Dec. 1813):394ff. 'In a word, those who love the honour of the Saviour, will long that his kingdom be extended,... And if a Christian longs for the realisation of ..[this]..event, is it possible that he can...stand at a distance from societies which have the acceleration of its arrival for their object...?'

74. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 8 (June 1814):377-381.

this situation demanded that they concentrate most of their energy upon improving conditions at home by supplementing the traditional forms of parish ministry, championed by their older colleagues but no longer sufficient to meet this challenge, with the new activist approach of local Bible auxiliaries.

First generation Evangelicals also seemed to struggle more than did their younger counterparts with some of the the undesirable side effects of the activism of societies, especially as revealed in the popularity of the Bible society movement. As the variety and number of religious voluntary societies exploded after 1809, Christian giving involved increasingly complex and difficult decisions. First generation Evangelicals debated the intricacies of these decisions in 1811 and 1812 in a pair of letters to the editor of the *Religious Monitor*.

The 1811 letter criticised individuals and congregations that contributed exclusively either to non-religious charities, such as a collection for British prisoners in France, or to religious charities, such as the SBS. Its author responded to the former category by asserting that participation in religious voluntary societies should be a normative part of the Christian life:

I would therefore press it upon these men as an unquestionable truth, that he who will not contribute, according to his ability to the promotion of religion, is himself destitute of religion. It is true indeed, that there may be objections to some particular plans... But amidst the great variety of institutions of this kind which abound at present in the country, surely some one or other may be found unexceptionable. And if none of these which at present exist...give satisfaction, it behoves the objectors to come forward and form others which will be better.⁷⁵

However, he had equally strong words for those in the latter category: 'If it can be said with truth, that they who neglect the souls

75. *Religious Monitor* 9 (Dec. 1811):468.

of men have no religion, may it not be retorted that they who neglect the body are equally destitute of it?'⁷⁶

The 1812 response to this letter strongly affirmed its criticisms of those who did not support religious voluntary societies, but disagreed with its critique of those who only support religious charities. In reply, it argued that 'in an age of religious indifference', the general public would not support organisations seeking to meet the spiritual needs of people, though they would give money to meet temporal needs. Therefore, prudence demanded that committed Christians focus their giving upon explicitly religious causes.⁷⁷

This pair of letters reflected the uncertainty arising among first generation Evangelicals as they sought through religious voluntary societies to fulfill the Biblical injunction to extend the kingdom of God. While all shared a fundamental commitment to this approach, they were unsure of exactly what this commitment implied about the nature of Christ's kingdom and the Establishment in Scotland. The 1811 letter suggests that some held to a broad interpretation of the kinds of causes Christians should be seeking to promote outside the Church, embracing basically anything that promoted spiritual or physical welfare of others. In contrast, the 1812 letter embodied a narrow, pietistic interpretation. Significantly, its argument was based upon the assumption that Scotland was no longer a Christian society, thus seeming to commit members of the Establishment to gathering together with others of like mind in voluntary associations in order to meet the explicitly religious needs of the nation. The issues first raised in this debate continued to divide Evangelicals in succeeding generations, suggesting that they represented important fundamental tensions within Evangelicalism itself.

76. *Religious Monitor* 9 (Dec. 1811):468.

77. *Religious Monitor* 10 (July 1812):252-257.

While first generation Evangelicals disagreed about what societies merited their financial support, they generally agreed that all benevolent activities deserved, but were not receiving, their prayer support. Several articles in the 1813 volume of the *Religious Monitor* expressed the concern that the popularity of societies was causing people to depend more upon human organisation than upon divine blessing. In January one correspondent argued:

No exertions however vigourous, and zealous, either for...the diffusion of the scriptures, or the propagation of the gospel,..., can supersede the necessity of frequent, and importunate prayer to God... But if with our united attempts to promote the divine Glory, and to advance the temporal and eternal interest of our fellow men, we forget, or do not properly, and in a *social* manner, acknowledge our dependence upon God, how can we expect that our endeavours should prosper?⁷⁸

The increasing preoccupation of the religious public with the entertainment value of certain activities sponsored by religious voluntary societies also disturbed him:

While an occasional Sermon for the support of any charitable institution, especially if preached by a stranger, usually attracts a numerous, and often a crowded audience, our prayer meetings both of the Missionary Society, and for the nation, are most shamefully neglected, and sometimes, almost wholly deserted: deserted too, not only by mere nominal professors of religion, but by those whom we are bound to regard as christians in truth.⁷⁹

In short, societies were creating their own Evangelical subculture which threatened to subvert their primary goals of deepening vital piety and extending the kingdom of God.

Later articles in the *Monitor* echoed these concerns, revealing increasing dissatisfaction among first generation Evangelicals with the seemingly worldly tendencies inherent in the growth of societies. In Feb-

78. *Religious Monitor* 11 (Jan. 1813):20.

79. *Religious Monitor* 11 (Jan. 1813):19.

ruary a correspondent suggested that the popularity of Bible societies was not solely the result of their spiritual merit: 'Fashion is powerful in every thing, even in the business of religion, and the fashion runs very strongly at present in favour of Bible Societies.'⁸⁰ Several other articles reemphasised the traditional Calvinist view that while human efforts were involved in achieving spiritual ends, they were no substitute for, and were always secondary to, divine initiative and empowerment.⁸¹

The lively discussion, beginning in 1813, in the *Religious Monitor* concerning the detrimental effects of the popularity of religious voluntary societies contrasted sharply with the silence of the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* about these issues for another decade. This silence suggests that the growth of a new subculture did not disturb second generation Evangelicals as much or as soon as it did their older colleagues. The *Instructor* itself reflected the new approach, adding in 1819 a monthly feature, 'Charity Sermons in Edinburgh', containing not only the name of their preachers but the amount of their collections.⁸²

However, some second generation Evangelicals eventually began to have misgivings of their own about the popularity of societies. In December 1822 the *Instructor* contained an article criticising religious public meetings for becoming too human-centred. The author, an avowed supporter of Bible and missionary societies, offered a stinging description of a typical meeting, including this comment about the attitude of most of its newest supporters: 'the hall is generally filled with well-dressed youths of both sexes, in most of whose faces may easily be portrayed[sic] the

80. *Religious Monitor* 11 (Feb. 1813):47.

81. See 'On the Danger of Confounding an Outward Reformation with Regeneration', *Religious Monitor* 11 (Feb. 1813):53ff and 'The Success of the Gospel Dependent on God', vol. 11 (Mar. 1813):94ff.

82. Perhaps not coincidentally, when this feature first appeared, the sermons with the two highest collections were by Andrew Thomson, the editor of the *Instructor*. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 18 (Jan. 1819):79.

secret importance they feel in being members of a society so attractive.' He argued that the fashionable character of societies undermined the spiritual aims they were intended to promote, denying that the end of arousing interest in religious activities justified such dubious means:

[That they arouse interest] I do not doubt, for it is just that of which I complain. It excites interest, but then both interest and exertion centre *in self*. This noisy, turbulent, and ostentatious mode of exciting interest is not Christian, it is not evangelical... If additional interest, and some trifling additional revenue, is obtained by these unhallowed means, such interest is not worth the having.⁸³

A letter to the editor responding to this article appeared in February 1823, indicating that not all second generation Evangelicals were dissatisfied with how societies were handling their meetings. Its author dispensed with theoretical arguments, ultimately seeming to have been convinced of the legitimacy of public meetings simply because they worked. He baldly asserted: 'He [the author of the December article] thinks their meetings recur too frequently; but I have reason to believe that they who are most regular in their observance are most successful in their efforts.'⁸⁴ Whether the majority of second generation Evangelicals agreed with these sentiments or with the earlier criticisms is uncertain. However, this debate does suggest that utilitarian tendencies were more prevalent among their ranks than among those of their older counterparts, perhaps because this generation was maturing at a time when urban, business values were replacing rural, traditional values.

A business model seems to have led Evangelicals to adapt the society approach, so successful for Bible distribution, for other causes. Instead of forming one large national society to fulfill many different functions, they developed specialised societies usually concentrating upon one task,

83. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 21 (Dec. 1822):798f.

84. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 22 (Feb. 1823):105.

believing that the division of labour made this strategy more efficient.⁸⁵ Most of these groups were evangelistic, though organisations orientated towards improving the spiritual life of the Church were discussed. In 1814 a correspondent to the *Instructor* submitted to its readers detailed plans of a society to distribute to all the ministers in Scotland books related to pastoral care in hopes of 'promoting the revival of personal religion, and of ministerial zeal among the clergy of this country.'⁸⁶ A decade later the Glasgow Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement was formed to encourage prayer, Bible reading, and religious conversation among its members.⁸⁷ However, on the whole, Evangelicals relied upon traditional pastoral practices to encourage awakening in their congregations, though they placed great emphasis on involvement in evangelistic-orientated societies as an indirect means of deepening piety.

The success of the auxiliary system of the Bible societies encouraged many established missionary societies to develop a similar approach to their organisational structure. New auxiliaries were formed throughout Scotland in connection with the LMS, the EMS, and the GMS. New societies targeting specific groups for evangelism continued to spring up, generating their own auxiliary systems. The pattern of London-based societies acquiring strong support in Scotland, begun by the LMS and the B&FBS, continued with groups like the Hibernian Society, which carried out evangelistic work in Ireland, and especially the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews.

 85. Thomas Chalmers, *The Two Great Instruments Appointed for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Duty of the Christian Public to Keep them Both in Vigorous Operation: A Sermon Preached before the Dundee Missionary Society, 26 October 1812*, 3rd ed. (Edinburgh: A. Balfour, 1814), p. 14.

86. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 9 (Aug. 1814):77.

87. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 23 (May 1824):354f.

Evangelicals used societies to promote not only evangelism but also social morality. They did not draw a precise line between these issues. On the one hand, because they believed that ignorance and irreligion ultimately caused most social problems, they considered groups devoted to evangelism and religious education to be effective forms of social action.⁸⁸ On the other hand, they often attempted to proselytise those who received the aid of organised efforts to meet temporal needs. Two of these organisations formed in Edinburgh between 1809 and 1824 were the African and Asiatic Society, designed to educate and to provide subsistence for all those of African and Asian descent living in the city,⁸⁹ and the Society for Clothing the Industrious Poor.⁹⁰ During this same period, Evangelicals in Glasgow, most notably Stevenson Macgill, minister of the Tron Church until 1814 when he became Professor of Divinity, developed a wide variety of societies and institutions related to social concerns, including the Society for Promoting the Education of the Deaf and Dumb (1814),⁹¹ the Bridewell Association for the Moral and Religious Improvement of Male Prisoners (1820),⁹² and the Seaman's Friend Society (1822).⁹³ Evangelicals in both Edinburgh and Glasgow also participated in

 88. Society participation itself even worked indirectly to combat poverty as it encouraged piety and economic self-reliance, according to Thomas Chalmers in *The Influence of Bible Societies on the Temporal Necessities of the Poor*; see the positive review of this work, *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 8 (Feb. 1814):126ff.

89. William and Robert Paul, members of a well known Evangelical banking family in Edinburgh, served as office-bearers to this society, *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 2 (Jan. 1811):72-74.

90. John Tawse, an Evangelical layman and treasurer of the EMS, served on its board; *Religious Monitor* 13 (Feb. 1815):76ff.

91. John Burns and Robert Balfour, leaders of Glasgow's Bible and missionary societies, served on the board of this organisation with Macgill, *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 9 (Aug. 1814):119.

92. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 20 (May 1821):314ff.

93. This group was designed to meet the spiritual and temporal needs of sailors when they were in the city, distributing Bibles and tracts among them as well as providing safe, inexpensive boarding houses (*Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 21 [June 1822]:400ff).

For a more extensive discussion of Macgill's social involvement see Mechie, *The Church and Scottish Social Development*, pp. 40-46; for his commitment to traditional Evangelical concerns such as education in the Highlands, foreign missions, and proselytism among Jews, see Robert Burns,

groups working for major structural changes in British policy such as the Anti-Slavery Society⁹⁴ and the Glasgow Peace Society.⁹⁵

The proliferation of new types of societies between 1809 and 1824 led to the spontaneous formation of 'umbrella' auxiliaries in many places. These functioned like ordinary auxiliaries except that they were attached to more than one national society, distributing a portion of their funds for several different purposes, usually Bible distribution, foreign missions, education in the Highlands and Ireland, and proselytism among Jews. The obvious advantage of this approach was that it enabled people to support more than one national society without paying more than one membership fee or having to attend more than one meeting. The more groups that a single auxiliary supported the more this advantage multiplied.

Umbrella auxiliaries had the additional benefit of consolidating the administrative responsibilities involved in auxiliary work, particularly the primary functions of raising funds and doing publicity, tasks that a single set of office-bearers easily could oversee. This organisational structure enabled small areas such as an urban neighbourhood, a small town, or a rural village to become connected to several national societies even though they lacked enough leaders and members to support several separate auxiliaries. For example, a group of only about 18 men organised themselves into the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home and Abroad in Bannockburn, which, beginning around 1814 and continuing through 1820,

Memoir of the Rev. Stevenson Macgill, D.D. (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1842), pp. 54ff.

94. For example, Henry Moncreiff Wellwood, minister of St. Cuthbert's and the leader of the Evangelical Party; John Campbell, secretary of the SSPCK; and Andrew Thomson were on its supervising committee, *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 9 (July 1814):51ff.

95. Chaired by John Burns, minister of the Barony Church and a leader of the GMS and the GABS; its secretary was William Collins, the publisher and one of Chalmers's 'boy elders' at St. John's; *Religious Monitor* 17 (May 1819):170ff.

if not longer, contributed to the LMS, the Hibernian Society, and other organisations.⁹⁶

The creation of umbrella auxiliaries reflected the unity and breadth of Evangelical interests. Individuals who supported a society addressing one issue usually were interested in supporting additional groups working in other areas. Instead of these same individuals meeting over and over again for each separate society, they met once, sharing information about several different groups and combining their funds to support a range of activities basically designed to revitalise the Church, to evangelise, and to address social problems. This process also helped to broaden the vision of individuals who initially were attracted to Evangelicalism through Bible societies, exposing them to a variety of means of achieving the same overall goal.

Many umbrella auxiliaries were organised along parish lines, often by parish ministers. While most of these were small affairs, a few attained high levels of sophistication, even printing their own annual reports. One such group was the Calton and Bridgeton Association for Religious Purposes [CBARP], the reports of which reveal how this type of auxiliary organisation encouraged the growth of Evangelicalism within a parish.⁹⁷ The local Established clergy, Matthew Graham of Calton Chapel-of-Ease and John Burns of the Barony, took a leading role in the formation of this group in January 1815, going on to serve as vice-presidents. They were

 96. Several manuscripts related to the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home and Abroad have survived in the Collection of William Wilson and Son, Clothmakers, Bannockburn in the NLS. See MS 9676.f.104; MS 9677.f.79 (a letter suggesting the formation of a 'Ladies Auxiliary') and f.80; MS 9682 (the society's cashbook 1814-1820).

97. Calton and Bridgeton were not officially parishes, but they did form a self-contained neighbourhood within Glasgow's Barony parish that functioned as a de facto parish with its own Church of Scotland chapel-of-ease in Calton.

assisted by Church of Scotland laymen⁹⁸ and by the ministers of the neighbourhood's two Relief churches.

The Bible society movement inspired the founders of the CBARP, who wanted to raise funds first to supply their local area with Bibles, and then with the left over money, to support the B&FBS, 'the Missionary Societies, and other Institutions, having for their object the circulation of the Scriptures, and the extension of Christianity'.⁹⁹ During its first four years the CBARP made contributions to a dozen different organisations, giving the most money to the B&FBS, the Moravians, the Gaelic Schools Society, the EMS, the Hibernian School Society, and the Baptist Missionary Society. Its reports took care to emphasise the unity of purpose shared among all these groups, 'which, though pursuing different means, are directing their benevolent energies to the accomplishment of the same important design'.¹⁰⁰ This design was not only to proselytise abroad, but indirectly to encourage awakening at home:

The influence of Christian Societies, and of active exertions, to communicate the Gospel to Heathen countries, are great means for promoting vital Christianity in our own minds, as well as reviving and extending genuine religion in our neighbourhood.¹⁰¹

The CBARP seems to have had a significant impact upon its own urban neighbourhood,¹⁰² attracting supporters from a variety of backgrounds. Although many of its directors were middle-class professionals and businessmen, it depended heavily upon working-class contributions. The authors of the CBARP's first report related that they were surprised that

98. The CBARP's secretary was a 'William Collins', perhaps the publisher and friend of Thomas Chalmers of that name.

99. *CBARP Report for 1816*, p. v. All references related to the CBARP have been drawn from its annual reports 1816-1819 in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

100. *CBARP Report for 1816*, p. 5.

101. *CBARP Report for 1818*, pp. 111-112.

102. See Appendix 2.5.

some poor districts raised large amounts of funds, while 'from the possessors of property,..., that extensive and liberal support has not been received, which,..., might naturally have been expected'.¹⁰³

Workers at a number of 'public Works' also made monthly contributions, with the largest amount given in 1816 being £20 from a local brewery whose owner also was the president of the CBARP.¹⁰⁴ The CBARP report recommended that other owners follow his example, arguing that participation in a Bible association would offset the immoral and irreligious tendencies inherent in factory life. *It expanded this argument to include all the poor, claiming that the comprehensive design of the CBARP improved their self-image and their piety:*

In its wide amplitude it embraces the mighty range of operations, whose simultaneous movements converge their energies to the accomplishment of one grand design... It must form an interesting and delightful consideration to the poorest of our subscribers to reflect, that his penny is divided among so many excellent Societies, and that, through the medium of this Association, he discharges his duty to them all... Their connection with, and lively interest in, these Societies,... have an unquestionable tendency to increase the influence of vital religion in their own hearts... By diffusing a principle of active benevolence, and awakening a virtuous sympathy for these sacred enterprises, the Gospel will work its silent, but effectual and renovating way, among the inhabitants.¹⁰⁵

Whether or not the CBARP fulfilled these claims is unknown, but its dependence upon working-class contributions, especially through public works became evident in the following year, as the depression following the end of the Napoleonic Wars cut deeply into its revenues.¹⁰⁶

103. *CBARP Report for 1816*, p. 7.

104. *CBARP Report for 1816*, p. 12.

105. *CBARP Report for 1816*, pp. 130-131.

106. See Appendix 2.5 and *CBARP Report for 1817*, pp. 1-2, 5f; note that only five firms out of the ten that took collections from their workers in 1816 continued to do so. Prof. Smout described the decline in 1816 along with those that followed soon after in 1819 and 1826 as 'some of the worst depressions of the nineteenth century', having particularly disastrous consequences for the urban industrial labour force, *History of the Scottish People*, p. 375.

Despite these economic hardships, the CBARP survived, in part because of the steady support of its women contributors.¹⁰⁷ The core of this support came from the Clyde Street Female Society, a group that antedated the CBARP. It was the first local organisation to assist 'the glorious work of disseminating Christianity' and seems to have functioned as an unofficial women's auxiliary of the CBARP.¹⁰⁸

The youth of the community soon enjoyed their own official auxiliary, growing out of an existing penny-a-week Bible society developed by a small group of local youth a year and a half earlier. With the foundation of the CBARP, this group dissolved itself and its members began to contribute to the association's general funds. However, about eight months later, the directors of the CBARP convinced its former leaders to organise a full-fledged youth auxiliary with its own separate administrative structure. Although the directors hoped that this step would increase the revenues of the parent society, they were most interested in the indirect benefits that exposure to 'the interesting concerns of religion' might have upon 'the minds of those who are rising towards manhood', perhaps bringing them 'into contact with that Inspired Volume by which they may attain a saving knowledge of Christ,...which,...will shield them from the contaminating influence of worldly intercourse'.¹⁰⁹ To help ensure that the youth auxiliary produced these salutary effects, a pair of Evangelical probationers served as two of its chief office-bearers, providing them with valuable society leadership opportunities at the beginning of their ministries and building closer ties between the Kirk and young people.

A source of the CBARP's popularity among a large cross-section of the community was its intensive organisation of this area into districts,

107. See Appendix 2.5.

108. *CBARP Report for 1816*, p. 10.

109. *CBARP Report for 1816*, pp. 9-10.

originally fifteen.¹¹⁰ In 1818, when it took over responsibility for the schools of the Calton and Bridgeton Sabbath School Society [CBSSS], the CBARP augmented its organisational structure. The number of districts was increased to sixteen, each with a committee of at least six members responsible for it. Each committee member oversaw a subdivision of a district, collecting subscriptions, distributing Bibles as needed, and visiting families connected with the district Sabbath, adult, or charity school.¹¹¹ The CBARP set high standards for these volunteer lay directors not only in terms of their weekly duties and monthly meetings, but in terms of their character. The concluding observations about fulfilling this office in the CBARP report for 1818 sounded remarkably similar to those made about ministers, taking special care to assert that public activity was no substitute for personal piety.¹¹²

In effect, the CBARP created a new class of layman whose involvement in ministry and Christian commitment almost paralleled that of a minister, raising the expectations for committed lay behaviour beyond simply attending worship regularly or even serving as an elder. This development affected the nature of the eldership, making it more outward-looking than it had been previously. The elders of Calton Chapel-of-Ease assisted the directors of the CBARP in making a statistical account of every family in the community to determine how many lacked church accommodation, the ability to read, and religious instruction.¹¹³ These elders were actively seeking to meet the religious needs of the unchurched in their parish instead of only passively exercising discipline. By implication they were

110. *CBARP Report for 1816*, p. 5

111. *CBARP Report for 1818*, p. 14. Most district committees had more than the minimum of six members; a total of 152 individuals were involved in 1818.

112. *CBARP Report for 1818*, pp. 111ff. Cf. Stevenson Macgill, *Letters to A Young Clergyman*, 2nd ed. (Glasgow: John Smith & Son, 1820).

113. *CBARP Report for 1818*, p. 3.

acknowledging, perhaps only subconsciously, that they no longer lived in a Christian society and that the Church of Scotland had to respond aggressively to combat irreligion and immorality if she was to retain her national influence.

The timing of the reorganisation of the CBARP suggests that the rise of second generation Kirk Evangelicals fostered the growth of an active laity.¹¹⁴ Its absorption of the older CBSSS marked the transfer of power from the first generation to the second. The CBSSS, organised in 1797 during the first wave of society activity, was declining by 1818, mainly because many of its founders had become too old to continue their involvement.¹¹⁵ Infused with new, younger leaders and teachers, some of whom had been pupils themselves, the former CBSSS Sabbath schools quickly revived, and new ones, adult literacy classes, and charity schools were started.¹¹⁶

The growth of the CBARP from primarily a collection agency for other societies into an instrument that also was directly involved in local ministry reflected the primary interest that second generation Evangelicals had in doing something to respond to the religious needs of their own communities. The main clerical leader of the CBARP, Matthew Graham, encour-

 114. Second generation Evangelicals tended to be more open to lay ministry than their predecessors. Some first generation Evangelicals were highly sensitive to lay society activity usurping any of the traditional functions of the parish minister. The reviewer of *The Family Visitor, or the Supposed Address of a Member of a Bible Association, on a Domiciliary Visit to Promote the Objects which such Institutions Have in View*, a pamphlet designed to help lay Bible society district visitors share the outlines of Christianity during their rounds, commented: 'Had the instructions contained in this useful tract, been offered as a specimen of the Pastoral Visitation of Families enjoined by the Church of Scotland, ... this introduction would have accorded better with the title, as well as the substance of the work.' *Religious Monitor* 13 (Nov. 1815):421. In contrast, many second generation Evangelicals, most notably Thomas Chalmers, imitated the methods of voluntary societies in their parishes to encourage increased lay activity.

115. *CBARP Report for 1818*, p. 6ff.

116. *CBARP Report for 1818*, p. 12. The CBARP later coordinated free weekday evening schools for workers of several cooperating factories (*CBARP Report for 1819*, pp. 9ff).

aged the kind of lay activism embodied in a voluntary society to meet these needs in his area. His example possibly influenced a new colleague, only four years his junior, Thomas Chalmers, who had begun his ministry at the Tron Kirk in July 1815.¹¹⁷ Chalmers made yearly contributions to the CBARP and preached at its annual meeting in 1816 and on behalf of its Sabbath schools in 1818. Perhaps his exposure to the CBARP suggested ways that he could adapt organisational techniques such as dividing a parish into districts, which he already had employed in Kilmany, to fit his new urban setting. At the very least, the CBARP anticipated the method of combining elements of the voluntary society with ordinary parish activities which the apparent success of Chalmers's experiments at the Tron and St. John's later made popular among second generation Evangelicals throughout the Church of Scotland.¹¹⁸

Religious voluntary society activity reached its zenith among Evangelicals in the mid-1820s. By 1823 societies had become so numerous that a society was formed in Edinburgh to help keep track of them all.¹¹⁹ They also had become the primary institutional expression of Evangelicalism throughout the Kirk. To be an Evangelical was to be a participant in missionary, Bible, and education societies.

Both urban and rural Evangelicals shared this basic approach. A letter to the editor of the *Instructor* in 1821 distinguished between the Evangelical and Moderate members of the Presbytery of Edinburgh in terms of their attitudes toward Bible and missionary societies. Reflecting a strongly activist bias, the letter's author criticised Moderates for keep-

 117. The CBARP had come into being about half a year earlier, *CBARP Report for 1816*, p. v.

118. For a discussion of Chalmers' organisation of the Tron and St. John's see S. J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, pp. 101ff and 135ff.

119. The Edinburgh Society for Philanthropic Reports and Religious Magazines, of which David Dickson, minister of St. Cuthbert's, was a director (*Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 22 [Aug. 1823]:551).

ing their distance from these institutions because they could not approve of all their activities, asking why they did not form their own societies or do something else to combat irreligion and immorality.¹²⁰

A similar criticism was levelled at Moderates in Argyllshire by an anonymous 'Lay Member of the Established Church'. In a pamphlet responding to a speech before the 1824 General Assembly, he compared them with the ministers of Ross-shire, basing almost his whole argument, not upon an examination either of their respective theologies or of their positions on patronage, but upon their participation in societies. In the first chapter he laid down an 'axiom on which the reasoning of this and other Chapters is partly founded':

It may be laid down as a self-evident truth, 'that in this age of benevolent and Christian enterprise, wherever ministers are fully *convinced of the vital importance* of the Christianity of the Bible, they will exert themselves more or less towards furthering its progress, both at home and abroad.' But what have the Argyllshire clergy done towards the interests of Christianity at home or abroad? What have they done in behalf of Education, Missionary, or Bible Societies?¹²¹

Thus, the main fault of the Argyllshire Moderates was attributed not to any lack of orthodoxy, but to their failure to convert their orthodoxy into practical action. This fault had only one remedy: 'It would seem as if nothing less than the mandate of the General Assembly...is sufficiently powerful to set them in motion in the cause of Christian patriotism and

120. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 20 (Mar. 1821):177ff.

121. 'A Lay Member of the Established Church', *An Account of the Present State of Religion Throughout the Highlands of Scotland; in which the Comparison Instituted between the Clergy of the 'Western Districts' and those of 'Ross-shire' in a Speech before the General Assembly in 1824, is Examined, and the True Merits of Both Parties Exhibited* (Edinburgh: A. Balfour & Co., 1827), p. 10. In contrast, as a consequence of the efforts of the clergy of the Synod of Ross and the Presbytery of Inverness 'numerous societies for religious and benevolent purposes have of late years sprung up among them' (p. 12).

philanthropy'.¹²² While the author of the pamphlet was jesting, this comment proved to be prophetic, pointing ahead to the powerful impact that the decision of the 1824 Assembly to form committees on education and foreign missions had not only upon Moderates, but upon Evangelicals as well, during the next two decades.

122. *Account of the State of Religion Throughout the Highlands*, p. 11.

CHAPTER 6

THE THIRD AND FOURTH WAVES

The Third Wave--1824-1838: General Assembly Committees & Church of Scotland Related Societies

Between 1824 and 1838 a third wave of voluntary society-inspired activity swept over the Church of Scotland. Unlike the two previous waves, this one was not primarily the result of the development of some new type of organisation such as the missionary or Bible society. Rather, during this period the activist approach to ministry of voluntary societies and their organisational methodology were increasingly applied to the official structures of the Kirk.

A group of Moderates led the way in this process, later assisted by second and especially by third generation Evangelicals. These Moderates attempted to integrate elements of society activity into the General Assembly through the creation of committees specialising in meeting the religious needs of India and the Highlands. Their initiatives marked the spread of Evangelical ideas and practice beyond the limits of the Evangelical Party. During the decade following the formation of these committees, Evangelicals grew disillusioned with voluntary societies after their involvement in several bitter conflicts within pan-British and pan-Scottish evangelicalism. They came to distrust institutions not directly under ecclesiastical authority and began to concentrate more narrowly upon

the Kirk. As a result, they took new interest in the Moderate-inspired Assembly schemes and also began using voluntary societies as instruments with which to influence policy within the Church of Scotland.

In 1824 the General Assembly received twenty overtures related either to foreign missions or to education in the Highlands, despite having received only one similar overture at all (in 1822) since the two overtures of 1796 on foreign missions.¹ Unlike in 1796, most of the new overtures originated in Moderate circles, and two leading Moderates, John Inglis and George Baird, chaired the committees of the Assembly which eventually resulted from these overtures. This surprising development raises two related questions. Why were Moderates the driving force behind the organisation of the first Assembly committees on overseas missions and Highland education, and why did they act in 1824?

In part, the growth of Moderate interest in promoting evangelistic activities paralleled a general upswing in missions awareness in Scotland during the early 1820s. The progress of the Bible society movement at home encouraged its participants to expect similar advances abroad. In addition, missionary societies themselves were finally beginning to see some successes in the field at about this time, most notably those of the LMS in the South Pacific. Partly as a response to this success, Scottish missionary societies renewed their own efforts. The GMS sent out its first missionary since 1802 to Kaffraria in South Africa in 1821. In 1822 a group of missionaries from the SMS began work in India, including Donald Mitchell, the first minister ordained within the Church of Scotland as a missionary.² The SMS undergirded their new thrust abroad with increased organisation at home, encouraging the formation of new auxiliaries and

 1. Chambers, 'Mission and Party in the Church of Scotland,' pp. 10-12.

2. Weir, *Foreign Missions of the Church of Scotland*, pp. 24ff.

involving many Established clergy in their work by making them 'country directors'.³

Many Moderates viewed the growth of interest in foreign missions at this time with a combination of approval and alarm. Some of them had grown more sympathetic towards missions since 1796, most notably John Inglis of Edinburgh⁴ and James Bryce, a former Church of Scotland chaplain in Calcutta.⁵ However, while they had come to affirm the importance of proselytism overseas, they still could not accept voluntary societies as a suitable means to achieve this end. Their foundational commitment to the Establishment prevented them from ever being totally comfortable with working with Dissenters as equals in existing missionary societies, especially since Moderates would be unlikely to be numerous enough to control these groups. Moreover, Moderate supporters of missions also were uncomfortable with existing missionary methodology. They strongly emphasised the importance of general education in the native community as a precursor to conversion, believing that preaching alone was insufficient.⁶

 3. For example, see the list in the SMS minutes, 20 June 1826, NLS, DEP 298 (200), p. 153.

4. See his SSPCK sermon for 1818, *The Grounds of Christian Hope in the Universal Prevalance of the Gospel*, which Friedhelm Voges cites as implicitly acknowledging the limitations of Moderate thinking, 'Moderate and Evangelical Thinking in the later Eighteenth Century: Differences and Shared Attitudes,' *RSCHS* 22 (1986):144-145.

5. The passage of the missionary clauses to the charter of the East India Company by Parliament in 1813 increased the respectability of overseas missions, making the Christianisation of India seem a rightful duty of the established churches of Britain to many Moderates. Roxborough, 'Thomas Chalmers and the Mission of the Church', pp. 289, 312-313.

6. Missionary society participants from the Kirk did not differ greatly from these Moderates over methodology. Although Evangelicals believed that preaching apart from education could produce positive results, in general they too preferred to precede proclamation with education. John Love produced a weighty tome of natural theology for the first LMS missionaries to give to the inhabitants of Tahiti in order to prepare them to accept the gospel. The most significant methodological difference between Evangelicals and Moderates interested in missions at this time was the latter's unwillingness to cooperate with Dissenters in this effort. Evangelicals held their evangelistic concern in tension with their commitment to the Establishment, while Moderates consistently gave priority to the latter.

Thus, by the mid-1820s missions had created two related problems for Moderate leaders. Firstly, they had no suitable means with which to express their own missionary concern, and secondly, as a result, missionary support from the Church of Scotland was tending to go to societies by default. The second of these problems was one with obvious substance. In July 1824, the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy, acknowledging that 'missions to the Heathen are of great importance, and when properly conducted, deserve the support of all Christian communities', unanimously approved a collection on behalf of the SMS.⁷ Moderate leaders had imbibed enough of the activist spirit of their day to recognize that they had to do something about missions to resolve these problems, so they did what they knew how to do best. As consummate ecclesiastical politicians they worked through the courts of the church, passing overtures to the General Assembly and establishing special committees to oversee evangelism at home and abroad. Their control of the Assembly seemed to assure that the resulting missionary program would embody their methodology and remain under their authority. Their response changed the character of the Assembly, shifting it from being almost exclusively a court of law to being a vehicle for evangelistic activity.

Significantly, the impetus to form the Assembly committees came primarily from Edinburgh Moderates, whose position incurred opposition from some of their rural and more reactionary colleagues.⁸ Their greater openness to missions may have resulted from the indirect influence of their Evangelical counterparts in the Presbytery of Edinburgh. 'This city

7. 7 July 1824, Minutes of the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy, SRO CH2/224/10, p. 335.

8. Specifically John Hope and Francis Nicoll according to Maciver, 'The General Assembly, the State, and Society,' pp. 15-17; see also Chambers, 'Mission and Party in the Church of Scotland', pp. 10-11, 90-92, 260.

so teem[ed] with societies'⁹ organised by local Evangelicals that eventually some Moderates became involved and gained an appreciation for their spiritual aims and for their activist organisational techniques. Many of the Moderate leaders of the Assembly committees participated in various Edinburgh voluntary societies. In 1811 George Baird, the first chairman of the Education Committee, served on the board of a society seeking to organise a Gaelic chapel in Edinburgh with David Dickson Jr., a strong Evangelical.¹⁰ Alexander Brunton, who chaired both the Church Extension and the Foreign Missions Committees, took a leading role in several societies, including both the EBS and the SMS.¹¹ A chairman of the Colonial Committee, John Lee, also participated in the SMS and EBS, writing a learned legal treatise in 1824 to defend the right of the EBS to import Bibles from England.¹²

The reaction of Evangelicals to the Assembly committees seems as surprising as their Moderate origins. Some expressed reservations about the overtures to the 1824 Assembly, and many were apathetic about the schemes, especially the foreign missions committee, once they were launched. The explanation for their puzzling response is that most Evangelicals were satisfied with how existing societies were carrying out foreign missions. They saw no need for the Assembly to become involved in missions, especially since such involvement might divert funds away from the voluntary societies they had supported for so long.

 9. Letter from Spencer Rodney Drummond to Thomas Chalmers, 14 July 1819, Chalmers Correspondence, StAUL, MS 30835, 268.4.

10. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 2 (Feb. 1811):141-3.

11. Brunton was a director of the EBS from 1821 through 1824 (EBS Reports), and gave the opening prayer at the 1825 annual meeting of the SMS (SMS Minutes, 31 May 1825, NLS, DEP 298 [200], p. 64).

12. Lee also served as a director of the EBS from 1822 through 1825 (EBS Reports). He led the monthly prayer meeting of the SMS at least once, if not more often (Minutes of the SMS, 21 Sep. 1824, NLS, DEP 298 [200], p. 10).

The course of the overture from the Synod of Aberdeen to the 1824 Assembly reveals that Evangelicals had just cause for suspecting Moderate intentions. This overture was developed by a committee formed the previous year when the synod resolved to end its annual collection on behalf of the B&FBS, first taken up in 1809, and to consider 'what better means may be devised for the propagation of the gospel'.¹³ Eight members of the synod, including two who had coordinated the B&FBS collection from its inception, formally registered their dissent against this decision.

The text of the overture *may also have contributed to the uneasiness* of the Evangelical supporters of missionary societies. Although it mentioned that this overture was a response to the growth since 1796 of 'an ardent zeal among the great body of the people to promote the religious instruction of those who at present do not enjoy the divine light of the Gospel',¹⁴ a zeal largely created through the spread of local missionary and Bible societies, it largely rejected the voluntary approach to finance and organisation of these new groups. Harkening back to the model of the SSPCK, it recommended that collections for the Assembly scheme be invested, with only the interest going towards the support of missionaries, and that the Assembly seek to obtain a royal charter to secure the respectability of its missionary scheme.

Although the eventual resolution on missions debated by the General Assembly in 1824 was not as conservative as the Aberdeen overture, Evangelicals still expressed several concerns about the Assembly becoming involved in missions. Henry Duncan, minister of Ruthwell, spoke against the assertion made by Inglis that education necessarily had to precede Christianity, arguing that the success of the LMS in the South Seas proved

 13. 14 Oct. 1823, Minutes of the Synod of Aberdeen, SRO, CH2/840/13, p. 72.

14. 13 Apr. 1824, Minutes of the Synod of Aberdeen, SRO CH2/840/13, p. 77.

that preaching alone could be equally successful.¹⁵ James Foote, minister of Logie-Pert, expressed concern that the Assembly venture 'would not be deemed a rival institution to any society already established'.¹⁶ Despite these reservations, Evangelicals in the Assembly joined their Moderate counterparts in unanimously passing resolutions giving general approval of foreign missions and setting up a committee to develop a specific plan for accomplishing this purpose.

However, Evangelicals showed little enthusiasm for the Assembly Foreign Missions Committee for which they had voted. The *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* gave more favourable coverage to the new Education Committee, ironically arguing that an established church, unlike voluntary societies, needed to take care of religious needs at home before looking abroad.¹⁷

In 1824 such Evangelical apathy toward a Moderate-inspired missions scheme controlled by the General Assembly was understandable in light of the success of the LMS and the new venture of the SMS in India. Why should they become excited about the Assembly's novel plan when the old society approach that they had doggedly supported through the lean years since 1796 was just beginning to bear fruit?

Moreover, in 1824 the General Assembly, when compared to societies was not an attractive vehicle for ministry to the Evangelicals. Whereas they had acquired considerable influence on the boards of many societies, Moderates still controlled the Assembly. Perhaps as a result, it also tended to be an unwieldy and relatively unresponsive body compared to most

 15. The text of this speech is given in full in the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 23 (July 1824):484-7. Interestingly, Alexander Brunton, Inglis's Moderate successor as chair of this committee, also spoke against Inglis's strong emphasis upon the need for civilisation to precede the gospel, perhaps reflecting his exposure to Evangelical thinking through his involvement in the EBS and SMS.

16. Quoted in Chambers, 'Mission and Party in the Church of Scotland', p. 19 from a report in the *Observer* 29 May 1824.

17. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 23 (July 1824):450-1.

societies. A committee formed by the Assembly in 1819 to promote religious instruction in prisons had already revealed the practical limitations of this approach. For years after its formation, the Assembly did little more about this issue than annually have the Moderator thank its Evangelical chairman, Stevenson Macgill, for his diligence.¹⁸ The Foreign Mission Committee got off to an equally unpromising start, taking five years to send one missionary to India compared to the half dozen or so that the SMS had sent out by that time.¹⁹

During its first few years, the Assembly's scheme did not function like a true denominational mission, commanding little of the overarching support from the Kirk that it eventually achieved by 1840. It seemed merely to be one of several bodies in Scotland that were sending out missionaries. Thus, Evangelicals felt free to support missionary societies as well as or instead of it. One of their number, David Dickson Jr., was even a member of both the Assembly committee and the board of the SMS at the same time. However, Evangelical apathy toward the Assembly's scheme was shortlived. During the decade after its institution, Evangelicals participated in two conflicts involving voluntary societies, the Apocrypha Controversy and the Voluntary Controversy, that made the Assembly approach an increasingly attractive alternative.

The Apocrypha Controversy disillusioned Kirk Evangelicals with the larger pan-British evangelical movement. This controversy was occasioned by the inclusion of the Apocrypha in many of the Bibles distributed by Continental Bible societies supported by the B&FBS. As Scottish Bible societies, particularly the EBS, learned of this practice, they expressed

 18. Mechie, *The Church and Scottish Social Development*, pp. 44f.

19. Four of the SMS missionaries were from the Church of Scotland: Donald Mitchell, John Cooper, John Stevenson, and John Wilson (Piggin, *Making of Evangelical Missionaries*, p. 279).

their alarm to the B&FBS. Its response failed to satisfy the EBS, which severed all its connections with the London-based society by the summer of 1826.²⁰

Following their leader Andrew Thomson, most Evangelicals sided with the EBS in its feud with the B&FBS and any other societies that maintained any connection with it. Consequently, they became alienated from English evangelicals, both those from the Establishment and Dissenters, most of whom continued to support the B&FBS. They also became alienated from fellow Scottish evangelicals, mainly Episcopalians, Baptists, and Independents who had close ties with similar groups in England, but also many from the United Secession Church.²¹ The Apocrypha Controversy even caused divisions within the Scottish Establishment as a few prominent Evangelicals such as Henry Grey, minister of St. Mary's, Edinburgh and a former secretary of the EBS, refused to abandon the B&FBS. As a result of these divisions, the majority of Kirk Evangelicals lost contact with the wider evangelical world and increasingly began to concentrate upon issues within the Church of Scotland.

The Apocrypha Controversy also disillusioned Evangelicals with the society approach to ministry in general. As the largest and most prestigious of all societies, the B&FBS held a special position, serving as the lynchpin holding together a network of organisations spread throughout Britain. The simplicity of its fundamental principle, circulating the Scriptures without note or comment, had seemed to make it immune from the divisions that haunted other groups, ensuring the security of this network. Many Evangelicals had appealed to its seemingly unas-

 20. For a more extensive discussion of the intricacies of the Apocrypha Controversy and its effects upon the B&FBS see Roger H. Martin, *Evangelicals United: Ecumenical Stirrings in Pre-Victorian Britain, 1795-1830* (Metuchen, N.J. and London: The Scarecrow Press, 1983), pp. 123-131.

21. Martin, *Evangelicals United*, p. 130.

sailable respectability to convince their traditionalist colleagues to become involved in societies. Thus, an extreme sense of disappointment and betrayal partly contributed to the bitterness of their feud with the B&FBS. Moreover, the perceived failure of this lynchpin cast a veil of uncertainty over all other organisations, especially those based in London or those not firmly under Evangelical control.

Despite their disillusionment, Evangelicals did not totally abandon the society approach after the Apocrypha Controversy. They did not dissolve the EBS, but simply ended its connection with the B&FBS, a tie that had never been very strong in the first place. Most Scottish Bible societies transferred their support to the EBS, which sought to reproduce the collection and distribution system of the B&FBS both at home and on the Continent. While at first the EBS claimed that it was doing nothing to encourage former B&FBS auxiliaries to unite with it,²² its new secretary, Andrew Thomson, later campaigned for the EBS throughout Scotland, visiting, for example, Bible societies in Dundee in 1828 and Cupar in 1830.²³ This process was an important precursor to the Free Church, showing Evangelicals that they could set up their own alternative national religious organisation if they were dissatisfied with distant London authorities. In the short term, the Apocrypha Controversy even seems to have reinvigorated the Bible society movement in Scotland, as a spirit of competition between the EBS and the B&FBS stimulated the formation of new auxiliaries.

Nonetheless, though the Apocrypha Controversy enabled Evangelicals to increase their control over many Scottish Bible societies, they no longer

 22. 9 July 1827, Annual Meeting, EBS Minutes, vol. 3 (1824-29), pp. 140ff.

23. 29 Aug. 1828, Minutes of the Dundee Auxiliary Bible Society; James Laird, 'Religion and Life 1793-1865: A Study in the Social and Religious History within the Bounds of the Presbytery of Cupar' (St. Andrews University, Ph.D. Thesis, 1977), section III.C, p. 2.

seemed confident that societies were the best vehicles for ministry. They began identifying problems with the manner in which these groups functioned, questioning whether they brought more difficulties with them than benefits. An anonymous pamphlet entitled *The Character of Large Societies Brought to a Scriptural Test; or Strictures on the Principles of Missionary Operations* appeared in 1828. Its reviewer in the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* wholeheartedly agreed with its critique: 'There can be little doubt that missionary and other religious societies have been too much conducted at random. Sufficient attention has not been paid to the principles by which they ought to be regulated, nor sufficient care taken to follow out a uniform and avowed system of management.'²⁴

As this attitude spread among other Evangelicals, the centralised control of the General Assembly schemes must have seemed increasingly attractive. Competition from these schemes began to affect Evangelical support for Scottish societies around the time of the Apocrypha Controversy. In 1826 the SMS decided to defer its annual collection among Established churches in Edinburgh and Leith because the group's most important director from the Church of Scotland was concerned that it would undermine the Assembly-related collections being taken that year.²⁵

Following the Apocrypha Controversy, Evangelicals increasingly applied elements of a voluntary society approach to ministry to the Kirk itself. By late 1825 this perspective had so pervaded their thinking that one of their number argued for the legitimacy of the the Scottish Established Church by describing it as 'a most efficient Home Missionary Society'.²⁶ This description reveals how involvement in societies trans-

24. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 27 (Apr. 1828):283.

25. 21 Feb. 1826, SMS Minutes 1824-1834, NLS, DEP 298 (200), p. 146. David Dickson Jr., a secretary of the SMS, raised this objection when he indicated that he could not sign a circular calling for the SMS collection.

26. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 25 (Jan. 1826):13.

formed Evangelicals' conception of the Church and of Scottish society. They viewed Scotland as more of a mission field than a godly commonwealth, and the Establishment primarily as the means to provide the territorial coverage to spread heart-felt Christianity throughout the nation.

On a local level, Evangelicals worked out this new vision of the Establishment by organising umbrella auxiliaries similar to the CBARP but composed of members of their congregations, following the pattern of Thomas Chalmers at St. John's, Glasgow. They believed that these congregational auxiliaries would increase both the quality of congregational life and support for the work of societies. This mutually beneficial dynamic led the organisers of one of the earliest of these auxiliaries to express the hope that in the near future 'every congregation will look upon itself as in some measure a Missionary Society'.²⁷

This description reflected a shift in the attitudes of Evangelicals toward both congregations and societies. On the one hand, their vision for the congregation had broadened. No longer did it exist simply to provide for the religious needs of its own parish. Rather it was additionally responsible for helping to promote deeper spirituality, evangelism, and social morality throughout the nation and the world. On the other hand, their view of the role of societies had narrowed. Their early excitement about the interdenominational interaction that local societies encouraged seems to have waned, giving way to the priority of improving the vitality of their own congregations. They did not abandon the society approach altogether since congregational auxiliaries contributed to existing national interdenominational societies, but they did

 27. First Report of the Missionary Association for the Congregations of St Cuthbert's and Hope Park Chapels, signed by Robert Gordon and Patrick Clason, ministers, in *Scottish Missionary Register* 6 (May 1825):202.

begin to move away from the ideal of ecumenical cooperation embodied in the earlier phases of the society movement.

Other new society organisation during the mid to late 1820s accelerated this trend, producing groups which restricted their field of activity to the Establishment. Two societies arose which specialised in encouraging spiritual awakening and evangelism within the Church of Scotland itself, especially when it was perceived that the Kirk was not acting quickly enough to promote these aims. This strategy marked a new role for societies. They now were used to influence church-wide policy as well as being involved directly in ministry, probably imitating the growing success that political organisations were achieving in influencing government policy as the Reform movement gathered momentum.²⁸ This approach implicitly helped to prepare the way for the Disruption. If the Established Church was not able or willing to promote Evangelical spiritual interests they could always organise societies, and later congregations, outside it that would.

The first of these policy-influencing societies, the 'Society for Promoting the Religious Interests of the Scottish Settlers in British North America', better known as the Glasgow Colonial Society [GCS] was organised in 1824. Glasgow Evangelicals formed this voluntary association both to provide ministers for Scottish emigrants to Canada and to lobby the government on their behalf, partly in response to the ineffectiveness of a Moderate-led General Assembly committee, established four years earlier, in promoting these aims. However, these two groups were not antagonistic. They often worked together closely, especially once John Lee

28. For example, the urban commercial and industrial middle classes, from which Evangelicals drew many adherents, were involved in the campaign for burgh reform, Lenman, *Integration, Enlightenment, and Industrialization*, pp. 149-153.

assumed leadership of the Assembly committee.²⁹ Ministers sent out by the GCS to pastor congregations in Canada were ordained by presbyteries in the Church of Scotland.³⁰ Nonetheless, the GCS, as a voluntary society, had greater flexibility than the Assembly committee in some areas, as a contemporary commentator noted. The GCS could, in the words of one of its proponents:

...send forth preachers to itinerate in the provinces, without having any fixed charge. This conduct of the directors of the society savours of the noble spirit of olden times, which, unfettered by the cobwebs of ecclesiastical precedents, adapted itself, through a generous love of truth, to the exigencies of the times.³¹

The example of the GSC seems to have helped to blow away some of the cobwebs that earlier had seemed to clutter up the work of its predecessor, for in 1840 it merged with the Assembly committee.³²

Shortly after the formation of the GSC, Edinburgh Evangelicals formed their own society in an attempt to influence another dimension of Kirk policy. In December 1824 they launched the precisely titled 'Society for Improving the System of Church Patronage in Scotland by Purchasing Up Rights of Patronage, and Settling Them on the Heads of Families in Communion with the Church.'³³ Apart from its unusually long name, this new society modelled itself upon older Bible and missionary societies, even reproducing its own auxiliary system.³⁴ Many of its leaders, mainly

29. Chambers, 'Mission and Party in the Church of Scotland', pp. 95-100.

30. For example, the Presbytery of Glasgow ordained two GCS missionaries to Nova Scotia, *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 27 (July 1828):445ff.

31. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* New Series, 2 (Aug 1833):553.

32. R.F. Burns, *Robert Burns*, pp. 152ff.

33. The basic idea embodied in this title went back before the turn of the century. Charles Simeon had developed a society adopting this strategy in the Church of England, and a correspondent to the *Missionary Magazine* had suggested a similar idea in 1797 (2 [Apr. 1797]:158-160).

34. In its first eight years the Patronage Society generated 40 auxiliaries, Ross, 'Prelude to Conflict', pp. 393ff.

clergy and business and professional men, had extensive experience in the leadership of other societies.³⁵ They simply took the additional step of applying the society approach that had been so successful in other areas to ecclesiastical politics. Despite the organisation's political orientation, heightened after 1832 when it began working openly for the abolition of patronage under the new name of the Anti-Patronage Society [APS], its Evangelical leaders did not view it primarily as a political lobby, but as another means with which they could actively pursue their spiritual aims by helping to ensure that parishes throughout the Church of Scotland would be filled with ministers who would promote spiritual awakening and proselytism. As the primary modern historian of the APS has concluded: 'The society considered itself...a missionary endeavor within the general evangelical context. The directors called the organization "the great *Home Missionary Establishment*".'³⁶

The inward looking trend among Evangelicals, embodied in organisations like the GCS and the APS, intensified as the Apocrypha Controversy gave way to a new and even more virulent dispute concerning the legitimacy of Scotland having an established church. Sparked off by a United Secession minister's sermon in 1829 entitled *Ecclesiastical Establishments Considered*, the ensuing Voluntary Controversy reached its climax in the mid-1830s, by which time it had radically altered the approach of Church of Scotland Evangelicals to societies.³⁷ This controversy affected Evangelicals so deeply and aroused their outrage so highly because it exposed a

 35. Ross, 'Prelude to Conflict', pp. 232ff. Note especially the chart on p. 234 detailing the occupations of the office-bearers of the Patronage Society in 1824 and the other organisations of which they were also office-bearers.

36. Ross, 'Prelude to Conflict,' pp. 281-282.

37. For a more extensive discussion of the Voluntary Controversy see Alfred B. Montgomery Jr., 'The Voluntary Controversy in the Church of Scotland, 1829-1843: With Particular Reference to its Practical and Theological Roots' (Edinburgh University, Ph.D. Thesis, 1953).

fundamental tension within Evangelicalism in the Kirk. It brought into conflict their basic commitments to pursuing their ministry aims through both religious voluntary societies and the Establishment, forcing Evangelicals to choose between the one or the other.

While this choice was easy, since the primary commitment of almost all Evangelicals was to the Kirk rather than to pan-Scottish evangelicalism, it was still painful, since it required them to abandon many of the societies in which they had laboured for so long. However, even though Evangelicals pulled out of most interdenominational groups during the 1830s, they discarded neither the evangelistic orientation nor the activism inherent in societies. Instead they quickly rechannelled them into the Establishment itself, often by simply transferring existing structures from their connection with a national society to a Kirk-related organisation. They also adapted the organisational and fund raising techniques that they had acquired through their participation in religious voluntary societies to serve similar ends within the Church of Scotland.

As the Voluntary Controversy heated up, it divided existing societies in which both Dissenters and Churchmen had been involved. Major theoretical and practical obstacles prevented these divisions from easily being healed. As their Voluntary critics were quick to point out, Kirk Evangelicals seemed inconsistent in rejecting voluntary funding for the Church on the grounds that the religious needs of the nation would go unmet, while participating in voluntarily supported societies designed to meet those needs. Even if this inconsistency were capable of theoretical resolution, societies faced the practical problem that the extreme personal animosity generated by the controversy among the two groups effectively ruled out further cooperation.

The divisions caused by the Voluntary Controversy expressed themselves in different ways among different societies. Bible societies

remained relatively unaffected since they had already split into two camps roughly following denominational lines following the Apocrypha Controversy. The GMS divided into separate Dissenting and Establishment branches in 1835.³⁸

The SMS suffered more than any other national society, and its decline reveals how the Voluntary Controversy affected Evangelical attitudes towards societies. In 1833 it issued several desperate pleas avowing its neutrality in the controversy and urging its Church of Scotland supporters not to withdraw.³⁹ The *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* echoed these pleas that year,⁴⁰ but at least some of its readers seem to have changed their minds as the conflict intensified. In 1834 a letter to the editor appeared defending those from the Kirk who had left the SMS, arguing that attacks by Dissenters had made cooperation impossible and that concentrating their resources under the General Assembly missions committee was more efficient than supporting the SMS and other societies.⁴¹

The SMS's problems with its supporters from the Establishment at home were compounded by tensions with its Church of Scotland missionaries in India at about the same time. Beginning in 1829, this group publicly expressed dissatisfaction with being supervised by the board of directors of a voluntary society, asserting that only a presbytery could be their legitimate spiritual superior and requesting that they be allowed to form

 38. Weir, *Foreign Missions of the Church of Scotland*, pp. 24ff.

39. *Scottish Missionary Register* 14 (Jan. 1833):3ff and a circular from the SMS directors, 14 (Apr. 1833):129ff.

40. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* New Series, 2 (Jan. 1833):67 and (Nov. 1833):740-4.

41. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* New Series, 3 (Mar. 1834):159ff. For the first time this same year the NMS designated its annual contribution to the SMS to go exclusively to support missionaries of the Established Church, adding a warning 'that if the [SMS] expected their further aid, and co-operation, it was necessary that the management of the Society should be wholly in the hands of friends of the Church of Scotland.' (13 July 1834, NMS Minutes, NLS, DEP 298 [199]).

themselves into one. The SMS naturally refused this request,⁴² but the missionaries persisted in their 'high church' demands, gaining much sympathy in the Kirk, especially among their young fellow third generation Evangelicals.

The combination of declining support at home and growing dissatisfaction in the field led to the transfer of the SMS's India missionaries to the General Assembly missions committee in 1835. Although some Evangelicals, notably David Dickson Jr., continued to participate in the SMS, most withdrew after this event. Their departure caused severe financial and organisational hardship, effectively reducing the SMS into a missionary arm of the United Secession Church even before this denomination absorbed the remaining SMS missionaries in the West Indies when the society was officially dissolved in 1848.⁴³

As the Voluntary Controversy caused Evangelicals to turn away from religious voluntary societies like the SMS, they turned to the Moderate-initiated schemes of the General Assembly, bringing with them the organisational and fund raising expertise that enabled these schemes to

 42. On 8 Dec. 1829 William Brown, secretary of the SMS, replied on behalf of the board of directors to the missionaries' public letter of 3 June 1829. A copy of this response is in the Letterbook of the SMS to Bombay 1822-37, NLS, MS 8986, pp. 127ff.

43. After 1835 the SMS Minutes abruptly ceased including yearly lists of 'country directors', a regular practice since 1826, perhaps because the bulk of these directors had been Established clergymen. The SMS's finances also reflected the withdrawal of Church of Scotland support (see Appendix 2.6). From 1828 through 1831 its revenues increased yearly, but in 1832 as the Voluntary Controversy heated up they began to decrease drastically. They suffered another major reduction in 1836-37 as the effects of the transferal of its India missionaries to the Assembly began to be felt. From 1833-34 to 1836-37 individual subscriptions and donations to the SMS fell by more than half, contributions from other societies by almost half, and congregational collections by almost two thirds (3 Apr. 1838, SMS Minutes 1834-48, NLS, DEP 298 [201]). These last two categories usually made up more than two thirds of the SMS income, and their decline suggests that Kirk Evangelicals withdrew not only their individual support, but that of the local societies and congregations in which they were leaders.

flourish in the late 1830s.⁴⁴ Evangelicals began showing increased interest in the Foreign Missions and especially the Education committees of the Assembly in the early 1830s. An article appearing in the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* in 1831 praised the Assembly's 'new character of active beneficence', even acknowledging, albeit belatedly, the superiority of a church-based approach over 'that of any private benevolent association for the same object.'⁴⁵ The growing strength of the Evangelical Party, which gained control of the Assembly in 1834, made this approach more attractive than it had been in the mid-1820s.

However, as Evangelicals increasingly embraced the official schemes of the Church of Scotland, they became frustrated with the schemes' lack of efficient central or local organisation. A letter to the editor of the *Instructor* in 1831 signed 'A Member of the Church of Scotland' claimed:

Thousands of us are able and willing to contribute small sums, but there is no person to receive them --no system of collecting has been organized-- no sermons are preached for that purpose; so that what would in other circumstances swell the treasure of the General Assembly, passes into the hands of Methodists, Baptists, Independents and others, or is spent for ordinary uses.⁴⁶

A letter the following year from another 'private member' of the Kirk backed up this claim.⁴⁷ It enclosed a £10 contribution for the Assembly's India mission because the author could discover no direct means of conveying his support. He went on to urge Established clergy to organise their parishes into auxiliary associations both to raise funds for the Assembly schemes more efficiently than the annual collections were doing and to

44. See Appendix 2.6; note how the increase in the Assembly's funds was inversely proportional to those of the SMS, eventually climbing higher than the SMS revenues had ever been. Evangelicals brought their money along with their skills when they turned from the SMS to the Assembly.

45. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 30 (Feb. 1831):111.

46. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 30 (Jan. 1831):9-10; the author also noted the absence of any periodical or other form of mass publicity in connection with the schemes.

47. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* New Series, 1 (Mar. 1832):145-55.

evangelise local unchurched families more effectively than existing home missions societies were doing. His argument for this suggestion reflected how three and a half decades of society activity and the issues raised in the Voluntary Controversy were creating tensions within Evangelicals' understanding of the Church. On the one hand, he asserted: 'If the church is not actually a missionary society, it certainly ought to be one.'⁴⁸ On the other hand, revealing strong 'high church' tendencies, he rejected societies as the best means of encouraging religious revival and evangelism because they were too business-like, preferring the spiritual authority of the Church to the merely elected authority of a society's office-bearers.

The General Assembly's first missionary in India, Alexander Duff, was also frustrated with the lack of effective organisation at home. When he returned from his first tour of duty in 1834, he found little awareness in the Kirk of his missionary work.⁴⁹ His appraisal was confirmed in part by the small amounts collected by the Assembly during the years leading up to his return.⁵⁰ He had far higher expectations for financial contributions than had the Moderate leaders of the Foreign Missions Committee, as had emerged in a celebrated exchange three years earlier. In 1831 John Inglis had written to him in India expressing hopes that the Presbytery of Edinburgh might raise £1,200 in its annual collection. Duff wrote back, 'Not £1,200 but £12,000, and do not stop there', to which Alexander Brunton was

48. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* New Series, 1 (Mar. 1832):148.

49. George Smith, *The Life of Alexander Duff*, 2 vols. (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1879), 1:288ff.

50. See Appendix 2.6. G. Smith's assertion that 'he [Duff] raised the annual income of the foreign missions scheme from £1,200 to £7,589 in 1838' (*Alexander Duff*, 1:313) vastly oversimplifies the reason for this increase, ignoring the transfer of the SMS missionaries in 1835 and the contributions that existing local societies began to make to the Assembly at that time.

said to have commented in a pencilled note in the margin of this letter, 'Is the man mad? Has the Indian sun turned his head?'.⁵¹

This exchange was not simply a clash between the romantic piety of a young Evangelical and the sober common sense of his older Moderate colleagues. Duff knew about fund raising and the revenues that could be generated by systematic local organisation because he had extensive experience with these activities through his involvement with religious voluntary societies during his student days.⁵² Moderates like Inglis and Brunton were good ecclesiastical politicians, but they lacked the practical administrative skills that Evangelicals had acquired from two generations of society experience.

Thus, Duff, rather than these chairmen of the Assembly's Foreign Missions Committee, spearheaded the drive to develop a network of local auxiliaries throughout the Kirk, carrying out this task during his furlough from India between 1834 and 1840. He electrified the General Assembly in 1835 with his proposal to visit every presbytery in order to encourage each one to organise itself into a missionary association, evoking a spontaneous unanimous recommendation to this effect following his speech.⁵³ The recommendation also called for these presbyterial associations 'to create in each congregation an agency for prayer and the propagation of intelligence regarding the evangelization of the world',⁵⁴ basically adapting the auxiliary and branch system of the Bible societies to the system of presbyterian government.

51. G. Smith, *Alexander Duff*, 1:289. See also Weir, *A History of the Foreign Missions of the Church of Scotland*, p. 46.

52. Duff was a founder of the St. Andrews University Missionary Society as well as an organiser of Sabbath schools in the town, G. Smith, *Alexander Duff*, 1:19ff.

53. G. Smith, *Alexander Duff*, 1:291-304. 25 May 1835, Register of the Acts of the General Assembly, SRO, CH1/1/83, p. 240.

54. G. Smith, *Alexander Duff*, 1:315.

Duff's visits stimulated local organisation in many presbyteries. The Presbytery of Aberdeen adopted a five point plan drawn up by a subcommittee with which Duff met personally. Suggested regulations for a parish association, the cornerstone of this plan, were provided, designating the minister as its chairman and the kirk-session as directors *ex officio*.⁵⁵ Other presbyteries in the North-east of Scotland followed suit, including such Moderate strongholds as Ellon.⁵⁶ However, effective local organisation often depended upon the initiative of individual ministers, with some Moderate presbyteries seeming to adopt a *laissez-faire* approach to supervision in contrast to their Evangelical counterparts.⁵⁷

In addition to creating these new groups, Duff's nation-wide promotion of the Assembly's India mission attracted the support of existing societies. Many of these, without changing their basic structure or regulations, simply began contributing to the Assembly instead of national societies. When the members of the NMS, which had been contributing to the Assembly since 1831, heard about Duff's plans in 1836, they concluded that 'it would be desirable to unite the presbyteries and the Society in one body', since the same group of people who would form themselves into presbyterial associations in the northern Highlands already were organised in support of missions through the NMS.⁵⁸ This arrangement seems to have been agreeable to the presbyteries since the NMS carried on as it had in the past, simply giving the bulk of its funds to the Assembly instead of to a variety of voluntary societies. Smaller societies than the NMS also

55. 3 Nov. 1835, Minutes of the Presbytery of Aberdeen 1833-1838, SRO, CH2/1/14, pp. 305-306.

56. After Duff's visit, the Presbytery of Ellon published a 35 page pamphlet outlining the work of the Assembly's India mission and urging congregations to form associations in support of it, G. Smith, *Alexander Duff*, 1:317.

57. G. Robertson, 'Spiritual Awakening in the North-east of Scotland', pp. 293-302.

58. 8 June 1836, NMS Minutes, NLS, DEP 298 (199).

regularly gave money to the Assembly schemes. Their lists of contributors contained many 'Bible societies' and 'Associations for Religious Purposes', such as the contribution of Anstruther and Kilrenny Bible and Missionary Society to the India mission in 1839.⁵⁹

The process outlined above of Evangelicals applying their society-acquired organisational and fund raising skills to the Kirk's Foreign Missions Committee was repeated for the other Assembly schemes during the mid-1830s. Thomas Chalmers openly admitted that he drew from his experience during his younger days with the B&FBS to develop the organisational structure of the Church Extension Committee.⁶⁰ This process culminated in 1838 with the development of a publicity and fund raising vehicle for all the Assembly schemes, the *Home and Foreign Missionary Record for the Church of Scotland*.

While the Voluntary Controversy diverted Evangelicals away from existing societies into the Assembly, it did not cause them to abandon the society approach completely. Ironically, this controversy led them to create a new type of voluntary society, the 'Church Association'. Its primary purpose was to disseminate information about the benefits of the Establishment and the dangers of Voluntaryism, and it usually did so through speeches, tracts, and debates (the latter usually held with its counterpart, the local 'Voluntary Association'). Church Associations accelerated the trend begun in the mid-1820s of adapting religious voluntary societies for ecclesiastical politics, picking up many propagandising techniques developed during the recently successful Reform

59. See the contributors' lists printed on the covers of the first volume of *Home and Foreign Missionary Record for the Church of Scotland*.

60. S.J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, pp. 237ff and p. 256.

movement in secular politics.⁶¹

Beginning with the formation, on 31 January 1833, of the Glasgow Society for Promoting the Interests of the Church of Scotland, Church Associations spread throughout the nation.⁶² Many comprised a single parish, such as the Society for Promoting the Interests of the Church of Scotland and of Religion Generally, in the Parish and Congregation of St David's, Glasgow, formed in October 1834.⁶³ This group divided the parish into small districts headed up by lay superintendents, following the standard pattern first developed by local Bible societies. This plan enabled superintendents to get to know the families in their districts in order to encourage them to attend the parish church and school and to distribute pro-Establishment tracts. However, as the group's extended title suggested, it also was designed to help meet religious needs of all kinds, for example by giving Bibles to the needy, fulfilling a similar function to that of a standard parish association.

Despite the attention that some local groups like that in St. David's parish paid to general religious needs, the primary focus of Church Associations was upon defending the Establishment. This approach tended to distance societies from their earlier emphases. Although the rationale for this defence was that an established church was the best means to encourage vital piety and nation-wide evangelism, these groups did not involve most of their members in activities that directly promoted these aims, unlike earlier Bible and missionary societies.

 61. In a leading article the *Scottish Guardian* explicitly recommended that Evangelicals copy the tactics of the Reform movement: 'In short, we desire to take a lesson from political agitators, --like them, to seize the public mind, to keep Christian principles before it...' (vol. 1 [27 Jan. 1832]:13).

62. S.J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, p. 222.

63. *First Report of the Society for Promoting the Interests of the Church of Scotland and of Religion Generally, in the Parish and Congregation of St David's* (Glasgow: David Maclure, 1836).

The Church Association movement spawned the usual auxiliary groups among women and juveniles. Young men were among those most active in the Voluntary Controversy,⁶⁴ often forming their own separate organisations such as the Edinburgh Young Men's Church Association, which boasted at the beginning of 1836 of having passed out 11,000 tracts defending the Church of Scotland.⁶⁵ Many third generation Evangelicals, like George Lewis, editor of the *Scottish Guardian* and later a minister in Dundee, participated in these groups in their formative years, creating in their minds a strong connection between voluntary societies and ecclesiastical politics and providing a model for their strategy in the Non-Intrusion Controversy of the late 1830s and early 40s.

Third generation Evangelicals carried out much of the local society organisation related to the the General Assembly schemes and to the Voluntary Controversy as they came of age in the 1830s and swelled Evangelical ranks. They were effective organisers because they themselves were the products of two generations of religious voluntary society activity. They grew up in juvenile auxiliaries and then some went on to participate in university missionary associations, formed in the mid-1820s when third generation Evangelicals were attending universities and divinity halls.⁶⁶ Their continued exposure to societies from a young age strongly reinforced their commitment to Evangelicalism and helped them to acquire highly developed organisational skills.

Almost all of the first Church of Scotland ministers to become foreign missionaries were third generation Evangelicals,⁶⁷ in part because

64. S.J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, p. 223.

65. *Church of Scotland Magazine* 3 (Jan. 1836):33f.

66. See chapter 8 for further discussion of these groups.

67. The first Church of Scotland minister to serve as a missionary was Donald Mitchell, who went to India with the SMS in 1822. Although Mitchell's year of birth, 1792, placed him at the end of the second generation, he delayed his entrance into the divinity hall until 1817 because of a stint with the East India Company, thus putting him in company with early third generation Evangelicals (*FES* 7:701).

their society experience pointed them towards and prepared them for this vocation. John Wilson, a missionary in Bombay of the SMS and after 1835 of the Assembly, first resolved to devote himself to the mission field after reading Bible society reports, and was active in the Stow Bible Society himself.⁶⁸ While attending the divinity hall, he became the founding secretary of the Edinburgh Association of Theological Students in Aid of the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge.⁶⁹ His wife, Margaret, taught Sabbath school, was a visitor for the Female Benevolent Society, and supported an auxiliary of the London Jews society and a missionary society.⁷⁰ Alexander Duff, the first missionary sent out by the General Assembly, helped to found both Sabbath schools and a university missionary society during his studies at St. Andrews.⁷¹ John MacDonald, who joined Duff in 1837, grew up supporting the NMS.⁷²

These missionaries demonstrated the influence of their early society experience by reproducing many of the same structures in the field that they had been involved in at home. John Wilson participated in societies to feed the poor and to encourage temperance⁷³, and his wife founded schools for destitute girls.⁷⁴ Duff supported the Bengal auxiliaries of the B&FBS and the Religious Book and Tract Society⁷⁵, and even his celebrated approach to native education drew much from his Sabbath school

 68. George Smith, *The Life of John Wilson, D.D. F.R.S.: For Fifty Years Philanthropist and Scholar in the East* (London: John Murray, 1878) pp. 11, 14, 20.

69. Founded 1825, G. Smith, *John Wilson*, pp. 24ff; Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries*, p. 230.

70. John Wilson, *A Memoir of Mrs. Margaret Wilson, of the Scottish Mission, Bombay; Including Extracts from Her Letters and Journals* (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1838), p. 47.

71. G. Smith, *Alexander Duff*, 1:23.

72. MacDonald preached before the NMS shortly before his departure to India, 14 June 1837, NMS Minutes, NLS, DEP 298 (199).

73. G. Smith, *John Wilson*, pp. 92, 134.

74. J. Wilson, *Margaret Wilson*, p. 334.

75. G. Smith, *Alexander Duff*, 1:263.

experience among the poor of St. Andrews.⁷⁶ In addition, both Wilson and Duff founded religious periodicals through which to publicise the work of societies in India and around the world.⁷⁷

At home, other third generation Evangelicals spread an activist orientation towards ministry throughout the Church of Scotland, spearheading local organisation. Lay people played a central role in this process, with members of the middle class, particularly from the medical and legal professions, leading the way for both workers and aristocracy.⁷⁸ As third generation clergy filled many parishes and chapels during the mid-1830s, they accelerated this trend, mainly by forming parish associations. When Robert Buchanan succeeded a Moderate minister in the East Lothian parish of Saltoun in 1830, he sought to encourage greater piety amongst his parishioners by forming an auxiliary Bible society.⁷⁹ In 1833 when he transferred to the Tron Kirk, Glasgow, he took a slightly different approach, in line with the growing 'high church' attitudes among many third generation Evangelicals as a result of the Voluntary Controversy. Almost immediately upon his arrival, Buchanan reorganised the Sabbath schools, phasing out the two existing interdenominational societies and replacing them with the Tron Parish Sabbath school Society, of which he and the kirk-session were firmly in control.⁸⁰ Robert Candlish took this

 76. Duff was involved with a group of students at St. Andrews who desired to supplement the normal religious content of Sabbath schools with a special summer course incorporating 'literary and scientific information', including history, political science, mathematics, and natural philosophy (Letter from Henry Craik to Thomas Chalmers, n.d. [Summer 1825], 153.1-4, Chalmers Correspondence, StAUL).

77. Wilson began work on the *Oriental Christian Spectator* late in 1829 (G. Smith, *John Wilson*, p. 64), and his wife later became a contributor (J. Wilson, *Margaret Wilson*, p. 249). Duff founded the *Calcutta Christian Observer* in 1832 (G. Smith, *Alexander Duff*, 1:227).

78. A contemporary commentator specifically attributed the receptivity of professionals to Evangelicalism to their early involvement as youths in societies, *Presbyterian Review* 13 (Jan. 1841):417-418.

79. Walker, *Robert Buchanan*, pp. 9, 11ff.

80. Walker, *Robert Buchanan*, pp. 30-31.

'high church' approach a step further when he became minister of St. George's, Edinburgh in 1834, organising the parish into a 'Parochial and Congregational Association' with two main objects: 'To ascertain and supply the wants of the parish, in respect of church and school provision; and to act as an auxiliary to the General Assembly's Committees'.⁸¹

Although third generation Evangelicals mainly concentrated upon their own local parish associations and upon the Assembly schemes, they also helped to generate a few new religious voluntary societies. Reflecting the same apprehensions about the problem of nominalism that guided their approach to periodicals, they showed a greater tendency than their predecessors to develop societies directly orientated towards revitalising the Church. The foremost group with this design was the Glasgow Evangelical Corresponding Society [GECS], 'the object of which [was], to procure authentic information relative to the revival of religion, and to circulate such information as may be calculated, through divine blessing, to promote the interests of vital godliness.'⁸² The GECS adapted the approach of tract societies, distributing pamphlets among Christians to encourage religious revival, instead of among non-Christians to encourage conversion.⁸³

The main new type of society that third generation Evangelicals supported was evangelistic, the city mission. Their support for city missions paralleled their interest in developing cheap, popular periodicals. They saw both as means to evangelise the unreached urban masses. Most

81. W. Wilson, *Robert Candlish*, p. 69. Candlish was president of this association, and its committee of directors consisted solely of the kirk-session.

82. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 30 (Oct. 1831):706-707. Note that the GECS was composed of ministers and laymen from the Church of Scotland.

83. As a result the GECS seems to have also been called the Glasgow Revival Tract Society. By 1838 it had produced eight pamphlets, each containing a narrative of a different Scottish revival, *Presbyterian Review* 11 (Oct. 1838):289.

city missions divided the city into districts and employed a missionary, usually a probationer or divinity student, to visit the poor within each district who did not attend any church.

The first city mission was formed in Glasgow in 1826, primarily by David Nasmyth and other members of Greville Ewing's Independent congregation.⁸⁴ Nonetheless, Kirk Evangelicals seem to have embraced this new group quickly. Four out the GCM's ten missionaries in 1828 were from the Church of Scotland, and parish clergy cooperated with their efforts, sometimes accompanying them on their visits and allowing probationers from the Kirk to set up preaching stations in their parishes.⁸⁵ City missions sprang up in other urban areas such as Greenock and in 1832 in Edinburgh.

The Edinburgh City Mission [ECM], arising as the Voluntary Controversy was heating up, received a less favourable reception from Evangelicals than did the GCM. Apart from David Dickson Jr., who served on the committee of ministers that examined potential missionaries, most Established clergy initially kept their distance from a group with such strong Dissenting connections. Despite these connections, the ECM strove to remain neutral in the Voluntary Controversy, even dismissing one of its missionaries for his involvement in a young men's voluntary church association in 1834.⁸⁶ Yet, Kirk involvement caused difficulties as it grew. In 1836, the involvement of Archibald Bennie, minister of Lady Yester's parish, sparked a charge that the Church of Scotland was attempting to co-opt the ECM.⁸⁷

84. O. Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland* pp. 66-67.

85. *Second Annual Report of the Society for Promoting the Religious Interests of the Poor of Glasgow and its Vicinity; or Glasgow City Mission. Read 1st January, 1828* (Glasgow: Andrew Young, 1828).

86. 3 Dec. 1834, Minutes of the ECM, NLS, ACC 7247 (1), f. 47.

87. This charge arose after a missionary had been assigned to Bennie's parish and a member of the kirk-session was appointed as his superintendent. 12 Feb. 1836, ECM Minutes, NLS, ACC 7247 (1), f. 62.

In general, Edinburgh Evangelicals preferred to organise their own groups under the firm control of the Establishment. The same year that the ECM was formed, another organisation with the same purpose arose, the Society of Probationers of the Church of Scotland [SPCS].⁸⁸ As its title implied, this organisation drew its missionaries exclusively from the Kirk, helping to employ some of the many probationers awaiting a call from a congregation. A similar society was formed in the Edinburgh divinity hall to encourage students to visit the poor for an hour or two each week.⁸⁹

Because of their basic commitment to church extension under the Establishment in the mid-1830s, Evangelicals tended to be uncomfortable with seeking to evangelise the poor through large societies. Even the proponents of city missions were careful to emphasise that they were not substitutes for the best means of achieving that goal, namely the government building and endowing new churches.⁹⁰ The *Scottish Guardian*, which from its inception had given the GCM regular coverage, argued in 1832 that 'the time has come for each parish and congregation apart, to take up the cause of the Heathen at home...to turn every Christian church into a Missionary Society'.⁹¹ Many Evangelical clergy took up this suggestion, incorporating the approach of city missions into their own local parochial association by hiring a parish missionary.⁹² Despite their preference for this local, church-based approach, Evangelicals seem to have cooperated

88. *The Second Annual Report of the Society of Probationers of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: James Colston, 1835).

89. Andrew A. Bonar, *Memoir and Remains of the Rev. Robert Murray McCheyne* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1978), p. 44.

90. *The Second Annual Report of the Society of Probationers of the Church of Scotland*. See also 'Large Parishes--Missionaries or Ministers', *Presbyterian Review* 10 (Aug. 1837):90ff.

91. *Scottish Guardian* 1 (13 Mar. 1832):65.

92. Andrew A. Bonar served as a missionary in St. George's parish, Edinburgh under Robert Candlish before becoming minister of Collace. W. Wilson, *Robert Candlish*, pp. 69-72.

with the larger city-wide organisations in an effort to prevent missionaries from overlapping.⁹³

By the late 1830s, city missionaries connected with both local and city-wide organisations had become an accepted part of Scottish religious life. Accounts of their work helped to raise awareness of the enormous spiritual and temporal needs of the urban poor. These accounts circulated both locally, in the form the journals of individual missionaries which were passed around the membership of ladies' auxiliaries,⁹⁴ and nationally, through the published reports of the major city missions and through a series of 'Home Missionary Sketches' printed in the *Scottish Christian Herald* beginning in 1839. Ironically, by their use of professional visitors, city missions at the same time helped to distance their predominantly middle-class supporters from the problems of urban poverty. They implicitly, and sometimes explicitly,⁹⁵ suggested that these problems were more than the existing parochial system could handle, even when supplemented with the assistance of an active eldership.

Third generation Evangelicals undertook relatively little direct action to alleviate social problems, primarily depending on the indirect influence of proselytism and religious instruction.⁹⁶ In the 1830s, GCM

93. For example, the ECM reassigned one of its missionaries after the parish minister of the High Church informed them that he had appointed his own missionary (3 June 1835, ECM Minutes, NLS, ACC 7247 [1], f. 52).

94. Four of these journals from two ECM missionaries contain detailed accounts of the problems arising from urban poverty: people living in dark, unheated rooms with no furniture, widespread drunkenness, and prostitution (NCL, x15b 2/4).

95. The *Second Annual Report of the Greenock Town Mission* countered the argument that missionaries would be unnecessary if ministers and elders were doing their jobs by asserting that even if they were, the needs still far exceeded the ability of churches to meet them ([Greenock: W. Johnston, 1830], p. 4).

96. Donald C. Smith argues that their lack of action was mainly a result of their superficial view of the causes of evil in industrial society, though also partly due to the distractions of ecclesiastical controversies. *Passive Obedience and Prophetic Protest: Social Criticism in the Scottish Church, 1830-1945* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987), pp. 32-33, 93-119.

missionaries began handing out bread tickets and providing other minimal kinds of direct aid in the course of their visits, but these efforts were largely a spontaneous response to face-to-face encounters with extreme poverty rather than a considered strategy.⁹⁷

Evangelicals adopted a different approach, though, towards the reformation of manners, organising new societies related to several issues of personal morality. In 1829 a pair of young, Evangelical Church of Scotland elders, John Dunlop of Greenock and William Collins of Glasgow, launched the temperance society movement in Scotland. Their previous experience in Bible and missionary societies served them in good stead in their efforts to organise new groups encouraging moderation, and later abstinence, in consuming alcohol, since almost all ministers were too apathetic to help them.⁹⁸ By contrast, Established clergy took the lead in supporting strict Sabbath observance. William Muir and Robert Candlish of Edinburgh were leaders of the Scottish Society for Promoting the Due Observance of the Lord's Day, which fought against Sunday trains and postal deliveries.⁹⁹

Some contemporaries suggested that a preoccupation with secular and ecclesiastical politics and controversy cooled the philanthropic ardour of Scottish Christians between 1824 and 1838. A commentator in 1833 attributed the lack of concern for 'Christianizing and civilizing' the world, especially among members of the Establishment, to these causes.¹⁰⁰ As the Voluntary Controversy died down at the end of this period, a less combative era seemed at hand. However, another controversy, this time

 97. O. Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland*, p. 68.

98. Mechie, *The Church and Scottish Social Development*, pp. 85-93. See also 'What do You Think of Temperance Societies?', a leading article in the *Scottish Guardian* (vol. 1 [27 Apr. 1832]:113) that expressed reservations about this movement.

99. *Monthly Supplement, Scottish Christian Herald* 1 (Mar. 1839):25-26.

100. *Scottish Missionary Register* 14 (Aug. 1833):331ff.

over the intrusion of ministers into parishes against the will of the congregation, quickly took its place. The Non-Intrusion Controversy involved both ecclesiastical and secular political issues, raising the level of dispute within the Church of Scotland to new heights and influencing yet another wave of religious voluntary society activity.

The Fourth Wave--1838-1843: The Assembly Jews Committee, Non-Intrusion Committees, and the Disruption

The Voluntary Controversy had caused Evangelicals to incorporate into the Kirk both the activism and the organisational structure of voluntary societies. This approach proved to be an unstable solution to their dilemma, eventually bringing their activist and establishment tendencies into conflict with one another. In 1838, when the civil courts declared in the Auchterarder Case that an act of the General Assembly giving congregations a veto over prospective ministers was not legally binding, the delicate balance between these two tendencies was upset. Afterwards, many Evangelicals increasingly perceived that their spiritual interests were threatened by a secularised state, especially since the government had also recently refused the Kirk's requests for endowments for additional church extension, an implicit rejection of the view that the Church of Scotland should be 'the greatest home missionary society'.

With the Non-Intrusion Controversy, the tension between the voluntary and the establishment dimensions of Evangelicalism, which had been a source of its dynamism during the previous four decades, became a source of division. Many Evangelicals gave precedence to an activist model for the Church, abandoning their connection with the State at the Disruption in 1843 so that they could pursue ministry unhindered by its perceived constraints. They organised a new set of voluntary societies to prepare

for this event, helping to ensure the success of the resulting Free Church of Scotland. Other Evangelicals maintained their State connection, believing that they could achieve their spiritual aims most effectively within the limits of the Establishment despite its faults. Both groups reflected authentic aspects of Evangelicalism, which combined commitments to the spread of heart-felt Christianity and to a national church.

However, before the Kirk divided, Evangelicals united to launch another evangelistic committee under the General Assembly, the Jewish Mission.¹⁰¹ Unlike the earlier Assembly schemes in which Moderates played important roles, Evangelicals dominated its planning and execution, in part because of their acceptance of new, literal interpretations of Biblical prophecy. These interpretations were popularised throughout Scotland through the writings of Alexander Keith, minister of St. Cyrus in Kincardineshire, during the 1820s and 30s, creating high expectations for widespread conversions among the Jews, especially those in Palestine, just prior to the return of Christ. Evangelicals were enthusiastic about playing a role in this process by developing a scheme that specifically targeted Jews for proselytism.

These millennial expectations were not the only stimulus for the Jewish Mission. The basic idea of this scheme went back to the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews [LSPCAJ], which had received strong support from Kirk Evangelicals since its inception in 1809. LSPCAJ auxiliaries had spread throughout Scotland, remaining active into the 1830s and creating a receptive audience for Keith's prophetic writings and for an Assembly committee devoted to Jewish evangelism. Dis-

 101. This discussion is based largely upon Don Chambers' more extensive work on the origins of the Jewish Mission in 'Mission and Party in the Church of Scotland,' pp. 113-129 and in 'Prelude to the Last Things: The Church of Scotland's Mission to the Jews,' *RSCHS* 19 (1977):43-58.

satisfaction with Anglican predominance in the parent society of the LSPCJ¹⁰² and the general preference following the Voluntary Controversy for ministry through the Church rather than through societies led Evangelicals to overture the Assembly to begin its own work among Jews in 1838.

The popularity of the Jewish Mission was closely associated with the outbreak of religious revival throughout much of Scotland between 1839 and 1840. One of the leaders of this revival, Robert Murray McCheyne, travelled to Palestine in 1839 on a much publicised fact-finding tour on behalf of the Assembly, which helped to translate much of the religious excitement generated by the revival into support for the Jewish Mission. Previous to his departure, McCheyne had articulated a common attitude among third generation Evangelicals regarding the relationship between religious revival and evangelism, an attitude that lay behind their keen interest in missions: 'we might anticipate an outpouring of the Spirit when our Church should stretch out its hands to the Jew as well as the Gentile'.¹⁰³

McCheyne's comments picked up on a long-running debate among Evangelicals about whether deepening piety in the Church should have priority over proselytism. After religious revivals broke out in America in the early 1830s, two letters to the editor of the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* appeared in 1832 giving differing interpretations about why Scotland had not undergone similar spiritual awakening, while affirming that missionary activism and Church revitalisation were connected. The first letter argued that missions led to revival: 'The blight upon the

 102. The *Presbyterian Review* argued that the LSPCJ's 'prelatic and exclusive character has effectually alienated from it the sympathy...of the Christian public' in an article justifying the existence of the Assembly scheme (vol. 15 [July 1842]:185).

103. A.A. Bonar, *Robert Murray McCheyne*, p. 122.

churches; the confessed want of spirituality, and of the real power of godliness even in sincere Christians...cannot be remedied but by a return to...diffusing the truth, praying for the conversion of the world, and zealously aiming at it.'¹⁰⁴ The second letter countered this argument by asserting that true missionary zeal was a consequence rather than a cause of religious revival, especially since 'there often is a great deal of bustle in collecting money for missionary purposes when the power and life of godliness is very far from flourishing in the hearts of many who are actively engaged in this good work.'¹⁰⁵

The outbreak of spiritual awakening in 1839-40 led third generation Evangelicals to affirm elements from each side of this debate. On the one hand, the formation of a missionary society and a missions prayer meeting in Kilsyth were cited as important catalysts of the revival.¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, they also accepted that those affected by the revival were most likely to support missions: 'Let it be observed, that an interest in missionary enterprise is closely connected with a personal experience of the value and blessings of salvation.'¹⁰⁷

This comprehensive understanding of the interaction between awakening and proselytism caused some Evangelicals to question how widespread true missionary enthusiasm was within the Church of Scotland, even after the 1839-40 revival. They began to reevaluate their commitment to pursuing evangelism through the Assembly schemes, arguing that many people used the Kirk's involvement to justify their own personal neglect of missions.¹⁰⁸ As a result, some Evangelicals seemed to show greater openness to societies in the early 1840s than they had shown in the mid to late 1830s. This

104. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* New Series, 1 (Mar. 1832):170.

105. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* New Series, 1 (July 1832):438.

106. I. Burns, *The Pastor of Kilsyth*, pp. 164, 226.

107. *Presbyterian Review* 12 (July 1839):55.

108. *Presbyterian Review* 13 (Jan. 1841):401-409.

tendency may have been especially prevalent among Non-Intrusionists, whose conflict with the State made the voluntary approach of the societies attractive. Two leading Edinburgh Non-Intrusionists, Robert Candlish and William Cunningham, participated in the 1841 annual meeting of the ECM. Candlish proposed a resolution affirming the unity of all denominations expressed in their 'common faith in the great leading doctrines of the gospel', going on to warn that 'the co-operation of Christians for such purposes was likely soon to become a testing question in the religious world.'¹⁰⁹

These attitudes reveal that the 1839-40 revival heightened the tension between activist and establishment conceptions of the Church among the Evangelicals. After the revival, they increasingly preferred to work in voluntary groups consisting solely of those who had undergone the kind of powerful personal conversion experience typical in religious revivals. This gathered church strategy contrasted with the territorial, established church approach implicit in the traditional conception of Scotland as a godly commonwealth, providing an ideological basis for the Disruption and the formation of the Free Church.

The 1839-40 revival also helped to empower the organisation of Non-Intrusion committees throughout Scotland, providing a practical structure for the Disruption and the Free Church. Leading revivalists like McCheyne travelled about extensively, inviting their hearers to accept the gospel message and to support the Kirk in its conflict with the civil courts.¹¹⁰ Local Non-Intrusion committees closely followed the model of earlier voluntary societies adapted for ecclesiastico-political controversy such as the auxiliaries of the Anti-Patronage Society and the Church Associations. When it became clear near the end of 1842 that the State could not

109. *Report of the ECM for 1841* (Edinburgh: n.p., 1841), p. 4.

110. A.A. Bonar, *Robert Murray McCheyne*, pp. 180ff.

be convinced to change its position, these groups changed their focus from seeking to influence public opinion to preparing for an imminent split in the Church of Scotland, providing the framework, along with the dormant local societies of the recent Church Extension movement,¹¹¹ for the organisation of Free Church associations.

At the Disruption, the tension between the commitment of Evangelicals both to activism and to the establishment reached its breaking point, with those who joined the Free Church giving precedence to the former commitment and those who remained in the Kirk giving precedence to the latter. Both groups reflected the significant influence of voluntary societies upon Evangelicalism during the preceding half century. The organisational structure, activist approach, and financial apparatus of the Free Church all had their roots in the auxiliary system of the Bible, missionary, and other societies in which Thomas Chalmers and other Disruption leaders participated. Without the widespread advent of societies in Scotland after 1796, the creation of a national denomination along the lines of the Free Church was a practical impossibility, as the example of the piecemeal, local nature of the earlier secessions in 1733 and 1761 suggests. Moreover, the priority of the ideological influence of voluntary societies within the Free Church became apparent when it relatively rapidly abandoned its claims to be a new 'establishment', adopting instead a more voluntarist, gathered church approach.

The Evangelicals who remained in the Auld Kirk, mainly the members of the so-called 'Middle Party' and 'evangelical Moderates' such as William Muir, Alexander Brunton, and John Lee, were no less significantly influenced by voluntary societies than their Free Church counterparts. They too had participated in societies, adopting a basically activist

111. S.J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, p. 333.

approach to meeting religious needs. However, while they accepted Evangelical practice, they rejected the interpretation that the violation of Non-Intrusion principles by the State demanded a withdrawal from the Establishment. The priority that they gave to adhering to the Church of Scotland reflected a long tradition within Evangelicalism going back two generations to leaders like John Erskine and Andrew Thomson. In addition, these Auld Kirk Evangelicals maintained the newer tradition of actively pursuing evangelism within the official structures of the Establishment. Their persistence helped to ensure that all of the schemes of the General Assembly continued despite the loss at the Disruption of many of their most active supporters at home and all of their missionaries in the field.

Ironically, while both Evangelicals *who 'stayed in' and those who 'went out'* at the Disruption sought to pursue their spiritual aims by incorporating the activist approach of voluntary societies within their denominations, the societies themselves suffered. In August 1843, the NMS decided to discontinue its work, suggesting that individual congregations support the schemes of the Free Church or other missionary objects.¹¹² Several local associations in the parish of Ruthwell seem to have ceased functioning that same year.¹¹³ Many organisations were torn apart by the bitter acrimony that grew up among their Free and Auld Kirk supporters. Moreover, the financial demands of building the fabric of the Free Church consumed many resources that previously might have gone to societies, hurting those groups such as the EBS which did survive.¹¹⁴

 112. 8 June 1843, Minutes of the NMS, NLS, DEP 298 (199).

113. In 1843, entries for the Female Bible Association, the Sabbath School Society, the Annandale Jews Society, and the Male Religious Association in the Ruthwell Parish Bank Balance Book abruptly ended after many years of regular deposits (Ruthwell Parish Bank Balance Book No. 2, TSB 73 1/5, Savings Bank Museum, Ruthwell).

114. The income of the EBS fell from a high of £3969 in 1841 to a low of £2117 in 1845, (G.A. Frank Knight and W.C. Somerville, 'The History of the National Bible Society of Scotland, 1809-1900' [Typescript in offices of NBSS, Edinburgh, n.d.], p. 110).

CONCLUSION--SECTION II:

Between 1795 and 1843 individuals from the Church of Scotland instituted a variety of practical means designed to revitalise the Church and to promote proselytism and public morality, basing these efforts upon the model of voluntary societies. In the midst of this diversity a pair of constants emerged. Firstly, people whose own Christian experience had been deepened in some way desired to spread this experience to others, whether within or outside the Church, or whether at home or abroad. Secondly, these people believed that uniting with other like-minded individuals in organised activity was the best way to spread their common spiritual experience.

As succeeding generations sought to respond to the particular needs and influences of their time, they developed distinctive means to achieve this same end. Four waves of society activity swept over the Kirk as each generation came of age and made societies their own.¹ Each new generation worked with the preceding one, building upon their organisational structure, thus raising the level of religious activism in the Church of Scotland like waves filling up a tidal pool.

A representative organisation and individual sums up the contributions of each generation to these waves of society activity. The initial wave (1795-1809) was led by first generation Evangelicals such as Walter Buchanan, minister of the Canongate parish and secretary of the EMS, and

 1. These waves crested about fourteen years apart, roughly the time it took the clerical leaders of each generation to go from entering university to becoming established as parish ministers.

consisted primarily of missionary societies. The enthusiasm generated by early religious voluntary societies like the EMS revealed the potential that this approach had for translating spiritual aims into practical action. However, most first generation Evangelicals, being highly traditional, promoted societies cautiously, fearing that if they were not careful, this new voluntary approach might undermine the Establishment.

Therefore, although many younger members of the first generation supported Bible societies, the characteristic organisation of the next wave (1809-1824), second generation Evangelicals were largely responsible for spreading these groups throughout Scotland during this period and for applying the voluntary society approach to numerous other issues as well. Perhaps no one exemplified the spirit of this generation more fully than David Dickson Jr., secretary of both the EMS and the EBS and minister of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh. His epitaph on the wall of this church describes him as 'Taking an Active Part in Every Christian and Benevolent Enterprise', a claim which in his case was not merely posthumous exaggeration. In 1824, Dickson was an office-bearer in at least eleven different societies², including several that addressed social concerns, such as the Society for the Relief of the Destitute Sick, and he participated in many other groups in which he held no office.

Second and third generation Evangelicals both contributed to the next two waves of society activity, with the latter group increasingly dominating as time passed. The third wave (1824-1838) involved the incorporation of the activism and the organisational techniques of voluntary societies into the official structure of the Kirk. Thomas Chalmers initiated this transition, first on a parochial level at St. John's and then on a denominational level through the Church Extension scheme. His St. Andrews

2. Ross, 'Prelude to Conflict', p. 234.

pupil, Alexander Duff, repeated the process through his organisation of parochial associations in connection with the Assembly's Foreign Missions Committee.

Other third generation Evangelicals, most notably Robert Candlish of St. George's, Edinburgh, accelerated these tendencies, especially during the fourth wave (1838-1843). When he arrived at St. George's, Candlish brought existing societies firmly under the control of the minister and kirk-session, and he was influential in the formation of the Assembly's Jewish Mission. In addition, Candlish supported the Edinburgh City Mission, reflecting the special interest of his generation in Scotland's rapidly multiplying unchurched urban masses. This ardent spiritual concern was curiously matched with a willingness to use societies, sometimes manipulatively, to serve ecclesiastico-political ends, as Candlish's zealous participation in Church Associations and Non-Intrusion committees revealed.

However, neither the leaders of the Evangelical Party such as Candlish and Chalmers nor its members were alone in being influenced by the growth of religious voluntary societies between 1795 and 1843. After 1810, a number of Moderates such as Alexander Brunton, minister of the Tron Kirk and Professor of Oriental Languages at Edinburgh, became involved in some groups, especially Bible societies. Despite their attraction to elements of the society approach, most of these Moderates were more uncomfortable with its voluntary character than were Evangelicals. As a result, in the mid-1820s, they led the way in forming committees in the General Assembly that brought its activist approach to ministry into the Establishment.

This Moderate involvement in what formerly were exclusively Evangelical activities reflected the broad appeal of Evangelicalism as a social and intellectual movement. Its dual commitment to activism and to the

Church of Scotland produced a highly attractive dynamism that captured the imagination of many in the Kirk. Thus, an 'Evangelical' may be defined more precisely than simply as someone who firmly adhered to the Westminster Confession and more broadly than simply as someone who opposed patronage. An 'Evangelical' was anyone from the Church of Scotland who participated in organisations such as religious voluntary societies or the schemes of the General Assembly, which actively attempted to promote deeper piety, evangelism, and social morality.³

The importance of participation in society-inspired activities created a tension within Evangelicalism, which contributed not only to the movement's popularity, but to its division, as two different conceptions of the Church were brought into conflict as the Disruption approached. The activist character of voluntary societies embodied a gathered church of true believers, the conception that predominated in the Free Church, while the established nature of the Church of Scotland could make it nothing other than a territorial church. Nevertheless, the role that religious voluntary societies played in splitting the Kirk should not overshadow their unifying role during much of the period between 1795 and 1843. They helped to produce a common vision for ministry among many within the Church of Scotland and provided a seemingly effective organisational structure with which to work out that agenda in an early industrial society.

3. Therefore, members of the Moderate Party like Brunton, John Lee, John Inglis, and William Muir, legitimately may be called 'Evangelicals', or perhaps more precisely, 'evangelical Moderates'.

SECTION III--EVANGELICALISM'S INSTITUTIONAL INHERITANCE:

EDUCATION & PRAYER

INTRODUCTION:

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the greatest changes in Evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland resulted as Evangelicals embraced religious periodicals and religious voluntary societies, new institutions, primarily originating in England, as means for achieving their goals of revitalising the Church, propagating the gospel, and ameliorating social problems. Nonetheless, Evangelicals did not abandon older Scottish institutions in favour of these newer 'foreign' influences. They equally sought to maintain major elements of their Reformed heritage as these were mediated through the eighteenth-century Popular Party, showing strong commitment particularly to education and prayer.¹

 1. Evangelicals also strongly emphasised the importance of maintaining diligent pastoral care, primarily through parish visitation. (See the two major Evangelical manuals for ministerial conduct of this period: James Paton, *Letters from a Father to His Son, A Student of Divinity*, 2nd ed., [Edinburgh: Oliphant, Waugh & Innes, and J. Ogle, 1812], especially Letter 28 [p. 141], and Stevenson Macgill, *Letters to A Young Clergyman*, especially Letter 3 [pp. 74ff], Letter 9 [p. 247], and Letter 11 [pp. 311ff].) In addition they took special interest in reviving a strong eldership that could carry out some of the pastoral duties associated with poor relief and church discipline. (See Withrington, 'Non-Church-Going', pp. 109-111 for a discussion of Evangelical efforts at eldership reform.) While the provision of traditional pastoral care was an important facet of the Evangelical programme of the first half of the nineteenth century, this practice lies outside the focus of this thesis upon extra-ecclesiastical institutions and hence will not be discussed in detail.

The enthusiasm of nineteenth-century Evangelicals for traditional approaches to education and prayer reveals their basic continuity with the eighteenth-century Popular Party, seventeenth-century Scottish Calvinists, and sixteenth-century Reformers, reflecting a common concern among all these movements for the spread of heart-felt, Biblically-based Christianity. The spectacular growth of new institutions like religious periodicals and voluntary societies should not obscure the importance of Evangelicalism's inheritance. Education and corporate prayer were the foundations of the movement's institutional framework. They introduced Evangelical ideas and practice at a local level through parish schools and through prayer meetings in private homes.

Religious periodicals and voluntary societies built upon this foundation, erecting a superstructure by providing a communications network and activist organisation. Evangelicals saw these new vehicles as supplementing, rather than replacing, traditional practices, since all were working toward the same end of encouraging spiritual awakening and evangelism. As a result, the new and the old often overlapped, giving rise to periodicals with titles such as the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, and to missionary societies forming their own prayer meetings.

While periodicals and societies underwent significant transformation as they emerged in Scotland during the first half of the nineteenth century, education and especially prayer remained relatively unchanged, making the history of these institutions less revealing of the internal development of Evangelicalism than that of the two new ones. In general all three generations of Evangelicals were strongly committed to upholding traditional approaches to education and prayer, more often seeking to revive forms that had fallen into disuse, such as expository lectures, than to discard established practices. Nonetheless, they did feel free to

add some new twists to tradition, especially in matters related to education.

A variety of influences account for the continuing interest of Evangelicals in education and prayer. Their fundamental commitment to the Established Church, the constitution of which made it responsible for national education and piety, made these areas of primary importance. In addition, they inherited a living tradition in which many traditional practices such as the parish school or the fellowship meeting, though perhaps in decline, continued to function.

Along with many others in the first half of the nineteenth century, Evangelicals shared a growing interest in the past, especially as a source of solutions to the seemingly unsolvable problems of their increasingly urban, industrial, and secular present. At the beginning of this period, the strong emphasis of the Scottish Enlightenment on history may have influenced the Evangelical clergy, in particular as it was mediated through their Moderate teachers at university, many of whom, such as William Robertson, were popular historical writers.² As Romanticism began to prevail during the last three decades of the period under review, Evangelicals, following Sir Walter Scott, also may have been led to look back nostalgically to Scotland's past, albeit unlike Scott to its Reformation and Covenanting past rather than to its Medieval heritage.³ Thomas M'Crie's scholarly and highly popular biographies of John Knox and Andrew Melville provided Evangelicals with ready access to Reformation thought and practice, particularly as these related to education. Popular accounts of eighteenth-century religious revivals had a similar effect of

 2. Anand C. Chitnis, *The Scottish Enlightenment and Early Victorian English Society* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), p. 2.

3. Scott published his first historical novel, *Waverley*, in 1814.

encouraging Evangelical interest in practices originating in that period such as prayer and fellowship meetings.⁴

As Evangelicals looked back to the past, they saw that the same religious impulse that led them to develop religious periodicals and voluntary societies had led earlier Scottish Christians to create what were then new approaches to education and prayer in their time. Early nineteenth-century Evangelicals were united with Scottish Reformers, seventeenth-century Scottish Calvinists, and Popular Party members in their common concern for the spiritual wellbeing of the nation. All these groups shared the presuppositions that education contributed to spreading and deepening Christianity, since faith required cognitive assent to the truths of the Bible, and that prayer, especially in groups, nurtured heart-felt, Biblical piety. Thus, an examination of Evangelical approaches to education and prayer will help to provide a clearer picture of Evangelicalism as a whole, revealing it to be the nineteenth-century manifestation of a spiritual movement within the Kirk going back to the Reformation.

4. For example, Mary Grey Lundie Duncan, *History of Revivals of Religion in the British Isles, Especially in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Wm. Oliphant & Son, 1836).

CHAPTER 7

EDUCATION: EVANGELICALISM'S COGNITIVE FOUNDATION--Part 1

Because Evangelicals, following the Scottish Reformers, believed that education encouraged biblically-based Christianity, they were actively involved in all levels of education, from Sabbath schools to the universities. Their involvement helped to spread Evangelical ideas and practice among succeeding generations of students. Thus, education played a major role in the growth of Evangelicalism into the dominant social and intellectual movement within the Church of Scotland during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Ironically, the ideological basis of this fundamental commitment to education partly was a legacy of the social and intellectual movement it superseded, namely Moderatism. Education provided the area of strongest continuity between the early nineteenth-century Evangelicals and their Moderate predecessors. Both movements were heirs to the major emphasis upon education found in the Reformation and the Scottish Enlightenment. Moderatism in particular had championed the ideal of enlightened learning as a basis for Christian faith.

Eighteenth-century Moderatism strongly influenced the approach to education of nineteenth-century Evangelicalism. First and second generation Evangelical ministers were taught mainly within a Moderate atmosphere at university and divinity hall. Moreover, some were themselves

former Moderates. Evangelicals shared Moderate confidence in the ability of education both to produce positive social change and to lead people to faith. In part, Evangelical and Moderate similarities in this area reflected their shared commitment to common sense philosophy, which held that humanity's innate, God-given sense of right and wrong must be developed through education.¹

Evangelicals also may have imitated, consciously or unconsciously, the Moderates' strategy of spreading their ideas through the Scottish educational system, especially in the universities. This effective strategy had enabled Moderatism to become the dominant intellectual movement among the elite of the Kirk in the eighteenth century. Yet, unlike the Moderates, Evangelicals were also concerned about providing education for the masses, promoting new popular educational approaches such as Sabbath schools. Nonetheless, their interest in new approaches was not to the exclusion of the old. The foundation of their strategy was firm support of the basic Establishment educational system, conducted through the medium of parochial schools and universities. They attempted to infiltrate these institutions in order to emphasise Evangelical distinctives to successive generations. Unlike the Haldanes and English Dissenters, Evangelicals never felt the need to form their own academies, preferring to work within the existing system, even when they were dissatisfied with it.

Nevertheless, Evangelicals differed from most Moderates in their willingness to work outside the Establishment, especially with Dissenters, in order to provide additional educational structures to supplement the existing system. In this extra-Establishment activity they showed great creativity in their efforts to catch those whom they perceived to be fall-

 1. Voges, 'Moderate and Evangelical Thinking', pp. 144-148.

ing through the cracks. However, as the nineteenth century progressed, Evangelicals showed less enthusiasm for interdenominational educational ventures. Beginning in the 1820s and especially as the Voluntary Controversy heated up, Evangelicals attempted to bring these supplementary efforts under the authority structure of the Church of Scotland.

A variety of social pressures in the nineteenth century were conspiring to undermine the traditional educational system in Scotland during the first half of the nineteenth century, thus indirectly stimulating Evangelical concern for education. In part due to improvements in agriculture in the second half of the eighteenth century, the population of Scotland, along with the rest of Britain, grew dramatically, with school-aged children making up a large portion of this increase.² The spate of new pupils was threatening to overwhelm the existing system of parish and burgh schools in many areas of Scotland's central industrial belt.³ Schools in parishes that were undergoing rapid urbanisation could not cope with the influx of new children from the burgeoning population, nor could additional parochial schools be easily established since the State lacked any clear mechanism for doing this.⁴ While town councils had the right to form new burgh schools, they largely did not exercise it,

 2. Smout, *History of the Scottish People*, pp. 240-260. See also Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost Further Explored* (London: Methuen, 1983), p. 119.

3. For a description of the stresses caused by rapid industrialisation upon traditional parochial structures, see J.R. Hume and J. Butt, 'Muirkirk 1786-1802: The Creation of a Scottish Industrial Community', *Scottish Historical Review* 45 (1966):160-183.

4. Douglas Myers, 'Scottish Schoolmasters in the Nineteenth Century: Professionalism and Politics,' in *Scottish Culture and Scottish Education, 1800-1980*, edited by Walter M. Humes and Hamish M. Paterson (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1983), pp. 80f. This new perception of the inadequacies of the Lowland parish system corresponded with continuing concern about similar inadequacies in the Highlands. In the Highlands the problem was less one of population than of geography. The parish school was inaccessible to many because of the large areas of relatively impassible terrain encompassed by many parishes.

since they were primarily interested in maintaining existing upper and middle-class education.⁵

Even if sufficient numbers of traditional schools had been available, many working class children could not have attended because of the growing prevalence of child labour, especially in the textile industry.⁶ Evangelicals were disturbed by this trend. Many tried to ameliorate some of its detrimental effects by providing special schools for child workers that met during non-working hours.⁷ Some Evangelicals also questioned the legitimacy of child labour in principle and sought to discourage, to limit, or even to abolish this practice.⁸ The first tentative Evangelical attempts to provide educational opportunities for the working class received a surprisingly popular reception despite the numerous environmental obstacles discouraging school attendance.⁹ This positive response may have fueled their commitment to education, as Evangelicals saw themselves meeting a strong working-class demand for what they deemed a legitimate product.

As the social pressures outlined above took their toll, successive generations of Evangelicals raised the alarm over what they perceived as a decline in the national standard of education. In the late 1810s Andrew

5. Smout, *History of the Scottish People*, pp. 438-445.

6. C. Brown, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland*, pp. 130-2.

7. These usually met in the evenings or especially on Sundays. Many early Sabbath schools originally were for children who were unable to receive a traditional education because they were in employment. Some even were established by their employers, for example by the proprietors of the Catrine Cotton Works (*Evangelical Magazine* 15 [Feb. 1807]:89) and of an iron works in Wilsontown in the parish of Carnwath (vol. 18 [July 1810]:295). The minister of the Church of Scotland chapel in Catrine, Andrew Harley, voluntarily undertook the superintendence of the Sabbath school there (*Religious Monitor* 6 [Oct. 1808]:466).

8. For example, see [J. Hamilton,] *William Hamilton*, 1:58ff and 2:39. The *Scottish Guardian* strongly supported the need for child labour laws (for example, see the numerous articles on this issue in this publication between June and September 1832).

9. For example, the St. John's parish schools, S.J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, p. 137.

Thomson expressed the misgivings of many of his second generation colleagues about the state of Scottish education in a series of parish reports printed in the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, basing them upon a statistical survey on education that he had drawn up and distributed to parish ministers.¹⁰ In the mid-1830s third generation Evangelicals became distressed to an even greater degree than their predecessors, as the provocatively entitled work by George Lewis, *Scotland A Half-Educated Nation, Both in Quantity and Quality of Her Educational Institutions*, indicated.¹¹

Lewis expressed the widely-held view, shared by many Evangelicals, that Scotland's national educational system had ushered in an era of unprecedented cultural development during the eighteenth century and that its decline in the nineteenth century would have detrimental social consequences. Following Scottish classical political economists such as Adam Smith and John Millar, Evangelicals also held that education had economic and political as well as cultural implications. They felt that education for workers was particularly important for two reasons. Firstly, an educated work-force was considered to be more productive than an uneducated one,¹² and secondly, the industrial process tended to dull the intellect

10. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 18 (May 1819):334ff. For a copy of this survey, see Appendix 3.1. Note that it asked about wider social issues as well as technical educational practices; for example the first question asked about changes in population.

11. (Glasgow: Wm. Collins, 1834). See also Donald J. Withrington, "'Scotland a Half-Educated Nation' in 1834? Reliable Critique or Persuasive Polemic?' in *Scottish Culture and Scottish Education* pp. 55-74. Withrington concludes that this work tells us more about Evangelicalism than education in Scotland during the mid-1830s (p. 72), confirming that Evangelicals perceived both that education was on the decline and that they had a responsibility to reverse this process.

12. See for example the argument of John Brown, minister of Langton, in *The Testimony of Experience to the Utility and Necessity of Sabbath Schools. Being the Substance of a Discourse Delivered in St Andrew's Church, Edinburgh, On the 28th of May, 1826 in behalf of the Edinburgh Gratis Sabbath School Society and the Sabbath School Union of Scotland*. (Edinburgh: James Colston, 1826), pp. 17ff.

Trust in the economic benefits of education led some Evangelicals to call for simplistic solutions to complex economic problems. For example, a leading article on the extreme social problems in Paisley commented:

of its participants, making them susceptible to mob rule.¹³

Behind this second reason lay a basic Enlightenment presupposition shared equally by eighteenth-century economists and nineteenth-century Evangelicals: "An instructed and intelligent people...are always more decent and orderly than an ignorant one."¹⁴ Evangelical interest in education reflected their belief that society would become increasingly unstable as it became less educated, leading ultimately to the overthrow of the Establishment in general, or at least to the end of the Established Church. Thus, Andrew Thomson primarily appealed to the patriotism of ministers to get them to fill out his educational survey.¹⁵ *Scotland A Half-Educated Nation* began by noting that the wider distribution of franchise as a result of the Reform Act of 1832 made the provision of adequate mass education essential since, in general, education led to benevolent government and ignorance to tyranny.¹⁶

The French Revolution frequently was held up as a warning of the political consequences of having an uneducated society. This example also was used to argue that despotism, ignorance, infidelity, and Roman Catholicism were all closely associated.¹⁷ The strong anti-Catholic sentiments held by many Evangelicals contributed to their commitment to education. They viewed education and Roman Catholicism as mutually exclu-

 'The remedy for the low wages and miserable condition of the Paisley population is not a *political*, but a moral remedy. If Paisley again flourishes it will be by the *preaching of the word*, and by the *labours of the Schoolmaster*' (*Scottish Guardian* 1 [2 Nov. 1832]: 297).

13. Chitnis, *The Scottish Enlightenment and Early Victorian English Society*, p. 6.

14. Adam Smith quoted approvingly in John Brown, *The Testimony of Experience to the Utility and Necessity of Sabbath Schools*, pp. 38-39.

15. Lee Papers, NLS, MS 3434, f.99.

16. [Lewis,] *Scotland A Half-Educated Nation*, pp. 2ff.

17. See John Erskine's 'Thoughts by the Publisher on the Mutual Influence of POPERY and INFIDELITY, and on the DANGERS to which PROTESTANTISM now is, or hereafter probably may be exposed', in *Sketches and Hints of Church History*, 2:266-276.

sive, arguing that the latter led inexorably to religious scepticism among the educated, who could not countenance its 'superstitions', and to authoritarian government among the ignorant masses who easily could be duped and manipulated. In addition they held that Roman Catholicism was inherently intolerant, and thus its spread was a direct threat to Protestantism in general and to Evangelicalism in particular. As legal restrictions against Roman Catholicism decreased in Britain during the first half of the nineteenth century, especially after the passage of Roman Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829, and Irish immigration increased, Evangelicals saw education, particularly under the supervision of the Established Church, as the primary bulwark against the twin threats of infidelity and 'popery' and as society's main security against despotism and anarchy.

Although this desire to use education to maintain the political and religious establishments partly reflected ^{the} predominantly middle-class origins of the Evangelicals,¹⁸ their position was not determined solely on the basis of self-interest. They were not committed to the Church of Scotland simply because it provided their clerical members with a steady income and obviated their lay members from financial responsibility for maintaining religion. The willingness of many Evangelical ministers and lay people to forego these privileges at the time of the Disruption demonstrated this clearly. Evangelicals viewed the Established Church as the best means both to improve piety among Christians in Scotland and to evangelise the nation as a whole. Education, an historic responsibility

 18. See J.V. Smith, 'Manners, Morals and Mentalities: Reflections on the Popular Enlightenment of Early Nineteenth-Century Scotland' pp. 25-54 in *Scottish Culture and Scottish Education*, for a more extensive discussion of the Evangelicals' reliance upon Enlightenment ideas to uphold the social *status quo*.

of the national church, served as one of their primary tools for achieving these goals.¹⁹

As this conclusion suggests, the main reasons that Evangelicals emphasised education were religious. Their intellectual and social milieu reinforced what was for them an essentially spiritual concern. The foundation of this concern was the basic need to overcome illiteracy so that everyone could read the Bible. Because Evangelicals held that the message of the Bible served as the primary means for conversion and sanctification, they insisted upon Bible reading as an essential element of individual, family, and congregational piety.

However, Evangelical interest in education went beyond the merely practical task of providing rudimentary literacy. Unlike some of their English counterparts such as Hannah More, Church of Scotland Evangelicals taught more than reading in their schools. They did so because they were confident that education, regardless of the subject matter, made people generally more favourably disposed toward Christianity, sharing this confidence with Scottish Reformers, seventeenth-century Calvinists, and eighteenth-century Moderates. Theologically, Evangelicals based their approach upon their belief that natural revelation, when accompanied by God's grace, leads to special revelation.²⁰ Therefore, even secular subjects had the potential to encourage biblical Christianity.

David Dickson Jr., minister of St. Cuthbert's in Edinburgh, summed up Evangelical attitudes toward education in his SSPCK sermon of 1813, *The*

 19. Evangelicals even looked at education as a way of reforming the Kirk's constitution. An article in the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* (20 [Oct. 1821]:643ff) argued that the rise in education made popular election less objectionable than patronage since the heads of households would be more more capable of choosing a suitable minister than their predecessors.

20. Eighteenth-century utilitarian thought, especially William Paley's *Evidences*, encouraged this rationalist belief, Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries*, pp. 245ff.

Influence of Learning on Religion. Dickson began by cautioning against the position of some well-meaning Protestants who wished 'to proscribe almost entirely the use of human learning as an auxiliary to the advancement of Christian instruction'.²¹ After defining 'learning' in the broadest possible terms,²² he made his central argument:

...such learning, instead of being inimical, is highly favourable to the influence of personal godliness; and that the possession of it, especially by the teachers of religion, is most valuable and necessary for the defence of Christianity, for promoting its general interests in the world, and for the advancement of true religion among the great body of the people.²³

Dickson was careful to note that practical godliness was not 'in any instance, the effect merely of human instruction; but of that grace of God which alone makes one man to differ from another.'²⁴ However, the sermon reached its emotional climax on a strongly intellectual note:

...the more that the human mind is cultivated and improved,...the greater must be its capacity for inquiring after the things which pertain to godliness; the more copious must be the flood of spiritual light which it is qualified for receiving...²⁵

Evangelicals such as Dickson believed that the worldview they developed from the Bible was true,²⁶ and thus consistent with truths dis-

21. David Dickson Jr., *The Influence of Learning on Religion, a Sermon Preached before the [SSPCK] at their Anniversary Meeting in the High Church of Edinburgh, Thursday, June 3, 1813* (Edinburgh: A. Balfour, 1814), p. 3.

22. Learning is 'that general culture and enlargement of mind, which arises from the diligent and successful study of science, whether literary, physical, or moral; from an extensive acquaintance with history, civil as well as ecclesiastical, both sacred and profane', Dickson, *The Influence of Learning on Religion*, p. 4.

23. Dickson, *The Influence of Learning on Religion*, p. 7.

24. Dickson, *The Influence of Learning on Religion*, p. 58.

25. Dickson, *The Influence of Learning on Religion*, pp. 65-66.

26. Evangelicals and Moderates embraced the Bible, orthodox Christianity, and the Westminster Confession for different reasons. The former did so primarily because of their superior truthfulness; they were the most reasonable explanation of the world. The latter did so mainly because they were part of the constitution of the Church by law established. See Chambers, 'Doctrinal Attitudes in the Church of Scotland', p. 181; note also the comment by Chalmers that George Hill's orthodoxy 'was formed in conformity to the Standards rather than as the truth most surely

covered in all areas of life, including and perhaps especially, the natural sciences.²⁷ Their approach reflected the strongly philosophical bent of Scottish university education, which encouraged systematic metaphysical thinking embracing many fields of study in contrast to the perceived specialisation of the English universities.²⁸ Therefore, armed with an all-encompassing Biblical worldview, the Evangelicals believed that all truth was open for their examination and of potential practical and spiritual benefit.

Evangelicals had high hopes that scientific study would improve the devotional lives of believers by evoking a sense of awe and wonder at the creation, even through such seemingly insignificant topics as, 'The Wisdom, Power, and Kindness of God, Shown in the Respiratory Organs of Insects'.²⁹ Education was necessary to offset both the pragmatic tenden-

to be believed' in Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland*, pp. 307-308.

This difference provides one explanation for the curious fact that higher criticism of the Bible gained sway in the 'Evangelical' Free Church before it did in the 'Moderate' Auld Kirk. The importance of truthfulness in the Evangelical heritage of the Free Church recommended that traditional understandings of the Bible be abandoned in favour of the 'assured results of the science of higher criticism' which seemed to have a better claim to truth. Since the Auld Kirk tended to accept the Bible as traditionally interpreted by the Westminster Confession, primarily as part of its constitutional establishment instead of as independently verified truth, they did not find the arguments of higher criticism compelling.

27. 'Creation and redemption have one common Author, and the study of one, can never be inconsistent with a regard for the other.' James Brodie (an Evangelical minister from Monimail) 'On the Advantages to be Derived by the Christian from the Study of Natural Science', *Scottish Christian Herald* 1 (18 June 1836):242. For an extended discussion of Evangelical attitudes toward science, see Baxter, 'Science and Belief in Scotland'.

28. Although the universities on both sides of the Border basically desired to produce people who could think and express themselves clearly, Scots tended pursue this goal in a much more self-consciously philosophical manner. See C.J. Wright, 'Academics and their Aims: English and Scottish Approaches to University Education in the Nineteenth Century', *History of Education* 8(1979):91-97.

29. See the article on this topic by William Grant, minister of Logiealmond in Perthshire, in *Scottish Christian Herald* 1, 2nd series (10 Aug. 1839):503f and a similar article based on the instincts of insects, pp. 612ff. These articles followed the approach of the popular series of *Bridgewater Treatises on the Power, Wisdom and Goodness of God as Manifested in the Creation*, which began in 1833.

cies of middle-class Christians in an 'over-commercial' age³⁰ and the stultifying effects of the industrial process and urban life upon urban workers and the poor, making them all more open to spiritual truths.³¹ Discussions of spiritual awakenings usually mentioned education as an important precursor to religious revival since 'a cultivated understanding, and a portion of general information are peculiarly subservient to the reception of the gospel.'³²

Education also had an important apologetic role. Evangelicals were willing to use truths from a variety of fields of learning in an attempt to show unbelievers the shortcomings of their worldviews in the hope that they then would embrace a more comprehensive Christian outlook. Alexander Duff championed this approach in his missionary work among educated Hindus in India.³³ Significantly, Duff seems to have based his missionary strategy upon his earlier involvement in Evangelical educational schemes while a student at St. Andrews.³⁴ His third generation counterparts applauded his work in India, perhaps because they recognised its relevance to their own evangelistic task as Scottish society grew increasingly

30. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 22 (July 1823):440ff.

31. See David Dickson Sr., *On the Education of the Lower Orders of Society. A Sermon Preached in St Andrew's Church, Edinburgh, on Tuesday July 15, 1806. Before the Society of the Orphan Hospital, also containing an Appendix Containing an Account of the Progress and Present Situation of the Institution.* (Edinburgh: Walker & Greig, 1806).

32. William Hamilton, 'Essay on A Revival of Religion: Its Necessity, and the Means of Promoting It' in [J. Hamilton,] *William Hamilton* 2:39; see also 2:55-62. For an earlier example of confidence in the ability of education to stimulate religious revival see the *Missionary Magazine* 2 (June 1797):289-290.

33. See his comments on the importance of literature and science and his insistence that there should be no separation between religious and secular education in order to expose the falsehoods of Hinduism in every area of life, G. Smith, *Alexander Duff*, 1:357ff and 368ff.

34. When a student, Duff taught at least two Sabbath school classes (G. Smith, *Alexander Duff*, 1:31-32), which he and three of his classmates hoped to supplement by organising a summer school for the poor which offered free lectures in history, political science, mathematics, and natural science (Letter of Henry Craik to Thomas Chalmers, Spring 1825, Chalmers Correspondence, StAUL, 153.1-4).

secular and a variety of worldviews competed for adherence alongside the earlier vision of Scotland as a godly commonwealth.³⁵

The highly favourable attitude of Evangelicals toward education outlined above contrasts with their frequent portrayal as the anti-intellectual and emotional counterparts of the learned and rational Moderate Party.³⁶ By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Evangelicals were every bit as 'enlightened' proponents of reason as were the Moderates.³⁷ As noted above, Evangelicals shared much in common with Moderates in their perspective on education. While there were important differences between their views, these were primarily over matters of degree or emphasis.

Like the Moderates, Evangelicals were wary of exclusively emotional approaches to religion, denouncing the advocates of such positions as 'enthusiasts' for their neglect of the mind.³⁸ Evangelicals did not differ from Moderates by having less confidence in reason in religious matters, but by having an additional emphasis upon the importance of other dimensions of the human personality. Authentic faith, they believed, translated religious truth from the intellect to the will and the emotions. Thus, Evangelical missionaries from the Church of Scotland were

35. See the *Presbyterian Review's* glowing article on Duff's *India and Indian Missions*, vol. 12 (Oct. 1839):323ff.

36. For example by Campbell, *Two Centuries of the Church in Scotland*, pp. 36, 47, 98, 106; by Drummond and Bulloch, *Two Centuries of the Church in Scotland*, p. 155 ('the evangelical outlook, which...was comparatively indifferent to a rapprochement with secular knowledge, was in the ascendant'); and to a lesser degree even by Voges, 'Moderate and Evangelical Thinking', p. 146.

37. D.W. Bebbington's analysis of the origins of evangelicalism suggests that the Enlightenment had a formative influence even upon many members of the eighteenth-century Popular Party, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, pp. 50-69. Dr. Piggan argues that the Enlightenment also influenced the development of the nineteenth-century missionary movement, *Making Evangelical Missionaries*, pp. 71-72, 251.

38. For example, a series of articles 'On Religious Enthusiasm', in the *Religious Monitor* 2:256-259 (July 1804) and 293-296 (Aug. 1804).

noted for the way in which 'their studies inflamed rather than tamed them.'³⁹

Evangelicals took a similar position on the importance of non-theological studies for ministers. They agreed with their Moderate contemporaries that ministerial training should be based upon a broad liberal education, and that ministers should continue reading in a wide range of subjects, especially literature, history, and science, throughout their careers.⁴⁰ While affirming the importance of these pursuits, Evangelicals also were careful to add that they should never usurp a minister's parish responsibilities.⁴¹ Thus, Henry Duncan, minister of Ruthwell in Ayrshire, rose at 4:00 AM so that he could spend four hours working on a novel without infringing upon the time he needed to fulfill his regular duties.⁴² Duncan's scholarly interests spanned a remarkable breadth, encompassing economics, natural science, archaeology, and painting as well as literature.⁴³ Although few other Evangelicals could match Duncan's accomplishments, most shared his twin commitment to general intellectual inquiry and to faithful pastoral care.⁴⁴

The career of Thomas Chalmers highlights the difference between Evangelical and Moderate perspectives of the place of non-theological learning and upon the role of education in general. As a result of his

39. Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries*, p. 72.

40. 'On the Importance of Learning for Ministers', *Religious Monitor*, 9 (Mar. 1811):116ff.

41. *Religious Monitor* 2 (Dec. 1804):447-452. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 2 (Mar. 1811):164-166.

42. G.J.C. Duncan, *Henry Duncan*, pp. 148ff.

43. G.J.C. Duncan, *Henry Duncan*, pp. 175ff. The present-day Savings Bank Museum in Ruthwell has exhibits of Duncan's work in all these fields.

44. Bryce Johnston, a first generation Evangelical minister in Holywood in Dumfries-shire, was noted equally for his devotion to his rural parish (J. Johnstone, ed., *Sermons of..Bryce Johnston*, pp. 11-14) and for his skill as a farmer (pp. 43-48). He even published a technical work on agriculture. Although ecclesiastical controversy absorbed much of the time and attention of third generation Evangelicals, the diversity of works reviewed in the *Presbyterian Review* confirms that they were still interested in more than theology (see chapter 3 above).

Evangelical conversion, Chalmers acquired a newfound interest in pastoral work, yet he did not abandon his scientific pursuits, nor did his new colleagues consider these studies to be unimportant, as the popularity among Evangelicals of his *Astronomical Discourses* and his *Civic and Christian Economy of Large Towns* attests. Significantly, his conversion led Chalmers to increase his commitment to education, at least at the parish level, not to decrease it. In 1813 he began visiting the Kilmany parish school on a monthly basis, offering popular lectures on the Bible, and teaching a Saturday Bible school in the hope of spreading the kind of religious experience he had recently undergone.⁴⁵

The behaviour of Chalmers illustrates a central difference between Evangelical and Moderate attitudes toward education. Moderates tended to look at education as an end in itself. Thus, in a sermon before the Society in Scotland for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor, William Taylor, the Moderate minister of the High Church in Glasgow, practically equated education with salvation, because virtue and duty were in essence learned responses.⁴⁶ In contrast, Evangelicals viewed education as a means to an end. It served as an important method of encouraging sanctification among believers and conversion among unbelievers.

45. S.J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, pp. 74-75.

46. *The Education of the Children of the Poor in the Principles of Religion, A Work of Charity Peculiarly Excellent. A sermon preached in the Tron Church, Edin. on Sabbath, 29 May, 1796; for the Benefit of the Society in Scotland for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor* (Edinburgh: J. Paterson, 1796). The sermon began with the characteristic Moderate affirmation that, 'To instruct the rising generation in the principles of religion and morality, and thus train them up in the paths of virtue, is the best service we can perform towards them' (p. 1). The first two headings dealt solely with education, arguing that it prevented misery and wretchedness and that it made the young useful members of society instead of a public burden. The *Evangelical Missionary Magazine* dismissed this sermon as a 'uniform strain of common-place remark', though it did commend the work of the SSPRKP as a means of encouraging piety among the poor (vol. 1 [Nov. 1796]:229-231).

Evangelical practice reflected a basic commitment to using education as a means to achieve spiritual aims. Evangelicals believed that education was a lifelong process, and as a result, they were involved in educational efforts designed to influence people from the time they first received formal instruction as children on up through adulthood. Thus, parish schools were the first item on the Evangelical educational agenda. Evangelicals looked upon them as the foundation of the Scottish educational system and as a primary vehicle to Christianise the nation. The responsibility to provide effective schools in every parish flowed from the commitments of Evangelicals to infant baptism and especially to the establishment principle.⁴⁷ Therefore, they worked hard to improve both the quality and the quantity of parochial education.

Although it was an issue throughout the period under review, improving the quality of parish instruction was especially important during roughly the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Only after the 1820s did increasing the number of schools receive similar attention. Evangelicals adopted a number of strategies that they believed would enable parish schools to stimulate both the intellectual and religious development of their students. The Bible and Christian doctrine were held up as the twin poles of the axis around which all teaching should revolve. They should serve not only as subjects in their own right, but they should pervade the rest of the curriculum as well, demonstrating that religious and secular topics could not be separated from one another.⁴⁸ To ensure that high standards were maintained, the minister was encouraged to visit his parish school regularly, assisted by the kirk-session. It was expected that in the course of their parochial visitation that the minis-

 47. *Presbyterian Review* 2 (Sep. 1832):506-514.

48. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 6 (May 1813):311ff. *Presbyterian Review* 2:310 (July 1832), 2:506-507 (Sep. 1832); and 10:616 (May 1838).

ter and elders would encourage parents to send their children to the parish school.⁴⁹

The schoolmaster, working in conjunction with the minister and elders, was the key figure in the Evangelical programme to augment the quality of parochial education.⁵⁰ Evangelicals did much to elevate the status of the schoolmaster, even calling upon the government to increase salaries to make them more commensurate with the importance of teaching the nation's youth.⁵¹ This special attention for schoolmasters closely paralleled Evangelical interest in ministers, since they were the two individuals who usually were the main sources of religious information in a parish. Thus, it was believed that a proficient schoolmaster could multiply the effectiveness of a godly minister, since 'the ministrations of the Sabbath tell with a mighty energy when they are addressed to an intelligent and clear-headed congregation'.⁵² In addition, since many clergy were drawn from the ranks of schoolmasters, efforts to improve the latter would have a long term indirect impact on the former.

If the ideal minister for Evangelicals was 'godly', then the ideal schoolmaster was 'pious', modelling Evangelical spirituality for his⁵³ pupils both within and outside the classroom through regular Bible reading, prayer, and attendance at worship.⁵⁴ The arrival of such a schoolmaster in Kilsyth in 1826 was cited as a crucial event in the preparation of that parish for religious revival during 1839-40, the revival being the culmination of the gradual change toward more serious religious attitudes

49. [J. Hamilton,] *William Hamilton*, 1:71-73.

50. The importance of the triumvirate of minister, elder, and schoolmaster was an oft-repeated refrain among Evangelicals. For example see [Lewis,] *Scotland A Half-Educated Nation*, p. 30.

51. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 27 (Feb. 1828):115ff.

52. [J. Hamilton,] *William Hamilton*, 1:72.

53. All parish schoolmasters were men during the first half of the nineteenth century.

54. *Religious Monitor* 3 (Jan. 1805):23.

and observance which he effected upon the 'rising generation' over a dozen years.⁵⁵ A pious schoolmaster was expected to do more than set a proper example. In addition, he was to seek actively to convert his students by presenting the gospel to them in the course of his teaching.⁵⁶ Once they were converted he was then to encourage them to support missionaries or to become one themselves.⁵⁷

While piety was an indispensable qualification for a schoolmaster, it was not a substitute for effectiveness. Evangelicals insisted that a pious schoolmaster also be an able educator. In an influential work on this subject, *The Qualifications of the Teachers of Youth*, Stevenson Macgill, professor of Divinity at Glasgow, emphasised that teachers must have a command of their subject and the ability to maintain order in the classroom before he discussed their morality and spirituality.⁵⁸

During the first half of the nineteenth century, Evangelicals developed a number of resources to improve the effectiveness of schoolmasters. Leading ministers such as Thomas Chalmers, and especially Andrew Thomson, wrote new textbooks, originally for use in their own schools, some of which went on to become standard texts throughout Scotland.⁵⁹

55. W.M. Hetherington, 'A Brief Account of the Revival of Religion at Kilsyth', *Scottish Christian Herald* 1, 2nd series (19 Oct. 1839):657.

56. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 15 (Dec. 1817):375ff. A similar recommendation was made to private tutors, vol. 6 (Mar. 1813):155ff. Evangelicals generally applied all the arguments about the character and duty of the parish schoolmaster to tutors and teachers in non-parish schools. Since they held that the schoolmaster was the pre-eminent instructor in the community, they hoped that an improvement in their quality would have a trickle-down effect upon the remainder of teachers.

57. See the resolution of the Edinburgh University Missionary Association [EUMA] to this effect, EUMA Minutes, 16 Nov. 1841, NCL. Since many of the members of the EUMA served as teachers themselves, this resolution was not an empty pronouncement.

58. Stevenson Macgill, *The Qualifications of the Teachers of Youth, Considered in a Discourse Delivered on the Anniversary of Wilson's Charity at Glasgow, 1812* (Glasgow: James Hedderwick & Co., 1814).

59. In 1814 Chalmers published an index of religious propositions and Scriptural proofs, (S.J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, pp. 74-75). Thomson disliked existing elementary texts because of the detached and isolated way they presented Christianity. Consequently, when his parish instituted a new school in 1823, he wrote his own (John W. Craven, 'Andrew Thomson (1779-1831): Leader of the Evangelical Revival in Scotland' [Edinburgh

Evangelicals took a special interest in educational theory, developing new teaching methods that encouraged a full-orbed comprehension of a subject instead of rote memorisation.⁶⁰ These teaching methods reflected their belief that a deep understanding of Christian truths helped to produce real conversions and genuine spirituality.⁶¹ David Stow, an Evangelical Glasgow layman and a champion of these views, was the most influential educationist of his day, promulgating his ideas through numerous books⁶² and putting them into practice on a broad scale by creating the first teacher training college in Britain. After establishing a similar one of its own in Edinburgh, the Education Committee of the General Assembly later took over supervision of Stow's college, and strongly recommended that all schoolmasters receive professional training in addition to their university studies.⁶³

The choice of a schoolmaster could affect a parish for generations since tenure was for life and dismissal could only occur through formal

University, Ph.D. Thesis, 1955], pp. 146ff). An earlier instructional guide, a catechism on the Lord's Supper, sold more than 60,000 copies by 1829 (p. 28).

60. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 21 (Mar. 1822):142ff; 22 (Apr. 1823):213ff. Some also thought that the existing system relied too much on punishments and not enough on rewards, and as a result, recommended that corporal punishment be abolished (vol. 22 [Feb. 1823]:73ff).

61. J.V. Smith attributes the growing interest in new teaching methods emphasising 'explanation' and 'understanding' to 'the absorption of rationalist tendencies into the evangelical consciousness --in particular the belief that virtue might result from the cultivation of reason' ('Manners, Morals and Mentalities', p. 38). While these tendencies played a role, it seems to have been a minor one. Of greater importance were the Reformed doctrine of justification by faith, with its consequent emphasis upon faith coming by hearing and understanding the gospel, and the pastoral problem of dead orthodoxy which many Evangelicals faced, namely a congregation of people who could recite the catechism and Bible verses without truly comprehending or caring about what they were saying.

62. For example, David Stow, *Bible Training, For Sabbath Schools, and Week-Day Schools*, 7th ed., enlarged (Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1842).

63. John Kerr, *Scottish Education: School and University From Early Times to 1908* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), pp. 208-210. For a more extensive discussion of Stow's work, see Mechie, *The Church and Scottish Social Development*, pp. 140-146.

proceedings heard by presbytery, and then usually only for cases of extreme neglect or immorality.⁶⁴ In every parish in the nation Evangelicals strove to convince heritors of the need to hire pious, effective schoolmasters. While their appeals often may have fallen on deaf ears, this strategy occasionally had a significant impact in a given area, especially if that area was controlled by a single landowner. For instance, the island of Lewis had become a bastion of Evangelicalism by the time of the Disruption, largely through the appointment of Evangelical teachers in the parish schools by the Seaforth family.⁶⁵

By the 1830s, in part because they sensed that their efforts to improve the quality of parish education were paying off, Evangelicals began to shift their focus upon increasing the quantity of schools in Scotland. They became increasingly concerned that the parochial educational system, designed in the mid-sixteenth century and relatively unchanged since the end of the seventeenth century, was unable to meet the educational needs of mid-nineteenth-century Scotland. Evangelicals continued to embrace strongly the vision of the Reformers for a national system of State-sponsored schools, making basic education based on the Bible available to all classes. They argued that Scotland's dramatic population growth since the end of the seventeenth century demanded a commensurate increase in the number of parish schools.

Evangelicals backed up their arguments with efforts. In the early 1820s they founded new schools paralleling the parish system, primarily in cities where the needs were greatest and where schools were usually provided piecemeal by the town council rather than by individual parishes. A schoolhouse in association with the new parish of St. John's in Glasgow

64. Myers, 'Scottish Schoolmasters', pp. 77, 79.

65. R. MacLeod, 'Progress of Evangelicalism in the Western Isles,' pp. 164-165.

opened in 1820, largely as a result of the efforts of Thomas Chalmers. This venture proved to be so popular that another schoolhouse was added in 1821.⁶⁶ In 1823, Andrew Thomson founded the St. George's Institution, a school for his parish, which embodied his own philosophy of education to the extent that initially he even taught the classes himself.⁶⁷

Although these two new sets of schools were intended to be models for other parishes to imitate, few seem to have done so, probably because most lacked eminent preachers like Chalmers or Thomson to generate the substantial funds needed to build and support a new school. In part because of these financial limitations and especially because of strongly pro-Establishment sentiments generated by the Voluntary Controversy, the Evangelicals adopted a different strategy in the 1830s, attempting to persuade the government to build and endow a greater number of regular parish schools. This approach closely paralleled the campaign for Church Extension and reflected their general vision of creating manageable parishes as a means to Christianise Scotland through religious education.⁶⁸

A voluntary society, the Glasgow Educational Association [GEA], was founded in 1834 to petition the government to extend the parochial school system.⁶⁹ Its founders included George Lewis, the editor of the *Scottish Guardian*, Robert Buchanan, the young minister of the Tron Church, and David Stow, the educational reformer.⁷⁰ The GEA grew out of Stow's Glas-

66. S.J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, p. 137.

67. [Watson,] 'Memoir of Dr. Thomson', pp. xxi-xxii. Craven, 'Andrew Thomson', pp. 137ff.

68. See the *Church of Scotland Magazine* 1 (Mar. 1834):1ff for a typical Evangelical argument for the importance of extending the Establishment's churches and schools in the face of the Voluntary threat if Scotland is to avoid falling into infidelity.

69. *Scotland a Half-Educated Nation* largely summed up the GEA's platform, Witherington, "'Scotland a Half Educated Nation" in 1834?', p. 56.

70. Witherington, "'Scotland a Half Educated Nation" in 1834?', p. 56. Walker, *Robert Buchanan*, pp. 37ff. The GEA was associated closely in purpose and membership with the Glasgow Association for Promoting the Interests of the Church of Scotland, which sought to increase government funding to erect and endow new churches, see *Church of Scotland Magazine* 1 (Apr. 1834):50f.

gow Infant School Society, promoting his educational theories and supporting his teacher training college, as well as fulfilling its primary function of lobbying for additional State funding for education.⁷¹ While the GEA had relatively little success in getting the government to accept its approach, obtaining only a few thousand pounds to expand its teacher training college⁷², it strongly influenced the Education Committee of the General Assembly, which took over the GEA's responsibilities in the early 1840s.⁷³

Although parish schools were the centrepiece of their educational strategy, Evangelicals also developed additional educational opportunities for those unable to participate in the parochial system, seeking to ensure that everyone in the nation could receive the rudiments of religious instruction. Sunday schools, or as they were usually called in Scotland during the first half of the nineteenth century, 'Sabbath schools', were the most significant non-parochial educational vehicle promoted by Evangelicals.⁷⁴ They were probably the most widely accepted element of Evangelical practice within the Kirk, eventually becoming 'the largest

71. Mechie, *The Church and Scottish Social Development*, pp. 143-4.

72. In order to receive this grant in 1841, the GEA had to agree to place its college under the supervision of the Education Committee of the General Assembly, which had developed a similar institution in Edinburgh six years earlier (Kerr, *Scottish Education*, p. 210).

73. By this time the Assembly Education Committee, which had been founded in 1824, had come to adopt the GEA's distinctive educational philosophy of seeking to 'train the *whole man* in his intellectual, physical, religious, and moral HABITS' (*Report of the Committee of the General Assembly For Increasing the Means of Education in Scotland, Particularly in the Highlands and Islands, Submitted to the General Assembly, May 1841* [Edinburgh: John Stark, 1841], p. 38). It also adopted the GEA's position that the Established Church had a special obligation to provide for the nation's education (*1842 Assembly Education Committee Report*, pp. 7-8).

74. Evangelicals were not the only proponents of this educational approach. For a more extensive discussion of the general development of Scottish Sabbath schools see Callum G. Brown, 'The Sunday-school Movement in Scotland, 1780-1914', *RSCHS* 21 (1983):3-26.

religious voluntary organization of nineteenth-century Scotland'.⁷⁵ The growth of Sabbath schools roughly paralleled the waves of voluntary society activity, reflecting the close interconnection among the various elements of Evangelical practice.⁷⁶ Sabbath schools served as the primary local organisational structure of Evangelicalism, introducing and spreading Evangelical ideas and institutions to their large numbers of teachers and students throughout Scotland over succeeding generations.

The original purpose of the Sabbath schools was to provide basic literacy training for children who received no regular instruction during the week, and for illiterate adults. Because Sabbath schools offered many poor and working-class people the only education they could obtain, they were highly popular, quickly providing Evangelicalism with its most extensive contacts with those groups.⁷⁷ These contacts were not simply motivated by educational or philanthropic concerns. In her major study of Victorian philanthropy, Olive Checkland concludes: 'Nowhere can the evangelical urge to bring salvation be seen more clearly than in the Sunday School movement.'⁷⁸ From their beginning and continuing throughout the period under review, Sabbath schools were strongly evangelistic.⁷⁹ Most instruction related to learning to read the Bible or to other religious topics.

75. C.G. Brown, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland*, p. 145.

76. For example, Sabbath schools grew rapidly after 1814 (C.G. Brown, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland*, p. 145), thus roughly coinciding with the peak of Bible society organising activity. See Appendix 2.3. Each type of group indirectly encouraged the development of the other since Evangelicals believed it was equally fruitless for people to have Bibles if they did not know how to read them or for them to learn to read if they had no Bible of their own.

77. O. Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland*, p. 62. Many urban Sabbath schools met in rented rooms in slum neighbourhoods.

78. O. Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland*, p. 46.

79. From its foundation, the Edinburgh City Mission made Sabbath schools part of its evangelistic strategy (1 Mar. 1832, ECM Minutes, p. 2). The Education Committee of the General Assembly was careful to note that all of its schools had a Sabbath school connected with them, perhaps to demonstrate their evangelistic purpose (1839 Report p. 8).

Sabbath schools also gradually became a primary means of providing general religious education for all children, including those who could read and who came from families which attended church. They were often seen as a supplement to traditional catechetical diets supplied by the minister, and increasingly catechising was integrated into the curriculum of the schools. Around the early 1820s these developments began to evoke negative reactions from some traditionalists in the Kirk. A line in a General Assembly report in 1819 implied that Sabbath schools removed religious instruction from its proper context in the home. In a storm of letters to the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* Evangelicals quickly rose to the defence, arguing that the decline of family worship, pastoral visitation, and catechising in many parishes made Sabbath schools a necessary precaution against widespread religious ignorance.⁸⁰ Yet, these letters also betray an underlying ambivalence about the undesirable side-effects of having to use such non-traditional means to respond to the continued breakdown of Scotland's traditionally Christian society. In 1840 one Evangelical made explicit what the Assembly had implied, expressing his concern that many Christian parents excused their negligence in instructing their own children on the grounds that they sent them to Sabbath schools.⁸¹

Despite these and other occasional reservations, most Evangelicals enthusiastically promoted Sabbath schools throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. They followed the lead of some of their predecessors who had experimented with similar educational approaches as early as the

80. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 18 (Feb. 1819):101ff. See also vols. 20 (May 1821):304ff and 21 (Feb. 1822):83ff.

81. Findlater, *Robert Findlater*, p. 6.

1770s.⁸² However, Sabbath schools did not become widespread until the 1790s,⁸³ picking up both enthusiasm and organisational sophistication from the wave of missionary societies that was then sweeping through the country. Those who gathered together to organise for missions were led naturally to organise Sabbath schools as well, since they provided a concrete reply to critics who asked what was being done about the heathen at home.⁸⁴

Evangelical involvement in Sabbath schools was not limited to the inter-denominational groups that were formed along the lines of missionary societies in order to start and supervise schools in some cities and large towns. During the 1790s and even beyond, the Sabbath school movement had little central organisation; individuals, including many Church of Scotland members, often founded and maintained their own schools. Since so

 82. Prior to the advent of Sabbath school societies, Lady Glenorchy set up a 'Sabbath Evening School' at her chapel in Edinburgh. It survived at least to the end of the eighteenth century when Greville Ewing taught in it (Matheson, *Greville Ewing*, p. 41). John Burns, minister of the Barony Church in Glasgow and a leading first generation Evangelical, is said to have launched a Sunday educational scheme in his parish in 1775 (O. Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland*, p. 47).

83. For example in 1797 the *Missionary Magazine* reported the existence of Sabbath schools in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Anderston, Greenock, Stirling, Linlithgow, and Falkirk (vol. 2 [May 1797]:242); in Perth and Dunfermline, (vol. 2 [Sep. 1797]:434); and in Dundee, Leslie, Alloa, Inverkeithing, and Bonnyrigg, a large village of colliers in the parish of Cockpen (vol. 2 [Nov. 1797]:531). In the same year James Haldane and his associates encountered several existing Sabbath schools in the Northeast and the Highlands (Aberdeen, Elgin, Nairn, Tain, Croy, and Huntly) in addition to the ones they founded (*Journal of a Tour Through the Northern Counties of Scotland and the Orkney Isles, in Autumn 1797. Undertaken with a View to Promote the Knowledge of the Gospel of Jesus Christ* [Edinburgh: J. Ritchie, 1798], passim).

84. In Paisley it was reported that despite interest in starting up Sabbath schools among individuals 'nothing of consequence was done till the subject was mentioned in the Missionary Society and warmly recommended by some of the members' (Report of the Society for Erecting and Supporting Sabbath Schools in Paisley, 1798, appended to W. Ferrier, *Two Discourses...Before the Friends of the Sabbath Schools* [Paisley: Neilson & Weir, 1798], p. 171). See the description of this missionary society meeting in the *Evangelical Magazine* 6 (Sep. 1798):381-383; note that 'the ministers of the Establishment' supported the new Sabbath school society.

much of parish life revolved around the minister, it is not surprising that the manse often was the focus of this endeavour. For example, James Kidd, the first generation Evangelical minister of Gilcomston parish and Professor of Oriental Languages at Marischal College, Aberdeen, established a number of Sabbath schools in his parish, visiting them annually and meeting monthly with the society under whose charge he placed them.⁸⁵ The wife of John Colquhoun, the first generation Evangelical minister of St. John's Chapel, Leith seems to have founded or at least supervised a local school.⁸⁶ Second and third generation ministers followed a similar pattern, often starting schools in their own parishes following an Evangelical conversion experience⁸⁷ or upon their arrival at parishes which lacked them.⁸⁸

Lay people from the Church of Scotland also were instrumental in founding Sabbath schools. The new parish schoolmaster introduced them into the parish of Tranent.⁸⁹ Alexander Pitcairn, an elder at Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, Edinburgh, began and funded a Sabbath school in

85. *Recollections of the Ministerial Labours of the Late Rev. James Kidd, D.D., Professor of Oriental Languages in Marischal College and University, and Minister of Gilcomston Parish, Aberdeen. By a Member of His Congregation* (Aberdeen: John Mathison, 1835), p. 8.

86. Robert Findlater Jr., later minister of the chapel-of-ease in Inverness, taught in this school while he was a divinity student in Edinburgh (Findlater, *Robert Findlater*, p. 109).

87. Thomas Chalmers is the best known example (note that his school in Kilmany met on Saturdays, S.J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, p. 74), but others followed a similar pattern: Alexander Stewart in Moulin ([James Sievwright,] *Memoirs of the Late Rev. Alexander Stewart, D.D.*, 2nd ed. [Edinburgh: William Oliphant, 1822], pp. 50-51) and Henry Duncan in Ruthwell (G.J.C. Duncan, *Henry Duncan*, pp. 245ff). In a similar pattern, Robert Murray McCheyne first evidenced his change to 'serious' religious principles by teaching in a Sabbath school (A.A. Bonar, *Robert Murray McCheyne*, p. 28).

88. For example, Norman Macleod Jr. at Loudon (Donald Macleod, *Memoir of Norman Macleod* 2 vols. [London: Daldy, Isbister & Co., 1876] 1:114); Robert Buchanan at Gargunnoch (Walker, *Robert Buchanan*, p. 6); and William Hamilton at Strathblane ([J. Hamilton,] *William Hamilton* 1:51).

89. T. Angus Kerr, 'The Life and Ministry of the Rev. Hugh Cunningham of Tranent, 1758-1801', *RSCHS*, 15 (1966):49-50.

Burntisland on the southern coast of Fife, where he had a summer home.⁹⁰ Robert Findlater Sr., a layman from Kiltearn in Ross-shire, furthered the spread of Sabbath schools in his parish from the earliest stages. He began by circulating an address describing their purpose, then served as secretary of the resulting Sabbath school society and taught in the classroom until his death in 1814.⁹¹

By the late 1790s lay involvement in the schools had begun to raise suspicions amongst some in the Church of Scotland, primarily because of their connection with the SPGH, which also sponsored lay preaching. The 1799 Pastoral Admonition of the General Assembly not only prohibited lay preaching but sought to bring all Sabbath schools under presbyterial authority as an extension of the Established Church's legal right to supervise national education.⁹² The effect of the Admonition upon Kirk-related schools is not completely clear. Almost all Moderates who had embraced the new schools during the 1780s and early 1790s⁹³ seem to have heeded its warning and abandoned them as being too revolutionary, at least if the schools were connected with any form of sponsoring society. While the Admonition may have dampened the enthusiasm of the Evangelicals for Sabbath schools, at least in public, most seem to have continued to support them, even when this support elicited harassment from the ruling classes.⁹⁴

 90. Matheson, *Greville Ewing*, p. 167-168. Pitcairn, an insurance-broker, also assisted John Campbell with his early Sabbath school efforts, Philip, *John Campbell*, p. 127.

91. Findlater, *Robert Findlater*, pp. 44ff.

92. Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland*, p. 312.

93. Even 'Jupiter' Carlyle was reported to have had one at Inveresk (MacInnes, *The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands*, pp. 257-258). See also C.G. Brown, 'The Sunday-school Movement in Scotland,' 3-7.

94. Although in 1799 the Sheriff of Renfrewshire ordered the Sabbath school society in Paisley, to which the father of David Stow and several other Kirk Evangelicals belonged, to report on the nature and size of its schools and to have all its teachers come to the Procurator Fiscal's office to take the oath of allegiance, the society was not forced to dissolve, nor did any of its Church of Scotland supporters seem to have resigned (William Fraser, *Memoir of the Life of David Stow; Founder of the Training System of Education* [London: James Nisbet, 1868], pp. 22-23).

During the first two decades of the nineteenth century Evangelicals were less cautious about supporting inter-denominational society-sponsored Sabbath schools than were their Moderate contemporaries or their Evangelical successors.⁹⁵ However, neither of these latter two groups totally abandoned Sabbath schools. Instead they began to experiment with parish-based alternatives to the society model.

Although Thomas Chalmers was the best known champion of organising Sabbath schools along parish lines, an organisation led by Alexander Brunton, the evangelical Moderate minister of the Tron Church in Edinburgh, anticipated some elements of Chalmers' approach. In response to a pastoral admonition by the Presbytery of Edinburgh on the need to provide 'for the religious education of the children of the poor on the Lord's day, and for securing their attendance on Divine Service',⁹⁶ a conjoint meeting of the Edinburgh kirk-sessions adopted a series of regulations on

 Robert Findlater Sr. continued his involvement with his local Sabbath school despite the local laird's disapproval and his threat to remove him as a tenant (Findlater, *Robert Findlater*, p. 62).

95. C.G. Brown seems to overplay the negative impact of the 1799 Admonition upon the involvement of Evangelicals in Sabbath schools, conflating the absence of General Assembly approval with the schools' exclusion from the Established Church ('The Sunday-school Movement in Scotland,' pp. 9-11). While Moderate interest in Sabbath schools largely withered away after 1799, the same cannot be said of the Evangelicals, and their activity kept Sabbath schools alive in the Kirk. The *Religious Monitor* and the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* regularly contained reports of Sabbath school societies. Almost every memoir of an Evangelical minister contained some reference to his involvement in the schools. Long-established, first generation Evangelical ministers such as John Lockhart of Blackfriars, John Burns of the Barony, and John Love of Anderston Chapel, were patronising Sabbath school societies in Glasgow in 1819 (Table of 'the Sabbath Schools established within the Royalty of Glasgow, for the religious instruction of Children', James Cleland, *The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow* [Glasgow: James Brash & Co., 1820], between pp. 228-229). Perhaps because this consistent support of Sabbath schools by traditional Evangelicals demonstrated that they were no threat to the Establishment, and were indeed highly useful, the General Assembly later modified its attitude. In 1819 it produced a 'Report relative to Sabbath Schools', with which even the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* was generally pleased (vol. 18 [Feb. 1819]:101ff).

96. The text of this pastoral admonition was printed in the *Religious Monitor* 10 (May 1812):173ff.

16 March 1812 creating a 'Parochial Institution' for each parish in the city.⁹⁷ Although the wording of these regulations seems to have studiously avoided using the phrase 'Sabbath school', the function of a 'Parochial Institution' was much the same. Children from a parish were to be assembled prior to the morning service for Scripture reading and catechising, then taken by their teacher to the worship in the parish church, and finally given more religious instruction in the evening. Significantly, the local kirk-session had authority over the direction of its Parochial Institution, including the election of its teacher. However, a general committee consisting of lay and clerical representatives of the kirk-sessions had the authority to manage an annual collection to underwrite the scheme, to maintain uniform standards within the system, and to mediate in any complaints between parishes.⁹⁸ This set-up combined a Moderate concern for proper ecclesiastical jurisdiction with an Evangelical concern for actively organising to meet the religious needs of the community, a combination reflecting the strengths of both groups within the Presbytery of Edinburgh.⁹⁹

Seven years after the Parochial Institutions appeared in Edinburgh, Thomas Chalmers formulated a similar parish-orientated approach for the

97. The text of these regulations was printed in the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 4 (May 1812):358-359.

98. Brunton was unanimously elected secretary of this general committee, suggesting that he had taken a leading role in bringing this plan into fruition. His interest in providing religious education for children seems to have extended beyond Parochial Institutions to embrace even traditional Sabbath schools, for in 1816 he was elected as one of the founding 'extraordinary directors' of the Sabbath School Union for Scotland, sharing this office with two eminent Edinburgh Evangelicals, Andrew Thomson and James Bonar, the second solicitor to the Excise (*Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 12 [Mar. 1816]:216ff).

99. Moderates seem to have become increasingly amenable to Sabbath schools in the 1810s and 1820s. In 1824 one Evangelical commented that 'so strong is the impression of their importance and utility, that men of the most moderate pretensions to Christianity, are seen uniting with the most zealous of its friends, for the purpose of affording them...the support...they...need' (*Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 23 [Sept. 1824]:599).

Sabbath schools of his new parish of St. John's, Glasgow.¹⁰⁰ Although he abandoned the voluntary society structure of the Sabbath schools used in his previous parish, he did carry to St. John's two other distinctive characteristics which he had developed at the Tron, namely the principles of 'locality'¹⁰¹ and 'aggression'¹⁰². This package proved to be highly successful, involving over half the children in St. John's parish in Sabbath schools,¹⁰³ and Chalmers popularised it through his writing, and later through his influence as a professor.

By the early 1820s this 'system of locality', as it was called, was being imitated by Evangelicals throughout the Kirk.¹⁰⁴ However, these imitations did not always turn out as well as the original, at least in the short term. One experimenter remarked in 1825 that after using the system for five years 'at no period since its establishment has encouragement been more requisite than at the present moment'. He added that many of his teachers were quitting because their extensive labours seemed to be

 100. Instead of the schools being directly accountable to the kirk-session, they were supervised by the St. John's Agency, a parochial administrative body made up of elders, deacons, and Sabbath school teachers (S.J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, pp. 135-136).

101. The principle of locality consisted of having teachers draw their students from within a small, defined area (for example, twenty families living on the same street) instead of from the whole parish or even the whole city as earlier Sabbath school societies had done. David Stow's biographer suggested that Chalmers derived this approach from Stow, one of his elders (Fraser, *David Stow*, pp. 24ff).

102. The principle of 'aggression' consisted of having teachers visit all the families within their area in order to encourage parents to send their children to Sabbath school, and of following up formal classroom instruction with informal contact with the students.

103. S.J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, p. 136.

104. For example the Dumfries and Maxwelltown Sabbath School Society was organised along these lines in 1820 after a group of individuals had read Chalmers's *Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns* (*Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 20 [July 1821]:492ff). This work also inspired a similar group to begin organising schools in several parishes in Edinburgh in 1821 (vol. 20 [May 1821]:344ff).

producing so little fruit.¹⁰⁵

The rapid growth of local, parish-based Sabbath schools awaited the influx in the 1830s of third generation Evangelical ministers, many of whom had trained under Chalmers. As the Voluntary Controversy heated up, one of the first steps that many of these young ministers took upon arriving in a new parish was to remove all Sabbath schools taught by Kirk members from their connection with a society in order to bring them under the jurisdiction of the kirk-session.¹⁰⁶ This strategy seems to have been effective. Between 1831 and 1841 the Glasgow Sabbath school movement grew at four times the rate of the population, with the bulk of this growth coming in schools associated with the Establishment.¹⁰⁷

Sabbath schools spread Evangelical ideas not only among their students, but among their teachers as well, providing a major outlet for lay activism within Evangelicalism. This process began in 1797 with the formation of the Edinburgh Gratis Sabbath School Society [EGSSS].¹⁰⁸ Up until this time most Sabbath school teachers, like their counterparts in parish or SSPCK schools, had been paid, usually by the parish kirk-session, the town council, or a Sabbath school society. By popularising the notion that teachers should perform their duty 'gratis' (for free), the EGSSS not only removed a major financial obstacle to the further expansion of Sabbath schools, but transformed lay expectations of their role in ministry. No longer was religious instruction the exclusive

 105. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 24 (May 1825):288. See also the letter from David Stow to Thomas Chalmers, 7 Mar. 1824, Chalmers Papers, NCL, CHA 4.39.29-30. Note that Stow added that 'the want of display and committeeships, patrons &c.', the usual trappings of the voluntary society approach, hindered the growth of the local system among church leaders.

106. For example, as when Robert Buchanan came to the Tron parish, Glasgow in 1833 (Walker, *Robert Buchanan*, pp. 30-31) and when Robert Candlish came to St. George's, Edinburgh in 1834 (Wilson, *Robert Candlish*, pp. 69-72).

107. C.G. Brown, 'The Sunday-school Movement in Scotland,' pp. 13-14.

108. *Missionary Magazine* 2 (Dec. 1797):575f.

domain of paid professionals.¹⁰⁹ Lay people not only were permitted to participate in such activities, but increasingly were expected to express their faith through active Christian service. Thomas Chalmers accelerated this trend within Evangelicalism by incorporating these expectations into the parochial structure of the Kirk, effectively elevating the Sabbath school teacher into 'what amounted to a third lay office'.¹¹⁰

At first the Sabbath schools of the EGSSS, Chalmers, and others primarily recruited their teachers from middle to lower middle-class men, especially those in clerical occupations.¹¹¹ Many divinity students and probationers also became teachers.¹¹² As the nineteenth century progressed, teachers were drawn increasingly from the ranks of the Sabbath schools themselves, adding to working-class representation, since most early schools were composed of children from this social class.¹¹³ Women also began to be included, usually only to teach classes of girls.¹¹⁴ Women proved to be highly dedicated and effective teachers, perhaps because Sabbath schools provided one of the few public outlets by which

 109. The qualifications for a good Sabbath school teacher frequently were expressed along the same lines as those of a good schoolmaster (for example, piety, mastery of the subject, class discipline). See 'Letter from a Sabbath School Teacher to a Friend', *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 20 (July 1821):464ff.

110. In addition to the official offices of elder and deacon. S.J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, p. 375.

111. See the letter from David Stow to Thomas Chalmers, 7 Mar. 1824, Chalmers Papers, NCL, CHA 4.39.29-30.

112. For example, George Wright, minister at Markinch, in his diary, mentioned founding and teaching a Sabbath School while a student (vol. 1, 10 June 1797 and 3 Dec. 1797, NCL).

113. For example in Kelso, *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 18 (July 1819):484; and in St. John's parish, Glasgow, letter from James Thomson to Thomas Chalmers, 16 Sep. 1824, Chalmers Papers, NCL, CHA 4.39.58-59. Occasionally, boys who grew up in Sabbath schools became not only teachers, but ministers; for example John Geddes of St. Andrew's, Glasgow, *Edinburgh Christian Instructor New Series*, 2 (Dec. 1833):801ff.

114. For example in Kelso, *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 18 (July 1819):483ff.

they could actively express their faith.¹¹⁵ One of their number, Margaret Wilson, carried what she had learned as a Sabbath school teacher in Greenock to India, pioneering female education there.¹¹⁶ Perhaps one reason for the success of the Church of Scotland's Ladies Association for Female Education in India was that a generation of women who had been Sabbath school students, many of whom were also then presently teachers, wanted to give other women the same opportunity for religious instruction that they themselves had enjoyed.

Because the Sabbath schools and their teachers came to occupy such an important role in Evangelicalism, their training and organisation increased throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. Chalmers began this process at the parish level¹¹⁷, and many of his students continued it.¹¹⁸ Two of his elders, David Stow and William Collins, also made significant contributions to furthering the development of Sabbath schools, Stow by providing teacher training¹¹⁹ and Collins by publishing a specialised periodical for teachers, the *Sabbath School Magazine for Scotland*.¹²⁰ By 1841 the General Assembly Education Committee had become

 115. See the letters of 27 Jan. 1824 and 24 Dec. 1824 from James Thomson to Thomas Chalmers, in the Chalmers Papers, NCL, CHA 4.39.52-53 and 4.39.62-63; note that in the latter Thomson related that the schools taught by women were prospering, while the other ones were struggling with the problem of teachers resigning.

116. J. Wilson, *Margaret Wilson*, pp. 47, 334, 421.

117. See his regular correspondence with one of his Sabbath school teachers at St. John's, James Thomson, which also shows how Sabbath school teachers themselves sought to improve the quality of their teaching and the organisation of classes, as well as revealing the degree of commitment that such teaching involved and the strong religious faith it reflected. See Chalmers Papers, NCL, CHA 4.14.26-27, 4.14.28-29, 4.39.52-53, 4.39.56-57, 4.39.58-59, and 4.39.62-63.

118. For example Robert Murray McCheyne wrote special hymns and tracts as well as notes on the Scripture lesson for the Sabbath schools connected with St. Peter's parish in Dundee, A.A. Bonar, *Robert Murray McCheyne*, pp. 90 and 272.

119. See Stow, *Bible Training, For Sabbath Schools, and Week-Day Schools*, pp. ivf for his argument for the need for trained Sabbath school teachers.

120. The *Sabbath School Magazine for Scotland* appeared in 1823 and continued for at least three volumes if not longer.

involved in teacher training, offering the services of its Inspector of Schools to potential and existing Sabbath school teachers in Edinburgh.¹²¹

Various local and regional Sabbath school unions arose during the 1810s to help to coordinate the efforts of different Sabbath schools and to encourage the formation of new schools. This process culminated in the foundation of the interdenominational Sabbath School Union for Scotland [SSUS] in 1816. While the SSUS, which received strong support from leading Evangelical ministers¹²², and its smaller counterparts had no authority over the management of particular schools, they did foster a common vision for popular religious education among their adherents throughout the nation. However, this common vision broke down during the Voluntary Controversy when many Sabbath school unions either disbanded or became primarily related to one denomination.¹²³

Evangelicals desired to provide religious education for young people who were beyond Sabbath school age (usually about 15) as well, developing new groups for those graduating from Sabbath schools and for those who had never been reached by them. These groups usually were not called 'Sabbath schools' and gave religious instruction at a more advanced level than the schools offered.¹²⁴ They also tended to be single sex,¹²⁵ anticipating

121. *Home and Foreign Missionary Record for the Church of Scotland* 1 (Feb. 1841):275ff and *Presbyterian Review* 14 (April 1841):135.

122. Evangelical ministers from Edinburgh serving on the first board of the SSUS included: Henry Moncreiff Wellwood of St Cuthbert's as Vice-President (a post he continued to hold as late as 1826); Alexander Brunton of the Tron and Andrew Thomson of St. George's as Extraordinary Directors; and James Robertson of South Leith, David Dickson Jr. of St. Cuthbert's, and Henry Grey of St. Mary's as Ordinary Directors, *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 12 (Mar. 1816):216ff.

123. C. Brown, 'The Sunday-school Movement in Scotland,' pp. 11-13.

124. For example, reading the Bible or some religious book and then discussing it rather than memorisation, see the letter from James Thomson to Thomas Chalmers, 1 Sep. 1819, Chalmers Papers, NCL, CHA 4.14.28-29.

125. For example, a 'Sabbath School for Young Women of 15 years, and upwards' listed in the table in Cleland, *The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow*, between pp. 228 and 229; and 'an evening Sabbath class for young men' taught by Norman Macleod Jr. when he was minister at Loudon, D. Macleod, *Norman Macleod*, p. 132.

the work of post-Disruption Victorian religious organisations such as the YMCA and the YWCA.¹²⁶

During the early part of the Sabbath school movement adults were often taught to read along with children. However, as Sabbath schools became identified more closely with children and with religious education, adults no longer participated. Nonetheless, Evangelicals continued to provide basic literacy classes for adults based upon reading the Bible. One such school was sponsored by a society of young people who had received instruction themselves from Sabbath schools.¹²⁷ Others were provided by factory owners for the free instruction of their workers¹²⁸ and by city missions as their visitors discovered many illiterates.¹²⁹

 126. O. Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland*, pp. 50-53.

127. See the Miscellaneous Remarks about the Sabbath School Youths' Union in the table in Cleland, *The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow*, between pp. 228 and 229.

128. The Calton and Bridgeton Association for Religious Purposes with the help of two textile factory owners established weekday evening schools for the workers, *Fourth Annual Report...1819*, pp. 9ff.

129. *Second Annual Report of the Society for Promoting the Religious Interests of the Poor of Glasgow and its Vicinity; or Glasgow City Mission. Read 1st January, 1828* (Glasgow: Andrew Young, 1828), pp. 16ff.

CHAPTER 8

EDUCATION: EVANGELICALISM'S COGNITIVE FOUNDATION--Part 2

Evangelicals did not limit adult education to literacy training in formal classroom settings. They viewed education as a lifelong process and sought through a variety of approaches to encourage a love of learning amongst all classes as the means of deepening the faith of believers and of proselytising unbelievers. This process began in the pulpit. Evangelical preaching tended to be highly academic, logical, and dogmatic. The emphasis was upon teaching its hearers the doctrines they needed to know for their salvation.¹ While Evangelicals discouraged older practices which they thought made preaching less edifying,² they attempted to revive lecturing, a form of systematic Biblical exposition that was traditionally presented in the forenoon service, because it created a biblically literate congregation.³

 1. This evaluation is based upon William G. Enright's excellent study of Evangelical preaching in chapters 4 and 5 of 'Preaching and Theology in the Nineteenth Century: A Study of the Context and Content of the Evangelical Sermon' (Edinburgh University, Ph.D. Thesis, 1968).

2. For example, 'On the Impropriety of Preaching Long on One Text', *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 11 (Sep. 1815):167ff.

3. For examples of lectures by Evangelical ministers and reviews encouraging their revival see the *Religious Monitor* 3 (Jan. 1805):25-28; vol. 7 (Nov. 1809):516ff; and the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 1 (Aug. 1810):38-48.

Libraries were an important part of the Evangelical educational programme for adults, complementing many of their other efforts.⁴ Although circulating libraries first appeared in East Lothian among Secession churches in 1810,⁵ they quickly spread throughout Scotland, especially in parishes served by Evangelicals.⁶ Most of the books in these libraries were religious, but they also contained some works of general interest, primarily related to practical sciences such as agriculture, history, and travel.⁷ Novels usually were not permitted since most were considered to be either immoral or frivolous. These general libraries were supplemented by specialist libraries as the period progressed, including collections for 'juveniles'⁸, Gaelic speakers⁹, and sailors.¹⁰ In an effort to improve the quality of their own preaching, Evangelical ministers in Edinburgh even formed a library consisting of reference works on the Bible that were too expensive for individuals to purchase.¹¹

A concern for the continuing education of ministers elicited a different response in Glasgow. In 1800 Stevenson Macgill, then minister of the Tron Church, organised the Clerical Literary Society [CLS], a monthly

 4. For example, most libraries contained religious periodicals and voluntary society reports, *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 12 (June 1816):377.

5. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 19 (Mar. 1820):267ff.

6. For example, in Ruthwell (G.J.C. Duncan, *Henry Duncan*, p. 68) and in Strathblane ([J. Hamilton,] *William Hamilton* 1:51). In 1821 Hamilton supplemented the parish library, founded in 1819, with smaller libraries attached to each Sabbath school class (1:135). He also listed 'village libraries' as one of the means of promoting religious revivals (2:59f).

7. *Scottish Missionary Register* 5 (May 1824):197ff.

8. *Religious Monitor* 12 (Dec. 1814):335. It became standard practice to link these libraries with Sabbath schools.

9. A scheme for forming libraries in the Highlands was sponsored by both Established and Secession evangelicals, seemingly in cooperation with one another; see *Religious Monitor* 15 (Aug. 1817):289ff and 17 (Dec. 1819):468f.

10. By the 1830s a society in Greenock had placed 45 portable libraries on ships, O. Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland*, p. 72.

11. Thomas R. Davidson of the Tolbooth Church was its president, and David Dickson Jr. of St. Cuthbert's was its secretary, *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 6 (Mar. 1813):215f.

gathering of ministers from the city and its environs for the reading and discussion of essays related to 'theological literature'.¹² Macgill was alarmed that the 'avocations of a city minister were unfavourable to the cultivation of literature and theology' and hoped that this group might counteract these tendencies.¹³ For at least four decades the CLS provided an important forum for its predominately Evangelical membership to discuss contemporary practical and theological issues, especially during the controversies of the late 1820s and 1830s.¹⁴ In 1828 John McLeod Campbell was invited to read an essay on confessing Christ, which three CLS members countered with essays of their own at subsequent meetings.¹⁵ The group also occasionally encouraged its members to publish their essays in religious periodicals or as books. The most notable work known to have been inspired by the CLS was Macgill's *Considerations Addressed to A Young Clergyman* in 1809, a popular guide to ministerial character, most of which had been read at its meetings in essay form.¹⁶ While the Glasgow CLS was the most well known group of this kind, ministers met for similar purposes in Carrick and in Kirkcaldy.¹⁷

Evangelicals believed in continuing education not only for ministers, but for other adults as well, particularly factory workers. Second gener-

12. 'Theological literature' included Biblical studies, apologetics, church history, pastoral care, and preaching.

13. R. Burns, *Stevenson Macgill*, p. 58.

14. The CLS included these leading Evangelical ministers from Glasgow: John Lockhart of Blackfriars, Alexander Ranken of St. David's, Charles J. Brown of Anderston Chapel, and Thomas Chalmers; as well as a number of others from the surrounding area: Robert Burns of Paisley, Patrick Clason then of Carmunnock, William Hamilton of Strathblane, John Brown of Gartmore, and John Robertson of Cambuslang. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, 4th Series, 1 (Sep. 1838):419-420.

15. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, 4th Series, 1 (Sep. 1838):420. These later essays included 'Bereanism and Sandemanianism' by William Hamilton of Strathblane, and 'On Assurance' by Thomas Brown of St. John's.

16. R. Burns, *Stevenson Macgill*, pp. 58ff. This work was expanded and republished in 1820 as *Letters to a Young Clergyman*.

17. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, 4th Series, 1 (Sep. 1838):421-422.

ation ministers, such as Andrew Thomson of St. George's, Edinburgh and Archibald Bennie of Stirling,¹⁸ spearheaded the development of 'Mechanics Institutes' in the mid-1820s, which offered scientific instruction to workers.¹⁹ This approach reflected the Evangelical belief that natural revelation led to special revelation. Interest in the creation might spark interest in the Creator. Since Evangelicals such as Henry Duncan held that all truth was God's truth, scientific inquiry posed no direct threat to Christianity; indeed, it countered infidelity when guided by believing teachers:

Truth cannot oppose truth. Intelligent men --though but half-educated-- in an age like ours, *will* inquire into doubtful and difficult subjects, and no one has a right to prevent them, even were it possible. Surely then, it is but a duty...to afford them the aid they need in...seeking to discover whatever is genuine in science. Any other course on the part of Christian professors naturally throws a suspicion on the claim of our holy faith, while it leaves the instruction of the people in hands to which it may be less safely confided. Let the Christian afford what assistance he can to all classes in the improvement of their minds...and he may thus wield an influence by which many may be led to inquire into ...the eternal destiny of man.²⁰

Andrew Thomson expanded on this theme in an address to the Edinburgh School of Arts in 1825:

Although the School of Arts does not directly teach religion to its pupils, yet,...it serves the double purpose of enabling them to understand the evidences and truths of religion more easily and thoroughly than they could otherwise have done, and of fortifying them more strongly against those sophistries by which its enemies so often and fatally perplex the ignorant and the simple... I...profess myself to be one of those who have no apprehension...that the Gospel could ever suffer from the cultivation of the human intellect. It is

18. *Discourses by the Archibald Bennie*, pp. xxxviiiiff.

19. Some Evangelical ministers pursued a similar end in the country by giving lectures in natural science in their rural parishes. Henry Duncan's lectures were not received well in Ruthwell (J.V. Smith, 'Manners, Morals and Mentalities', pp. 25-26), but William Hamilton's seem to have been popular, lasting from 1828 until the cholera epidemic in 1832 put a temporary end to most public meetings ([J. Hamilton,] *William Hamilton* 1:51-52).

20. G.J.C. Duncan, *Henry Duncan*, pp. 152-3.

from defect and not from excess in this particular that the Gospel can sustain any injury... The more we educate our people, and the higher the style of education is that we give them, consistent with their situation, their capacities, and their prospects in life, the more effectually do we contribute to the great cause of pure and undefiled religion.²¹

While Thomson's closing remarks about the importance of education being consistent with the 'situation' and 'prospects in life' of the working class show how Mechanics Institutes reflected middle-class values,²² their general context suggests that religious concerns were primary.²³ William Hamilton listed these schools as one means to promote spiritual awakening, underlying their overall religious purpose.²⁴ Nonetheless, enthusiasm for Mechanics Institutes seems to have waned with the onset of the Voluntary Controversy as third generation Evangelicals argued that only an extension of the Establishment could provide workers with sufficient general and religious educational opportunities.²⁵

Evangelicals took special interest in fostering efforts to provide education for the socially disadvantaged, believing that since all human beings were created in the image of God and had eternal souls, everyone had at least some potential to learn, and thereby to come to know God. Evangelicals supported efforts to educate the poor from the beginning to the end of the period under review. In the 1790s they participated in the Society in Scotland for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor [SSPRKP], which had been founded in 1786. In 1811 Evangelicals founded a new institution to educate impoverished ethnic minorities, the Edinburgh

21. *Scottish Missionary Register* 6 (Nov. 1825):485-486.

22. J.V. Smith, 'Manners, Morals and Mentalities', pp. 46-47.

23. Moreover, many Mechanics Institutes were run by their working-class members and not imposed by the middle class, Baxter, 'Science and Belief in Scotland', p. 204.

24. [J. Hamilton,] *William Hamilton*, 2:60ff.

25. [Lewis,] *Scotland A Half-Educated Nation*, p. 94.

African and Asiatic Society [EAAS].²⁶ In the 1840s they encouraged the development of 'ragged schools' for poor boys.

Significantly, all three of these efforts were predominantly lay-led, perhaps because ministers were occupied with supervising poor relief and general education. Nonetheless, while none of the office-bearers of the SSPRKP and EAAS seems to have been a minister, and the pioneering leadership of the ragged schools came from a layman, Sherriff Watson of Aberdeen, both movements attracted clerical supporters.²⁷ Perhaps because they could personally identify with this need, in 1840 Evangelical ministers organised a scheme to assist poor youths preparing for the ministry.²⁸ Like the Sabbath schools and other general educational ventures which affected the economically disadvantaged, all of these educational efforts specifically aimed at the poor shared a strong evangelistic purpose.²⁹

Because they believed that Christians had a special obligation to care for the physically and mentally handicapped,³⁰ Evangelicals pioneered new institutions for their care and education. The leading Evangelical ministers of Edinburgh and Glasgow supported branches of the Society for

 26. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 2 (Jan. 1811):72-74. William and Robert Paul of the Edinburgh Evangelical family of bankers were the secretary and treasurer of the EAAS.

27. Notably from Archibald Bonar of Cramond in the case of the SSPRKP ([J. Bonar], 'Memoir of Archibald Bonar', *Sermons* 2:1) and Thomas Guthrie of Edinburgh in the provision of ragged schools (Mechie, *The Church and Scottish Social Development*, pp. 154-159).

28. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, 4th series, 3 (June 1840):227f.

29. The SSPRKP took care in its 1796 annual report to note that its teachers were 'men of real and fervent piety, ...and earnestly desirous for the salvation of souls' (W. Taylor, *The Education of the Children of the Poor*, pp. 24-25). Mechie attributes the impetus of Watson's concern for poor children to his 'personal religious faith' (*The Church and Scottish Social Development*, p. 154).

30. *Presbyterian Review* 9 (May 1837):504ff.

the Instruction of Deaf and Dumb Children in their cities.³¹ David Johnston, minister of North Leith, founded the Edinburgh Asylum for the Industrious Blind in 1793.³² Religious education was an important component of the work of this asylum and even of its counterpart for 'lunatics'.³³

A similar concern was extended to prisoners. According to Evangelical theorists, religious instruction was a foundational element in the progress of rehabilitation.³⁴ Therefore, the Bridewell Association for the Moral and Religious Improvement of Male Prisoners at Glasgow recruited its prison visitors from among the ranks of Sabbath school teachers, since they were able to give 'Scriptural exhortation' to inmates.³⁵ Stevenson Macgill established a library for the Glasgow prison,³⁶ and an itinerating library was occasionally sent to the prison in Haddington in East Lothian.³⁷

Education in the Highlands and Islands, especially for Gaelic speakers, was one of the major items on the Evangelical agenda during the first half of the nineteenth century. Although succeeding generations of

 31. The society was founded in Edinburgh in 1810. David Johnston of North Leith, Thomas Fleming of Lady Yester's parish, Walter Buchanan of the Canongate, Walter Tait of Trinity Church, and Andrew Thomson of St. George's participated in a public examination of its students in 1815 (*Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 11 [Sept. 1815]:210). Their counterparts in Glasgow were among those who organised a similar institution there in 1814. Robert Balfour of St. Paul's was its chairman, and John Burns of the Barony, John Lockhart of Blackfriars, John Muir of St. James', and Stevenson Macgill were on its board (*Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 9 [Aug. 1814]:119; James Cleland, *Annals of Glasgow, Comprising an Account of the Public Buildings, Charities, and the Rise and Progress of the City*, 2 vols. [Glasgow: James Hedderwick, 1816] 1:261).

32. *FES* 1:156.

33. See 'The Importance of Religious Instruction in Lunatic Asylums' by Lachlan Maclean, the chaplain of the Edinburgh Lunatic Asylum, *Scottish Christian Herald* 1 (11 June 1836):237ff.

34. *Scottish Christian Herald* 2, 2nd series (1 Feb. 1840):75.

35. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 20 (May 1821):314ff.

36. Mechie, *The Church and Scottish Social Development*, pp 41-42.

37. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 19 (Mar. 1820):267ff.

Evangelicals differed about the best means of providing the education, they agreed that this area of Scotland was their special concern, since as members of the Established Church they were responsible for the educational and religious needs of the entire nation. They also agreed that the educational handicaps of the Highlands were closely related to its spiritual deficiencies. To eliminate the problem of the illiterate and unchurched Highlander, Evangelicals generated several different schemes as the century progressed. Although their approaches varied, their common primary motive was to enable people to read the Scriptures in Gaelic or English.³⁸

The oldest and perhaps the largest agency for Highland education during the first half of the nineteenth century was the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge [SSPCK]. Evangelicals continued to support the SSPCK strongly throughout this period as it established and maintained settled schools to teach English literacy through the reading of the Bible, writing, and arithmetic.³⁹ This support was given in spite of their interest in pursuing additional strategies. They reemphasised that the SSPCK's primary purpose was religious⁴⁰ and used their influence to ensure that its teachers modelled and promoted Evangelical piety, paralleling their approach to the role of the ordinary parish schoolmaster.⁴¹

 38. MacInnes, *The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands*, p. 259.

39. See chapter 4 above for a more extensive discussion of the relationship of Evangelicals to the SSPCK.

40. 'If there are any who imagine that the *sole* or even the *great* object of the Society, in appointing schoolmasters *is* to teach children to read English, to write, and keep accounts..., such persons are most widely mistaken. The grand and important end which the Society do, and always have proposed to themselves by their appointments, is the SALVATION OF SOULS.' *Account of Funds of SSPCK*, p. 28.

41. The obituary of John Campbell, secretary of the SSPCK from 1806 to 1828, described him as a man of 'deep, serious piety', noting, 'His influence, indeed, in giving a more decidedly religious cast to the whole system of teaching under the Society, and in particular the anxiety with which he endeavoured to bring forward, or select, from among the candidates for schools, such only as there was good reason to regard as men of piety.' *Report of the SSPCK for 1828*, p. 41 (SRO, GD 95/11/4).

However, as the nineteenth century progressed, even the ardent supporters of the SSPCK acknowledged that its efforts were inadequate to meet the tremendous educational needs of the Highlands. Although SSPCK schools were scattered throughout the countryside, many people in remote areas were still unable to travel to them, and the expense of erecting a schoolhouse and funding a permanent teacher effectively precluded establishing schools within their reach. Linguistic and cultural as well as geographical barriers also limited the SSPCK's effectiveness. Many Gaelic-speaking Highlanders could not or would not learn to read in English, especially the numerous adult illiterates, whose age also placed them outside the purview of the SSPCK schools.

In response to these perceived inadequacies of the SSPCK, a group of influential Lowland Evangelicals worked together with their Secession, Congregational, and Baptist counterparts to form the Edinburgh Gaelic School Society [EGSS] in 1811.⁴² The EGSS attempted to meet a narrowly defined end, teaching Highlanders to read the Bible in Gaelic, with innovative and flexible means, temporary schools taught by itinerating teachers.⁴³ This combination proved to be highly successful both in teaching Highlanders to read and in attracting Lowland supporters.

Much of this support came from the Church of Scotland. Many Evangelical clergy, in addition to the Edinburgh ministers who served on the board of the EGSS, made annual contributions and sponsored collections in their parishes. They also spearheaded the formation of a network of

 42. David Johnston, minister of North Leith, was the founding vice-president of the EGSS and its leading early promoter in the Church of Scotland (see his circular along with testimonials from Highland clergy on the need for the EGSS in the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 2 [Mar. 1811]:209ff).

43. The EGSS modelled its approach upon that of eighteenth-century Welsh circulating schools (*EGSS Report for 1811*, p. 10). Its teachers travelled to an isolated area, taught the inhabitants to read for no charge, then moved on and repeated the process elsewhere.

auxiliaries in Lowland cities and major towns during the 1810s and 1820s.⁴⁴ The Highland synods of Glenelg and of Argyll expressed their approval of the work of the EGSS within their bounds and urged their members to support the society financially.⁴⁵ Individual Highland ministers, both Evangelical and Moderate, usually welcomed EGSS teachers into their parishes.⁴⁶

The EGSS received widespread support from the Kirk for two main reasons. Firstly, its own reports helped to publicise that great needs for education existed in the Highlands, needs which most in the Church of Scotland believed that they as members of a national church were particularly responsible to meet. Secondly, the EGSS offered a highly respectable means to meet these needs, even boasting royal approval after 1822 when the Crown became its official patron. Despite its similarities to an earlier Highland society, the SPGH, the EGSS was not perceived as a threat to the Establishment, in part because its teachers were not permitted to preach or even to comment on what they taught. It also received a more favourable reception within the Kirk than its predecessor because of the influence of Evangelicalism over the ensuing decades. Missionary and Bible societies had demonstrated that voluntary societies were not inherently seditious. Moreover the success of Bible societies naturally carried over to the EGSS. What good was it to distribute Gaelic

 44. The most influential of these auxiliaries was founded in Glasgow in 1812, largely through the influence of Stevenson Macgill, its founding secretary (R. Burns, *Stevenson Macgill*, pp. 54f). For a more extensive discussion of the Glasgow auxiliary, see R. MacLeod, 'The Progress of Evangelicalism in the Western Isles', pp. 156-157.

45. See the 17 July 1817 overture from the Synod of Glenelg in *EGSS Report for 1816*, p. 13. The predominately Moderate Synod of Argyll offered a similar testimony in favour of the EGSS about two years later (*EGSS Report for 1820*, p. ix).

46. R. MacLeod, 'The Progress of Evangelicalism in the Western Isles', pp. 140-147. The presence of John Lee and William Muir, two leading Edinburgh evangelical Moderates on the board of the EGSS in 1824 also reflects the breadth of this society's support in the Kirk.

Bibles in the Highlands if no one could read them? Thus, the popularity of the EGSS was one sign of the growing acceptance of Evangelical aims during the 1810s and 1820s.

The later development of the EGSS also reflected the influence of Evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland. The popularity of the EGSS, after reaching its peak in the mid to late-1820s, rapidly declined during the 1830s and 1840s for several interrelated reasons. Firstly, the Education Committee of the General Assembly began forming its own schools in the Highlands during the late 1820s. This development in itself need not have adversely affected the EGSS any more than the existence of SSPCK schools had done earlier. However, as Evangelicals embraced 'high church' ideas in the midst of the Voluntary Controversy, the Education Committee provided them with an increasingly attractive alternative to the EGSS, especially since the Assembly's schools also strongly emphasised Gaelic literacy. The intense antagonism between Dissenters and supporters of the Establishment heightened Evangelical convictions that education was the rightful prerogative of the national church, not of interdenominational societies. Although Church of Scotland support for the EGSS never disappeared, it diminished significantly during the Voluntary Controversy, bringing the society close to dissolution in 1836-37.⁴⁷ Relations between the two organisations, at least between their Edinburgh committees and their teachers in the field, improved in the early 1840s,⁴⁸ but the EGSS never regained its foundational position in the Evangelical strategy to meet the educational needs of the Highlands.

The decline of the EGSS in the 1830s and 40s should not overshadow its importance as a vehicle for spreading Evangelicalism in the Highlands

 47. See the long apologetic for the legitimacy of the schools of the EGSS along with those of the Assembly at the end of the *EGSS Report for 1836*, pp. 42ff.

48. *EGSS Report for 1841*, pp. 7-8.

during its first two decades. Its adoption of Gaelic for the language of instruction, its primarily religious orientation, and its modified use of itinerancy helped to win many parts of the Highlands over to evangelical Protestantism. In several places EGSS teachers were cited as the primary instruments in stimulating religious revivals.⁴⁹ Even when their efforts did not lead to revival, and though officially they were not permitted to go beyond teaching people to read the Bible, the EGSS teachers exercised significant influence, primarily by commending Evangelical piety to their students through personal example.⁵⁰

The work of Lowland-based educational societies such as the EGSS inspired similar Highland-based groups. In 1818 a group of Evangelical Highland ministers formed the Inverness Society for the Education of the Poor in the Highlands [ISEPH].⁵¹ This group originally considered aiding existing societies working in the Highlands, but they concluded that Highlanders needed to do something themselves to meet the educational and religious needs of their countrymen.⁵² Adopting elements of the approaches used by existing societies proved highly successful,⁵³ for by

 49. For example on the island of Mull in 1841, *Presbyterian Review* 16 (Apr. 1843), pp. 120ff. See also R. MacLeod, 'The Progress of Evangelicalism in the Western Isles', pp. 190ff and MacInnes, *The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands*, pp. 165-166.

50. For a more extensive discussion of the influence of the EGSS in the Highlands and of its general history see R. MacLeod, 'The Progress of Evangelicalism in the Western Isles', pp. 127-156.

51. The founding directors of the ISEPH included Alexander Fraser of the First Charge in Inverness, Alexander Rose of the Second Charge, Alexander Stewart of Dingwall, James M'Lauchlan of Moy, James Grant of Nairn and James Smith of Urquhart; and its secretaries were Thomas Fraser of the Third Charge in Inverness and Donald Fraser of Kirkhill (*Religious Monitor* 17 [Jan. 1819]:27ff). Note that A. Fraser, Rose, Stewart, T. Fraser, and D. Fraser also were involved in the Northern Missionary Society. The NMS's reluctance to support the EGSS because the former group attempted to concentrate exclusively upon foreign missions may have spurred the formation of the ISEPH, see NMS Minutes, 26 Aug. 1812, NLS, DEP 298 (198).

52. *ISEPH Report for 1823*, pp. 13ff.

53. For example, the ISEPH taught in Gaelic and used circulating schools as did the EGSS, but it also taught English and a variety of other subjects as did the SSPCK.

1826 the ISEPH claimed to have 65 schools with 3,000 students.⁵⁴ Its success helped to spread Evangelicalism to places in the western Highlands where it would not otherwise have been established.⁵⁵

The ISEPH also helped to spread in the Lowlands greater awareness of the problems of the Highlands. It disseminated information about its activities through its own set of auxiliaries.⁵⁶ It sent to parish ministers in the Highlands its own survey on the state of education, which formed the basis for its influential publication of 1826, *Moral Statistics of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*.⁵⁷ These efforts helped to raise Lowland awareness of the religious, educational, and economic needs of the Highlands, which benefitted all Highland educational schemes as well as the ISEPH. The growth of the ISEPH demonstrated the basic unity and mutual influence of Highland and Lowland Evangelicalism. Even the decline of the ISEPH manifested this unity. Although the ISEPH, unlike the EGSS, was predominately supported by Church of Scotland ministers and members, it too suffered from the reaction against society-based ministry during the Voluntary Controversy, but instead of being compelled by circumstances to struggle on by itself, its schools were simply taken over by the Assembly's Education Committee in 1839.⁵⁸

In the mid-1820s Highland and Lowland Evangelicals embarked on another joint educational effort which was even more closely associated

 54. *Moral Statistics of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, Compiled from Returns Received by the Inverness Society for the Education of the Poor in the Highlands. To which is Prefixed a Report on the Past and Present State of Education in these Districts* (Inverness: R.B. Lusk & Co., 1826), pp. 15ff.

55. R. MacLeod, 'The Progress of Evangelicalism in the Western Isles', pp. 157-158.

56. The *ISEPH Report for 1823* (pp. 62-63) mentioned auxiliaries in Aberdeen and Dumfries, the directors of which included Church of Scotland clergy.

57. For the importance of this work see Withrington, "'Scotland a Half Educated Nation" in 1834?', p. 74.

58. *Home and Foreign Missionary Record for the Church of Scotland* 1 (July 1839):3-4.

with the Church of Scotland. Around 1821 a group of five leading Highland Evangelical clergy organised the Association at Inverness for Aiding the Education of Pious Young Men for the Ministry [AIAEPYMM]. It was an expression of their conviction, encouraged in part by the work of the EGSS, that Highland parishes would be best served by ministers who were native Gaelic speakers.⁵⁹ This approach received further encouragement in 1823 with the passage of a Parliamentary act for building additional places of worship in the Highlands and Islands. Picking up on an idea originally suggested by Alexander Stewart after he transferred from Dingwall to the Canongate, and revived by reading a report of the AIAEPYMM, a group of leading Edinburgh Evangelicals organised themselves in 1825 into an auxiliary committee, which not only helped to raise money for the main Inverness society, but interviewed applicants for support from the Western Highlands and Islands and probably also supervised any of the society's students who pursued their training at Edinburgh University.⁶⁰

The activities of societies for Highland education, such as the EGSS, the ISEPH, and the AIAEPYMM, helped to stimulate the Church of Scotland's own educational efforts, which were launched with the formation in 1824 of the Committee of the General Assembly For Increasing the Means of Education in Scotland, Particularly in the Highlands and Islands, or as it more

 59. The original five were John Kennedy of Killearnan, Donald Fraser of Kirkhill, John MacDonald of Ferrintosh, Hugh MacBean of Ardclach, and probably Alexander Stewart of Dingwall, who transferred to the Canongate in Edinburgh in 1820 (*Scottish Missionary Register* 6 [Jan. 1825]:9ff). Significantly, all but MacBean were involved in the NMS, and Fraser, Stewart, and MacDonald were active in the ISEPH. This pattern suggests that these older Highland institutions provided a context in which additional Evangelical activity arose, paralleling similar developments in the Lowlands.

60. *Scottish Missionary Register* 6 (Jan. 1825):12. The members of the Committee in Edinburgh for Aiding the Education of Pious Gaelic Students for the Ministry included Walter Buchanan, Thomas Davidson, David Dickson Jr., Robert Gordon, and William and Robert Paul.

commonly became known, the Assembly Education Committee.⁶¹ In part, this committee arose as a negative reaction to the activities of Evangelical societies. Moderates in the Western Highlands increasingly resented the intrusion of Eastern Highland Evangelicalism through the ISEPH.⁶² However, Evangelical Highland societies also played a positive role, exposing the tremendous need for education and developing new and flexible approaches to meet it.⁶³ Their model encouraged the Assembly to interpret the Kirk's responsibility for education as involving more than just supervising existing schools, as the full name of its committee implied, a name which reflected an essentially activist conception of the Church.

Significantly, the Assembly Education Committee received strong support from both Evangelicals and Moderates. Both groups shared a basic commitment to religious education, especially as disseminated by the Established Church. Evangelicals were much more willing to discard the voluntary society approach in relation to education than they were in relation to foreign missions because they felt that education was an historic priority of the national church.⁶⁴ The Assembly Education Committee combined the Evangelicals' interest in doing evangelism through education

 61. For a more extensive discussion of the Assembly Education Committee see Chambers, 'Mission and Party in the Church of Scotland,' pp. 43-60.

62. Chambers, 'Mission and Party in the Church of Scotland,' pp. 43-7.

63. Note the parallel process in the formation of Highland education agencies connected with the Baptists in 1823 and the Secession Church in 1824 (R. MacLeod, 'The Progress of Evangelicalism in the Western Isles', pp. 169-176), which may have raised the alarm that the Highlands would come under the control of Dissenters by default if the Established Church did not also become actively involved in education.

64. See Andrew Thomson's editorial comments on why the 1824 General Assembly should have heard the overture on education before the overture on foreign missions, *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 23 (July 1824):448ff. The onset of the Voluntary Controversy intensified these attitudes among Evangelicals: 'The interference of the General Assembly in this matter [education] is a very different thing, and rests on different grounds, from that of any private benevolent association for the same object. It is the interference of the church itself, in a scheme where its duty and its dignity are essentially concerned.' (vol. 30 [Feb. 1831]:111)

with their commitment to the Establishment. This combination proved to be highly attractive to a broad spectrum within the Kirk, spreading Evangelical ideas and practice both directly in the Highlands through its schools and indirectly in the Lowlands through its support system.⁶⁵

Evangelicals capped off their national education strategy with a sustained effort to influence the Scottish universities. Adopting the major emphasis of the Scottish Enlightenment upon effective higher education,⁶⁶ and perhaps in imitation of the approach of their Moderate predecessors,⁶⁷ Evangelicals attempted to dominate university life in order to reach Scotland's intellectual elite. By maintaining a strong presence in the universities, they spread Evangelical ideas among future ministers, teachers, lawyers, doctors and other professionals in the hope that in turn these leaders would multiply this influence throughout society as a whole. Thus, like Moderatism, Evangelicalism was a self-consciously intellectual movement, though with a popular as well as an elitist aim.

A review essay in the *Presbyterian Review* in 1841 looked back at the growth of Evangelicals in Scotland during the preceding half-century, claiming that involvement in the universities had been a key to their success.⁶⁸ It noted that while Moderatism had produced impiety in the university, Evangelicalism had reintroduced piety among students. As these pious students went on to assume positions of influence, they affected others: 'The revival of vital Christianity in Scotland has happily affected all classes more or less, though not all contemporaneously, and,

 65. The schools of the Assembly Education Committee adopted many of the same techniques as those of the EGSS and the ISEPH, and most of their teachers seemed equally pious, R. MacLeod, 'The Progress of Evangelicalism in the Western Isles', pp. 158-163.

66. Chitnis, *The Scottish Enlightenment: a Social History*, p. 156.

67. Sher, *Church and University*, pp. 147ff.

68. *Presbyterian Review* 13 (Jan. 1841):410ff.

on the whole, has descended from the higher to the lower ranks.'⁶⁹ Even if Evangelicalism did not trickle down the intellectual and social strata as pervasively as this article claimed, it does indicate why Evangelicals placed so much importance upon contact with the universities and why they generated so many different ways of achieving this end.

Efforts designed to influence students directly formed the foundation of the Evangelical university strategy. Each generation developed its own distinctive approach to spreading Evangelical ideas among students, with succeeding generations building upon the work of their predecessors to increase progressively the overall Evangelical presence in Scottish higher education. Because Moderate domination of the universities during the second half of the eighteenth century had excluded most Evangelicals from official university positions, the first generation focused its attention upon reaching students outside the classroom. Evangelical ministers in university centres intentionally sought to develop informal relationships with students, especially with those intending to enter the ministry. These ministers regularly invited such students into their homes, freely dispensing not only hospitality, but advice about a variety of topics, ranging from religion and literature to manners. They counselled their young friends about how to pursue their studies, and loaned or gave them books to read, frequently volumes which presented Evangelicalism in an attractive way.⁷⁰

The most influential group of ministers who paid special attention to students was located in Edinburgh, perhaps because of the size of its

69. *Presbyterian Review* 13 (Jan. 1841):417.

70. For example, a copy of the second edition of *Letters from a Father to His Son, A Student of Divinity* by James Paton in the NCL is inscribed 'David Welsh from Dr. Davidson, 1813'. Dr. Davidson was minister of the Tolbooth Church in Edinburgh and as such was well known for his practice of distributing pious books to aspiring ministers. Welsh was 20 years old in 1813 and probably a divinity student at the university at the time. He subsequently became a leading Evangelical minister and then Professor of Church History at Edinburgh.

university population and because of the strength of its Evangelical community. Walter Buchanan of the Canongate Church and Thomas Randall Davidson of the Tolbooth Church were known as 'pre-eminently the students' friends', going out of their way to discover and to befriend promising young men, not only in their own congregations but throughout the city.⁷¹ This pair fostered a sense of common identity among their student associates, instilling in them a distinctively Evangelical vision for their university studies in general and for pastoral ministry in particular. Buchanan and Davidson's disciples went on to implement this vision in their own ministries and to maintain their sense of group identity. Some of the leading second generation ministers who emerged from this coterie of students were Andrew Thomson of St. George's, Edinburgh; Robert Lundie of Kelso; Henry Grey of St. Mary's, Edinburgh; James Brewster of Craig; George Cupples of Stirling; James Burns of Brechin; William H. Burns of Kilsyth; William Hamilton of Strathblane; and Robert Findlater Jr. of Inverness.⁷²

Part of the reason for the effectiveness of Buchanan and Davidson was that they attended to more than religious and intellectual needs of students. Buchanan worked closely with his wife in showing hospitality to young, often homesick, newcomers to the university, welcoming them into his home for breakfast or tea,⁷³ and perhaps even taking in some of them as boarders.⁷⁴ Davidson was known for his ability to teach 'some of the

71. I. Burns, *The Pastor of Kilsyth*, p. 29. The example of his close friend, Charles Simeon, the eminent Anglican evangelical who adopted a similar approach in Cambridge, may have influenced Buchanan.

72. I. Burns, *The Pastor of Kilsyth*, p. 31. [J. Hamilton,] *William Hamilton* 1:36. Findlater, *Robert Findlater*, p. 97.

73. I. Burns, *Pastor of Kilsyth*, p. 30.

74. A letter from Walter Buchanan to William Murray of Touchadam at Polmaise by Stirling seems to imply that Murray's son was living with Buchanan, (20 Jan. 1791, SRO, GD 189/2/436). Note that later Evangelicals also recognised the influence they could have upon students by providing them with pious living situations; see 'On the Utility of Boarding Establishments for the Reception of Youth attending our Universities and Academies', *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 26 (Nov. 1827):741ff.

more rustic students' good manners for both the pulpit and the drawing room.⁷⁵

Several of the Evangelical colleagues of Buchanan and Davidson also had significant contact with students. David Black seems to have been the most influential, perhaps because Lady Yester's was the official church for the university.⁷⁶ He took a special interest in encouraging students from the Highlands, probably as a result of having grown up and taken his first charge in Perthshire.⁷⁷ Henry Moncreiff Wellwood of St. Cuthbert's concentrated upon ministers' sons, a natural outgrowth of his involvement with the Society for Benefitting the Sons of the Clergy.⁷⁸ When his sons were at university, he also developed close contacts with some of their friends.⁷⁹ Wellwood used his influence to help some of his young associates secure parishes after they left the divinity hall.⁸⁰ Thomas Jones of Lady Glenorchy's Chapel was probably the most popular preacher of his day among the student body, and as such he guided the theological studies of Greville Ewing and perhaps other aspiring ministers in his congregation.⁸¹ John Colquhoun of St. John's Chapel, Leith and John Campbell of the Tolbooth Church complete this group of first generation Evangelical ministers who were known to have influenced Edinburgh students.⁸²

75. I. Burns, *The Pastor of Kilsyth*, p. 35.

76. D.B. Horn, *A Short History of the University of Edinburgh 1556-1889* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967), p. 91.

77. Findlater, *Robert Findlater*, p. 97.

78. David Dickson Jr., *The End of Our Being, in Connexion with the Shortness of Life, Illustrated and Improved: A Sermon, Preached in the Parish Church of St. Cuthbert's on the 19th of August, 1827, being the Sabbath Immediately after the Internment of His Late Colleague, Sir H. Moncreiff Wellwood, Bart. D.D. Including a Sketch of His Life and Character*. 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: George A. Douglas, 1827), pp. 42f.

79. For example, Matthew Leishman, later minister of Govan, J.F. Leishman, *Matthew Leishman*, pp. 33f.

80. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 27 (Feb. 1828):94ff.

81. D.P. Thomson, *Lady Glenorchy and Her Churches: The Story of Two Hundred Years* (Perth: Munro & Scott Ltd., 1967), p. 68.

82. Findlater, *Robert Findlater*, p. 98. R. Burns, *Stevenson Macgill*, p. 97.

A similar pattern, though on a smaller scale, existed in Glasgow and Aberdeen. In Glasgow, three leading Evangelical ministers, Robert Balfour of St. Paul's, Alexander Ranken of St. David's, and Stevenson Macgill while he was at the Tron, all paid special attention to students at the university, particularly those in the divinity hall.⁸³ Aberdeen had several town ministers with Evangelical sympathies who were also professors, which placed them in a position to exercise double influence upon students. The biographer of James Kidd, minister of Gilcomston parish and Professor of Oriental Languages at Marischal College, claimed that many university students attended Kidd's ministry, that he invited them to his house, and that he was put in charge of a number of students whose families lived at a distance from Aberdeen. Kidd had a particularly significant effect upon the development of John 'Rabbi' Duncan, who eventually became a missionary to the Jews.⁸⁴ It is uncertain if this pattern was reproduced at St. Andrews, which was so small and so Moderate-dominated that it seems unlikely that any of its ministers promoted Evangelicalism among students.

Later generations of Evangelical ministers continued the practice of their forebears, at least in Edinburgh. Andrew Thomson was very popular with students while he was at New Greyfriars,⁸⁵ and Robert Gordon of St. Giles strongly influenced John Wilson during the student years of the future missionary to India.⁸⁶ These two second generation Evangelicals were not alone in their efforts. Alexander Brunton, the evangelical Moderate minister of the Tron Church imitated the practice of Walter Buchanan, frequently hosting students in his home along with his wife, a

83. R. Burns, *Stevenson Macgill*, pp. 97ff.

84. James Stark, *Dr. Kidd of Aberdeen: A Picture of Religious Life in By-Gone Days*, 3rd ed., (Aberdeen: D. Wyllie & Son, 1898), pp. 185-192.

85. [C. Watson], 'Memoir of Dr. Thomson', p. xiii.

86. G. Smith, *John Wilson*, pp. 11f.

minor literary figure in her own right who authored several religious novels. Archibald Bennie of Lady Yester's Church carried on the tradition of David Black into the third generation of Evangelicals. The Presbytery of Edinburgh acknowledged his interest in students by making him the convener of its committee for the examination of those seeking to be licensed.⁸⁷

Despite the efforts of these ministers, some Evangelicals began to question if enough was being done to contact university students. In 1838, one asked: 'Is it as much the practice as it was in the days of *Davidson, Buchanan, Black, Campbell, &c.*, for clergymen to seek out and to pay special attention to young students at an early period of, and throughout the whole course of their studies?''⁸⁸ For many third generation Evangelicals, such as Robert Candlish, the solution to this problem was not simply through their own personal involvement with students, but through formalising the care shown by the appointment of university chaplains whose sole responsibility was the spiritual nurture of students.⁸⁹ This response reflected the general tendency of the third generation to professionalise Evangelical practice, and paralleled the appointment of paid editors and voluntary society secretaries during the 1830s and 40s.

Second generation Evangelicals built upon the informal, relational student work of their predecessors by gaining access to students in the classroom as some of their number became university professors. These professors consciously and effectively used their position to spread Evangelicalism. Because students entered Scottish universities at a young

87. *Discourses by Archibald Bennie*, p. xxxvii.

88. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, 4th Series, 1 (Jan. 1838):9ff.

89. Wilson, *Robert Candlish*, p. 196. See also the suggestion by Robert Burns of Paisley that professors of pastoral care be appointed to fulfill a similar function in divinity halls, *Stevenson Macgill*, pp. 97ff.

and highly impressionable age, their teachers often had a formative influence upon their thinking.⁹⁰ First generation Evangelicals had largely been unable to tap the potential of the professoriate, mainly because Moderates were so firmly in control of the university appointment system. In addition, the most prominent Evangelical professor at the turn of the nineteenth century, Andrew Hunter, who held the chair of Divinity at Edinburgh, was considered to be ineffective and unattractive by many students, even by those who shared his theological position.⁹¹

By contrast, Stevenson Macgill, who was named Professor of Divinity at Glasgow in 1814, was highly popular, promoting Evangelical ideas and practice amongst his students for over two and a half decades. One of his former students, writing soon after Macgill's death in 1840, claimed: 'I think it is not too much to say, that to him, as an instrument, is to be attributed no small proportion of the change of sentiment that has taken place among the ministers, within the last twenty years.'⁹² Macgill's appointment affected more than the students whom he directly influenced. Its success opened the way for other Evangelicals to become professors at other Scottish universities during the 1820s and 30s.

Thomas Chalmers was by far the most influential Evangelical professor of this period. More prospective Scottish missionaries of the day studied under him than under anyone else, and student enrolment increased greatly immediately after he arrived at St. Andrews in 1824 and in Edinburgh in

 90. For example in the Scottish Enlightenment, Chitnis, *The Scottish Enlightenment and Early Victorian English Society*, p. 14.

91. See Robert Lundie's unfavourable comments about Hunter (Lundie Letters, 12 Dec. 1791, NLS, MS. 9847.ff 131-2; 17 Jan. 1792, MS. 9847.f 134). After he had left university, William Hamilton of Strathblane reflected that because Hunter laboured 'under a stiff and distant manner, he never could neither attach the students to his person, nor fascinate them with a love of those truths to which he himself was most devoted' ([J. Hamilton,] *William Hamilton*, 1:20).

92. R. Burns, *Stevenson Macgill*, p. 109.

1828.⁹³ However, Chalmers did not labour alone for Evangelicalism. In 1831 Edinburgh named another Evangelical, David Welsh, to its faculty as Professor of Church History.⁹⁴ In addition, two evangelical Moderates, Alexander Brunton and John Lee, who taught at Edinburgh also promoted elements of Evangelicalism among their students.⁹⁵

The Aberdeen faculties also had strong Evangelical representation. William Laurence Brown, appointed Professor of Divinity in 1795 and Principal of Marischal College in the following year, seems to have had Evangelical sympathies.⁹⁶ His successor, Daniel Dewar, had been Professor of Moral Philosophy at King's College from 1817 to 1819, leaving to take over from Chalmers at the Tron Church, Glasgow, before returning to Marischal as Principal in 1833.⁹⁷ Alexander Black was appointed Professor of Divinity at Marischal in 1831, and also served as a lecturer on 'Practical Religion' and as a member of the General Assembly's deputation to Palestine in 1839, before joining the Free Church at the Disruption.⁹⁸ James Kidd's counterpart at King's College, James Bentley, Professor of

 93. Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries*, pp. 222f. Note that Chalmers' nomination for the chair at Edinburgh received unusually broad-based support, indicating his popularity with governmental and academic authorities as well as students, see Iain F. Maciver, "I did not seek...but was sought after": The Election of Thomas Chalmers to the Chair of Divinity at Edinburgh University, October 1827,' *RSCHS* 20 (1980):223-229.

94. Norman Macleod Jr., later minister of the Barony in Glasgow, noted that Welsh influenced him more than Chalmers, particularly inspiring in him a strong commitment to missions (D. Macleod, *Norman Macleod*, pp. 29ff). Macleod's example is significant because it demonstrates how Evangelical professors affected even students who did not join the Free Church.

95. For example, John Wilson, the missionary to India, claimed that Brunton and Lee had a significant influence upon him during his time at Edinburgh, G. Smith, *John Wilson*, pp. 21ff.

96. He preached for a Sabbath Evening School Society in Aberdeen (*Religious Monitor* 5 [Jan. 1807]:41), and the *Evangelical Magazine* gave the following evaluation of one of his books: 'We think his production possesses considerable merit; and cordially recommend it as being favourable to evangelical principles and pure morality' (vol. 18 [May 1810]:204).

97. *FES* 7:361.

98. *FES* 7:363.

Hebrew from 1796 to 1846, also was an Evangelical, serving as a 'Country Director' of the SMS in the mid-1820s and 30s and as the SMS contact with the students of the Aberdeen University Missionary Association.⁹⁹

These professors spread Evangelicalism not so much through the content of their lectures in the classroom as through their personal example and informal influence outside it. They modelled Evangelical piety on occasions when they invited students into their homes and promoted Evangelical practice through their own involvement in missionary and Bible societies.¹⁰⁰ Their position of respect and trust provided a powerful incentive for student imitation.

Because academic positions were so influential, Evangelical interest in university professorships occasionally degenerated into ecclesiastico-political intrigues. Chalmers was at the centre of several of these. In 1819 Andrew Thomson proposed him for the Natural Philosophy chair at Edinburgh despite his existing agreement to become the first minister at St. John's in Glasgow.¹⁰¹ In 1831, Chalmers' opposition to the nomination of John Lee to the chair of Ecclesiastical History at Edinburgh reflected personal vengeance more than spiritual or educational concerns.¹⁰² Robert Buchanan convinced a reluctant Chalmers to apply for the chair of Divinity at Glasgow in 1840, backing up this manoeuvre with a scurrilous press war in which Evangelical periodicals participated.¹⁰³ All of these episodes reveal how Evangelicals were willing at times to pursue their spiritual

 99. SMS Minutes, 19 Apr. 1825 (p. 54), 28 May 1827 (p. 218), 1 May 1834 (p. 670), NLS, DEP 298 (200).

100. See for example the description of Chalmers' activities at St. Andrews in S.J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, pp. 167ff, and in chapter 3, 'The Pursuit of Academic Excellence', of Stuart Piggin and John Roxborough, *The St. Andrews Seven: The Finest Flowering of Missionary Zeal in Scottish History* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1985), pp. 23-30.

101. S.J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, pp. 125f.

102. S.J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, pp. 207ff.

103. Davies and Ritchie, 'Dr. Chalmers and the University of Glasgow', pp. 211-222.

interests with the same strategies as their supposedly more worldly Moderate counterparts.

Third generation Evangelicals developed an additional vehicle for spreading their views within the Scottish universities, that of student missionary associations. These associations reflected the same surge of interest in missions that powered the third wave of society organisation in the mid-1820s, producing a similar effect within the universities that missionary societies were having upon the wider community. Significantly, the student missionary associations were organised by students themselves, not by any coordinated action of the SMS or the LMS. Groups arose in each of the Scottish universities largely in independence of one another. However, despite their independent constitutions, all of these student missionary associations served a common purpose, providing an organised means by which Evangelical students could promote a concern for spiritual awakening and proselytism among their peers. As these students left university and dispersed throughout the country they carried this concern with them, spreading it throughout the Kirk.¹⁰⁴

Although the various student missionary associations pursued this common purpose through slightly different means, they adopted the same general format, basically imitating the approach of the non-university missionary societies. Their two primary purposes were to increase missionary awareness and to raise funds through an annual subscription, which they distributed to a variety of major missionary societies such as the SMS and the LMS, and to the General Assembly Foreign Missions Committee. Of these two purposes, the former was the most important, as the activities of the student missionary associations indicated. General

 104. An essay in 1840 recounting the religious improvements in the Church of Scotland during the preceding forty years specifically cited the formation of university missionary associations as an important catalyst for these changes, *Presbyterian Review* 13 (Jan. 1841):416.

meetings usually were monthly, consisting of prayer, the reading of an essay related to missions by one of the members, and the sharing of the latest missionary news, which was often drawn from periodicals or books contained in the association's own library. Some associations also had a regular weekly missionary prayer meeting,¹⁰⁵ and all encouraged their members to study missions, to pray, and to read the Bible regularly on their own.

Although university missionary associations competed with a variety of other more established student groups for members,¹⁰⁶ they quickly attracted widespread support, spreading Evangelical practice and ideas within their respective universities. The progress of each missionary association varied. While Aberdeen boasted the first student missionary society, organised in 1816, this group waxed and waned throughout its existence. It was reorganised in 1820 and again in 1838, though it seems to have prospered between the mid-1820s and mid-1830s.¹⁰⁷ Glasgow followed with its own association, founded by 1822, which seems to have functioned smoothly except for a year or two when the cholera epidemic of 1832

 105. For an account of the prayer meeting of the Glasgow University Missionary Association [GUMA], see the entry for 9 Dec. 1839 in the diary of William C. Burns in I. Burns, *William C. Burns*, pp. 138-139.

106. Literary, and especially debating, societies flourished at Edinburgh University from the eighteenth century and throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, Horn, *A Short History of the University of Edinburgh*, pp. 92-93, 142. In addition to these secular groups, special religious associations existed, usually related to professional preparation for divinity students, such as preaching or exegetical societies.

107. See *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 21 (May 1822):36f. Edinburgh University Missionary Association [EUMA] Correspondence, NCL: Letter from Charles J. Brown to John Wilson, 28 Nov. 1827; Letter from Brown to the secretary of the EUMA, 24 Feb. 1829 (note his claim that the Aberdeen University Missionary Association [AUMA] had 'now the confidence and support of a great proportion of the Theological and not a small part of the Gown Students'); Letter from Robert Smith to the secretary of the EUMA, 8 Mar. 1838. St. Andrews University Missionary Association [STAUMA] Minutes, StAUL, 18 Feb. 1839, p. 155.

caused the suspension of its activities.¹⁰⁸

The two strongest student missionary associations were the last to be formed, namely St. Andrews in 1824 and Edinburgh in 1825. Both groups attracted a significant proportion of the student body to their membership within a few years of their foundation.¹⁰⁹ Some of these students included self-confessed Moderates, who acquired a strong interest in missions, which they did not see as inconsistent with their ecclesiastical politics.¹¹⁰ Both groups also attracted support even from Moderate faculty members, counting the Moderate principals of their universities, Robert Haldane and George Baird, among their patrons.¹¹¹ Their foundation

 108. See *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 21 (Feb. 1822):124f. See also EUMA Correspondence: Letter from David Buchan Douie to John Wilson, 23 Feb. 1826; Letter from Robert Wilson to John Wilson, 1 Mar. 1827; Letter from Robert McCorkle to secretary of the EUMA, 6 Feb. 1829 and 18 Feb. 1830; Letter from Archibald Bannatyne to secretary of the EUMA, 27 Feb. 1833; Letter from James Morrison to secretary of the EUMA, 10 Feb. 1836; Letter from William Govan and William C. Burns to secretary of the EUMA, 19 Jan. 1838.

109. In 1827 the secretary of the STAUMA claimed that it had ninety members (EUMA Correspondence, Letter from James Scott to John Wilson, 24 Feb. 1827), which represented roughly a third of the total student population (Piggin, *Making of Evangelical Missionaries*, p. 229). John Wilson's biographer claimed that sixty out of the 120 regular divinity students joined the EUMA in its first year (G. Smith, *John Wilson*, p. 25). Although these claims may be suspect given the bias of these sources and may have reflected exceptionally popular years, the minutes of both the STAUMA and the EUMA indicate that they maintained consistently high levels of membership and financial support up to the Disruption. Moreover, their popularity seems to have exceeded all other student groups. Piggin and Roxborough assert that the STAUMA 'was easily the largest student society' (*The St. Andrews Seven*, p. 63). Its growth in comparison to other groups was highlighted by a contribution of half a crown which it received from 'the members of the Forum, a debating society lately dissolved' (STAUMA Minutes, STAUL, 6 Feb. 1826, p. 28).

110. For example, Alexander Melville at St. Andrews, Piggin and Roxborough, *The St. Andrews Seven*, pp. 61-62. Note that in 1828 Melville served as secretary of STAUMA when Alexander Duff was its president (STAUMA Minutes, 1 Dec. 1828, p. 56).

111. The members of the faculty at St. Andrews refused to give the STAUMA a room to meet in when it was first formed, but they quickly changed their minds about the propriety of the group and began giving it official approval by the end of the first academic year of its existence (Piggin and Roxborough, *The St. Andrews Seven*, pp. 42 and 54). In succeeding years the principals of the university and of St. Mary's College served as patrons and many faculty members made regular financial contributions. Ironically, neither the STAUMA Minutes nor its Cashbook contain any mention of a contribution from Thomas Chalmers.

was not an Evangelical reaction against Moderate domination of the universities, and they ended up tending to lessen party tension.

Student missionary societies affected university life and the development of Evangelicalism in a number of ways. They directly encouraged several Church of Scotland members such as John Wilson of the Edinburgh University Missionary Association [EUMA], Alexander Duff of the St. Andrews University Missionary Association [STAUMA], and William C. Burns of the Glasgow University Missionary Association [GUMA] to become missionaries themselves.¹¹² However, they had an equally important impact on their members who remained in Scotland, indirectly encouraging a strong concern for spiritual vitality at home as well as missions abroad. These associations began by helping students to integrate Christianity with their studies by discussing essays with titles such as, 'The evils of the Academic life and the way in which this society may be supposed to remedy them'.¹¹³ They also stimulated personal prayer and Bible reading among their members.¹¹⁴

Evangelical practice accompanied Evangelical piety. Regularly bringing together both undergraduates and divinity students, university missionary societies provided a context for interaction which generated a variety of activities, replicating in microcosm the pattern of Evangelical practice that existed in society at large. Members of the EUMA and the GUMA carried out home missionary work in the slums of their respective

 112. For a more extensive discussion of the role of student missionary associations in recruiting Scotland's first university trained missionaries, see Piggin *Making Evangelical Missionaries*, pp. 228-232 and Piggin and Roxborough, *The St. Andrews Seven*, especially chapters 5 to 9.

113. STAUMA Minutes, Apr. 1825, p. 22. See also Piggin and Roxborough, *The St. Andrews Seven*, p. 51.

114. Although he was a Moderate in ecclesiastical politics, John Lee, then minister of Lady Yester's Church, commended the formation of the EUMA for its pious influence, a contrast from the irreligious tendencies of the student groups of his day (EUMA Correspondence, Letter to John Wilson, 30 Nov. 1827).

cities,¹¹⁵ and those of the STAUMA taught in Sabbath schools for the poor in their town.¹¹⁶ In 1840 the EUMA began to provide full support through the General Assembly scheme for its own missionary in India, John Braidwood, its president from the preceding year.¹¹⁷

Student missionary associations influenced the formation of several religious periodicals, some short-lived local productions, but others which achieved national prominence. In 1824 the committee of the GUMA sent an open letter to the committees of various religious voluntary societies in Glasgow suggesting that they should work together to produce a monthly periodical, entitled the *Glasgow Missionary Instructor*.¹¹⁸ The committee agreed to provide original essays on missions if the societies would regard this work as 'their particular organ'. Despite the enthusiasm of the committee for this project, nothing seems to have resulted from the suggestion, or at least any tangible product did not survive for very long. In the following year a group of students from the STAUMA, wondering what more they could do to further the missionary cause, decided to publish their own fortnightly periodical, the *St. Andrews University Magazine*. In addition to publicising the work of the university and town missionary societies, and of missions in general, this publication also offered an Evangelical perspective on history and literature before succumbing to the production problems after eight issues.¹¹⁹

While the EUMA was not directly involved in founding periodicals, it was connected indirectly with two works, both of which became important vehicles for Evangelical thought and information throughout Scotland. Two

 115. Piggin, *Making of Evangelical Missionaries*, p. 232. See also A.A. Bonar, *Robert Murray McCheyne*, p. 44.

116. See Piggin and Roxborough, *The St. Andrews Seven*, chapter 9, 'Charity Begins at Home', pp. 79-88.

117. EUMA Minutes, 24 Mar. 1840 and 11 Apr. 1840.

118. *Sabbath School Magazine for Scotland* 3 (Apr. 1824):145-157.

119. Piggin and Roxborough, *The St. Andrews Seven*, pp. 57-64.

of the four founders of the *Presbyterian Review*, Alexander Turner and John Omond, were office-bearers in the EUMA, perhaps suggesting that their contact with one another within this group fostered the plan. The latter served as its secretary from 1832 to 1834, the period during which he also became the sole editor of the *Review*.¹²⁰ Omond may have drawn upon his contacts both within the EUMA and among the other university missionary associations with whom he corresponded to recruit writers for his fledgling magazine.

The EUMA also may have been influential in suggesting the idea for the *Home and Foreign Missionary Record for the Church of Scotland*. In January 1838, the EUMA committee, following up an idea of John Braidwood, one of its members, created a subcommittee to correspond with the conveners of the General Assembly schemes concerning the establishment of a 'Missionary Journal'.¹²¹ When this subcommittee reported in February and March on its progress, it indicated that it would not be taking any steps itself to start a periodical 'as it was understood that the four committees of the General Assembly had taken up the matter' and 'had taken steps for instituting a Missionary Journal'.¹²² These statements do not make it clear if the project was already under consideration, or if the EUMA suggestion sparked off the process which resulted in the appearance of the first issue of the *Home and Foreign Missionary Record* in May 1838.¹²³ At

 120. See the lists of office-bearers in the EUMA Minutes, 6 Mar. 1830, 5 Mar. 1831, 1 Dec. 1832, and 4 Dec. 1833.

121. EUMA Minutes, 20 Jan. 1838 and 27 Jan. 1838.

122. EUMA Minutes, 10 Feb. 1838 and 10 Mar. 1838.

123. Piggin overstates the role of the EUMA when he claims that it 'launched' the *Home and Foreign Missionary Record* (*Making of Evangelical Missionaries*, p. 232, see also note 131 on p. 236). The quick response of the Assembly schemes to the inquiries of the EUMA subcommittee and the relatively brief time that elapsed from this initial contact in February to the publication in May suggest that the idea probably did not originate with EUMA. It would not be surprising if several individuals came up with this same idea, and it would seem more likely that the editor of the *Home and Foreign Missionary Record*, Robert Candlish, who already had experience in starting up mass publications as well as having close contacts with the leaders of the Assembly schemes, was the driving force behind its inception.

the very least, the efforts of the EUMA reinforced the incentive to develop such a periodical within the Kirk.

Student missionary associations promulgated Evangelicalism not only within each university, but among them all. The groups maintained regular correspondence with one another, sharing news about their activities and making practical suggestions about improving their efforts to raise money and missionary consciousness among the student community. Their correspondence encouraged members of missionary associations to feel that they were part of a larger movement; as one student leader commented, these letters were 'of great importance, to form a strong tie of union between the different Universities of Scotland engaged in one common cause'.¹²⁴ The individuals responsible for this correspondence, usually the secretaries of the associations, were brought into contact with other young Evangelical leaders throughout Scotland, building up an informal communication network that seems to have continued after they left university and which perhaps enhanced their effectiveness in the pre-Disruption agitation.¹²⁵

Scottish university missionary associations also exchanged letters with similar groups in Belfast and Geneva, and in Andover, Princeton and Pittsburgh in America. These contacts put them in touch with the broader evangelical movement among Reformed churches, helping them to look beyond

124. EUMA Correspondence, Letter from Robert McCorkle (president of the GUMA) to the secretary of the EUMA, 6 Feb. 1829.

125. Several university missionary association secretaries went on to become influential Evangelical ministers. These included from the AUMA: Charles J. Brown of Anderston Chapel in Glasgow and St. Giles, Edinburgh; from the EUMA: Robert Murray McCheyne of St. Peter's, Dundee; and from the GUMA: James Julius Wood of Stirling and of New Greyfriars, Edinburgh. All three either were active in preparing for the Disruption or joined the Free Church. The secretaries from the STAUMA tended to become missionaries rather than ministers.

their narrow Scottish context to embrace the goal of world evangelisation through united evangelical action.

In addition to the efforts of parish ministers in university centres, Evangelical professors, and student missionary associations aiming to influence university students directly, Evangelicals also attempted to influence them indirectly by reforming the university system. Throughout the 1810s and 1820s they consistently opposed pluralities, the practice of combining university chairs with parish charges, in the General Assembly.¹²⁶ Their opposition stemmed mainly from their concern for effective higher education and an effective parish ministry.¹²⁷ They argued that an individual who divided his time between the demands of the classroom and those of the parish could do neither job well. University teaching was no less important to Evangelicals than pastoral work, and Evangelical professors such as Stevenson Macgill of Glasgow, William Laurence Brown of Aberdeen, and Thomas Chalmers of St. Andrews led the attack on pluralities, emphasising from their own experience that university teaching was a full-time job.¹²⁸

The intensity of this opposition to pluralities partly resulted from the belief of the Evangelicals that all of their educational enterprises formed a unified whole, of which the universities and parishes as part of the national Establishment were two important components. Thus, they viewed the existence of pluralities as a threat to Sabbath schools:

If we admit the validity...of a plurality of offices in the Christian ministry, then we are divested of the strongest argument for the

126. For a more extensive discussion of Evangelical opposition to pluralities see Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland*, pp. 317-319 and S.J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, pp. 84-88, 178-181.

127. They also viewed the exercise of unrestricted Crown patronage as a threat to the spiritual independence of the Kirk, Chambers, 'Mission and Party in the Church of Scotland', p. 223.

128. R. Burns, *Stevenson Macgill*, pp. 168ff.

appointment of Sabbath school teachers, and the employment of lay agency, and of all those auxiliary means which those ministers, who are zealous for...extending the knowledge and influence of Christianity among their people, and for supplementing by the labours of others, those various duties to which their best exertions were inadequate.¹²⁹

This argument reflected the tension between an activist conception of religion and the historic understanding of Scotland as a Christian nation. If most members of the community identified with the Church of their own accord, then a minister needed only to hold regular services, a task that pluralists believed could be combined with university teaching. However, if, as the Evangelicals insisted, this allegiance to the Kirk was no longer automatic in an increasingly secular society, then the Church had to do more, with both ministers and lay people exerting extra effort to contact the unchurched, and with professors giving their full attention to the task of training others to join in this work.

The opposition of the Evangelicals to pluralities was closely related to their general interest in the education of future ministers, since the parish clergy played such an important role in the Evangelical vision of a revitalised Kirk. The practice of pluralities was largely limited to professors in the divinity hall, primarily because they did not charge students fees to finance their salaries as did most other faculties. Evangelicals addressed this and other problems in an effort to reform divinity halls according to their own priorities. They hoped that instituting fees would not only provide adequate compensation for professors, thus making the extra income from a parish unnecessary, but would encourage students to attend classes more regularly.¹³⁰

129. *Sabbath School Magazine for Scotland* 3 (May 1824):193.

130. Note that the commitment of Evangelical professors such as Thomas Chalmers and David Welsh to charging fees pre-dated their appointment to underfunded chairs, see Welsh's letter to Chalmers of 31 Mar. 1825, Chalmers Papers, NCL, 4.50.44-45.

Ending irregular attendance at the divinity hall was high on the Evangelical agenda for improving ministerial education, though it proved a difficult problem to resolve. While the exercise of patronage may have led some candidates for the ministry who had contacts in influential circles to disregard their education,¹³¹ the biggest obstacle to regular attendance was the fact that most divinity students were also schoolteachers or tutors, mainly because they needed the income that these jobs provided.¹³² During the 1820s and 30s Evangelicals such as Thomas Chalmers, Daniel Dewar of Aberdeen, and Stevenson Macgill, and the evangelical Moderate, William Muir of Edinburgh, promoted measures in the General Assembly to tighten up the requirements for full-time attendance by divinity students, but the problem persisted until 1868.¹³³

The Evangelicals also desired to reform the curriculum and teaching methods used in the divinity halls. Stevenson Macgill of Glasgow incorporated elements of the Enlightenment approach of George Jardine's influential *Outlines of Philosophical Education*,¹³⁴ when he developed a new structure for theological studies.¹³⁵ In addition to the traditional lecture format, Macgill emphasised class discussion and frequent evaluation of students' written and oral work in one-to-one meetings between the professor and the student. Evangelicals supported the addition of new chairs to the divinity hall, circulating a printed letter in 1837 calling for a 'Professorship of the Institutions of the Church, and the Pastoral

 131. Ross, 'Prelude to Conflict', pp. 161ff.

132. Stewart Mechie, 'Education for the Ministry in Scotland since the Reformation,' *RSCHS* 14 (1963):132-133.

133. Mechie, 'Education for the Ministry in Scotland', pp. 166-168.

134. Chitnis describes this work as 'central to the philosophical and educational concerns of [the Enlightenment]', *The Scottish Enlightenment: a Social History*, p. 144. The *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* gave it a favourable review, (vol. 25 [Dec. 1826]:827ff).

135. Macgill gave Jardine an outline of his plan for teaching divinity which was included at the close of the latter's book, R. Burns, *Stevenson Macgill*, p. 70.

Care'¹³⁶ and passing an act in the General Assembly of 1839 establishing chairs of Biblical Criticism in all Scottish universities.¹³⁷

Conclusion--Education:

The emphasis of the Evangelicals upon education, their infiltration of every level of the Scottish educational system, and their development of new educational approaches had a profound and pervasive influence upon succeeding generations of Scottish students during the first half of the nineteenth century. The effectiveness of this educational strategy was a major factor in the growth of Evangelicalism as an intellectual movement. Distinctively Evangelical ideas which centred around the goal of deepening spirituality in the Church and fostering evangelism and morality came to the forefront in Scotland, both in the Kirk and in society as a whole. Many embraced this worldview as the best means by which to understand themselves and their society, and even those who rejected it found themselves responding to its challenge. Moreover, the Evangelicalism of the first half of the nineteenth century was not simply an elite intellectual movement as earlier Moderatism had largely been. Its ideas filtered down from the Scottish universities to all levels of society through Evangelical ministers and teachers, and were spread most widely through new and genuinely popular educational enterprises such as Sabbath schools.

136. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 3rd Series, 2 (Sept. 1837):600ff.

137. Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland*, p. 357.

CHAPTER 9

PRAYER: EVANGELICALISM'S SPIRITUAL DYNAMIC

While education constituted the area of greatest continuity between Evangelicals and Moderates, prayer showed the greatest discontinuity. The strong emphasis of the former upon prayer reflected their conception of religion as affecting the the spirit as well as the intellect. They also believed that they could not achieve their goals of revitalising the Church and of converting the world through human effort alone. Meeting these goals required divine aid, which usually came in response to disciplined and regular human petitioning, especially through corporate prayer conducted in addition to the normal expressions of public worship. The large amount of time and effort which they devoted to the encouragement and practice of prayer underlined the seriousness of this concern to the Evangelicals. The inability of the historian to determine the spiritual effect of this corporate prayer should not be allowed to obscure its practical consequences. Prayer meetings regularly reinforced the centrality of the themes of religious revival, evangelism, and social morality; they also built up strong social bonds at a local level among likeminded individuals.

The deep commitment of Evangelicals to corporate prayer during the first half of the nineteenth century reflected their theological, sociological, and historical background. Theologically, it flowed from

the traditional Reformed emphasis upon the sovereignty of God, especially in the process of salvation. Although a cognitive understanding of the the gospel was a necessary precondition for faith, that alone was not construed as being soteriologically effective. Faith involved both the emotions and the intellect, and it was believed that only the Holy Spirit could create within the individual the response of true faith. Since the individual's salvation required this divine act of regeneration, those wishing to further the spread of Christianity needed to pray for divine activity, particularly the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Thus, prayer was seen as the necessary complement to the various practical means available for communicating the Christian message such as preaching, periodicals, voluntary societies, or religious education.¹

As the nineteenth century progressed Evangelicals regularly expressed reservations that advances in the techniques for disseminating the gospel were distracting people from the need to seek the divine assistance that would make these new approaches spiritually effective. In the 1810s as the Bible society movement swept across Scotland, one sympathetic observer was careful to note:

As it is the blessing of God alone, that can render even the best means effectual; prayer, fervent, and united prayer, must be of essential importance. Unless accompanied by a divine influence, the scriptures must remain as a sealed book... Let us therefore pray without ceasing, that the Spirit may be poured out from on high, upon all flesh.²

In the 1820s similar sentiments were expressed with regard to the renewed efforts of missionary societies.³ As Evangelical activism moved

1. For a typical example of the theology underlying Evangelical corporate prayer see William Hamilton, *The Nature and Advantages of Private Social Meetings for Prayer: A Sermon Preached Before the Glasgow Corresponding Society for Prayer, in St. David's Church, on the Evening of Thursday, April 9, 1835* (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle and Son, 1835), pp. 4-12.

2. *Religious Monitor* 11 (May 1813):182.

3. *Scottish Missionary Register* 1 (Jan. 1820):1-3.

into high gear during the 1830s, one participant cautioned: 'The endless calls on the philanthropy of pious men, to devise measures for the restoration of religion to their country, and propagate the gospel over the world, have withdrawn them from the duties of devotion.'⁴

In 1835 Duncan Macfarlan, the minister of Renfrew, drew upon the theological distinction between the visible and the invisible Church to argue for the special need for corporate prayer at a time when most of his Evangelical colleagues were caught up in the Church Extension drive and the Voluntary Controversy.⁵ He warned that the visible Church, consisting of those professing Christianity, could appear to be growing as a result of new churches being planted and preachers being sent out, without any corresponding growth in the invisible Church, namely those in spiritual union with Christ. As a general rule, the growth of the prayer life of the visible Church, inasmuch as it concentrated upon seeking the Holy Spirit's aid in uniting people with Christ, reflected the growth of the invisible Church. Macfarlan went on to apply this rule to the Voluntary Controversy, arguing that since the conflict which it engendered in the visible Church was bound to be spiritually damaging, it should be more a matter for special prayer than for agitation. He closed by offering the following irenic advice for dealing with ecclesiastical disputes:

The first and strongest feeling of every Christian ought to be the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom, spiritually and effectively. The concerns of the visible church come next, yet only as an instrument for promoting the other and in no respect as a hinderance... And knowing how liable we all are to mingle that which is our own with what we imagine to be God's, and to contend for the one under

4. [J. Hamilton,] *William Hamilton* 1:106.

5. 'On the Principle of Revivals in Religion', *Scottish Pulpit* 4 (Apr. 1835):469-477.

the mask of the other, it surely becometh all who fear God, often to humble themselves, seeking wisdom from on high.⁶

While Macfarlan's arguments grew out of his explicit theological framework, they also reflected the social conditions of his time. The 1830s and early 40s were years of rapid social change in Scotland. During this period prayer groups multiplied, possibly implying that Evangelicals recognised that despite all their efforts in communications, organisation, and education they were not achieving their goal of producing widespread national spiritual awakening and conversion.⁷ As their new as well as the traditional institutions were proving unable to cope with the problems of Scotland's increasingly urban and industrial society, many believed that their only hope was to seek divine assistance through organised corporate prayer.

Although prayer groups had been and continued to be common in evangelical movements in England and the Continent,⁸ nineteenth-century Scottish Evangelicals drew their inspiration primarily from a long tradition of corporate prayer within the Reformed Kirk. Meetings for prayer dated from the Reformation and were given fresh impetus by the

 6. D. Macfarlan, 'On the Principle of Revivals in Religion', pp. 476-477. Macfarlan apparently felt that the government's hard line against Non-Intrusion rendered the Establishment a hindrance to the growth of the invisible Church, and he joined the Free Church in 1843. However, his advice also may explain why some of his fellow Evangelicals from western Scotland elected to form the Middle Party and remain in the Auld Kirk, deeming the government's restrictions regarding patronage as not significantly impinging their ability to promote Christ's kingdom, and thus not worth splitting the visible Church over.

7. For example, see the reservations expressed about the effects of the Church Extension scheme, *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, 4th Series, 2 (Aug. 1839):308.

8. In England, Methodist societies were the most prominent examples, though some Dissenters and Anglicans promoted similar activities, the latter especially among the clergy (Reeves, 'The Interaction of Scottish and English Evangelicals', p. 8). Philip Spener's prescription of *collegia pietatas* for the ills of dead orthodoxy gave Continental pietism a strong emphasis upon prayer groups.

Covenanters.⁹ They flowed from the seventeenth-century spiritual awakening at Shotts and played a key role in the eighteenth-century parish revivals in Cambuslang and Kilsyth.¹⁰ This revival connection had the most influence upon nineteenth-century Evangelicals in their own development of corporate prayer.

Evangelicals prayed together in a diversity of contexts. One person might have prayed regularly in several different kinds of groups, some private and some public, yet all generally focused upon encouraging and spreading experiential orthodoxy.

The family unit comprised the smallest and most foundational prayer group. Family prayer was a hallmark of Evangelical piety, tracing its roots back through the eighteenth century to the Reformation.¹¹ It involved gathering together the entire household, servants and guests as well as immediate family members, at least once, if not twice, daily for Bible reading and prayer, usually led by the head of the household.¹² Most Evangelicals felt that ideally the head of the household should pray extemporaneously, covering a variety of topics in addition to the needs of the family.¹³ However, they recognised that this approach might be beyond

9. Campbell, *Two Centuries of the Church in Scotland*, pp. 31-32.

10. Drummond and Bulloch, *The Scottish Church*, pp. 49-56.

11. For an eighteenth-century example of family piety, see Ian A. Muirhead, '"Familiar Letters Between Intimate Friends": A Pietist MS. of the Eighteenth Century,' *RSCHS* 17 (1972):215-231. For a seventeenth-century example, see chapter nine, 'The Necessity and Usefulness of Family Prayer Manifested' of John Brown, *A Treatise on Prayer and the Answer of Prayer*, 3rd ed. (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle, 1822); this reprint was recommended by several nineteenth-century Evangelical ministers. *The First Book of Discipline* enjoined family worship every morning and evening (ed. by James K. Cameron [Edinburgh: St. Andrew Press, 1972], p. 187).

12. Manuals for leading family worship produced by Evangelicals (see below) contained written prayers that ran about 1,000-1,500 words long each, roughly translating into 8-10 minutes of prayer, usually preceded by reading a chapter from the Bible, which would have added about another 5 minutes. Some families also included Psalm singing as part of their devotions.

13. William H. Burns, *Essay and Address on Family Worship* (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1839), pp. iiif.

the capacity of some parents and so produced devotional guides containing written prayers for each day of the week, hoping that these models would lead naturally to extemporaneous prayer.¹⁴

This emphasis upon free prayer reflected the belief that family piety should arise out of individual piety:

Religion in the family is only the fruit and index of religion in the closet and religion in the heart; and he who knows what it is in his own person to enjoy the favour and grace of God, will feel that it is as much his privilege as his duty, to engage in exercises which directly tend to bring his children and dependents within the sphere of all he most wishes for them in time and through eternity.¹⁵

Family prayer served both as a primary outlet for the deeply felt spiritual experience of individuals¹⁶ and as a means of reproducing that experience in succeeding generations. Therefore, Evangelicals viewed the practice as an essential sign of spiritual vitality and were concerned when they perceived it to be declining, especially among ministers, whom they felt should serve as examples to their parishioners.¹⁷ This concern was implicit in their production of family devotional guides, and it found explicit expression in the General Assembly both through an overture in 1819 which called for ministers to employ every method to encourage family worship¹⁸ and some seventeen years later through a pastoral letter on the subject designed to be read from the pulpit of every church.¹⁹

Family worship was not the only kind of organised corporate prayer held in private homes. Some parishes also had one or more 'fellowship

14. For example see *Prayers for the Use of Families* (Edinburgh: William Whyte & Co., 1830) by Charles Watson, minister of Burntisland.

15. Watson, *Prayers for the Use of Families*, p. ix.

16. R. MacLeod lists the institution of daily family worship as one of the main results of religious revival in the Western Isles ('The Progress of Evangelicalism in the Western Isles', pp. 216ff). W.H. Burns produced his address on family worship in the year that revival began in Kilsyth.

17. *Religious Monitor* 4 (Oct. 1806):393.

18. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 18 (Aug. 1819):589ff.

19. *Scottish Christian Herald* 1 (15 Oct. 1836):513ff.

meetings',²⁰ weekly small-group gatherings for Psalm singing, Bible reading, religious discussion, and prayer, usually composed of and led by lay people. The idea for these groups had arisen in Scotland during the Reformation, specifically under the leadership of John Knox.²¹ In the following century they were particularly strong among the Covenanters, though many fellowship meetings remained within the Establishment. Their close association with the religious revivals at Cambuslang and Kilsyth in 1742 helped to popularise them throughout Scotland during the eighteenth century. It remained then for John Erskine, a member of an upper-class fellowship meeting while a university student,²² and for other first generation Evangelicals to carry this tradition on into the nineteenth century. These groups were also popularised through the republication of the mid-eighteenth-century work, *The Duty and Advantage of Religious Societies*,²³ and through the writing of Alexander Pringle, a Secession minister from Perth and a contemporary of the first generation Evangeli-

 20. These also were known as 'praying societies', 'religious associations', or simply 'prayer meetings'. Although 'fellowship meetings' had become a dated expression by the 1830s (see *Scottish Guardian* 1 [12 June 1832]:169), it seems the most descriptive and least confusing way of referring to what were essentially the same kinds of groups.

21. The historical background for nineteenth-century fellowship meetings is discussed in detail in chapter four of Arthur Fawcett, *The Cambuslang Revival: The Scottish Evangelical Revival of the Eighteenth Century* (London: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1971), pp. 57-74.

22. Fawcett, *The Cambuslang Revival*, p. 67.

23. This work was first published in 1746 by John Warden, minister of Campsie, under the title: *The Duty and Advantage of Religious Societies, Proven from Scripture and Reason: With Proper Directions to All Who Either Are or May Be Engaged in Such Societies. In Two Letters; One from the Reverend Mr. John Willison, Minister of the Gospel at Dundee, and the Other from the Reverend Mr. John Bonar, Minister of the Gospel at Torphichen; Both Directed to a Private Society in Edinburgh, Anno 1740. To Which is Subjoined, An Inquiry into the Nature, Obligation, and Advantages of Religious Fellowship: Together with an Attempt to Direct the Proper Exercise of It.* In part because Willison and Bonar were revered ministers, well known throughout Scotland even after their deaths, this work was reprinted at least twice in the late eighteenth century (1770, 1783), and most significantly twice in the nineteenth century: in 1832 with a preface by William H. Burns, minister of Kilsyth and again in 1840 with an address by John Geddes, minister of St. Andrew's parish, Glasgow.

cals.²⁴

Nineteenth-century Evangelicals, therefore, inherited a highly developed, indigenous tradition of home-based groups, and adapted its structured approach to corporate prayer as a key part of their own agenda for parish revitalisation.²⁵ Fellowship meetings were governed by a written set of regulations to which all members agreed to adhere. These regulations varied from group to group, but they usually addressed issues of membership and of the content and conduct of meetings.²⁶ Most fellowship meetings limited their size to a group of less than twelve members,²⁷ and outsiders could not be admitted without the consent of the whole group. Members were accountable to one another for maintaining a pious lifestyle outside their meetings, creating an egalitarian atmosphere in which Christian experience often prevailed over class and education.²⁸

 24. *The Duty of Prayer Recommended with Some Thoughts upon Societies for Prayer and Religious Conference* (Perth: J. Taylor, 1781).

25. Professor Brown seems to ignore the depth and breadth of this indigenous tradition when he suggests that Scottish Evangelicals modelled their 'prayer societies' after the similar associations of their English counterparts, attributing to these groups the same developmental process that held true for missionary and benevolent societies (*Thomas Chalmers*, p. 49).

26. For representative examples of regulations from various eras and areas see Fawcett, pp. 71-72 [Cambuslang, 1721]; *The Duty and Advantage of Religious Societies...* (Kilmarnock: J. Wilson, 1783), pp. 69-88 [Campsie, 1746]; Findlater, *Robert Findlater*, pp. 27-32 [Invergordon Ness in Ross-shire, founded 1788 and continuing into the first decade of the nineteenth century]; and *Evangelical Magazine* 7 (Feb. 1799):85-86 [Old Deer, Aberdeenshire, 1798; note that this fellowship meeting was intentionally interdenominational, involving members of the Church of Scotland, Seceders, and Episcopalians]. See also these descriptions of how meetings were to be conducted: *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 30 (May 1831):324-326; letter of Robert Murray McCheyne to J.T. Just, 17 Mar. 1840 in A.A. Bonar, *Robert Murray McCheyne*, pp. 250-252. Despite the wide range of time and location, these regulations and descriptions reflect the same basic kind of group.

27. Smallness allowed for greater sharing and intimacy, contributing in a large part to the effectiveness and popularity of these groups. The reviewer of a number of works on fellowship meetings remarked that they usually failed when they became too large and formal, *Presbyterian Review* 14 (Apr. 1841):106ff.

28. George Wright, later minister of Markinch and Stirling, recorded in his diary that though the other members of his fellowship meeting were poorer and less educated, he was in need of their instruction and correction (13 July 1798, vol. 1 in NCL).

Discussion was restricted to religious topics, usually related to the Bible or pertaining to Christian ethics or experience. Controversial issues, whether theological or political, were avoided. Any questions that the group was unable to answer were referred to the parish minister, whose effectiveness, particularly in the pulpit, was usually a special subject for prayer.

Despite their rigid structure, fellowship meetings proved to be adaptable to many different circumstances and areas in the hands of the nineteenth-century Evangelicals.²⁹ Both men and women were involved in them, though usually in separate, single-sex groups. Children had their own fellowship meetings, thus beginning their participation at a young age. Robert Balfour, later minister of St. Paul's, Glasgow, joined at the age of twelve 'a society which met weekly for religious conversation and prayer, and on which he afterwards gave the most regular attendance'.³⁰

As Sabbath schools became widespread, fellowship meetings developed a close connection with them. In 1805, the Edinburgh Gratis Sabbath School Society reported that 'a few of the children' in its schools met regularly for prayer, Bible reading, and religious discussion,³¹ and a correspondent to the *Religious Monitor* described a group of three boys connected to a Sabbath school, aged eleven to fourteen, who met weekly in a timber shed for prayer. Significantly, even at this young age, their prayers embodied a breadth of Evangelical spiritual interests. They prayed not only for their own spiritual wellbeing, but for that of their parents, their teachers and ministers, as well as for the conversion of children in all Sabbath schools and for the spread of Christianity worldwide.³²

 29. John Wilson even established them in India in the course of his missionary labours there, G. Smith, *John Wilson*, p. 71.

30. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 18 (Dec. 1819):838. Andrew Harley, minister of Johnstone, participated in a similar group in Paisley as a youth, *Religious Monitor* 6 (Oct. 1808):464.

31. *Religious Monitor* 3 (Nov. 1805):434-436.

32. *Religious Monitor* 6 (Dec. 1808):542-544.

These groups seem to have developed from the children's own initiative independent of the action of Sabbath school teachers or societies.³³ However, some Evangelicals quickly recognised their potential for nurturing their movement among the young, and actively promoted them as a means of following up those leaving Sabbath schools and of helping those who did not receive a Sabbath school education to come to spiritual maturity.³⁴

John Geddes, minister of St. Andrew's, Glasgow, and Robert Murray McCheyne, minister of St. Peter's, Dundee, organised young men in their parishes into fellowship meetings.³⁵ Similar groups were an important component of 'Young Men's Societies', precursors to the YMCA movement.³⁶

Fellowship meetings also existed among young men in the universities, especially at Edinburgh. Sometime during the 1760s Robert Balfour and Thomas Randall Davidson, later minister of the Tolbooth Church in Edinburgh, became the 'first members of a weekly fellowship or prayer meeting of students, which long met in the Orphan Hospital' in Edinburgh.³⁷ This group was encouraged by the Hospital's teacher, William Peebles, and continued at least until his death in 1807.³⁸ Around the turn of the century

 33. This practice may have been a distinctively Scottish phenomena. An English religious periodical noted that Scottish Sabbath school pupils 'appear disposed to meet for prayer among themselves, unknown to their teachers...What is the feeling on this subject among our young friends in England?' *The Revivalist: Exclusively Devoted to the Revival and Extension of Evangelical Religion* 3 (1834):174.

34. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 30 (May 1831):324-326.

35. *Scottish Pulpit* 3 (1833-4):v-x; Geddes shared his experience of this type of organisation in an address to an Association of Juvenile Fellowship Meetings in Paisley, *Scottish Christian Herald* 3, 2nd series (13 Mar. 1841):161ff. A.A. Bonar, *Robert Murray McCheyne*, p. 113.

36. For example, the Edinburgh Young Men's Society, *The Christian Philanthropist's Companion, A Magazine Devoted to the Revival and Extension of Religion* 1 (1833):285ff; note the involvement of leading Evangelical ministers such as Henry Grey, David Dickson, and John Hunter.

37. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, 4th Series, 1 (May 1838):200.

38. Davidson regularly introduced university students with whom he had contact to Peebles, providing an ongoing source of new members for the group. *Scottish Christian Herald* 2 (8 Apr. 1837):222f.

Robert Findlater Jr., later minister of Inverness, participated in it with about a dozen of his university friends.³⁹

New fellowship meetings, appearing independently of one another, continued to spring up among the students. William H. Burns, later minister of Kilsyth, participated in one of these gatherings in the Edinburgh home of a fellow student, George Wright, later minister of Markinch and of Stirling, a meeting that was roughly contemporary with that of Findlater.⁴⁰ About a decade later James Anderson, a friend of Thomas Chalmers, founded a group for his younger colleagues at Edinburgh, most of whom, like Anderson, were from Dundee.⁴¹ Significantly, Anderson felt that none of them was 'aware of the peculiar nature of Christianity', and expressed delight as the members of the group grew in their desire to read the Bible and to conduct prayer during the meetings.⁴²

These early fellowship meetings paved the way for the university missionary associations in the 1820s and 30s, though the former were not replaced by the latter, but were viewed as the private complements of the public gatherings. Missionary association leaders, such as Robert Murray McCheyne and William C. Burns, continued to be involved in fellowship meetings.⁴³ In an address to the prayer meeting of the GUMA, Burns encouraged its participants to start small groups among their fellow stu-

39. Findlater, *Robert Findlater*, p. 96. Other future clergymen who were involved included, John Russell of Muthil, Donald Macgilvray of Kilmalie, *Scottish Christian Herald* 2 (8 Apr. 1837):223.

40. I. Burns, *Pastor of Kilsyth*, p. 34. At one of these meetings Burns met John Campbell, the Dissenting Edinburgh ironmonger turned missionary, which suggests that the private, informal prayer groups provided opportunities for Evangelical contacts across denominational boundaries.

41. Letter of James Anderson to Thomas Chalmers, 19 Dec. 1812 (43.1-4), Chalmers Correspondence, StAUL. Anderson indicated that the structured format of fellowship meetings appealed to undergraduates: 'I thought it right to avail myself of all the attractions of form and accordingly we have adopted laws, chosen a secretary and take the chair in succession.'

42. Letters of James Anderson to Thomas Chalmers, 19 Jan. 1813 (44.1-4) and 8 Mar. 1813 (45.1-4), Chalmers Correspondence, StAUL.

43. A.A. Bonar, *Robert Murray McCheyne*, p. 30.

dents 'to which to invite such as might be under some concern about salvation, though not far enough advanced to take part in conducting such meetings.'⁴⁴ In this way, fellowship meetings also served as the context for student proselytism and for introducing basic elements of Evangelical piety.

Perhaps as a result of participating in these groups during university and divinity hall, Evangelical ministers went on to form clerical fellowship meetings amongst their colleagues from nearby parishes. George Wright carried on this tradition during the 1810s in Fife while he was minister of Markinch,⁴⁵ and Robert Murray McCheyne did the same in Dundee during the 1830s and early 40s.⁴⁶ Around the turn of the century, the example of a lay fellowship meeting challenged some of the ministers of the Presbytery of Tain in Ross-shire to form a group of their own, which seems to have continued into the 1840s.⁴⁷ Perhaps inspired by this example, in 1831 John MacDonald of Ferrintosh and five of his colleagues organised themselves into an association, the main object of which, was, according to its regulations, 'to seek by prayer and the reading of the Scriptures, the influence of the Spirit of God upon the members themselves, their families and congregations, and the Church of Christ at

 44. From the diary of William C. Burns, 9 Dec. 1839, in I. Burns, *William C. Burns*, p. 139.

45. Diary of George Wright, 21 Sep. 1814, NCL, vol. 2. The 'meeting of ministers at Burntisland' that Wright mentioned attending was probably the same as 'one of our friendly meetings at Markinch' to which George Muirhead, minister of Dysart, invited Thomas Chalmers to attend while in Kirkcaldy for a synod meeting and an organisational meeting of the Fife and Kinross Bible Society (letter of 27 Mar. 1812, Chalmers Papers, NCL, CHA 4.2.10-11). Other area ministers who seem to have been involved in this group were Peter Brotherston of Dysart, John Martin of St. Brice's in Kirkcaldy, and perhaps Peter Barclay of Kettle in Cupar Presbytery.

46. A.A. Bonar, *Robert Murray McCheyne*, pp. 78, 102, 160.

47. Findlater, *Robert Findlater*, pp. 33f.

large'.⁴⁹ While these regulations reflected the Highland provenance of its membership,⁴⁹ they were basically similar to the proposed regulations for clerical fellowship meetings that appeared in Lowland religious periodicals.⁵⁰

Fellowship meetings, both among ministers and lay people, were a unifying feature of Lowland and Highland Evangelicalism. Introduced into the Highlands by Thomas Hog of Kiltearn in the seventeenth century, these groups flourished among lay people, introducing Biblical literacy and Lowland Evangelical piety to remote areas.⁵¹ Nonetheless, Highland fellowship meetings produced some of their own distinctive characteristics. Religious poems were used as a means of instruction,⁵² and their leaders often gained considerable influence within their parishes, forming a loosely connected group throughout the Highlands known as 'The Men'.⁵³ This group sometimes challenged the authority of Moderate ministers,⁵⁴ creating virtually separate congregations, and even some Evangelical ministers had difficulties with them.⁵⁵

Misgivings about the potential problems inherent in the lay leadership of fellowship meetings also existed in the Lowlands, though not to

 48. J[ohn]. Kennedy, *The 'Apostle of the North': The Life and Labours of the Rev. Dr. M'Donald* (London: T. Nelson & Sons, 1866), p. 286. The complete set of regulations for this group is reproduced in pp. 285ff. Its original members were Donald Fraser of Kirkhill (who wrote the regulations), John Kennedy of Killearnan, Donald Sage of Resolis, William Barclay of Auldearn, and Alexander Fraser of Cawdor.

49. For example, because of the difficulties of travel, there were only three meetings per year, and the maximum number of members was set at six for the practical reason that no more could be housed overnight in a manse.

50. *Religious Monitor* 4 (Mar. 1806):103-104 and *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 4 (April 1812):225-226.

51. MacInnes, *The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands*, pp. 155, 166, 211ff.

52. MacInnes, *The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands*, pp. 262-275.

53. For a fuller discussion see, John MacInnes, 'The Origin and Early Development of "The Men",' *RSCHS* 8 (1944):16-41.

54. Henderson, 'Evangelism, Worship, and Theology,' pp. 298-301.

55. For example, Alexander Stewart of Cromarty; Walker, *Robert Buchanan*, p. 11.

the same degree as in the Highlands. An incoming Moderate minister frustrated his parish schoolmaster's attempt to start a prayer group in the parish of Bendochy in Forfarshire.⁵⁶ When Robert Buchanan came to Saltoun in East Lothian, he conferred with some of his Evangelical colleagues about how to handle the two fellowship meetings in his new parish. All but one agreed with Buchanan's decision to attend only once a year and then to take leadership himself, lest it seem that ministers were placing themselves under the teaching authority of laymen.⁵⁷ Other Evangelical ministers precluded any challenges to their authority by leading fellowship meetings themselves.⁵⁸ Despite the growth of lay activity that fellowship meetings and voluntary societies promoted, Evangelicalism remained a clerically dominated movement.

In areas where fellowship meetings were common, umbrella organisations tying them loosely together sometimes emerged. The oldest and largest of these was the Glasgow Corresponding Society for Prayer [GCSP], which grew out of the 1742 revivals in the west of Scotland.⁵⁹ Its main purposes were to encourage the formation of new fellowship meetings in the city and to share information among existing ones. After 1835 the GCSP extended its scope to include the whole of Scotland, publishing a number of leaflets which gave advice on forming new groups and enlivening old ones.⁶⁰

 56. Letter from David Brodie to Thomas Chalmers, 26 Nov. 1814, Chalmers Correspondence, StAUL, 62.1-4.

57. Walker, *Robert Buchanan*, pp. 10-11. The minister differing from this position felt there was no harm in attending more often, and added that he had done so without any bad results.

58. For example, Alexander Stewart in Moulin (Sievwright, *Alexander Stewart*, p. 231); and Andrew Bonar in Collace (Horatius Bonar, *Life of the Rev. John Milne of Perth* [London: James Nisbet & Co. 1869], pp. 60ff).

59. The information on the GCSP was derived from a circular letter appended to W. Hamilton, *The Nature and Advantages of Private Social Meetings for Prayer*, pp. 25-36. See also a review of this work, *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* New Series, 4 (Sept. 1835):635f.

60. Five of these leaflets are reviewed in the *Presbyterian Review* 14 (April 1841):106ff.

The GCSP was closely associated with Evangelicalism, and their fortunes paralleled each other. The GCSP first printed its regulations in 1792, about the time that first generation Evangelicals were coming of age.⁶¹ Reprints followed in 1815 and 1835, roughly when the next two generations were coming of age, suggesting that fellowship meetings continued to be a primary expression of the Evangelical movement.

The function of the GCSP was reproduced on a smaller scale in other cities, binding together fellowship meetings and creating a sense of unity and common purpose amongst their members. In Paisley, the kirk-sessions seem to have fulfilled this role.⁶² In Edinburgh, an interdenominational association of fellowship meetings arose in the wake of the missionary movement.⁶³ However, in the more denominationally conscious 1830s, a similar organisation in Dundee was limited to Presbyterians.⁶⁴ Young people's fellowship meetings had their own special associations in Glasgow and Paisley.⁶⁵

Evangelicals devoted so much time and attention to organising fellowship meetings because they believed that these groups were a primary vehicle for religious revival, one of their central aims for the Church.⁶⁶ Gatherings in private homes for Bible reading, religious discussion, and prayer preceded the outbreak of spiritual awakenings in many areas during the first half of the nineteenth century.⁶⁷ They were the catalyst for

61. Robert Balfour and John Love, two leading first generation ministers in Glasgow, took a special interest in the GCSP.

62. Ferrier, *Two Discourses*, p. 171.

63. *Missionary Magazine* 2 (Apr. 1797):186-187.

64. *Presbyterian Magazine* 1 (Jan. 1832):36.

65. The Glasgow Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement (*Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 23 [May 1824]:354f) and the Association of Juvenile Fellowship Meetings in Paisley (*Scottish Christian Herald* 3, 2nd series [13 Mar. 1841]:161).

66. Fellowship meetings and family worship were among the first things listed in 'Means for Promoting the Revival of Religion', *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 15 (Dec. 1817):375.

67. Following a basic pattern in Scottish religion noted by Iain A. Muirhead, 'Revival as a Dimension of Scottish Church History', *RSCHS* 20 (1980):192-195.

revival in Moulin around the turn of the century;⁶⁸ in Breadalbane,⁶⁹ Arran,⁷⁰ and Skye⁷¹ in the 1810s; and in Kilsyth,⁷² Dundee,⁷³ Collace,⁷⁴ and Perth⁷⁵ in 1839-40.⁷⁶ Fellowship meetings multiplied rapidly during and after revival since they provided a context in which to counsel individuals asking religious questions or struggling with strong emotional reactions to preaching, and to consolidate converts. In Kilsyth many gatherings for prayer met daily in homes at the height of the 1839-40 revival,⁷⁷ and it was claimed that 60 such groups had been formed there, compared to 39 in Dundee⁷⁸ and between 30 and 50 in Perth.⁷⁹

Fellowship meetings were a distinctive component of the approach of the Evangelicals to religious revival, helping to conserve the fruits of spiritual awakenings largely within the Establishment. Perhaps one reason why Methodism did not prosper in Scotland in the wake of revivals as it did in England was because the existing Scottish institution of the fellowship meeting fulfilled a similar purpose to the Methodist class meetings and societies. Nevertheless, in the highly charged atmosphere surrounding the debate concerning the Spiritual Independence of the Church during the early 1840s, some fellowship meetings became breeding grounds

68. A. Stewart, *An Account of a Late Revival of Religion in a Part of the Highlands of Scotland*, pp. 34-35.

69. Findlater, *Robert Findlater*, p. 159.

70. Henderson, 'Evangelism, Worship, and Theology', pp. 268-271.

71. Henderson, 'Evangelism, Worship, and Theology', pp. 295-298.

72. I. Burns, *William C. Burns*, p. 86.

73. 'The spring of this movement was in the meetings for prayer...', letter from Robert Murray McCheyne to Horatius Bonar, 25 Dec. 1839 in H. Bonar, *John Milne*, p. 32.

74. A.A. Bonar, *Robert Murray McCheyne*, p. 168.

75. H. Bonar, *John Milne*, p. 25.

76. Note that the formation of fellowship meetings did not necessarily lead to religious revival (for example, at Ruthwell, G.J.C. Duncan, *Henry Duncan*, p. 269) and that revivals sometimes arose independently of these groups.

77. I. Burns, *William C. Burns*, pp. 99ff.

78. Including five conducted and attended entirely by children, A.A. Bonar, *Robert Murray McCheyne*, p. 377.

79. H. Bonar, *John Milne*, p. 41.

for Free Church sympathisers following the 1839-40 revivals. This anti-Establishment stance contrasted sharply with earlier revivals and was mainly the result of the pro-Disruption position of certain prominent fellowship meeting leaders,⁸⁰ though the gathered church tendency inherent in the exclusive membership of the groups may also have contributed to this development.

In the 1830s Evangelicals held to fellowship meetings as their basic means of encouraging religious revival in preference to the new revival methods advocated by Charles Finney and other American revivalists. They rejected the American approach as being too mechanistic and manipulative and insufficiently reliant on the work of the Holy Spirit. Looking primarily to Jonathan Edwards for their model of religious revival, they believed that it would come mainly through the ordinary means of preaching, pastoral care, and religious education combined with extraordinary prayer for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Fellowship meetings were the main context for this kind of prayer, which partly explains why these groups began to increase in number from the mid-1830s, since they provided a concrete expression for the growing interest in spiritual awakening among Kirk Evangelicals.

Thus, the Scottish revivals of 1839-40 were primarily the result of an indigenous movement which had been building for almost a decade, rather than a response to the appearance of Finney's *Lectures on the Revivals of Religion* in Scotland in 1838.⁸¹ Finney's *Lectures* certainly stimulated interest in religious revivals within the Evangelical camp, but that interest came in reaction to the work, and not from imitation of it. The suc-

80. 'The Men' in the Highlands and Islands supported the Free Church (MacLeod, 'Progress of Evangelicalism in the Western Isles,' pp. 233ff), and revival leaders like Robert Murray McCheyne and William C. Burns were active in pre-Disruption preparations in the Lowlands.

81. Contrary to Professor Brown's interpretation, *Thomas Chalmers*, pp. 324-325.

cess in America of what they perceived as Finney's dubious new methods caused them to ask why they were not experiencing revival *themselves and* merely intensified their commitment to making the traditional approach successful. Hence, they emphasised increasing the prayer element in existing fellowship and prayer meetings, rather than developing special revival gatherings. Although young evangelists such as William C. Burns and Robert Murray McCheyne preached about religious revival and advocated 'sudden conversions', their approach was not markedly different from that of George Whitefield at Cambuslang a century earlier. Their advocacy of fellowship meetings reflected a long-standing commitment of Kirk Evangelicalism: the Holy Spirit was seen as normally working through preaching to bring about conversion and sanctification in response to united prayer.⁸²

The reviews of American revival literature in Scottish Evangelical periodicals clearly reflected this conservatism. As early as 1832, in a review of Calvin Colton's *History and Character of American Revivals*, the *Presbyterian Review* criticised the American 'revival-men' for relying upon novel techniques which produced nothing but 'animal excitement' rather than upholding the ordinary means of preaching and extraordinary prayer. It remarked scathingly that:

Such a mode of proceeding was scarcely to be expected in a country which has given origin to one of the most correct and instructive works in the *Therapeutica sacra* which has ever been published; we allude to the admirable treatise of President Edwards on the Religious Affections.⁸³

82. Robertson, 'Spiritual Awakening in the Northeast of Scotland,' pp. 105-110.

83. *Presbyterian Review* 2 (Sep. 1832):521ff, quote on p. 528.

In 1838, Finney's *Lectures* received similar criticism in the *Presbyterian Review*,⁸⁴ while a republication of Jonathan Edward's *Narrative of the Revival of Religion in New England* and William Sprague's *Lectures on Revivals of Religion* were praised in 1840 for their emphasis upon the sovereign work of the Holy Spirit in conversion rather than mechanical means designed to elicit religious sympathy.⁸⁵ The *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* also praised Sprague's work and went on to summarise the position of Scottish Evangelicals:

With the Davenports, the Nettletons, the Burchards, and the Finneys, of 'revival-making' celebrity, we have little in common; and yet, can any man deny that God works by means of human agency?...We do not want 'new measures' at all; but certainly we do desiderate a more vigorous and persevering and prayerful employment of the *old*.⁸⁶

Fellowship meetings provided a popular, local expression for the basic spiritual aims of Evangelicalism, and at the same time they reinforced other elements of Evangelical practice. They were seen as a direct means of encouraging revival, and as evidence of the phenomenon when it

84. *Presbyterian Review* 11 (Oct. 1838):264ff. The reviewer criticised Finney's *Lectures* for largely replacing the agency of the Holy Spirit and the basic gospel message in religious revivals with 'excitement' and novelty: '[The book] is full of extravagant statements, and is on the whole such a dangerous work, that we would not put it into the hands of any one whose religious opinions and feelings had not been thoroughly established' (p. 271). He concluded this review by suggesting that less attention should be paid to theories of revivals such as Finney's and more attention should be given to the history of revivals, particularly in the Church of Scotland. His main practical suggestion was that prayer meetings should be organised in kirk-sessions, presbyteries, synods, and the General Assembly, rather than that special revival meetings following Finney's model should be instituted.

85. *Presbyterian Review* 12 (Jan. 1840):454ff.

86. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 4th series, 2 (Oct. 1839):404-408, quote on p. 407; a review of two revival-related works by James Douglas appearing two months earlier specifically recommended fellowship meetings as an acceptable means of promoting revival when accompanied by ordinary pastoral care and preaching (p. 308). Note that the *Instructor's* editor, Robert Burns of Paisley seems to have practised what his magazine preached. When revival first broke out at Kilsyth, it is reported that he spoke to the people 'in the way of caution and of direction, that the genuine, deep, inward working of the Spirit might go on, not encouraging animal excitement', I. Burns, *Pastor of Kilsyth*, p. 146.

appeared. Moreover, apart from times of religious revival, they produced a laity who were experienced in prayer, knowledge of the Bible, and religious discussion. Practically, they developed leadership skills among lay people, showing them how to organise themselves to meet a common goal.⁸⁷ One fellowship meeting in Glasgow adapted what its members had learned in this area to form a society for the production and distribution of tracts on revival, hoping that others might have the same experience of 'vital godliness' that they had enjoyed in their own meetings.⁸⁸

In a similar way, fellowship meetings also indirectly encouraged evangelism, creating a context from which a number of voluntary societies emerged by providing regular times for discussion and prayer about a variety of religious concerns. While some participants may have absolved themselves of any personal responsibility for the issues for which they prayed, most seem to have become more motivated for action. They appeared to feel that sincere faith demanded that they should work together to answer their own prayers.

A group that met for prayer in the home of David Black, minister of Lady Yester's Church, Edinburgh, proved to be particularly productive, spawning several evangelistic efforts in the 1790s. James Haldane, one of its members, together with his associates received the prayers of this group on the evening before they left for their preaching tour in the Highlands in 1797. Thereafter, he kept in close contact with the group

 87. Several Evangelical leaders grew up in families where their parents were active in fellowship meetings, thereby suggesting that these groups helped to pass on spiritual and organisational leadership from generation to generation, especially when combined with family worship. The biographer of David Stow, the educational reformer, indicated that Stow and his siblings used to listen to the proceedings of the fellowship meeting led by his father that met in their home (Fraser, *David Stow*, p. 9). The fathers of Alexander Duff, the first Church of Scotland missionary to India (G. Smith, *Alexander Duff*, 1:7), and Robert Findlater Jr., the leader of a revival in Breadalbane in the 1810s (Findlater, *Robert Findlater*, p. 24), both led fellowship meetings .

88. *Church of Scotland Magazine* 1 (Oct. 1834):311.

while he was in the field, occasionally writing John Campbell, the Edinburgh ironmonger, to ask its members to pray for them.⁸⁹ Campbell seems to have involved this group with several other 'praying societies' in the formation of the Edinburgh Gratis Sabbath School Society in 1797, so 'that actual exertion might accompany their prayers'.⁹⁰

The gathering at Black's home along with other fellowship meetings throughout Scotland helped to prepare the way for Scottish missionary societies. They welcomed the advent of the LMS, with groups in Glasgow even meeting for prayer during the time of the London society's organising meeting.⁹¹ This parallel activity probably came about as a result of the contacts with the GCSP of the LMS secretary, John Love. The same network in Glasgow may have gone on to form the nucleus of the GMS, while Black's group in Edinburgh was probably involved in the formation of its sister society, the EMS,⁹² especially since Black himself was a founding director. In its opening circular letter, the EMS asked for prayer from 'religious societies',⁹³ and much to its pleasure discovered that some groups added financial contributions to their intercessions.⁹⁴ Similarly, fellowship meetings constituted a major source of funds for the NMS,⁹⁵ which itself arose from an idea first suggested in the course of a similar meeting of ministers in Easter Ross.⁹⁶

89. A. Haldane, *R. Haldane...and...J. Haldane*, p. 145, 152-153, 160-161, 173.

90. *Missionary Magazine* 2 (Apr. 1797):186; cf. A. Haldane, *R. Haldane...and...J. Haldane*, p. 146 and *Religious Monitor* 4 (May 1806):200.

91. *Evangelical Magazine* 3 (Oct. 1795):421.

92. Matheson, *Greville Ewing*, pp. 68-70.

93. *Account of the...Debate in the...Assembly...27 May, 1796*, p. 69.

94. A collection from the 'fellowship meetings from the Parish of Canisby in the Presbytery of Langholm' was taken on 4 Feb. 1797, EMS Report for 1797, p. 6.

95. 25 Aug. 1819, NMS Minutes, NLS, DEP 298 (198).

96. Preamble to the NMS Minutes, NLS, DEP 298 (198); Findlater, *Robert Findlater*, p. 34. Note that one of the purposes mentioned in the 'Proposal for a Clerical Club' was 'for devising plans for the advancement of religion' (*Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 4 [Apr. 1812]:225).

In addition to supporting private prayer in families and in fellowship meetings, Evangelicals also participated in a variety of public prayer meetings. In keeping with their commitment to the Church of Scotland as a national church, they helped to organise prayer as a response to several national crises. In February 1797, when Britain seemed under threat of immediate invasion from Revolutionary France, weekly public prayer meetings on behalf of the nation were instituted in a number of congregations in Edinburgh, including those from the Church of Scotland such as the quintessentially Evangelical chapel of Lady Glenorchy.⁹⁷ These prayer meetings died out when peace was declared, but then were quickly resumed in 1803 after Napoleon rose to power, and France threatened Britain again.⁹⁸ They continued for at least a decade, though the initial enthusiasm for them seems to have waned as the hostilities dragged on.⁹⁹ In contrast to the personal, lay orientation of fellowship meetings, these prayer meetings for the nation concentrated upon public issues and were led by ministers. They met in church buildings, and their format was essentially that of an ordinary worship service, consisting of psalm singing, Scripture reading, a brief sermon, and prayer led from the pulpit, often with two ministers sharing these tasks among themselves.

Although Evangelical publications like the *Missionary Magazine* and the *Religious Monitor* commended these prayer meetings for the nation, and Evangelical ministers like Greville Ewing of Lady Glenorchy's Chapel participated in them, they were not exclusively Evangelical enterprises. Many Moderate ministers also supported them, since both major groups within the Kirk agreed that an important function of the Established

97. *Missionary Magazine* 2 (Apr. 1797): 186; Matheson, *Greville Ewing*, pp. 100-101.

98. *Religious Monitor* 1 (Sep. 1803):252-262.

99. In 1813 they were meeting fortnightly, *Religious Monitor* 11 (Jan. 1813):19.

Church was praying for the State. While the claim that Moderatism was 'becoming little more than the Dundas interest at prayer' during the Napoleonic era is an overgeneralisation,¹⁰⁰ some Moderates, such as William Ritchie of St. Andrew's, Glasgow, took a much more politicised approach to prayer than many of their Evangelical colleagues did, as a published sermon by Ritchie, *The Duty of Prayer for National Defence Illustrated and Recommended*, indicates. Reflecting its dedication to the Lord Provost and Magistrates of Glasgow, it dealt almost completely with political issues and was predominantly patriotic in orientation. The sermon began by equating the text, 'pray for the peace of Jerusalem', with a call to pray for 'the defence and prosperity of our country--of our establishments in church and state',¹⁰¹ and argued that the superiority of the British Constitution was the greatest incentive for prayer.¹⁰²

While Evangelicals were also committed to the Establishment, many of them worked out this commitment in a different way, being concerned primarily with its spiritual implications, especially as they related to the traditional conception of Britain as a nation with a special covenant relationship with God. Thus, many Evangelicals viewed the rise of Napoleon as the preparation of God's providential instrument to punish Britain for her ungratefulness and ungodliness. Therefore, patriotism could not be absolute, and prayer should be made not only for peace, but for a 'reformation of manners'. Some Evangelicals felt that they had a

 100. Ferguson, *Scotland: 1689 to the Present*, p. 227.

101. William Ritchie, *The Duty of Prayer for National Defence Illustrated and Recommended: A Sermon Delivered in St. Andrew's Church, Glasgow, on Sunday, 7th August* (Glasgow: W. Reid & Co., 1803), p. 9. He emphasised the importance of the establishment principle in the strongest terms: 'By Jerusalem here in our text we cannot understand the church as unconnected with the state... We cannot even conceive a church without a state...' (pp. 6-7).

102. See the second head of the sermon, where Ritchie developed this point, describing British 'civil and religious advantages' as being 'so superior to those of the other kingdoms of the earth' (*The Duty of Prayer for National Defence*, p. 20).

special priestly responsibility within the Established Church of seeking national forgiveness as well as national blessing: 'Is it not the duty of real Christians to do what the people at large will by no persuasion be induced to do: to confess...the multitude...of our national sins?'¹⁰³ Moreover, the Establishment commitment of the Evangelicals flowed out of and was subordinate to their fundamental concern for the spread of vital Christianity both at home and abroad:

[We should be] pleading not only, that he [God] may still be favourable to our land, may pour out his Spirit upon all ranks, may bless our ruler, and our people; and may defend our country and privileges; but more especially,...that the sound of the glorious gospel may soon be heard throughout every land;...and that the ends of the earth may see the salvation of God.¹⁰⁴

Evangelicals responded similarly to the Scottish cholera epidemic of 1832, organising weekly, and even nightly,¹⁰⁵ prayer meetings in the hope of arresting the advance of the disease. These meetings supplemented the fast days called by the government at the request of the Church of Scotland, and reflected the view of Evangelicals that the epidemic was 'the minister of divine vengeance', evoked primarily by widespread drunkenness and sexual immorality.¹⁰⁶ As a result, Evangelicals also saw these public prayer meetings as a suitable context in which to ask God to send religious revival.¹⁰⁷ This latter purpose prevailed after the threat of the epidemic passed away, at least among groups in the parish of Kilsyth,

103. *Religious Monitor* 1 (Sep. 1803):260.

104. *Religious Monitor* 11 (Jan. 1813):21-22.

105. For example in Inverness, Findlater, *Robert Findlater*, p. 308.

106. At least one writer produced a classic jeremiad, decrying these practices and warning of possible further divine punishments if the government failed to implement his suggestions that public houses be heavily taxed and brothels closed down (*Edinburgh Christian Instructor* New Series, 1 [Aug. 1832]:534ff). It is important to note, however, that while Evangelicals viewed this epidemic providentially, they also allowed for scientific explanations and solutions (Baxter, 'Science and Belief', p. 97).

107. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* New Series, 1 (July 1832):458f; cf. *Scottish Guardian* 1 (12 June 1832):169.

which continued to meet during the remainder of the 1830s, asking God 'to awaken a spirit of earnest and vital religion among them, and throughout the Christian Church generally'.¹⁰⁸

Given the close association between fellowship meetings and the development of Scottish missionary societies, it is no surprise to discover that the major missionary societies in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Paisley developed their own monthly prayer meetings soon after their inception.¹⁰⁹ However, unlike fellowship meetings, these missionary prayer meetings were open to the public, and most significantly, were interdenominational affairs, following the example of the LMS.¹¹⁰ The proceedings were led exclusively by ministers and followed the general pattern of a regular worship service, including psalm singing, Scripture reading and sermon, with long prayers for missions.¹¹¹ Both the venue and the leadership alternated between Established and Dissenting churches,¹¹² giving the missionary prayer meetings a strongly ecumenical character and perhaps making them the first public occasion when Established clergy and Dissenting ministers conducted worship together on equal terms.¹¹³

Missionary prayer meetings continued even after the novelty of this arrangement wore off, becoming an accepted part of religious life among

108. *Scottish Christian Herald* 1, 2nd series (19 Oct. 1839):657-658.

109. *Missionary Magazine* 2 (Nov. 1797):529.

110. Reeves, 'The Interaction of Scottish and English Evangelicals', pp. 69-70.

111. The order for the first EMS prayer meeting is given in Matheson, *Greville Ewing*, pp. 74-75. See also the 'Address of Prayer Meeting of Missionary Society, 4 April, 1798' in the notebook of sermons of Andrew Lothian, a Secession minister of Portsburgh in Edinburgh (NLS, ACC 7617, pp. 28-35). This address was about the same length as Lothian's Sunday morning sermons.

112. For example, the EMS prayer meeting alternated between the Bristo Meeting house (*Religious Monitor* 2 [Oct. 1804]:389) and Lady Glenorchy's Chapel (2 [Nov. 1804]:429), while the GMS meeting alternated between 'Dr. Dick's Chapel' and the Tron Church (*Scottish Missionary Register* 5 [May 1824]:197). The Dissenting element seems to have been drawn primarily from the Secession, with relatively little Congregational or Baptist participation.

113. So claimed by Matheson, *Greville Ewing*, p. 72.

Kirk Evangelicals. Leading ministers such as Stevenson Macgill, John Lockhart, and Daniel Dewar in Glasgow¹¹⁴ conducted them, and Robert Gordon, Patrick Clason, and even John Lee in Edinburgh¹¹⁵ were approached to do so. Other religious voluntary societies imitated this approach and started their own monthly prayer meetings,¹¹⁶ while the university missionary societies at Glasgow and Edinburgh outdid the older bodies by instituting weekly meetings for prayer.¹¹⁷

Missionary prayer meetings were an important centrepiece in the overall Evangelical strategy. Not only were they seen as essential in securing the divine blessing necessary to produce conversions in the field,¹¹⁸ but they directly stimulated deeper spirituality among their participants. Charles Watson, the minister of Burntisland, summed up their importance for his fellow Evangelicals when he commented in his diary, after receiving an invitation to lead the SMS prayer meeting: 'Nothing can be more worthy of Christians than, while making exertions for the salvation of numbers abroad, to use the means of diffusing and keeping alive the spirit of personal religion at home.'¹¹⁹

114. *Scottish Missionary Register* 5 (May 1824):197.

115. 21, Sep. 1824, SMS Minutes 1824-34, NLS DEP 298 (200), p. 10.

116. For example, the Edinburgh City Mission (ECM Minutes, 6 Dec. 1832, NLS, ACC 7247 [1], f. 27.) and the Edinburgh Gaelic Schools Society (EGSS Report for 1837, p. 9). The Bible societies were the one major exception to this pattern because they did not wish to sponsor anything which might limit the breadth of their support.

117. See, I. Burns, *William C. Burns*, p. 138 for a description of the GUMA prayer meeting. Despite a letter from the EUMA recommending that the STAUMA follow its example of establishing a weekly prayer meeting, the STAUMA board questioned the 'propriety of the measure' (19 Mar. 1836, STAUMA Minutes, p. 101). AUMA did not have a separate prayer meeting, but in 1838 began devoting one of its regular weekly meetings every month exclusively to prayer (Letter from Robert Smith to the secretary of EUMA, 8 Mar. 1838, EUMA Minutes).

118. For an exposition of Evangelicals' rationale for the role of prayer in missions see William Hamilton, *Prayer for the Success of Religion, Illustrated and Recommended, A Sermon Preached for the Benefit of the Edinburgh Missionary Society, in the Church of the United Parishes of Broughton and Glenholm, On Wednesday August 28, 1805* (Edinburgh: George Caw, 1806).

119. 3 Dec. 1821, Diaries of Charles Watson, NCL, vol. 1, p. 4.

Despite the importance ascribed to them, missionary prayer meetings seem generally to have been poorly attended.¹²⁰ The first report of the EMS claimed that its prayer meetings were well attended, but all future references decry their lack of support.¹²¹ A letter to the editor in the *Religious Monitor* in 1813 admonished Christians in Edinburgh for ignoring these meetings in contrast to the 'numerous, and often crowded audience' for society sermons by visiting preachers, adding that even ministers seldom attended unless they were conducting the service.¹²² A publication of the SMS echoed these reservations about the growth of an Evangelical subculture, dependent more upon personalities than upon genuine religious commitment: 'Missionary Prayer Meetings have indeed been established in various parts of the country: but how poorly are they attended, compared with the magnitude of the object; and in our larger cities, how much is the attendance influenced by the popular talents of the minister who is to deliver the Address!'¹²³ The SMS minutes reveal that even its own directors did not attend its regular prayer meetings, despite passing several resolutions promising that they would do so.¹²⁴

Evangelicalism seems to have suffered from its own activist success in this area. Since many Evangelical ministers served on several boards and even lay people tended to support several different religious voluntary societies, each of which had its own prayer meeting, attending any one of them regularly became a practical impossibility. Moreover, the

 120. The main exceptions were the university missionary prayer meetings. In 1838 attendance at the EUMA prayer meeting averaged between thirty and forty, increasing to between fifty and sixty the following year (Piggin, *Making of Evangelical Missionaries*, p. 230).

121. EMS Report for 1797, p. 1.

122. *Religious Monitor* 11 (Jan. 1813):18-22.

123. *Quarterly Paper of the Scottish Missionary Society*, n.d. (c. mid-1820s), p. 4. This article added that prayer was the only sure guide to true commitment to missions, surpassing in that respect even financial contributions.

124. SMS Minutes, 24 Jan. 1826 (p. 122), 24 July 1827 (p. 230), and 15 Apr. 1828 (p. 276).

impressive organisational machinery of these societies appeared to make prayer seem dispensable. A similar problem existed with reference to the ecclesiastical courts. The writer of a letter to the editor of the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* lambasted his fellow Evangelicals for neglecting the pre-Assembly diet of prayer in favour of hearing a popular preacher, arguing that they had no right to complain about the decisions of the General Assembly if they neglected to pray for it.¹²⁵

One response to the problem of chronically poor attendance at city-wide missionary prayer meetings was the formation of congregational prayer meetings.¹²⁶ At the SMS annual meeting in 1829, John Purves, assistant minister at Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, moved that 'Missionary Prayer Meetings either congregational or of a more private kind should be generally established throughout the country'.¹²⁷ This suggestion reflected a wider withdrawal into the local congregation by Evangelicals at the time, a trend that was accelerated by the Voluntary Controversy which made inter-denominational interaction increasingly unpleasant. The move toward congregational missionary prayer meetings was given added impetus by General Assembly schemes, especially after 1835 when Alexander Duff toured the national church encouraging their formation.¹²⁸ By 1839 presbyteries had also begun their own prayer meetings, building on this network of congregational gatherings.¹²⁹

 125. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 23 (Nov. 1824):741ff.

126. This form of prayer meeting had been popular in northern Scotland since the advent of the missionary movement (*Missionary Magazine* 2 [Oct. 1797]:449) and continued even after the formation of the NMS, probably because the limitations of travel imposed by Highland geography prevented the holding of large-scale gatherings on a monthly basis.

127. SMS Minutes, 5 June 1829, p. 323.

128. 'Never, perhaps, was there a louder call for them [congregational prayer meetings] than at the present.' *Scottish Christian Herald* 1 (1 Oct. 1836):494.

129. *Monthly Supplement, Scottish Christian Herald* 1 (Apr. 1839):39; *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, 4th Series, 2 (Aug. 1839):308.

Congregational prayer meetings of a more general nature had existed prior to the 1830s. These were similar to fellowship meetings, but opened their membership to anyone who wished to attend and usually were led by ministers.¹³⁰ They were often an extension of the prayer meetings held for special events such as communion or New Year, with the format adapted to a weekly basis.¹³¹

Although investing leadership in a minister was intended to prevent the kinds of problems that Evangelicals feared would arise in lay-led fellowship meetings, congregational prayer meetings still had their share of difficulties. Because anyone could attend, William Hamilton, minister of Strathblane, had to endure two people who were 'completely drunk' at his New Year's Day prayer meeting in 1824.¹³² Ecstatic and prophetic utterances broke out among several members of a congregational prayer meeting in Trinity parish, Edinburgh in 1832. When the minister, Walter Tait, refused to silence these outbursts, his Evangelical colleagues led the way in evoking ecclesiastical discipline upon him through the local presbytery and the General Assembly, finally deposing him in 1833. Despite Tait's impeccable Evangelical credentials as a director of the EBS and as secretary of the EGSS, only one member of the presbytery defended him.¹³³ Evangelicalism had no room for that kind of pentecostal manifestation. It smacked too much of 'enthusiasm', a charge from which early nineteenth-century Evangelicals were still eager to distance them-

 130. For example, Robert Findlater Jr. and Robert Murray McCheyne both founded prayer meetings when they arrived at Lochtayside and at St. Peter's in Dundee. Findlater, *Robert Findlater*, p. 159; A.A. Bonar, *Robert Murray McCheyne*, p. 91.

131. [J.Hamilton,] *William Hamilton* 1:172f.

132. [J. Hamilton,] *William Hamilton*, 1:147.

133. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* New Series, 2 (July 1833):496ff and (Aug. 1833):570ff; see also the related articles on spiritual gifts and miracles, (Dec. 1833):811ff, 819ff, and 828ff.

selves.¹³⁴ It was also seen to have the potential for undermining respect for the minister as the primary means by which God spoke to the congregation, a role which Evangelicals held to be foundational for the parish ministry.

Special prayer meetings were also organised in response to particular social or ecclesiastico-political issues, especially by third generation Evangelicals. In 1842 William C. Burns held thrice-weekly meetings for prayer in Edinburgh in protest against the running of trains on the Sabbath.¹³⁵ As the Non-Intrusion Controversy heated up in the 1840s, weekly prayer meetings 'with reference to the present circumstances of the Church' were held in Edinburgh,¹³⁶ and a leading article in *The Witness* called for similar groups to be formed in congregations throughout the Kirk, arguing that the aims of the Non-Intrusion cause could not be achieved by earthly means alone.¹³⁷ Although these Non-Intrusion prayer meetings also included intercession for other issues, especially for religious revival,¹³⁸ they nonetheless provide another example of an element of Evangelical practice being used for ecclesiastico-political ends.

Ironically, at the same time that prayer was having a divisive influence in Non-Intrusion prayer meetings, it was exercising a highly unifying influence through so-called 'concerts of prayer'. This format had a long association with the Church of Scotland, growing out of the

 134. Duncan Macfarlan, in a special section of his sermon on religious revival discouraged seeking 'special manifestations of divine power', which may have been an allusion to the incidents in Tait's congregational prayer meeting, *The Scottish Pulpit* 4 (Apr. 1835):474f.

135. I. Burns, *William C. Burns*, p. 235.

136. See the announcement in *The Witness* 1 (22 Jan. 1840):3 and succeeding numbers.

137. *The Witness* 1 (3 Oct. 1840):2.

138. See *An Address by the Prayer Meetings Formed in Edinburgh in Connection with the Church of Scotland, to Their Christian Brethren in Church Fellowship, on the Duty and Necessity of Special and Social Prayer for the Outpouring of the Holy Spirit* (Edinburgh: C. Zeigler, n.d. [c. 1842]).

mid-eighteenth century revivals at Kilsyth and Cambuslang, when a group of ministers agreed in 1744 'to unite in extraordinary applications to the Lord by prayer, requesting...that he would favour his church with an abundant effusion of his Holy Spirit, and bless all the nations of the earth with the unspeakable benefits of the Redeemer's kingdom.'¹³⁹ These eighteenth-century ministers had agreed to pray about these two issues 'in concert' as individuals on Saturday evenings and Sunday mornings and in groups on the first Tuesday of each quarter. Their plan was subsequently popularised by Jonathan Edwards, the American authority on religious revival, in a book entitled, *A Humble Attempt to Promote Explicit Agreement and Visible Union of God's People in Extraordinary Prayer for the Revival of Religion and the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom on Earth*, published in 1748.¹⁴⁰

First generation Evangelicals had a direct link with this original concert of prayer movement through John Erskine, the venerable minister of Old Greyfriars, Edinburgh, who had participated in such concerts as a young man in the 1740s. His continued interest in this approach emerged in 1784 when he sent a copy of Edwards's *Humble Attempt* to a group of English Baptist leaders in Northamptonshire, who began their own concert within the local Baptist association and went on to take the lead in the formation of the BMS in 1792.¹⁴¹ Concerts of prayer seem to have spread throughout Britain during the 1790s alongside the new missionary movement. The emphasis of these concerts upon the extension of Christ's kingdom throughout in the world made them a natural complement to missionary activity. The *Evangelical Magazine* highlighted this connection, giving

139. *Evangelical Magazine* 3 (May 1795):198.

140. Fawcett, *The Cambuslang Revival*, p. 223; for an extended discussion of the eighteenth-century background for concerts of prayer see chapter 12, 'The Concert for Prayer and the Missionary Movement', pp. 210ff.

141. Fawcett, *The Cambuslang Revival*, pp. 229-232.

extensive coverage to concerts both in Britain and in America, especially to those among American Presbyterians.¹⁴² The *Religious Monitor* subsequently provided similar coverage.¹⁴³

The new English and American examples, perhaps combined with the remnants of the original Scottish concerts of prayer, stimulated a fresh emphasis upon this form of prayer in Scotland in the 1790s. In 1796 Alexander Pringle, an Anti-Burgher minister in Perth, published a book calling for new concerts to be formed among both ministers and lay people. His book was entitled, *Prayer for the Revival of Religion in all the Protestant Churches, and for the Spread of the Gospel among Heathen Nations, Recommended. Also Outlines of a Plan for the Erection of Monthly Societies for Prayer, Among the Friends of Real Religion of all Denominations, in Scotland. With Extracts Concerning the Begun Revival of Religion, in Some Churches; --and the present Success of the Gospel in Pagan Countries.* As this title suggested, Pringle's work was intended for members of the Establishment as well as Dissenters, and seems to have been well-received among Kirk Evangelicals. The *Missionary Magazine* made it the subject of its first review, according it high praise as a 'very seasonable work'.¹⁴⁴

Perhaps as a result of Pringle's recommendations, a number of concerts grew out of fellowship meetings as groups agreed to meet together regularly for special prayer for spiritual awakening and missions.¹⁴⁵ Late in 1796, 'many of the praying societies of various denominations in Edinburgh, and its neighbourhood, established a monthly meeting for prayer, for the revival of religion at home and for the success of the

142. *Evangelical Magazine* 3 (May 1795):198-202; vol. 13 (Nov. 1805):520f.

143. *Religious Monitor* 3 (Jan. 1805):36-38.

144. *Missionary Magazine* 1 (July 1796):35-37.

145. Pringle, *Prayer for the Revival of Religion* (Edinburgh: Schaw & Pillans, 1796), pp. 48-49.

Gospel abroad,¹⁴⁶ and a similar group arose in Kirkcaldy in the following year.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, the twin prayer emphases of concerts seem to have been adopted by fellowship meetings at large, even those which were not part of a larger gathering.

The concert of prayer movement maintained a low profile during the first few decades of the nineteenth century, not coming to the forefront again until the 1830s. Churches in America, including the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, invited Christians around the world to join them in setting aside the first Monday of January 1833 for united prayer for 'the divine blessing on the ministry of the gospel throughout the world, for the revival of religion in the whole of Christendom, for the entire success of those benevolent enterprises, which have for their object the world's conversion to God.'¹⁴⁸ Alexander Duff's *Calcutta Christian Observer* described a similar invitation in 1834, recommending it to its readers in India and in Scotland.¹⁴⁹

However, concerts of prayer do not seem to have received widespread public support in Scotland until after 1837, when James Haldane Stewart, an Anglican evangelical then at St. Bride's in Liverpool, picked up on the American format and began publicising it extensively throughout Britain.¹⁵⁰ Scottish Evangelical periodicals such as the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, the *Scottish Guardian*, and the *Scottish Christian Herald* carried information about Stewart's national concert of prayer first held on 17 July 1837 and continued annually on New Year's Day.¹⁵¹

146. *Missionary Magazine* 2 (Apr. 1797):186.

147. *Missionary Magazine* 2 (June 1797):289-290.

148. *The Christian Philanthropist's Companion* 1 (1834):78.

149. *Calcutta Christian Observer* 2 (Dec. 1833):599.

150. *Monthly Supplement, Scottish Christian Herald* 2 (Dec. 1840):122f.

151. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 3rd Series, 2 (June 1837):428f. The last number of the *Scottish Guardian* for 1838 contained a letter from Stewart announcing a concert of prayer for New Year's Day. *Monthly Supplement, Scottish Christian Herald* 2 (Dec. 1840)122f. These Kirk-related periodicals gave far greater prominence to these concerts of prayer from 1837 to 1843 than did the Anglican evangelical organ, the *Christian*

The popularity of this national prayer effort among Kirk Evangelicals may have been the result of the extensive circulation of an earlier work by Stewart on a related theme, namely *Thoughts on the Importance of Special Prayer for the General Outpouring of the Holy Spirit*.¹⁵² A copy of this publication was sent to every minister in the Church of Scotland at the time of the first national concert by an anonymous, but self-styled, 'zealous Christian'.¹⁵³

In 1841 the initiative for concert organisation was taken up by a Scottish group, the Society in Glasgow for Promoting the Revival of Religion [SGPRR]. Expanding upon Stewart's approach, the SGPRR called for ten days of united prayer for spiritual awakening and missions by individuals, families, fellowship meetings, and congregations from all denominations in Scotland between 2nd and 11th October.¹⁵⁴

Despite the ecumenical nature of this call, the SGPRR had close ties with the Church of Scotland. The General Assembly approved petitions from it recommending, though not prescribing, participation in the concert of

Observer.

152. This work was first published in 1821 by Hatchard and Son of London, and its original title page indicated that it was distributed in Scotland by the prominent Edinburgh booksellers, Waugh and Innes. By 1829 it had gone through eight editions. Stewart also had a Scottish connection through his appointment as a chaplain of the Marquis of Bute and the Earl of Breadalbane.

153. *Presbyterian Review* 11 (Oct. 1838):269.

154. A copy of their proposal containing numerous exhortations and suggestions regarding prayer was printed in *Presbyterian Review* 14 (April 1841):129-135. As the concert of prayer movement grew in the 1840s, it developed additional organisational structures that sought to encourage united prayer. In November 1840, an 'Invitation to the Inhabitants of Edinburgh. To Unite with the Inhabitants of Glasgow for Private and Family Prayers' was issued, suggesting that they agree to pray together every Sunday between 8:00 and 9:00 AM 'for the Revival of the Lord's work at home, through the Divine power accompanying his ordinances, and the spreading of his Word abroad for the conversion of Jews and Gentiles.' (*Monthly Supplement, Scottish Christian Herald* 2 (Dec. 1840):119. By 1843 pamphlets appeared independently from the SGPRR giving suggestions as to how to observe the concert (Anonymous, [perhaps H. Bonar?] *Hints for the Prayer Union* [Kelso: John Rutherford, 1843]).

prayer by Kirk members in 1841 and again in 1842 when another concert was projected.¹⁵⁵ The *Home and Foreign Missionary Record for the Church of Scotland* and the majority of Evangelical periodicals aligned with the Establishment publicised and praised this plan. Leading Evangelical ministers such as Robert Candlish and William Cunningham of Edinburgh preached on its behalf.

This publicity and organisation seems to have resulted in widespread support from members of the Established Church. Large congregational prayer meetings were held in Glasgow, Perth, Aberdeen, and other large towns.¹⁵⁶ Robert Murray McCheyne of Dundee claimed that between 800 to 900 people attended prayer meetings at his church every morning during the ten days, and several of his friends in other parishes reported similarly crowded gatherings.¹⁵⁷ One reason that the Assembly gave for approving the petition of the SGPRR in 1842 was that 'a similar call was so well responded to last year'.¹⁵⁸

Concerts of prayer fostered a sense of unity among Evangelicals as they gathered together regularly to pray about their principal concerns. No other element of Evangelical practice emphasised the spiritual and theological basis of Evangelicalism more fully. Moreover, the concerts made them feel part of an international, interdenominational movement based upon prayer for a common set of spiritual aims. This development may have weakened their commitment to the Establishment *per se* and prepared the way for the Disruption, since it encouraged them to identify

 155. Register of the Acts of The General Assembly, 31 May 1841, SRO, CH1/1/89, p. 177 and 30 May 1842, SRO, CH1/1/90, p. 393. The petitions were brought by two elders who were members of both the Assembly and the SGPRR, *Presbyterian Review* 15 (July 1842):271.

156. *Monthly Supplement, Scottish Christian Herald* 3 (Oct. 1841):104.

157. H. Bonar, *John Milne*, pp. 36-38.

158. Register of the Acts of the General Assembly, 30 May 1842, SRO, CH1/1/90, p. 393.

with other 'real Christians', namely those who participated in such concerts.¹⁵⁹ However, the overall influence of concerts was unifying. They offered the only practical context for interdenominational co-operation following the Voluntary Controversy, and they continued even after the Disruption, specifically calling in 1843 for prayer to counteract the prevalence of disunity in the Church.¹⁶⁰

159. 'There is something truly delightful in the thought of that community of principle, of feeling, and of interest, which subsists among real Christians.' 'Memorial for United Prayer', *Presbyterian Review* 15 (July 1842):266.

160. *Presbyterian Review* 16 (Oct. 1843):428.

CONCLUSION--SECTION III:

Corporate prayer provided the spiritual counter-balance to the activist elements of Evangelical practice. It undergirded the whole Evangelical scheme by regularly gathering people together in a variety of overlapping contexts to pray for the different means designed to benefit Church, society, and world. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, Evangelicals struggled to maintain a balance between the spiritual and activist dimensions of their movement, since excitement about and confidence in the potential of newly developed approaches to ministry, such as religious periodicals, voluntary societies, and Sabbath schools, tended to overshadow the need to depend upon God.

Evangelicalism's inheritance, namely institutions related to education and corporate prayer, reflected the distinctively Scottish heritage of the early nineteenth-century Evangelicals, a heritage which they readily embraced. This heritage embodied the same concern for religious revival and proselytism that lay behind their adaptation of newer English vehicles such as religious periodicals and voluntary societies. The older emphases upon education and prayer complemented these other efforts, providing a cognitive foundation and a spiritual dynamic which helped to unify the movement within the Church of Scotland.

However, this unity proved to be unstable, in part because of tensions within the inheritance itself. These strains reflected basic differences within the Kirk traceable for at least the previous century, if not to the Reformation. The differing approaches of education and prayer

contributed to one source of tension. Education expressed the appreciation of the Evangelicals for an intellectual approach to Christianity, an appreciation they shared with the Moderates, most immediately reflecting the influence of the Enlightenment and humanism upon the Kirk. Prayer expressed their appreciation for an emotional approach, reflecting elements of the pre-Enlightenment spirituality of the Covenanters, and proving congenial also with dimensions of emerging Romanticism.

Another source of tension emerged in the different conceptions of the Church implicit in each of these areas. On the one hand, education was a primary function of an established, territorial church. On the other hand, prayer reflected the ideal of the gathered church of the godly, namely those who met to pray, and who by their very distinctiveness implicitly called into question the traditional picture of Scotland as a Christian nation. Evangelicals struggled to fulfill the educational responsibilities inherent in the former conception within such a rapidly secularising society, especially as the State showed less and less interest in maintaining the traditional system. In the midst of such a struggle, the temptation to retreat into the cosy confines of the prayer meeting must have been very strong.

As seen with religious periodicals and voluntary societies, the ability of Evangelicalism to hold together tensions like these contributed to its dynamism and attractiveness during a period of rapid social and cultural change. However, these tensions also contributed to the movement's divisiveness and instability, ultimately leading to its disintegration at the Disruption. The strong emphasis of Evangelicals upon education and prayer revealed that the dynamism and disintegration of their movement were not simply the results of nineteenth-century developments, but reflected tensions going back to the formation of the Reformed Kirk in Scotland.

CONCLUSION

From the appearance of the *Evangelical Magazine* in Scotland in 1793 until the Disruption fifty years later, a significant number of ministers and lay members of the Church of Scotland became involved in a set of institutions designed to revitalise the Church and to promote evangelism and social morality. These institutions --religious periodicals, religious voluntary societies, education, and corporate prayer-- were remarkably numerous, diverse, and wide-ranging. Thus, they were able to attract the support of a large cross-section of people from the Kirk, creating a broadly-based intellectual and social movement, known as Evangelicalism.

Therefore, during the half-century under review, 'Evangelicals' may be defined as those who combined participation in this set of institutions with a commitment to the Church of Scotland. This combination distinguished them from other contemporary and earlier Christian groups in Scotland. They differed from their Dissenting fellow-labourers in these institutions in their commitment to the Establishment, a commitment partly motivated by their belief that a national church was the best ecclesiastical means of achieving the common spiritual aim implicit in these extra-ecclesiastical institutions.

Although Evangelicals shared the enthusiasm of their Moderate colleagues for the Church of Scotland, they held differing ideologies and methodologies. While Moderates emphasised the importance of upholding

harmony, order, and reason in both Church and State, particularly by maintaining a peaceful relationship between the two, Evangelicals gave first place to encouraging spiritual vitality at home and abroad. Some of them were even willing to dissolve the Kirk's relationship with the State in the 1840s when they believed this relationship compromised their primary aim. Moreover, Moderates generally were uncomfortable working outside the formal structures of the Establishment, but Evangelicals eagerly participated in extra-ecclesiastical efforts, both those comprised exclusively of members of the Establishment and in many cases those including Dissenters as well.

But, methodology also distinguished Evangelicals from the eighteenth-century Popular Party and the older revival tradition. Although they were indebted to their predecessors for their theology of the Christian life and for some traditional practices related to education and prayer, they developed new means of putting this theology into practice, primarily through religious periodicals and religious voluntary societies. These developments reflected changes in Scottish society during this period. On a practical level, the communications and organisational technologies that made large-scale periodicals and national networks of voluntary societies possible had not been available in the eighteenth century, though efforts like the *Christian Monthly History* and the SSPCK anticipated their approach.

As Scotland became increasingly secular as a result of growing urbanisation and industrialisation in the nineteenth century, Evangelicals came to the conclusion that extra effort was necessary to proselytise their contemporaries. They felt compelled to supplement the evangelistic strategy of their forebears --basically consisting of Biblical and doctrinal preaching, conscientious pastoral care, and parish visitation-- with additional measures that would communicate the same content through

new means to the unchurched masses. The Kirk could no longer simply offer religious services, trusting that the citizens of a Christian nation would seek them out of their own accord. In place of this passive stance, Evangelicals advocated a strongly activist approach, placing greater emphasis upon evangelism than their predecessors had done, not only at home, but especially abroad in foreign missions.

The transition from the eighteenth-century Popular Party to nineteenth-century Evangelicalism was a gradual one, with a few long-lived individuals such as John Erskine, minister of Old Greyfriars, Edinburgh, tying the two movements together. Erskine's support in his old age of religious periodicals and missionary societies flowed from his basic theological position, which emerged during the Cambuslang Revival and was nurtured throughout his life by his correspondence with like-minded individuals such as John Willison from Dundee, Jonathan Edwards from America, and John Rylands from England. Succeeding generations of Evangelicals continued the process begun by Erskine, and while each generation had its own distinctive emphases, they all conformed to the same basic pattern, expressing their Christianity through participation in institutions related to periodicals, voluntary societies, education, and prayer.

An example from each generation of Evangelicals illustrates this pattern. Robert Findlater Sr., a merchant and farmer in the parish of Kiltarn in Ross-shire, who was born in 1753, began participating in a fellowship meeting by the late 1780s. From the 1790s until his death in 1814, Findlater embraced new elements of Evangelical practice as they were developed. He was a charter subscriber to the *Evangelical Magazine*, founded and taught his own Sabbath school, and was a liberal supporter of missionary and Bible societies.¹

1. Findlater, *Robert Findlater*, pp. 24-47.

A second generation Evangelical, James Anderson of Dundee, reversed this process, moving from new to traditional forms of Evangelical practice. Soon after undergoing a conversion experience, Anderson, while still a layman, expressed an interest in writing for the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* and helped to found an auxiliary of the B&FBS in Dundee. Subsequently, as a theological student, he moved onto more conventional ground by organising a fellowship meeting among his classmates at Edinburgh University in the hope of reproducing his own newfound spirituality in them.²

Alexander Dunlop, an Edinburgh lawyer born in 1798, exemplified third generation Evangelical practice. As editor of the *Presbyterian Review*, he promoted the entire range of new and traditional institutions.³ He also served as the leading spokesman for the schemes of the General Assembly and was active in numerous societies, particularly those related to ecclesiastical politics such as the Anti-Patronage Society.⁴

These three examples reveal several important facets of Evangelicalism as a whole. Each representative was a layman, reflecting the strong lay emphasis of the movement. Although ministers were still the main leaders, Evangelical institutions provided new means for lay people to express their faith actively, extending this opportunity beyond the clergy and the eldership. The breadth of activities in which these representatives participated underlines the interdependence of the various elements of Evangelical practice. Involvement in one area tended to lead naturally to involvement in the other areas, providing multiple entries

 2. See Anderson's letters to Thomas Chalmers, numbers 13-45 in the Chalmers Correspondence, StAUL, MS 30385.

3. Walker, *Robert Buchanan*, pp. 35-36; for example, an article in the *Review* on the superintendence of parochial schools lead to the formation of the Glasgow Educational Association (see Buchanan's letter of 27 Nov. 1834 to Dunlop on p. 37).

4. Chambers, 'Mission and Party in the Church of Scotland', p. 130.

into the movement. The different elements reinforced one another, creating a strong group identity founded upon a common ideology and shared activities.

Evangelical institutions affected the way in which their participants thought and interacted with one another. By setting forth a distinctive worldview and creating a separate corporate life, they made Evangelicalism into an influential intellectual and social movement. Religious periodicals and education developed the movement's intellectual dimension, spreading Evangelical ideas widely throughout the Church of Scotland. Voluntary societies and corporate prayer developed its social dimension, regularly bringing people together to put these ideas into practice. This practical approach reinforced the ideas, since acting upon a concept tends to increase people's comprehension of and commitment to it.

Understanding Evangelicalism in these terms reveals that it was not simply a matter of doctrine and that it was distinct from, though related to, ecclesiastical parties and politics. Evangelicals and Moderates do not seem to have differed significantly from one another in their public doctrinal positions. Both firmly adhered to the Westminster Confession as interpreted by the Moderate George Hill's *Lectures on Theology*, and both were united in their condemnation of non-traditional contemporary theologians such as John McLeod Campbell and Edward Irving. Where Evangelicals and Moderates did differ was over the practical implications of their common doctrinal stance. While Moderates worked out this theology primarily by upholding the Establishment and thereby maintaining the *status quo* in Church and society, Evangelicals held that further action was necessary. Since they desired not only to preserve orthodoxy, but to have people embrace it wholeheartedly, they implemented additional measures, some of which were outside the Establishment, to bring about

such an experience. Thus, during the first half of the nineteenth century, the main theological differences between Evangelicals and Moderates emerged in the differences between Evangelical and Moderate practice as these reflected different views of the Christian life and ecclesiology.

While almost everyone who identified with the Evangelical Party in the church courts seems also to have had dealings with religious periodicals, voluntary societies, education, and prayer, no simple equation between party and practice existed. Rather, as a broadly-based intellectual and social movement, Evangelicalism transcended the differences between ecclesiastical parties. Its foundational concern for the spread of experiential orthodoxy could subsume key party issues such as patronage, since some in the Kirk felt that patronage could even promote its spread by placing Evangelical ministers in parishes where the people would not otherwise call them.⁵

Moreover, as the nineteenth century progressed, leading members of the Moderate Party began to participate in Evangelical institutions. William Muir, minister of St. Stephen's, Edinburgh, was the most prominent of these 'evangelical Moderates', but others were involved, with John Lee and Alexander Brunton playing important roles in the development of some Evangelical activities. This group shared the same basic interest in spiritual awakening and conversion in common with most of those who voted differently from them in the church courts over issues such as patronage and pluralities. However, these evangelical Moderates were slightly less comfortable than their colleagues with working out this interest outside the Establishment, and as a result, they led the way in incorporating elements of Evangelical practice into the official structures of the Kirk. Their earlier experience with voluntary societies makes sense out of the

5. For example, the practice of the Seaforth family in the Western Isles.

Moderate inspiration for the main General Assembly schemes and explains why a strong Evangelical like Alexander Duff could have such high respect for and good working relationships with the Moderate committee members of the India Mission.

Evangelical institutions were not adapted for ecclesiastical politics until the 1820s, in part because Evangelical practice does not seem to have been established widely until about that time. Activities that directly affected spiritual vitality such as foreign missions and Bible distribution initially took precedence over ecclesiastical politics, which only indirectly influenced it. Only after the immediate religious needs of the nation had been addressed did Evangelicals bring tools like periodicals and voluntary societies to bear upon the various debates within the Kirk regarding its particular policies. However, in the 1830s and 40s, Evangelical practice seems to have become increasingly bound up with ecclesiastical controversies, in addition to, and at times even to the exclusion of, furthering the spiritual ends which had originally brought it into being.

Just as Evangelicalism was not identical to the Evangelical Party, neither should it be equated in any simple way with the Free Church. Almost all those who 'went out' at the Disruption had been highly involved in Evangelical institutions, yet not all who were highly involved joined the Free Church. Certainly participation in Evangelical institutions seems to have increased the likelihood of a minister's joining the Free Church. Analysis of clerical participants in the *Scottish Christian Herald* and the EBS indicates that almost 60% of these ministers 'went out', about 50% more than the national average.⁶ However, the strength of this support for the Disruption should not overshadow the significance of

6. See Appendices 1.2 and 2.4.

the 40% who 'stayed in'. This group maintained the tradition of classic Evangelicalism within the Church of Scotland, combining strong commitments to an activist approach to ministry and to the establishment principle.

The varied response of Evangelicals at the Disruption reflected the diverse make-up of Evangelicalism, revealing that it was not a monolithic movement, but that it had always contained a degree of internal debate. Evangelicals generally agreed upon the ends which they wanted to further: heart-felt Christianity in the Church, proselytism, and a moral society. However, they occasionally disagreed on the best means to reach these ends, often airing their disagreements in their own religious periodicals.

Differences existed not only within each generation of Evangelicals, but also between the generations. Succeeding generations applied Evangelical practice in different ways, in part due to varying extra-ecclesiastical social conditions. For example, one reason that first and second generation Evangelicals may have embraced interdenominational agencies so warmly was the influence of Britain's wars with France. All British Christians needed to unite together in combating the infidel influences of a common external enemy. After this foreign threat had been removed and when Dissenters had gained significant domestic political influence during the highly volatile Reform period, third generation Evangelicals by contrast adopted a 'high church' approach and abandoned most interdenominational efforts.

The basic nature of Evangelicalism, combining commitment to spreading experiential Christianity with loyalty to the Church of Scotland, provided an internal source of conflict. Although these two commitments were not inherently conflicting, Evangelicals differed over their relative priority at times, leading to splits within the movement as some of its members left the Establishment. The first of these splits occurred among first generation Evangelicals over the formation of the SPGH and the emergence

of lay preaching. Greville Ewing, William Innes, and the Haldanes led a significant, though relatively small, group, which severed its connection with the Establishment because it found its proscription of lay preaching an unacceptable limitation upon its ability to convert the unchurched. However, the vast majority of first generation Evangelicals remained within the Church of Scotland, in part because they believed that a national church was the best means of encouraging awakening throughout both the Kirk and society at large.

The balance between the spiritual and establishment commitments of Evangelicalism remained fairly stable throughout the first two decades following the emergence of second generation Evangelicals. However, their tendency to broaden this spiritual commitment to include all dimensions of culture heightened the potential for imbalance, especially as Scottish society grew increasingly secular and pluralistic. Thus, in the 1830s and 40s, second and third generation Evangelicals swung wildly from one extreme to the other as they struggled to be faithful to their twin commitments. In the wake of the Voluntary Controversy, they strongly emphasised the Establishment, but as they perceived that the government was failing to uphold its part of the establishment relationship, they shifted their emphasis to the importance of religious revival and evangelism. When many Evangelicals felt that the government, because of its opposition to Non-Intrusion and Spiritual Independence, was restricting the Kirk's ability to fulfill its spiritual commitment, they severed their connection with the Establishment, forming the Free Church of Scotland.⁷

 7. These shifts in emphasis also reflected the desire of many Evangelicals to be in control. When Moderate domination of the ecclesiastical courts around the turn of the century prevented them from having significant influence in that context, Evangelicals embraced voluntary societies, filling many of the most influential leadership positions. However, in the early 1830s as Dissenters began challenging their authority in voluntary societies and as Moderate domination in the church courts waned, Evangelicals switched their focus to working through the official structures of the Kirk. Then, in the late 1830s and early 40s as the State imposed its restraints upon the authority of the General

Nonetheless, a significant number of Evangelicals were willing to accept what they viewed as only minor government interference and remained within the Establishment, believing as did their first generation predecessors that a national church in connection with the State was the best means of promoting vital Christianity in Scotland. This group, comprised of evangelical Moderates and the so-called 'Middle Party', carried on an activist approach to religion within the Church of Scotland, demonstrating that Evangelical practice was not inherently incompatible with the establishment principle. In a number of parishes, the successor to a minister who 'went out' had been involved in Evangelical institutions to a similar degree as the man he replaced.⁸

The internal debates and divisions among Evangelicals suggest that people were attracted to different elements of Evangelical practice for a variety of reasons and that care should be taken in categorising individuals as 'Evangelicals'. In general, though, the greater the breadth and depth of participation in institutions related to religious periodicals, voluntary societies, education, and corporate prayer, the more likely it was that a person embraced a thoroughgoing ideological motivation for these institutions, namely, a desire to see piety deepened and Christianity propagated.

As these differences within the Evangelical movement suggest, a key to its attractiveness during the first half of the nineteenth century was

 Assembly, many Evangelicals formed the Free Church in which they could exercise their authority unhindered by internal or external challenges.

8. For example: Robert Lee at Old Greyfriars, Edinburgh; David Arnot at St. Giles', Edinburgh; Thomas Clark at St. Andrew's, Edinburgh; James Grant at St. Mary's, Edinburgh; John Stewart at Liberton; John Hope at Dunscore; Alexander Rennison at St. George's, Paisley; James Melville M'Culloch at the West Parish, Greenock; David Runciman at St. Andrew's, Glasgow; James Barr at St. Enoch's, Glasgow; Robert Jamieson of St. Paul's, Glasgow; John Wood at Broughty Ferry; Nathaniel Morren at Brechin; and John MacEwan at Dyke, Moy, and Culbin. See the Prosopography for their Evangelical participation.

its ability to hold together so many diverse and potentially conflicting elements. While the tensions resulting from this diversity contributed to the instability of Evangelicalism, they also produced tremendous dynamism and activity. Because the movement drew elements of its agenda from a diverse range of sources, it seemed to offer something with which almost everyone could identify, creating a compelling unified vision for the Kirk and the nation to many caught up in the midst of all the changes in Scotland's increasingly pluralistic society.

A variety of influences contributed to the distinctive dynamic and broad appeal of Evangelicalism. New pan-British evangelical institutions such as religious periodicals and voluntary societies were added to traditional Scottish forms for education and corporate prayer. The interplay of currents from both north and south of the Border moulded Kirk Evangelicalism, as the starting and ending points for this study suggest. The appearance of the *Evangelical Magazine* in 1793 served as a catalyst for a new movement within the Church of Scotland, which was a manifestation of the wider British evangelical revival around the turn of the century. However, the Disruption of 1843, for which there was no parallel in the Church of England, revealed that the Scottish context gave this movement its own distinctive shape.

Evangelicalism drew from divergent elements within its Scottish heritage, incorporating characteristics of both the Popular and Moderate parties of the eighteenth century. Evangelicals continued the theological perspective and pastoral approach of most members of the Popular Party, maintaining their commitment to lively evangelistic preaching, vigorous pastoral care, and universal parish education. They also imitated the general strategy that had made Moderatism the dominant intellectual and social movement of the eighteenth century. Succeeding generations of Evangelicals tried to beat the Moderates at their own game, combining

intellectual sophistication, communicated to a wide audience through their periodicals, with organisational expertise developed first in the voluntary societies and then applied to the church courts, which third generation Evangelicals came to dominate every bit as effectively as had their Moderate forebears.

Evangelicalism also reflected dimensions of the two major cultural trends of the first half of the nineteenth century, the Enlightenment and Romanticism. Its intellectual and activist tendencies, the former primarily embodied in periodicals and education and the latter in voluntary societies, grew out of Enlightenment thought and practice. Romanticism highlighted the importance of the supernatural and the emotional in religion, both of which were emphasised in prayer and religious revivals.

The central tension within Evangelicalism occurred between its establishment commitment and its voluntary activism. These two general approaches reflected a whole range of contrasting characteristics: those of a territorial versus a gathered church, of rural as against urban life, and the passive pastoral style of a godly commonwealth contrasted with the active evangelism of a secular society. Elements of Evangelical practice reinforced both sides of this tension. Education was aligned closely with the former category, and voluntary societies and prayer were related to the latter.

The ideological cement that held together this diverse assortment of influences and institutions was an overarching concern for heart-felt Christianity in the Church, for conversion, and for social morality. This concern flowed from a broad vision of the Kingdom of God as set forth in the Bible and interpreted by the Reformed theological tradition of the Evangelicals. The breadth of this vision, encompassing the Church, society as a whole, and the entire world, enabled Evangelicalism to incor-

porate many different elements into its agenda. The internal coherence of this vision brought unity and a sense of common purpose to the movement in the midst of its diversity. While this foundational spiritual concern was kept in the forefront of the Evangelical agenda, the movement remained both relatively stable and dynamic, enabling it to appeal to a wide range of people. When this concern was obscured by the growth of its own sub-culture or by ecclesiastical politics, the diverse components of Evangelicalism tended to break apart.

In concluding this study, it is tempting to ask, 'Was Evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland successful during the first half of the nineteenth century?' This question pushes the historian beyond the limits of historical evaluation because the answer depends largely upon the philosophical and theological presuppositions employed. However, it would seem to be reasonable to answer it according to the movement's self-defining criterion, its own basic goal of spreading vital Christianity. In light of this standard, Evangelicalism deserves a mixed review.

Evangelicals succeeded in generating tremendous amounts of activity designed to fulfill this goal. They founded religious periodicals, many of which enjoyed a wide circulation. They organised voluntary societies addressing almost every kind of spiritual and social concern imaginable. They promoted a variety of educational measures and formed many prayer groups. These activities came to permeate life in both the Kirk and Scottish society as a whole.

Evangelicals were also successful in getting a significant proportion of the ministers and members of the Church of Scotland to embrace the spiritual concern inherent in these activities. The influence of these Evangelicals transformed the general understanding of the purpose of the Kirk. Instead of seeing it as a passive establishment, providing religious instruction and worship to those who desired them, people came to

view the Church of Scotland as a vehicle of active benevolence, aggressively pursuing evangelism at home and abroad through organised group action. The fruit of this conceptional transformation came in the schemes of the General Assembly.

It is less clear how successful Evangelicals were at actually achieving their goals of a revitalised Church and an evangelised world. In the Church, ministers tended to be more 'serious', concentrating more upon narrowly religious activities than in the heyday of Moderatism, and lay people were certainly far more active in religion than previously. Between the 1790s and 1830s various areas of the Highlands experienced spiritual awakening, and in 1839-40 religious revival spread to many places in the Lowlands as well. Nonetheless, misgivings arose, even during the first half of the nineteenth century, about whether all of this religious activity translated into genuine spiritual improvement in the Church or simply into 'fleshly' busyness.

Evangelicals made numerous efforts to affect life outside the Church. They distributed Bibles and tracts and sent out missionaries at home and abroad. They also vigorously attacked social issues such as slavery, prostitution, and begging, and pioneered improvements in the care of prisoners and the handicapped. However, many of those reached by these evangelistic endeavours remained unmoved by the Christian message, and many of the poor remained effectively shut out of church life despite the strenuous efforts and best intentions of the Evangelicals. Moreover, the social problems themselves often proved to be intractable. While internal debate on how to achieve agreed ends weakened the response of the Evangelicals to societal ills, even their best efforts seemed inadequate. Despite an increase in organisation and activity, social problems were perceived to be worse in the 1840s than they had been in the 1790s. Evangelicals struggled with the dilemma of discovering that existing needs

were more than voluntary action could handle and that the State was unwilling to address them through the medium of the Established Church.

Evangelicalism was not simply undermined by general nineteenth-century social trends that made Scottish society increasingly secular and poverty stricken. In part, the movement became a victim both of its own success within the Kirk and of the breadth of its own vision. A much higher percentage of those in the Church of Scotland shared this vision in 1843 than had done so in 1793. After they had developed basic Evangelical institutions to begin to fulfill their spiritual aims, Evangelicals desired to see their vision worked out as broadly as possible. This desire pushed them into ecclesiastical politics since they viewed the courts of the church as yet another means for achieving these aims. As the Voluntary Controversy and the Ten Years Conflict intensified ecclesiastical debate, Evangelicals identified their overall end with this particular means of meeting it. Their earlier organisational success may have bred spiritual pride which further exacerbated the conflicts within the Kirk and between Church and State. They seemed to believe that their ability to generate religious activity not only demonstrated that God was on their side, but also justified their withdrawal from the Establishment when the State disagreed with them.

While the breadth of its vision contributed to the ultimate disintegration of Evangelicalism at the Disruption, it also sustained it as a broadly-based intellectual and social movement within the Church of Scotland for half a century. The difficulties of applying such a broad vision during a period of rapid social change should not obscure either its accomplishments or the enormity of the task it set for itself. Perhaps its willingness to risk failure in attempting to reach such a lofty and comprehensive goal is the best measure of the movement's vitality, as well as the best recommendation for its continued historical examination.

APPENDIX 1.1

TABLE 1

Denomination of Early Contributors to the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*

<u>Denomination</u>	<u># of contributors</u>	<u>% of total</u>
Church of Scotland	34	74%
(Church of Scotland clergy)	(30)	(65%)
[Church of Scotland laymen]	[4]	[9%]
Ministers, not Church of Scotland	7	15%
Unknown	5	11%

TOTALS	46	100%

Source: 'List of chief writers & Articles of the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*' (vols. 1-6), 1 Mar. 1819, Lundie Letters, NLS, MS 1676. ff.167-171.*

TABLE 2

Year of Birth of Church of Scotland Clergy Contributors

<u>Pre 1753</u>	<u>1753--1762</u>	<u>1763--1772</u>	<u>1773--1782</u>	<u>1783--1792</u>	<u>Post 1793</u>
3(1)	3(0)	6(3)	16(12)	1(1)	1(1)

Numbers in parenthesis represent # of contributors writing more than one article born in each time period.

Source: 'List of chief writers & Articles of the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*' (vols. 1-6), 1 Mar. 1819, Lundie Letters, NLS, MS 1676. ff.167-171.*

*Smaller lists of contributors also were given in a letter from Andrew Thomson to Robert Lundie, 22 July 1811, Lundie Letters, NLS, MS 9848. ff.21-2 and in the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor, and Colonial Religious Register* 4th series 3 (1840):iii. Neither of these lists contain additional contributors not included above.

APPENDIX 1.2CHURCH OF SCOTLAND MINISTERS CONTRIBUTING TO THE *SCOTTISH CHRISTIAN HERALD*

[Source: Lists of 'Authors of Original Articles' preceding each volume (1836-41)]

TOTAL # of Church of Scotland ministers involved-----194

AGE of the Authors:	[year of birth unknown for 2 authors]	
Born between:	#	%
1733 and 1766 (1st Generation)	2	1%
1767 and 1793 (2nd Generation)	66	34%
1794 and 1814 (3rd Generation)	124	65%
	192	100%
		TOTALS

RELATIONSHIP TO FREE CHURCH

15 out of the total of 194 contributors died or were for some other reason no longer connected with the Church of Scotland at the time of the Disruption.

Of this remaining 179:

108 joined the Free Church-----60%

71 stayed in the Church of Scotland-----40%

Since it is estimated that 38.1% of all ministers went out at the Disruption (S.J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, p. 335), these percentages suggest that contributing to the *Herald* significantly increased the likelihood of joining the Free Church. However, these figures also show that the *Herald* was not simply the product of those who went on to form the Free Church, but that it also reflected the sizeable number of ministers remaining in the Auld Kirk after 1843 who supported its devotional approach.

REGION of the Authors:

Synod of:	#	%	
Lothian & Tweeddale	50	25.8%	
Glasgow & Ayr	32	16.5%	
Fife	19	9.8%	
Angus & Mearns	16	8.2%	
Aberdeen	14	7.2%	
Merse & Teviotdale	13	6.7%	
Church of Scotland in England (mainly near Border)	13	6.7%	
Perth & Stirling	11	5.7%	
Dumfries	7	3.6%	
Orkney	4	2.1%	
Argyll	3	1.6%	
Moray	3	1.6%	
Sutherland & Caithness	2	1.0%	
Shetland	2	1.0%	
CofS Missionaries in India	2	1.0%	
Ross	1	.5%	
Galloway	1	.5%	
Glenelg	1	.5%	
	194	100.0%	TOTALS

These figures suggest that the *Herald* received widespread support from throughout the Kirk. Note that all synods had at least one author and that the overall distribution roughly parallels the general population in the synods, with those from urban areas having the highest participation. Lothian and Tweeddale seems to have had a disproportionately large number of authors, perhaps reflecting the fact that the *Herald* was published in Edinburgh.

APPENDIX 1.3

LIST OF SIGNIFICANT PERIODICALS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF EVANGELICALISM
IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, 1793-1843:

Year in which they were Founded--Title: Location; Dates of Issue; Editors (CofS in bold) and dates; Frequency of Publication.

1793--*Evangelical Magazine*: London, 1793--1904; John Eyre--1793-1803, George Burder--1803-?; Monthly.

1796--*The Missionary Magazine*: Edinburgh, 1796-1813 (changed name to 'The Christian Herald' in 1814); Greville Ewing--1796-1799 (after which GE left the CofS), no special editor for a while then picked up by John Aikman assisted by John Cleghorn; Monthly.

1797--*The Christian Magazine or Evangelical Repository*: Edinburgh, 1797-1820; Rotating editorship for first 7 or 8 years, followed by Thomas M'Crie until 1806; begun by a group of Secession ministers as alternative to EM and remained closely associated with various branches of the Secession under several different titles into the 1840s; Monthly.

1798--*The Edinburgh Quarterly Magazine*: Edinburgh, 1798-1800 (perhaps longer); editor unknown; closely associated with non-Presbyterian dissent, highly controversial; Quarterly, with supplement.

1799--*The Edinburgh Clerical Review*: Edinburgh, 1798 (only 2 #'s); editor unknown (Rev. Joseph Robertson, Leith Wynd Chapel involved); Weekly.

1801--*Religious Intelligence from Abroad*: Edinburgh, 1801-1802 (only 5 #'s) Rev. John Erskine of Old Greyfriars, Edinburgh; Irregular.

1803--*The Religious Monitor*: Edinburgh, 1803-1819; Rev. **Walter Buchanan**, Canongate (passed subscription list to Scottish Missionary Register); Monthly.

1810--*Edinburgh Christian Instructor*: Edinburgh, 1810-1837; Glasgow, 1838-1840 as 'Edinburgh Christian Instructor and Colonial Religious Register'; Rev. Andrew Mitchell Thomson, St. George's, Edinburgh--1810-1831 (Rev. David Dickson, St Cuthbert's, Edi. assisted after death of AMT on 9 Feb. 1831; Rev. Charles Watson, Burntisland perhaps also during this time); 2nd Series--1832-1835: Rev. Marcus Dods, Belford; 3rd Series--1836-1837: Rev. Archibald Bennie, Lady Yester's, Edi.; 4th Series--1838-1840: Rev. Robert Burns, Paisley; Monthly.

- 1820--*Scottish Missionary Register*: Edinburgh, 1820-1846; editor unknown, closely connected with the Scottish Missionary Society (note title change in 1823: 'Scottish Missionary and Philanthropic Register: containing the proceedings of the SMS and of other Religious and Philanthropic Societies at Home and Abroad'); Monthly.
- 1829--*Teachdaire Gaelach* (or the *Gaelic Messenger*): Glasgow(?); 1829-1831; Rev. Norman M'Leod Sr., then minister of Campsie and after 1835 of St. Columba's, Glasgow (original idea by Rev. George Baird, Principal of Edinburgh University), first significant Gaelic periodical; Monthly.
- 1831--*Presbyterian Review*: Edinburgh, 1831-1848; at first editorial committee made up of founding Edi. Div. students: Alexander Turner (later minister of the Gorbals, Glas.), John Grant (later minister of Pettie), Patrick Campbell MacDougall (later Prof. of Moral Philosophy at Edi.), & John Reid Omond (later minister of Monzie), then Omond alone, who turned it over to: Alexander Dunlop--beginning in 1834; bi-monthly.
- 1832--*Scottish Guardian*: Glasgow, 1832-1861; Rev. George Lewis 1832-35, editor uncertain during 1835-37 (some of those mentioned as editors during this period: Rev. Robert McCorkle, Rev. James Gibson, Rev. William Wilson), edited by Rev. Robert Buchanan 1837-1841, someone named Hislop 1841-?; first newspaper; semi-weekly.
- 1834--*Church of Scotland Magazine*: Glasgow, 1834-1838; Rev. James Gibson, asst. at Blackfriars, Glas. 1834-1837, anti-Voluntary; Monthly.
- 1836--*Scottish Christian Herald*: Edinburgh, 1836-1841; 1st series--1836-1838, 2nd series--1839-1841 (also included Monthly Supplement); Rev James Gardner, A.M., M.D. (Rev. Robert Candlish helped to found); Weekly.
- 1836--*Church Review*: Edinburgh, 1836-1838; editor unknown (not George Cook) Moderate perspective, anti-Voluntary and anti-Evangelical; Monthly.
- 1838--*Home & Foreign Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland*: Edinburgh, 1838-1862; 1st series--1838; 2nd series--1839--1862; Rev. Robert Candlish, St. George's, Edi. 1838-1843; Monthly.
- 1840--*Cuairtear Nan Gleann* (or the *Visitor of the Glens*): Glasgow(?); 1840-1843; Rev. Norman M'Leod Sr. of St. Columba's, Glasgow, Monthly.
- 1840--*The Witness*: Edinburgh, 1840-1864; Hugh Miller; semi-weekly newspaper.

APPENDIX 2.1

SCOTTISH RELIGIOUS VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES FOUNDED BETWEEN 1793 AND 1809

[* indicates evidence of significant participation by individuals from the Church of Scotland (note that because little or no information has survived about most societies the absence of an asterix does not necessarily imply lack of involvement); important office-bearers or others involved from the Church of Scotland are listed if known. Sources: society reports, manuscript minutebooks, and contemporary religious periodicals, including: *Evangelical Magazine*, *Missionary Magazine*, and *Religious Monitor*. Also correlated with Piggin, *Making of Evangelical Missionaries*, Appendix 2, 'Missionary Society Secretaries', p. 286 and Roxborough, 'Thomas Chalmers and the Mission of the Church', Appendix 4.6, 'Scottish Missionary Societies 1795-1825'.]

I. MISSIONARY SOCIETIES:

*Glasgow Missionary Society--founded 22 Feb. 1796. Church of Scotland involvement: Secretaries--Rev. Alexander Ranken and Rev. John Love; Presidents--Rev. Robert Balfour and Rev. John Lockhart.

*Edinburgh Missionary Society--founded 29 Feb. 1796, changed name in 1818 to the Scottish Missionary Society, discontinued in 1847. Church of Scotland involvement: Secretaries--Rev. Greville Ewing, 1796-1799; Rev. Walter Buchanan, 1799-1808; Rev. David Dickson Jr., 1808-42; Rev. Samuel George Kennedy, 1820.

Huntly Missionary Society--founded Mar. 1796.

*Paisley Missionary Society--founded Spring 1796; connected with LMS. Church of Scotland involvement: Secretary--Rev. Colin Gillies; Rev. John Findlay--founding director.

*Dundee Missionary Society--founded prior to July 1796; Church of Scotland involvement: Secretary--Rev. Malcolm Colquoun.

*Perth Missionary Society--founded prior to July 1796; Church of Scotland involvement: Rev. Thomas Kennedy of St. Madoes preached sermon for, 1797.

Stirling Missionary Society--founded prior to July 1796.

Kelso Missionary Society--founded prior to July 1796.

Greenock Missionary Society--founded prior to July 1796.

*Kilmarnock Missionary Society--founded by Aug. 1796; Church of Scotland involvement: Rev. John Russel preached a sermon for, 1796.

Keith Missionary Society--founded prior to Nov. 1796.

*Newton Upon Ayr Missionary Society--founded 1796; Church of Scotland involvement: Rev. William Peebles preached a sermon for, 1796.

*Dumfries Missionary Society--founded 6 Mar. 1797; Church of Scotland involvement: Rev. Bryce Johnston preached a sermon for, 1797.

*Northern Missionary Society--founded 27 Aug. 1800, discontinued on 8 June 1843 in favour of supporting the Free Church schemes; held annual meetings in Inverness and Tain, and after 1824 in Dingwall. Church of Scotland involvement: Secretary--Rev. Augustus Mackintosh, 1800-1832.

Aberdeen Missionary Society--founded prior to Nov. 1800 (probably 1796).

II. HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETIES:

Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home--founded 20 Dec. 1797, discontinued 1808; several of its directors were associated with the Church of Scotland at the time of its foundation but they soon became Independents.

Stirling Society for Promoting the Knowledge and Practice of Christianity--founded by Mar. 1799; organised Sabbath-schools, distributed tracts, and sought to relieve the needs of the destitute sick.

III. TRACT SOCIETIES:

Edinburgh Society for Publishing Religious Tracts--founded 26 July 1793.

Glasgow Tract Society--founded Mar. 1803.

Haddington Tract Society--founded by mid-1803.

Whitburn Tract Society--founded by 1805.

IV. SOCIETIES RELATED TO SOCIAL PROBLEMS

*Edinburgh Asylum for the Blind--founded in 1793 by David Johnston, minister of North Leith.

Edinburgh Magdalen Asylum--founded in 1797; concerned with the rehabilitation of prostitutes.

Edinburgh Philanthropic Society--founded by 1797; concerned with the rehabilitation of criminals.

Dundee Society for the Relief of the the Destitute Sick--founded beginning of 1797.

Edinburgh Lunatic Asylum--founded by 1800.

Society For Promoting The Religious Interests Of The Poor Of Glasgow--founded by 1802.

APPENDIX 2.2

SERMONS BY CHURCH OF SCOTLAND CLERGY BEFORE MISSIONARY SOCIETIES 1796-1809

[* indicates that sermon is known to have been printed. Sources: printed sermons; society reports, manuscript minutebooks, and contemporary religious periodicals including: *Evangelical Magazine*, *Missionary Magazine*, and *Religious Monitor*.]

1796

Edinburgh Missionary Society [EMS]--*David Johnston of North Leith.

Glasgow Missionary Society [GMS]--*Robert Balfour of Glasgow; *James French of East Kilbride.

Paisley Missionary Society--*John Snodgrass of Paisley.

Newton-upon-Ayr Missionary Society--*William Peebles of Newton.

Kilmarnock Missionary Society--*John Russel of Kilmarnock.

1797

GMS--Alexander Ranken of Glasgow.

EMS--*Andrew Hunter of Edinburgh; *Greville Ewing of Edinburgh.

Dundee Missionary Society [DMS]--*Malcolm Colquhoun of Dundee Gaelic Chapel.

Paisley Missionary Society--Colin Gillies of Paisley.

Perth Missionary Society--*Thomas Kennedy of St. Madoes.

Dumfries Missionary Society--*Bryce Johnston of Holywood.

1798

London Missionary Society [LMS]--Robert Balfour of Glasgow.

1799

LMS--John Findlay of Paisley.

EMS--*David Dickson Sr. of Edinburgh.

1800

Northern Missionary Society [NMS]--Augustus Mackintosh of Tain; Alexander Fraser of Kirkhill.

1802

EMS--*Thomas Davidson of Edinburgh.

NMS--David Denoon of Killearnan.

1803

LMS--David Dickson Sr. of Edinburgh.

EMS--*David Black of Edinburgh.

1804

EMS--John Thomson of Edinburgh.

NMS--Alexander Stewart of Moulin; William Mackenzie of Tongue.

1805

EMS--*William Hamilton of Strathblane.

NMS--Alexander Rose of Inverness.

1806

EMS--James Robertson of South Leith.

NMS--Alexander Stewart of Dingwall.

1807

EMS--John Campbell of Edinburgh.

DMS--*Thomas Kennedy of St. Madoes; *Walter Tait of Tealing;
*Alexander Peters of Logie and Pert; *James Thomson of St. Clement's
Dundee.

NMS--Ronald Bayne of Inverness.

1808

LMS--*John Campbell of Edinburgh.

1809

EMS--*Thomas Fleming of Edinburgh.

APPENDIX 2.3

SCOTTISH BIBLE SOCIETIES--1809-1824

[Sources: B&FBS Reports 1805-1821; EBS Reports 1810-1825; GABS Reports 1813-1821; *Religious Monitor* 1809-1819; *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* 1810-1825; *Scottish Missionary Register* 1820-1824. (Note that these sources contain the names of many additional Scottish Bible societies without indicating the year of their formation.)]

Year of Formation:1809

Aberdeen Female Servant Society for Promoting the Diffusion of the Scriptures
 East Lothian Bible Society
 Edinburgh Bible Society
 Scottish Bible Society--formed by ministers of the Edinburgh Presbytery.
 West Lothian Bible Society

1810

Biggar Bible Association
 Dunfermline Bible Committee

1811

Aberdeen Auxiliary Bible Society
 Arbroath Auxiliary Bible Society
 Brechin Auxiliary Bible Society
 Dumfries-shire Bible Society
 Elgin Corresponding Bible Committee
 Forfar & Strathmore Bible Society
 Auxiliary Society at Leith for Promoting Christianity among the Jews & for aiding the B&FBS
 Montrose Auxiliary Bible Society
 St Andrews Bible Association

1812

Anstruther Bible Society
 Dundee Auxiliary Bible Society
 Fife & Kinross-shire Bible Society
 Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society (earlier group organised in 1805, but fell into inactivity in 1806)
 Grangemouth Auxiliary Bible Society
 Inverness Auxiliary Bible Society
 Orkney Auxiliary Bible Society
 Paisley Penny-a-Week Bible Society
 Perthshire Bible Society
 Prestonpans Bible & Missionary Society

1813

Ardrossan & Stevenson Bible Society
 Cambusnethan Bible Association
 Clackmannanshire Bible Society
 Crailing Auxiliary Bible Society
 Denny Penny-a-Week Bible Society
 Dumbarton Bible Society
 Dunblane Bible Society
 Auxiliary Bible & Missionary Society at Falkirk
 Galloway Bible Society
 Girvan Auxiliary Bible Society
 Greenock & Port Glasgow, West Renfrewshire Bible Society (incorporating a society in Greenock and Port Glasgow founded in 1807 for Bible distribution)
 Hamilton Bible Society
 Irvine Bible Society
 Kilwinning Bible Society
 Oban Auxiliary Bible Society
 Paisley & East Renfrewshire Bible Society
 Peebleshire Auxiliary Bible Society
 Selkirkshire Bible Society
 Stirlingshire Bible Society
 Wick Auxiliary Bible Society

1814

Alva Auxiliary Bible & Missionary Society
 Black Isle Bible Society
 Braidwood Auxiliary Bible Society
 Buchan Bible Society
 Callander of Monteith Auxiliary Bible Society
 Cupar Parish Bible Society
 Edinburgh Juvenile Auxiliary in Ancient Royal
 Elgin & Morayshire Bible Society
 Gatehouse Bible Society
 Kilsyth Bible Society
 Nairnshire Auxiliary Bible Society
 Portobello Auxiliary Bible Society
 Rattray Bible Society
 Rutherglen Bible Society
 Stewarton Bible Society
 Teviotdale Bible Association
 Thurso Bible Society

1815

Alyth Auxiliary Bible Society
 Arran Female Bible Society
 Ayrshire Bible Society
 Calton Bible Association
 Carnwath Braehead Bible Association
 Carse of Gowry Auxiliary Bible Society
 Cavers Bible Society
 Clackmannan Auxiliary Bible Society
 Cumbernauld Bible Association
 Island of Cumbraes Bible Society
 Kintyre Bible Society
 Lower Strachendrick Bible Society

1815 (continued)

New Lanark Bible Society
Tullianan & Kincardine Bible Society

1816

Beith Female Bible Society
Bridgeton Bible Association
Cockpen & Carrington Bible Society
Leith Juvenile Auxiliary Bible & Missionary Society

1817

Cape Wrath Auxiliary Bible Society
Juvenile Bible & Missionary Society of Dundee
Forres Auxiliary Bible Society
Old & New Monkland Bible Society

1818

Aberdeen Marine Bible Association
Zetland, Davis Straits, Greenland Fishery, & Marine Bible Society

1819

Campsie Bible Society
Ettrick Auxiliary Bible Society
Greenlaw Branch Bible Society
Inverness Juvenile Bible Society
Bible & Missionary Association for Kennoway and its Vicinity
Leadhills Auxiliary Bible Society

1820

Bute Bible & Missionary Society
Cardross Bible Society
Fife & Cupar Central Bible Society
Islay Bible Society
Kirkcudbright Bible Society
Lanark Ladies' Bible Society
Stromness Auxiliary Bible Society

1821

None listed in available sources.

1822

None listed in available sources.

1823

None listed in available sources.

1824

None listed in available sources.

APPENDIX 2.4

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND CLERGY INVOLVED IN THE EBS & ITS AUXILIARIES 1809-1843

[Sources: EBS manuscript minutes 1809-1843; EBS printed reports 1810-1844]

TOTAL # of Church of Scotland ministers involved*-----258

[*involvement includes serving as officebearer in, making contributions to, and/or holding collection for the EBS and its auxiliaries; note that only those ministers mentioned by name were included and that this total does not reflect an exhaustive survey of all clergy participating in the EBS & its auxiliaries, let alone those participating in other Bible societies in Scotland not included in the EBS records]

AGE of the Participants: [year of birth unknown for 13 participants]

Born between:	#	%	
1733 and 1766 (1st **Generation)	58	24%	
1767 and 1793 (2nd Generation)	114	46%	
1794 and 1814 (3rd Generation)	73	30%	
	245	100%	TOTALS

[**Generations did not begin and end as precisely as this table is divided, but this analysis does give a general idea of how participation broke down according to age; see attached graph for a more detailed picture showing how the generations merged into one another.]

RELATIONSHIP TO FREE CHURCH

101 out of the total of 258 participants died or were for some other reason no longer connected with the Church of Scotland at the time of the Disruption.

Of this remaining 157:

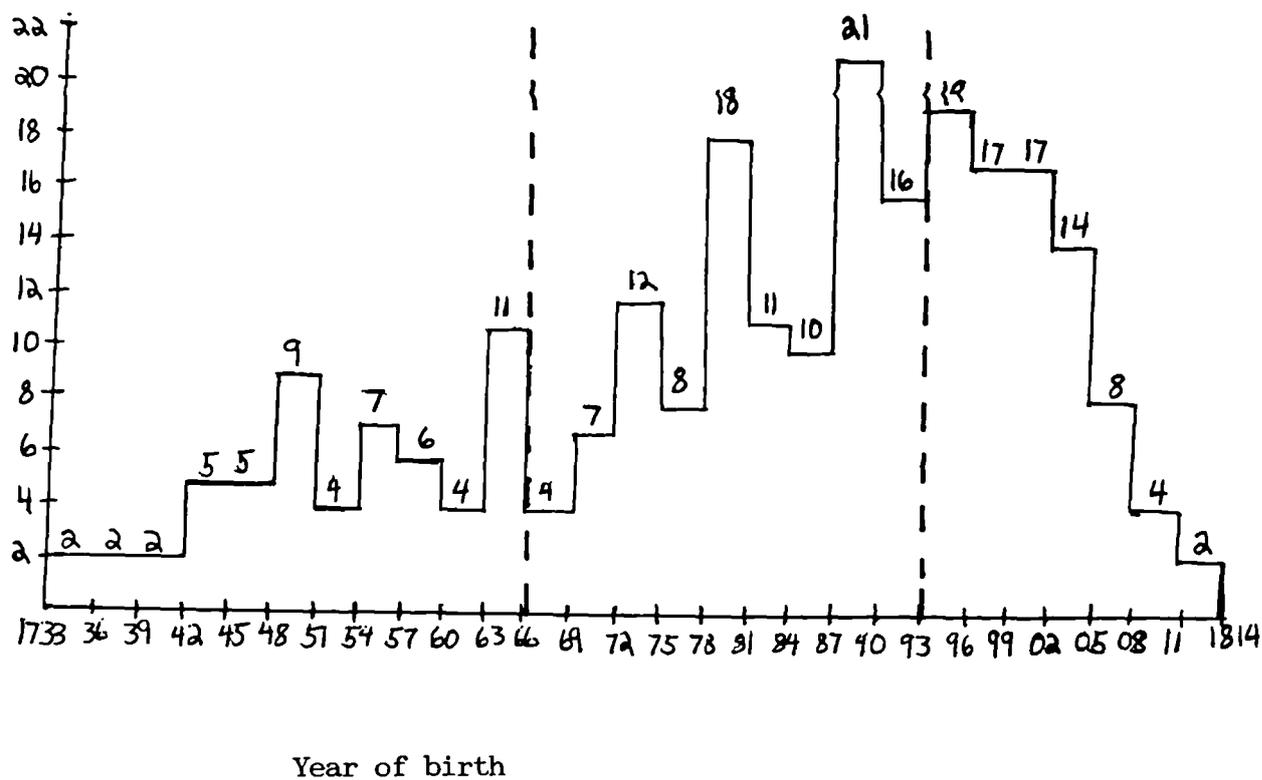
87 joined the Free Church-----55%

70 stayed in the Church of Scotland-----45%

Since it is estimated that 38.1% of all ministers went out at the Disruption (S.J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, p. 335), these percentages suggest that participating in Bible societies significantly increased the likelihood of joining the Free Church. However, these figures also show that the Free Church party by no means had a monopoly on Bible society participation, indicating that a sizeable number of ministers who supported the activist approach to ministry implicit in Bible societies remained in the Auld Kirk after 1843.

GRAPH OF AGE of the Participants

born within 3 year span 1st Generation 2nd Generation 3rd Generation



REGION of the Participants:

Synod of:	#	%	
Lothian & Tweeddale	70	27.1%	
Perth & Stirling	34	13.2%	
Glasgow & Ayr*	29	11.2%	
Fife	29	11.2%	
Merse & Teviotdale	19	7.4%	
Moray	14	5.4	
Angus & Mearns	12	4.7%	
Aberdeen	12	4.7%	
Sutherland & Caithness	10	3.9%	
Dumfries	8	3.1%	
Church of Scotland in England (mainly near border)	6	2.3%	
Argyll	5	1.9%	
Orkney	5	1.9%	
Shetland	2	.8%	
Ross	2	.8%	
Galloway	1	.4%	
Glenelg	0	0.0%	
	258	100.0%	TOTALS

Although, as one might expect, most of those participating in the EBS and its auxiliaries came from the area near Edinburgh and from the central Lowlands, this chart indicates that they attracted clergy from throughout Scotland, except for the tiny Synod of Glenelg. Note the large participation from Moray and Sutherland and Caithness in the sparsely populated north.

[*Probably disproportionately low since Glasgow area Bible societies did not report to EBS until the mid-1820s]

APPENDIX 2.5

STATISTICS OF THE CALTON & BRIDGETON ASSOCIATION FOR RELIGIOUS PURPOSES

	1816	1817 ^a	1818	1819
Annual Revenue:	£459	£392	£557	£700
Amount Dispersed to other Societies:	£420	£320	£320	£500
% Dispersed	91%	82%	57% ^b	71%
Total # of Contributors over 2s. per year:	907	494	621	766
# of Female Contributors over 2s. per year:	127	104	92	113
% Female of Total:	14%	21%	15%	15%

Church-Age Population of Calton & Bridgeton
in 1819: 12,541 (5824 male & 6717 female)

^c% of total church age population contributing to CBARP in 1819--6%
% of male church age population contributing to CBARP in 1819--11%
% of female church age population contributing to CBARP in 1819--2%

Estimated # of Church Attenders in Calton & Bridgeton in 1819: 4180^d

% of church attenders contributing to CBARP in 1819--%18

Comments:

^aNote effect of 1817 economic depression on revenue and contributors and the relatively smaller decrease in female contributors that year.

^bNote the decrease in funds dispersed to other societies in 1818 as the CBARP increased its own expenses through the addition of schools.

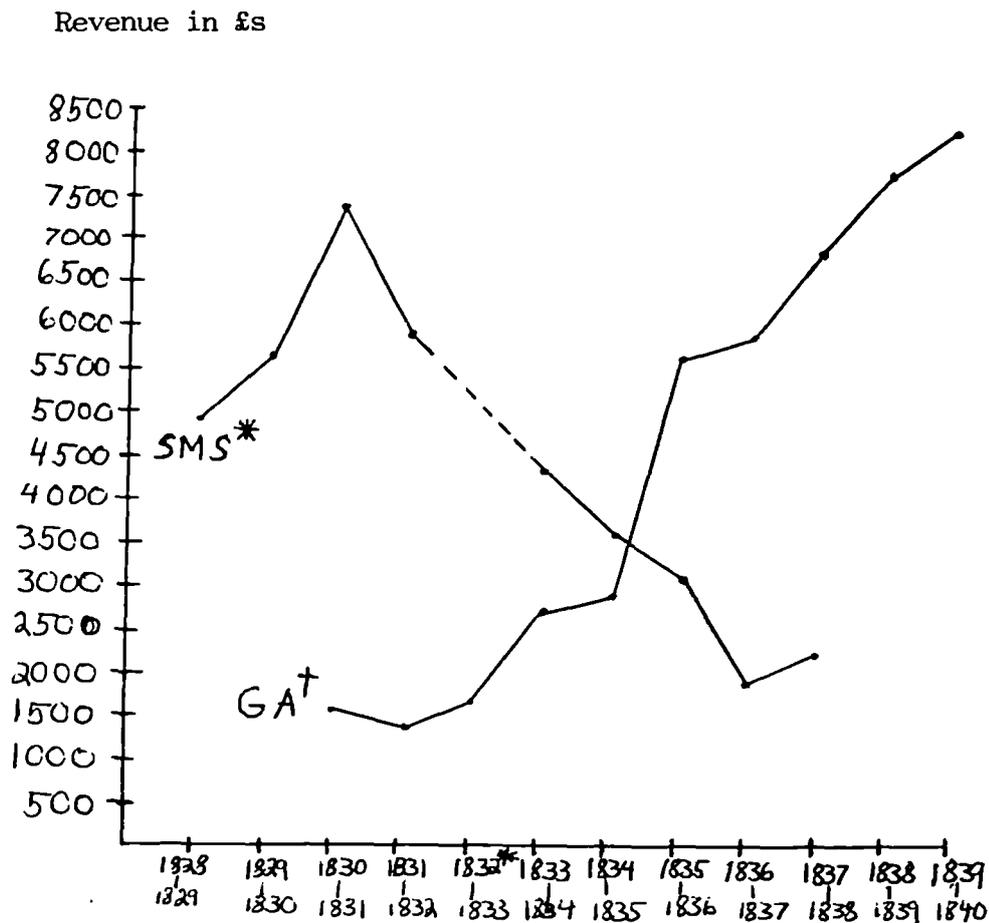
^cPercentages are intended only to suggest roughly how many from the community became involved in the CBARP and do not necessarily represent precise statistics since the CBARP attracted some contributors from outside the community. The small percentage of female contributors probably reflects the fact that the majority of women in the community were married and thus were unlikely to give separately from their husbands. Comparing female contributors with the single female population over age 18 yields 9%.

^dEstimate based upon a survey by the CBARP citing that 2/3 of the community did not attend church (*CBARP Report for 1818*, p. 2).

Sources: *CBARP Reports 1816-1819*; Population statistics from James Cleland, *Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow* (Glasgow: James Hedderwick, 1820), p. 6.

APPENDIX 2.6

ANNUAL REVENUE OF THE SMS & THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY FOREIGN MISSIONS SCHEME



*No figures available for the SMS in 1832-1833 and after 1837-1838.

†No annual figures available for the General Assembly between 1825-1830.

Sources: SMS Minutes, R.W. Weir, *A History of Foreign Missions in the Church of Scotland*, p. 190.

APPENDIX 3.1

ANDREW THOMSON'S EDUCATIONAL SURVEY--1817

[Source: Printed letter of Oct. 1817 from Andrew Thomson to John Lee, then minister of the Canongate parish, Edinburgh (Lee Papers, NLS, MS 3434.f.99)]

1. Is there any material difference in the population of the parish since the Census of 1811?
2. What is the number of Day Schools in the parish for reading?
3. How many of the Teachers received a University education?
4. How many of them are qualified to teach Latin?
5. Are any of the reading Schools taught by Females?
6. Was the teacher of the Parochial School chosen by recommendation? or by comparative trial?
7. To what religious denominations do the other Teachers belong?
8. Are the other Schools supported by subscription? or have they been in any measure endowed? or have the Teachers begun on their own adventure?
9. What is the salary of the Parochial School?
10. Have more Schools than one been erected on the legal salary?
11. Has the Parochial Schoolmaster a dwelling-house? What accomodation has it? And was it built before or since the passing of the last Act of Parliament?
12. Is the garden of the extent prescribed in that Act? or is their compensation?
13. What is the whole number of children attending the different Schools of the Parish?
14. How many of these are Boys? and how many of them are Girls?
15. Is the number greater in winter than in summer? And what is the cause of the difference?
16. At what age do the children usually go to school? and how many years do they usually attend?
17. How many hours in the day do they attend in summer? and how many in winter?
18. What is the number of children learning English?
19. Writing?
20. Arithmetic?
21. Book-keeping?
22. Latin, and other higher branches of education?
23. What are the School-fees for each of these branches? and are they paid in advance? or how?
24. How many children are taught, whose parents are unable to pay the School-fees?
25. What Spelling-book is used in the Schools? What Collection? and what Catechism?
26. What other Books?
27. Is a portion of the Scriptures read daily?
28. Is a portion of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism repeated daily?
29. Is it the practice to give religious instruction, any farther than prescribing tasks in the Catechism?
30. Are any of the Teachers looking forward to the Church, or have they any other view beyond the profession of Schoolmaster?
31. What is the greatest distance from which any of the children come to School?
32. Is the attendance, upon the whole, regular? If otherwise, what is the cause of it?

33. How long on average are the children at School, before they can read the New Testament?
34. What is the method of teaching commonly pursued in the parish?
35. Are any parts of Dr Bell's or Mr Lancaster's methods employed? and with what success?
36. Is there any person in the parish that can neither read nor write? And if so, what is the cause?
37. When is the vacation given? and how long does it continue?
38. Are the Schools examined? how often? and by whom?
39. What is the opinion entertained of the expediency or necessity of chastisement? Is it thought that any method by which the attention of the children might be more completely occupied, would render punishment less requisite, by rendering offence less frequent?
40. Are prizes distributed among the Scholars for progress or good behaviour? and at whose expence?
41. Are there any evening or night schools in the parish? and by how many, and by what description of persons are they attended?
42. Are there any Sabbath Schools? By how many children are they attended? and by what description of persons are they attended?
43. Are there Sewing-Schools in the parish? By how many are they attended? and what are the fees?
44. Is it observed, that in general, those who attend much to education are better behaved in after life than those who neglect it much?
45. Are there any Parish Libraries? If so, do they consist of religious or miscellaneous books? and how many volumes do they contain?
46. Does the old practice of cock-fighting at Candlemas still continue?
47. If it has been abolished, what has been substituted in its place?
48. What are the ordinary amusements of the children at play-hours?
49. Is there a Savings Bank in the parish? If so, when was it instituted?
50. Does it embrace more parishes than one?
51. How much money was deposited, and by how many persons, the first year?
52. How much money has been deposited, and by how many persons, the last year?
53. Are there any Friendly Societies in the parish? If so, when were they instituted?
54. What is the quarterly or annual payment? and is there any entry-money?
55. What is the weekly allowance during sickness?
56. How long have any contributed without needing relief? and how long have any obtained relief?
57. Were there any Friendly Societies formerly existing in the parish that are now extinct? and what was the cause of their failure?
58. Are Poor's rates, or parochial assessments for the poor, established in the parish?

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PROSOPOGRAPHY

Individuals from the Church of Scotland Participating
in Evangelical Institutions, 1793-1843

[Sources: Contemporary religious periodicals, society reports, biographies, manuscripts, etc. Note that this list is by no means exhaustive. Those listed may have participated in other Evangelical institutions, and individuals not on this list may also have been involved in institutions not surveyed in the course of the research for this thesis. The latter is especially true for lay people since it is more difficult to verify their membership in the Kirk than it is for ministers. A year is supplied only when evidence exists for participation in that particular year and does not necessarily imply that participation was restricted to that year.]

[Abbreviations: dep.=deposed; dem.=demitted; FC=joined the Free Church.]

- ABERNETHY, JOHN. Min. of Bolton. [b. 1781, FC (*FES* 1:357f)]
East Lothian Soc. for Propagating the Knowledge of Christianity:
director--1833.
- AIRD, GUSTAVUS. Min. of Croick (Q.S.). [b. 1813, FC (*FES* 7:52)]
ALMA: director--1833.
- AITKEN, MARK. Min. of Dyke, Moy & Culbin. [b. 1787, FC (*FES* 6:417)]
Elgin & Morayshire Bible Soc.: V-P--1833.
- ALEXANDER, WILLIAM. Min. of Duntocher (Q.S.). [b. 1808, FC (*FES* 3:344)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1840-1.
- ALLAN, ROBERT. Min. of Muckhart (1824-6); Little Dunkeld (1826-54).
[b. 1785, d. 1854 (*FES* 4:159)]
Perthshire New Bible Soc.: director--1829.
- ANDERSON, HENRY. Min. of Tillicoultry. [b. 1779, FC (*FES* 4:362)]
Tillicoultry Bible Soc.: director--1829.
- ANDERSON, JAMES. Merchant, Dundee (also divinity student at Edi. Univ.,
though never ordained).
Dundee Bible Soc.: founding Sec.--1812.
Fellowship Meeting, Edi. Univ.--1812.
- ANDERSON, JOHN. Min. of Helensburgh (Q.S.). [b. 1804, FC (*FES* 3:347)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 4 articles--1836-8, 1841.
- ANDERSON, JOHN. Min. of Dunbarney (1821); Newburgh (1833-64). [b. 1796,
d. 1864 (*FES* 5:172f)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 9 articles--1836-8.
- ARNOT, DAVID. Min. of St. Paul's, Dundee (1836-43); St. Giles, Edi.
(1843-77). [b. 1803, d. 1877 (*FES* 1:62)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 3 articles--1839.

- BALFOUR, JOHN. Min. of 2nd Charge Culross. [b. 1768, FC (*FES* 5:20)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 4 articles--1838.
- BALFOUR, LEWIS. Min. of Sorn (1806-23); Colinton (1823-60). [b. 1777,
d. 1860 (*FES* 1:5)]
Colinton Bible Soc.: Pres.--1829, 1833.
- BALFOUR, ROBERT. Min. of St. Paul's, Glasgow. [b. 1748, d. 1818
(*FES* 3:463)]
Glas. Miss. Soc.: Pres.--1796-7.
LMS: sermon--1798.
B&FBS: contribution--1805.
Scheme to distribute Gaelic trans. of Fourfold State: director--1808.
Soc. for the Instruction of Deaf & Dumb Children: director--1814;
convener--1816.
Glas. Corresponding Soc. for Prayer: member.
- BARCLAY, WILLIAM. Min. of Auldearn. [b. 1790, FC (*FES* 6:437)]
Nairnshire Bible Soc.: founding V-P--1814.
Ministers' Assoc. for Prayer & Conference: founding member--1831-41.
- BARR, JAMES. Min. of Oldham St. Scots Church, Liverpool (1815-23); Port
Glasgow (1823-43); St. Enoch's, Glas. (1843-61). [b. 1789,
d. 1861 (*FES* 3:442)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1836, 1839.
Port Glasgow Juvenile Bible Soc. for Religious Purposes: Pres.--1829,
1833.
- BAYNE, KENNETH. Min. of Gaelic Church, Greenock. [b. 1767, d. 1821
(*FES* 3:200)]
LMS: director--1797-8.
- BAYNE, RONALD. Min. of the Little Kirk, Elgin (1788-1800); East Church,
Inverness (1800-08); Kiltarlity (1808-21). [b. 1755, d. 1821
(*FES* 6:470)]
Evangelical Magazine: contributor & trustee--1797-1805.
NMS: sermon--1807.
- BEGG, JAMES. Min. of Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, Edi. (1830-1); Middle
Parish, Paisley (1831-5); Liberton (1835-43). [b. 1808, FC
(*FES* 1:173)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1836-7.
- BENNIE, ARCHIBALD. Min. of Albion St. Chapel (1823-4); 3rd Charge
(1824-5), 2nd Charge (1825-9), 1st Charge (1829-35) Stirling;
Lady Yester's Parish, Edi. (1835-46). [b. 1797, d. 1846
(*FES* 1:83)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: editor--1836-7, articles prior.
Presbyterian Review: articles--1832.
Scottish Christian Herald: 3 articles--1836-7, 40.
EBS: director--1836-7.
Stirlingshire & its Vicinity Bible Soc.: Sec.--1833.
Stirling & Edi. Schools of Arts
- BENTLEY, JAMES. Prof. of Hebrew, King's College, Aberdeen. [b. 1773,
d. 1846 (*FES* 7: 368f)]
SMS: country director--1825-7
ACMA: representative to SMS--1834.

- BISSET, JOHN. Min. of Monifieth. [b. 1778, d. 1839 (*FES* 5:363)]
 Monifieth & Broughty-Ferry Soc. for Propagating the Gospel: V-P--
 1833.
- BLACK, DAVID. Min. of Kilspindie. [b. 1795, d. 1850. (*FES* 4:215)]
 Perthshire New Bible Soc.: director--1833.
- BLACK, DAVID. Min. of St. Madoes (1785-94); Lady Yester's Parish, Edi.
 (1794-1806). [b. 1762, d. 1806 (*FES* 1:82f)]
 EMS: sermon--1803; address to new missionaries--1805.
 B&FBS: subcommittee of SSPCK to collect funds for--1805.
 Prayer Meeting in the manse--1795-7.
- BLACKWOOD, WILLIAM STIRLING. Min. of St. John's, Maryport (Cumberland)
 (1835-44); Portobello (1844-66). [b. 1806, d. 1866 (*FES* 1:181)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 3 articles--1837, 39.
- BOAG, GEORGE. Min. of Widdrington (Northumberland); Uphall (after 1839).
 [b. 1799, d. 1863 (*FES* 1:235)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1837.
- BONAR, ANDREW ALEXANDER. Min. of Collace (asst.). [b. 1810, FC
 (*FES* 4:200)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 6 articles--1836, 39-40.
 National Concert of Prayer--1840-3.
- BONAR, ARCHIBALD. Min. of Cramond. [b. 1753, d. 1816 (*FES* 1:12f)]
Missionary Mag.: articles--1796-7.
 EMS: member.
 Soc. for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor: member.
 EBS: contributions--1810, 1814.
 Cramond Aux. Bible Soc.: V-P--1814.
- BONAR, HORATIUS. Min. of North Parish (Q.S.), Kelso. [b. 1808, FC
 (*FES* 2:74f)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 3 articles--1838, 1840.
 National Concert of Prayer--1840-43.
- BONAR, JAMES. 2nd Solicitor of Excise, Elder at Lady Glenorchy's Chapel,
 Edi. [b. 1757, d. 1821]
Missionary Mag.: articles--c. 1796-7.
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles--1812.
 EMS: founding director--1796,
 EBS: present at organizing meeting & on committee to draw up
 regulations--1809; founding Sec.--1810-20; contributions 1810,
 1814
 Sabbath School Union for Scotland: founding Extraordinary director,
 1816.
- BONAR, JOHN JAMES. Min. of St. Andrew's Chapel, Greenock. [b. 1803, FC
 (*FES* 3:204)]
Presbyterian Review: articles.
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1841.
- BOOTH, PATRICK. Min. of Innerleithen. [b. 1810, d. 1859 (*FES* 1:275)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 4 articles--1837.

- BRAND, GEORGE BELL. Min. of St. Andrews (Q.S.), Dunfermline. [b. 1786, d. 1838 (*FES* 5:38)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1837.
 Dunfermline Penny-a-Week Bible Soc.: V-P--1829, 1833.
- BREWSTER, JAMES. Min. of Craig & Dunninald. [b. 1777, FC (*FES* 5:386)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles under 'C.B.J.' & 'A Religious Tract'--1810-11.
Scottish Christian Herald: 12 articles--1836-7, 41.
 Pamphlet supporting temperance soc.'s--1832.
- BRODIE, JAMES. Min. of Monimail. [b. 1800, FC (*FES* 5:167)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 21 articles--1836-8, 41.
- BROTHERSTON, PETER. Min. of St. Andrew's Chapel, Dunfermline (1808-09),
 2nd Charge Dysart (1809-16); 1st Charge Dysart (1816-28); Alloa
 & Tullibody (1828-62). [b. 1788, d. 1862 (*FES* 4:294)].
 Fife & Kinross Bible Soc.: organising meetings--1812.
 EBS: contribution--1826.
 Ministers' Fellowship Meeting, Markinch--1812.
- BROWN, ALEXANDER WATSON. Min. of St. Bernard's, *Edi.* [b. 1811, FC
 (*FES* 6:5)]
 EBS: director--1842-3.
- BROWN, CHARLES JOHN. Min. of Anderston Chapel (1831-7); New North, *Edi.*
 (1837-43). [b. 1806, FC (*FES* 1:148)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 6 articles--1836, 1838-41.
 Glasgow Bible Soc.: director--1833.
 EBS: director--1839-42; Sec.--1843.
 AUMA: Sec.--1827.
 Glasgow Clerical Literary Soc.: member.
- BROWN, DAVID. Min. of Roslin (Q.S.). [b. 1783, FC (*FES* 1:347)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 3 articles--1836-9.
- BROWN, JAMES. Min. of Kilrenny. [b. 1787, d. 1834 (*FES* 5:214f)]
 Anstruther Bible Soc.: V-P--1833.
- BROWN, JOHN. Min. of Gartmore (1805-10); Langton (1810-43) [b. 1778, FC
 (*FES* 2:23)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles--1811-12 and others.
 Berwickshire Aux. Bible Soc.: founding sec.--1815, still sec. in
 1829, 1833; on platform at EBS annual meeting--1831.
 Glasgow Clerical Literary Soc.: member.
- BROWN, ROBERT LUNDIN. Min. of Largo. [b. 1792, FC (*FES* 5:219f)]
 EBS: collection for--1824.
- BROWN, THOMAS. Min. of Tongland (1807-26); St. John's, Glas. (1826-43).
 [b. 1776, FC (*FES* 3:447)]
Scottish Guardian: organised a collection on behalf of--1833.
 Glasgow Bible Soc.: director--1833.
 Glasgow Clerical Literary Soc.: member.
- BROWN, MATTHEW. Min. of Morpeth, Northumberland (1829-43); Kincardine
 O'Neil (1843-53). [b. 1796, d. 1853 (*FES* 6:102)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1841.

- BROWN, WILLIAM LAURENCE. Min. of Greyfriars, Aberdeen & Principal of Marischal College. [b. 1755, d. 1830 (*FES* 7:360f)]
Aberdeen Sabbath Evening School Soc.: sermon--1807.
- BRUCE, JOHN. Min. of Guthrie (1818-31); New North Church, Edi. (1831-7); St. Andrews, Edi. (1837-43). [b. 1794, FC (*FES* 1:89)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 3 articles--1836, 39.
EBS: director--1831, 1833-4.
- BRUNTON, ALEXANDER. Min. of Bolton (1797-1803); New Greyfriars, Edi. (1803-09); Tron Church, Edi. (1809-54) & Prof. of Oriental Languages, Edi. Univ. (1813-54). [b. 1772, d. 1854 (*FES* 1:137)]
SMS: opened annual meeting--1825.
EBS: Resolution at annual meeting--1821; director--1821-4; contribution--1824, 1829; on platform at annual meeting--1831; Sabbath School Union for Scotland: founding Extraordinary director--1816.
Edi. Parochial Institutions: founder--1812.
- BRYCE, JAMES. Min. of Gilcomston (Q.S.), Aberdeen. [b. 1792, FC (*FES* 6:7)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 11 articles--1837-9.
- BRYCE, JAMES. Min. of Strachan (1808-14); St. Andrews, Calcutta (1814-36). [b. 1785, d. 1866 (*FES* 6:112)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1837.
- BRYDON, ROBERT. Min. of Dunscore. [b. 1792, FC (*FES* 2:274)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 3 articles--1836, 41.
- BUCHAN, CHARLES FORBES. Min. of Scots Church, North Shields. [b. 1817, d. 1875 (*FES* 5:468)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1841.
- BUCHANAN, GEORGE CRAIG DALZIEL. Min. of Kinross. [b. 1775, d. 1842 (*FES* 5:67)]
Kinross-shire Bible Soc.: director--1829, 1833.
- BUCHANAN, JAMES. Min. of Roslin (1827-8); North Leith (1828-40); St. Giles, Edi. (1840-3). [b. 1804, FC (*FES* 1:69)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 9 articles--1836-9.
- BUCHANAN, ROBERT. Min. of Gargunock (1827-30); Saltoun (1830-3); the Tron, Glasgow. (1833-43). [b. 1802, FC (*FES* 3:475f)]
Scottish Guardian: editor--1837-41.
Presbyterian Review: articles--mid 1830s.
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1839.
EBS: parish collection--1829.
Gargunock Parish Sabbath Schools: founder--1827-30.
Saltoun Parish Sabbath Schools: founder--1830-3.
Saltoun Aux. Bible Soc.: founder--1830-3.
Tron Parish Sabbath School Soc.: 1833-43.
Glasgow Educational Assoc.: founding member--1834.

- BUCHANAN, WALTER. Min. of 2nd Charge Canongate. [b. 1755, d. 1832
(*FES* 1:29)]
Missionary Mag.: articles--c. 1796-7.
Religious Monitor: editor--1803-19.
 EMS: founding director--1796-7; Sec.--1799-1808.
 EBS: contributions--1810, 1814, 1820, 1824; director--1818, 1819,
 1820, 1825; V-P--1827.
 Edi. Eastern District Aux. Bible Soc.: V-P--1829.
 Edinburgh Soc. for Promoting Christianity among Jews: director--1818.
 Edi. Committee for Aiding the Education of Pious Gaelic Students for
 the Ministry: founding member--1825.
 Soc. for the Instruction of Deaf & Dumb Children: examiner for--1815.
- BUIST, GEORGE. Min. of Falkland (1802-13); 2nd Charge St. Andrews
 (1813-?); Prof. of Hebrew (1817-23); Church History, St. Mary's
 College (1823-60). [b. 1779, d. 1860 (*FES* 7:432)]
 St. Andrews Bible Soc.: V-P--1829, 1833.
- BULLOCK, ANDREW. Min. of Alva (1819-23); Tulliallan (1823-36). [b. 1790,
 d. 1836 (*FES* 4:365)]
 Tulliallan & Kincardine Bible & Miss. Soc.: Sec.--1829, 1833.
- BURN, WILLIAM. Min. of Minto. [b. 1744, d. 1826 (*FES* 2:133)]
 EBS: collection for--1814.
- BURNS, GEORGE. Min. of Tweedsmuir. [b. 1790, FC (*FES* 1:296f)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 17 articles--1836-41.
- BURNS, JAMES. Min. of Brechin. [b. 1774, d. 1837 (*FES* 5:377)]
Missionary Mag.: articles--c. 1796-7.
 LMS: contribution--1799; collection for--1799.
 Brechin Bible Soc.: V-P--1829, 1833.
- BURNS, JOHN. Min. of the Barony, Glasgow. [b. 1744, d. 1839 (*FES* 3:394)]
 GMS: address at annual meeting--1797; director--1797.
 Glasgow Bible Soc.: address annual meeting--1816, 20; Pres.--1833.
 CBARP: V-P--1816-19.
 Glasgow Peace Soc.: Chairman--1819.
 Glasgow Society for the Instruction of Deaf & Dumb Children--founding
 director--1814.
 North District Sabbath School Soc.: Pres.--1819.
- BURNS, ROBERT. Min. of St. George's, Paisley. [b. 1789, FC (*FES* 3:176f)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles--1812-3; editor--1838-40.
Scottish Guardian: organised a collection on behalf of--1833.
Scottish Christian Herald: 8 articles--1836-7, 39-41.
 Paisley Aux. Miss. Soc.: Sec.--1811.
 Paisley & East Renfrewshire Bible Soc.: founding Sec.--1813-33.
 Glasgow Colonial Soc.: founding sec.--1825-40.
 Parish Sabbath Schools & Local Sabbath School Unions: director--1814.
 Parish Sabbath School Library: founder--c. mid-1820s
 Glasgow & Paisley Clerical Literary Societies: member--1811-40.
 Edi. Orphan Hospital Fellowship Meeting: member--c. early 1800s.
 Glasgow Clerical Literary Soc.: member.

- BURNS, WILLIAM HAMILTON. Min. of Dun (1800-21); Kilsyth (1821-43).
 [b. 1779, FC (*FES* 3:480)]
Religious Monitor: frequent articles.
Edi. Christian Instructor: 1 article--1840 and frequent earlier ones.
Scottish Christian Herald: 7 articles--1837-9.
 Montrose Miss. Soc.: early 1800s.
 Prayer Meeting, *Edi.*: member--1796-7.
 Kilsyth Sabbath Schools: founder--1821-43.
 Kilsyth Philosophical Union (science lectures): founder--mid 1830s.
 Kilsyth Prayer Meetings: organiser--1821-43.
 Kilsyth Temperance Soc.: founder--early 1830s.
 Kilsyth Miss. Soc.: founder--1839-43.
- BURNSIDE, GEORGE MACKNIGHT. Min. of Terregles (asst. 1823-37); Urr (1837-87). [b. 1797, d. 1887 (*FES* 2:307)]
 Dumfriessire Bible Soc.: V-P--1829, 1833.
- CAIRNS, ADAM. Min. of Manor (1828-33); Dunbog (1833-7); Cupar (1837-43).
 [b. 1802, FC (*FES* 5:145)]
 Peebles-shire Bible Soc.: director--1833.
- CALDER, CHARLES. Min. of Ferrintosh. [b. 1748, d. 1811 (*FES* 7:47)]
 LMS: collection for--1796.
 EBS: collection for-1811.
- CAMERON, ALEXANDER. Min. of Tarbert (1819-24); Kilchoman (1824-43).
 [b. 1787, FC (*FES* 4:74)]
 EBS: collection for--1821.
 Islay Bible & Education Soc.: Sec.--1829, 1833
- CAMERON, DANIEL. Min. of Bridgegate Q.S., Glasgow (1836-43);
 Ayton (1843-82). [b. 1806; d. 1882 (*FES* 2:32)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1837.
 Glas. Church Building Soc.: elected as minister of Bridgegate--1836.
- CAMPBELL, JAMES. Min. of Traquair. [b. 1789, d. 1861 (*FES* 1:294)]
 Peebles-shire BS: director--1833.
- CAMPBELL, JOHN. Min. of Kippen (1783-1805); Collegiate Charge, Tolbooth Church, *Edi.* (1805-28). [b. 1758, d. 1828 (*FES* 1:124f)]
 LMS: director--1797, 1805; sermon--1808.
 Stirling Miss. Soc.: Sec.--1797, 1800, 1802, 1805.
 Hibernian Society: address.
 EMS: sermon--1807.
 LSPCAJ Scottish Committee--1810.
 EBS: contribution--1814, 1820, 1824; director--1825; V-P--1827-8.
 Anti-Slavery Soc.: director--1814.
- CANDLISH, ROBERT SMITH. Min. of St. George's *Edi.* [b. 1806, FC (*FES* 1:106)]
Scottish Christian Herald: founder--1836; 17 articles--1836-40.
Home & Foreign Missionary Record of the C of S: founding editor--1838-43.
The Witness: founder--1840.
 EBS: director--1835-7, 1839-43.
 St. George's Parochial and Congregational Assoc.: founder--1834-43.
 National Concert of Prayer: spoke for in General Assembly--1842.
 Scottish Soc. for Promoting the Due Observance of the Lord's Day: director--1839.

- CARMENT, DAVID. Min. of Roskeen. [b. 1772, FC (*FES* 7:69)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1841.
- CARR, ROBERT. Min. of Luss. [b. ?, d. 1845 (*FES* 3:360)]
 Luss & Arrochar Bible Soc.: Treas.--1829, 1833.
- CARSTAIRS, ANDREW GEORGE. Min. of Anstruther Wester. [b. 1780, d. 1838
 (*FES* 5:184f)]
 Anstruther Bible Soc.: founding director--1812.
- CHALMERS, ALEXANDER WALLACE, ESQ., Elder of Gilcomston Parish, Aberdeen.
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1837,
- CHALMERS, GEORGE. Min. of Mordington & Lamberton. [b. 1767, d. 1831
 (*FES* 2:58)]
 Berwickshire Aux. Bible Soc.: founding director--1815.
- CHALMERS, PETER. 2nd (1817-36) & 1st Charge (1836-70) Dunfermline.
 [b. 1790, d. 1870 (*FES* 5:32)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1841.
 Dunfermline Penny-a-Week Bible Soc.: V-P--1829, 1833.
 Fife Western District Bible Soc.: V-P--1833.
- CHALMERS, THOMAS. Min. of Kilmany (1803-15); the Tron, Glas. (1815-19);
 St. John's, Glas. (1819-23); Prof. of Moral Philosophy, St.
 Andrews (1823-8); Divinity, Edi. (1828-43). [b. 1780, FC
 (*FES* 3:446f)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles--1811-12.
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1839.
 Dundee Miss. Soc.: sermon--1812.
 Kilmany Bible Soc.: founder--1812-15.
 Fife & Kinross Bible Soc.: founder--1812.
 Kilmany Saturday Bible School: founder--1813-15.
 CBARP: sermon--1816, 1818; subscriber--1817-19.
 Tron Parish Sabbath School Soc.: founder--1816-19.
 B&FBS, Moravians, Hibernian Soc.: collections--1819-23.
 St. John's Agency: founder--1819-23.
 St. Andrews Missionary Soc.: Pres.--1824-8.
 St. Andrews Sabbath Schools: founder--1824.
 Glasgow Clerical Literary Soc.: member.
- CHARLES, JOHN. Min. of Garvock. [b. 1769, d. 1868 (*FES* 5:470)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 4 articles--1838, 40-1.
- CHRISTISON, ALEXANDER. Min. of Foulden. [b. 1797, d. 1874 (*FES* 2:49)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1841.
- CHRISTISON, JOHN. Min. of Biggar. [b. 1800, d. 1875 (*FES* 1:240)]
 Biggar Bible Assoc.: director--1829.
- CLARK, JOHN. Min. of New St. Chapel, Edi. (1823-33); 2nd Charge Canongate
 (1833-44); Old Kirk, Edi. (1844-59). [b. 1790, d. 1859
 (*FES* 1:74)]
 Edi. Eastern District Bible Soc.: V-P--1833.

- CLARK, ROBERT. Min. of Gaelic Chapel, Glasgow (1823-34); Kinlochbervie (Q.S.) (1834-56). [b. 1784, d. 1856 (*FES* 7:108)]
Glasgow Bible Soc.: director--1833.
- CLARK, THOMAS. Min. of Methven (1824-41); Old Kirk, Edi. (1841-3); St. Andrews, Edi. (1843-57). [b. 1790, d. 1857 (*FES* 1:90)]
Perthshire New Bible Soc.: director--1829, 1833.
- CLASON, PATRICK. Min. of Carmunnock (1815-24); Buccleuch (Q.S.), Edi. (1824-43). [b. 1789, FC (*FES* 1:22)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1838.
EBS: contribution--1826; on platform at annual meeting--1831.
SMS: requested to lead prayer meeting--1824.
Glasgow Clerical Literary Soc.: member.
- CLOUSTON, CHARLES. Min. of Sandwick & Stromness, Orkney. [b. 1800, d. 1884 (*FES* 7:249)]
Stromness Bible Soc.: Sec.--1829; director--1833.
- CLOUSTON, WILLIAM. Min. of Sandwick & Stromness, Orkney. [b. 1747, d. 1832 (*FES* 7:253)]
EBS: collection for--1823.
- CLUGSTON, WILLIAM. Min. of Forfar & Restennet. [b. 1793, FC (*FES* 5:286)]
EBS: on platform at annual meeting--1840.
Forfar Bible Soc.: Sec.--1829, 1833.
- COLLINS, WILLIAM. Publisher and Elder, St. John's, Glas.
Scottish Guardian: organised a collection on behalf of--1833.
Sabbath School Magazine for Scotland: publisher--1823-4.
Temperance Record: publisher--1830.
CBARP: founding Sec.--1815-19 (?--sec. named WC, unsure if the same)
Glasgow Peace Soc.: director--1819.
Glas. Assoc. for Promoting the Interests of the C of S: founder--1834
Glas. Temperance Soc.: founder--1829-30.
- COLQUHOUN, JOHN. Min. of St. John's Chapel, South Leith. [b. 1748, d. 1827 (*FES* 1:158)]
Scheme to distribute Gaelic trans. of Boston's Fourfold State--1808.
Aux. Soc. at Leith, for promoting Christianity among the Jews, and for aiding the B&FBS: Founding Pres.--1811.
Soc. for Improving the System of Church Patronage: founding office-bearer--1824.
- COLQUHOUN, MRS. JOHN. Wife of minister of North Leith.
Parish Sabbath Evening School: founder--1804.
- COLQUHOUN, MALCOLM. Min. of Gaelic Chapel, Dundee. [b. 1758, d. 1819 (*FES* 5:333)]
Dundee Miss. Soc.: Sec.--1799-1810; sermon--1797.
- CONSTABLE, WILLIAM. Min. of St. Martin's & Cambusmichael. [b. 1759, d. 1836 (*FES* 4:249)]
Perthshire New Bible Soc.: director--1829.
- COOK, ROBERT. Min. of Clatt (1820-44); Ceres (1844-51). [b. 1793, d. 1851 (*FES* 5:133)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1837-8.

- CORMACK, JOHN. Min. of Stow. [b. 1776, d. 1840 (*FES* 2:164)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles under signatures, 'S.C.J.' & 'Paleophilus'--1810-12.
Scottish Christian Herald: 13 articles--1837-8.
 Stow Aux. Bible Soc.: V-P --1829, 1833.
 EBS: on platform at annual meeting--1831.
- COSENS, PETER. Min. of Torryburn (1809-11); Lauder (1811-45). [b. 1780, d. 1845 (*FES* 2:154)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: assisted Robert Lundie with review--1812.
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1841.
 Lauder Aux. Bible Soc.: founding sec.--1816.
- COULSTON, THOMAS. Min. of Penicuik. [b. 1763, d. 1829 (*FES* 1:345)]
 Penicuik Bible Soc.: Pres.--1813.
- COUPER, DAVID. Min. of Burntisland. [b. 1809, FC (*FES* 5:84)]
 Fife Western District Bible Soc.: Sec.--1833.
- COUTTS, ROBERT. Min. of 2nd Charge Brechin. [b. 1772, d. 1803 (*FES* 5:381)]
 LMS: contribution--1799.
- COWE, ROBERT. Min. of Berwick-on-Tweed (1836-9); Whitsome & Hilton (1839-43). [b. 1804, FC (*FES* 2:65)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1836.
- CRAIG, ROBERT. Min. of New Cumnock (1829-35); Rothesay (1835-43). [b. 1792, FC (*FES* 4:41)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1838.
- CRAWFORD, DUGALD. Min. of to Saddell & Skipness (1799-15); Kilmorie (1815-21). [b. 1752, d. 1821 (*FES* 4:63)]
 EBS: collection for--1819.
- CRAWFORD, ROBERT. Min. of Kirkpatrick-Irongray. [b. 1800, FC (*FES* 2:289f)].
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1841.
- CUMMING, JOHN. Min. of Fraserburgh. [b. 1773, d. 1857 (*FES* 6:222)]
 Aberdeen Bible Soc.: director--1829.
- CUNNINGHAM, WILLIAM. Min. of Middle Parish, Greenock (1831-4); Trinity Church, Edi. (1834-43). [b. 1805, FC (*FES* 1:129)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1836.
 EUMA: V-P--1829.
 Greenock Bible Soc.: Sec.--1833.
- CUPPLES, GEORGE. Min. of Legerwood (1812-34); 2nd Charge Stirling (1834-43). [b. 1786, FC (*FES* 4:327)]
 Berwickshire Bible Soc.: director--1833.
- CURRIE, JAMES. Min. of Catrine Chapel. [b. ?, dep. 1836 (*FES* 3:19)]
 Sorn & Catrine Bible Assoc. for Religious Purposes: Treas.--1829, 1833.

- CURROUR, PETER. Min. of St. Martin's & Cambusmichael. [b. ?, d. 1837
(FES 4:249)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 3 articles--1836-7.
- DALLING, WILLIAM. Min. of Cleish. [b. 1755, d. 1835 (FES 5:61)]
Kinross-shire Bible Soc.: director--1829, 1833.
- DALYRMPLE, WILLIAM. Min. of 1st Charge Ayr. [b. 1723, d. 1814 (FES 3:10)]
B&FBS: overture to Synod of Glasgow & Ayr for collection--1805.
- DAVIDSON, ALEXANDER. Min. of Northesk (1839-43); North Leith (1843-58).
[b. 1805, d. 1858 (FES 1:157)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1841.
- DAVIDSON, DAVID. Min. of Broughty Ferry (Q.S.). [b. 1801, FC (FES 5:311)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 6 articles--1836-7, 39-41.
Monifieth & Broughty-Ferry Soc. for Propagating the Gospel: Pres.--
1833.
- DAVIDSON, GEORGE RAMSAY. Min. of Drumblade (1828-42); Lady Glenorchy's
Chapel, Edi. (1842-3). [b. 1801, FC (FES 1:80)]
EBS: director--1842-3.
- DAVIDSON, THOMAS RANDALL. Min. of Tolbooth Church, Edi. [b. 1747, d. 1827
(FES 1:120)]
Evangelical Mag.: memoir of J. Erskine--1809.
Religious Monitor: memoir of J. Erskine--1803.
EBS: contribution--1814, 1820, 1824; V-P--1821-7.
Edi. Committee for Aiding the Education of Pious Gaelic Students for
the Ministry: founding member--1825.
- DEMPSTER, JOHN. Min. of Denny. [b. 1768, FC (FES 4:304f)]
Perth Miss Soc.: Sec.--1799.
- DICKSON, DAVID, JR. Min. of High Kirk, Kilmarnock (1802-03); Collegiate
Charge, St. Cuthbert's, Edi. (1803-42). [b. 1780, d. 1842
(FES 1:102)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles--1810-3 under 'Biblicus';
editor--1831.
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1841.
EMS: Sec.--1808-42.
EBS: contribution--1810, 1814; director--1812-6, 1818-9, 1826; Sec.
1834-42.
Edi. Northern Districts [New Town] Aux. Bible Soc.: director--1813.
Edi. Juvenile Aux. Bible Soc.: Pres.--1813.
Water of Leith Aux. Bible Soc.: Pres.--1814.
Edi. Western District Aux. Bible Soc.: Pres.--1829, 1833.
Water of Leith Aux. to EBS & Jews Soc.: Pres.--1829, 1833.
Edinburgh Soc. for Promoting Christianity among Jews: director--1818.
Edi. Orphan Hospital: sermon--1807.
Sabbath School Union for Scotland: founding director, 1816.
Edi. Aux. Irish Evangelical Soc.: office-bearer--1824.
Biblio-Critical Library: office-bearer--1824.
Edi. Education Soc.: office-bearer--1824.
Soc. for the Relief of the Destitute Sick: office-bearer--1824.
Magdalen Asylum: office-bearer--1824.
Soc. for Improving the System of Church Patronage: founding office-
bearer--1824.

- DICKSON, DAVID, JR. (continued)
 Edi. Aux. of the LMS: office-bearer--1824.
 Edi. Continental Soc.: attended annual meeting--1823.
 Edi. Gaelic Schools Soc.: addressed meeting--1825.
 Edi. Soc. for Philanthropic Reports & Religious Magazines: director.
 Edi. Committee for Aiding the Education of Pious Gaelic Students for the Ministry: founding member--1825.
- DICKSON, DAVID, SR. Min. of Bothkennar (1783-95), Canongate Chapel-of-ease (1795-9); Trinity Parish, Edi. (1799-1801), New North Church, Edi. (1801-1820). [b. 1754, d. 1820 (*FES* 1:147f)]
 LMS: sermon--1804.
 EMS: director--1798.
- DIMMA, THOMAS. Min. of Queensferry. [b. 1786, d. 1854 (*FES* 1:226f)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 5 articles--1836-1837, 1841.
- DODS, MARCUS. Min. of Belford, Northumberland. [b. 1786, d. 1838 (*FES* 7:505)]
 Edi. *Christian Instructor*: editor--1832-5.
Scottish Christian Herald: 4 articles--1837-8.
 EBS: preached on behalf of--1834.
- DOIG, THOMAS. Min. of Arbroath (1819-32); Torryburn & Crombie (1832-43).
 [b. 1796, FC (*FES* 5:54)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 4 articles--1838, 41..
 Arbroath Aux. Bible Soc.: Sec.--1829.
 Torryburn Aux. to the Fife Western District Bible Soc.: Pres.--1833.
- DOW, DAVID. Min. of Kirkpatrick-Irongray. [b. 1798, dem. 1832 (*FES* 2:289)].
 Dumfriessire Bible Soc.: V-P--1829, 1832.
- DOW, JOHN. Min. of Largs. [b. 1788, FC (*FES* 3:216)]
 Irvine Bible Soc.: director--1829 [while a probationer].
- DOW, WILLIAM. Min. of Tongland & Balnacross. [b. 1799, dem. 1832 (*FES* 2:426f)]
 Dumfriessire Bible Soc.: V-P--1829, 1832.
 Stewartry of Kirkcudbright Bible Soc.: Clerk--1829, 1833;
- DRUMMOND, JAMES. Min. of Forgandenny. [b. 1799, FC (*FES* 4:210)]
 Perthshire New Bible Soc.: director--1829, 1833.
- DRUMMOND, PETER. Min. of Kirkmichael in Strathardail. [b. ?, d. 1847 (*FES* 4:164f)]
 Perthshire New Bible Soc.: director--1833.
- DUFF, ALEXANDER. C OF S MISSIONARY TO INDIA. [b. 1806, FC (*FES* 7:690ff)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 10 articles--1837, 40-1.
Calcutta Christian Observer: founder--1832.
 STAUMA: founding member & office-bearer--1824.
 Sabbath School teacher while at St. Andrews.
 Bengal Aux. of the B&FBS and of the Religious Tract and Book Soc.: founder.

- DUNCAN, ANDREW BETHUNE. Min. of 1st Charge Culross. [b. 1797, d. 1873
(FES 5:18)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1840.
- DUNCAN, HENRY. Min. of Ruthwell. [b. 1774, FC (FES 2:255f)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: proprietor; articles--1810-12.
Scottish Christian Herald: 6 articles--1836-7.
Dumfries Standard: founding editor--1843.
'Scotch Cheap Repository': series of tracts--c. 1812.
Dumfries Miss. Soc.: Pres.--1814.
Dumfries Aux. Bible Soc.: founder--1810; helped to found additional
aux. in Bridekirk (1814), Annan (1814), Mousewald (1815),
Castledouglas, and Ruthwell.
Parish Sabbath School: founder.
Parish weekly prayer meetings: founder--1839-40.
- DUNCAN, JAMES. Min. of Kincardine East. [b. 1802, FC (FES 4:350)]
Tulliallan & Kincardine Bible & Miss. Soc.: Sec.--1829, 1833.
- DUNCAN, JOHN. Min. of Milton (Q.S.), *Glasgow (1836-40)*; *General Assembly
Missionary to the Jews, Budapest (1840-3)*. [b. 1796, FC
(FES 3:425)]
Glasgow Bible Soc.: director--1833.
- DUNCAN, WILLIAM WALLACE. Min. of Cleish. [b. 1808, FC (FES 5:62)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 5 articles--1837-9, 41.
- DUNLOP, ALEXANDER. Lawyer, Edinburgh. [b. 1798, FC]
Presbyterian Review: editor--1834-48.
Anti-Patronage Soc.: member.
- DUNLOP, JOHN. Solicitor and Elder, Greenock.
Sabbath School and Mechanics Institute teacher.
Founder of Temperance Movement in Scotland--1829.
Greenock Temperance Soc.: founder--1829.
Total Abstinence Union for Scotland: founder--1838.
- ELDER, ROBERT. Min. of Kilbrandon (1831-4); Killin (1834-8); St. Paul's
(Q.S.), *Edi. (1838-43)*. [b. 1808, FC (FES 1:188)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 3 articles--1840-1.
EBS: director--1839-43.
- ERSKINE, JOHN. Min. of Old Greyfriars, *Edi. (1838-43)*. [b. 1721, d. 1803 (FES 1:47)]
Missionary Magazine: extract from letter--1796.
Religious Intelligence from Abroad: editor--1801-02.
EMS: founding Pres.--1796.
- ESDAILE, DAVID. Min. of Rescobie. [b. 1811, d. 1880 (FES 5:303)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1837.
- ESDAILE, JAMES. Min. of 2nd Charge Montrose (1805-10); East Church, Perth
(1810-44). [b. 1775, dem. 1844 (FES 4:232)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles under 'Philo Biblius'--1810-12.
Scottish Christian Herald: 28 articles--1836-40.
Perthshire Bible Soc.: author of anti-Apocrypha tract published by
it--1826.

- EWING, GREVILLE. Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, Edi. [b. 1767, dem. 1798
(FES 1:79)]
Evangelical Mag.: article--1794 under 'Onesimus'.
Missionary Mag.: founding editor--1796-9.
 EMS: founding sec.--1796-8.
 Lady Glenorchy's Chapel Sabbath Evening School: teacher.
 Edi. Prayer Meetings for the nation: leader--1797.
- FAIRLIE, WALTER. Min. of Whitehaven (1819-38); Gilmerton (Q.S.)
(1838-43). [b. 1787, FC (FES 1:148)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1839.
 CBARP Youth Aux.: V-P--1817-19 (while still a probationer).
- FERGUSON, DONALD. Min. of Dunnichen. [b. 1811, FC (FES 5:283f)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 8 articles--1837-8, 40-1.
- FERGUSON, JAMES. Min. of Inch & Saulseat. [b. 1800, d. 1862
(FES 2:337)].
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1837.
- FERGUSON, ANDREW. Min. of Maryton. [b. 1769, FC (FES 5:407)]
 Montrose Bible Soc.: Sec.--1829, 1833.
- FERRIE, WILLIAM. Min. of Kilconquar (1814-50). Prof. of Civil History,
 St. Andrews (1808-50). [b. 1782, d. 1850 (FES 5:210f)]
 SMS: Country Director--1827-31.
 Kilconquar & Elie Bible & Miss. Soc.: Pres.--1829.
- FINDLATER, HELEN. Wife of Robert, Sr.
 LMS: £25 bequest.
- FINDLATER, ROBERT, JR. Min. of Lochtayside (1807[?]-1820); East Church,
 Inverness (1820-32). [b. 1785, d. 1832 (FES 6:468)]
 Lochtayside Aux. Bible Soc.: founder--1818.
 Scheme to distribute Bibles & tracts in the Highlands--1817.
 Edi. Orphan Hospital Fellowship Meeting: member--1799.
 Mrs. Colquhoun's Sabbath School, Leith: teacher--1804.
 Lochtayside Sabbath School: founder--1812-3.
 Lochtayside Prayer Meeting: founder--1818.
- FINDLATER, ROBERT, SR. Merchant-Farmer in parish of Kiltearn, Ross-shire.
 [b. 1753, d. 1814]
 LMS: £100 bequest--1814.
 NMS: founding director--1800.
 Invergordon Ness Fellowship Meeting: member--1788-1814.
 Parish Sabbath School Soc.: founder & teacher--1798-1814.
- FINDLATER, WILLIAM. Min. of Eriboll (1808-12); Durness (1812-43).
 [b. 1784, FC (FES 7:103)]
 EBS: collection for--1813.
 Cape Wrath Aux. Bible Soc.: organizer--1817.
- FINDLAY, JOHN. Min. of the High Kirk, Paisley. [b. 1751, d. 1821
(FES 3:172f)]
 LMS: sermon for--1799; director--1805.
 Paisley Aux. Miss. Soc.: founder--1796.
 Paisley & Eastern Renfrewshire Bible Soc.: founder--1813.
 Paisley Sabbath & Week Day Evening School Soc.: founder--c. mid-1790s

- FLEMING, DAVID. Min. of Carriden. [b. 1790, d. 1860 (*FES* 1:199)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1839.
- FLEMING, THOMAS. Min. of St. Brice's, Kirkaldy (1788-1806); Lady Yester's
 Parish, Edi. (1806-24). [b. 1754, d. 1824 (*FES* 1:83)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: article--1813.
 LMS: director--1797, 1805.
 EMS: sermon--1809.
 EBS: director--1813-6; contribution--1814, 1824.
 Sabbath Evening School in Kirkaldy: founder--1806.
 Soc. for the Instruction of Deaf & Dumb Children--examiner for--1815.
- FOOTE, ALEXANDER LEITH ROSS. Min. of 2nd Charge Brechin. [b. 1805, FC
 (*FES* 5: 381)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 6 articles--1836-8.
 AUMA: Pres.--1833.
- FOOTE, JAMES. Min. of Logie-Pert (1809-25); 3rd Charge Aberdeen
 (1825-43). [b. 1781, FC (*FES* 6:15f)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles under 'F.'--1811.
Scottish Christian Herald: 3 articles--1836.
 Dundee Miss. Soc.: sermon--1814.
- FORBES, JOHN. Min. of Hope Park Chapel, Edi. (1826-8); St. Paul's, Glas.
 (1828-43). [b. 1800, FC (*FES* 3:463)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1839.
 Glasgow Bible Soc: director--1833.
- FORMAN, ADAM. Min. of Carmunnock (1792-1811); Kirkintilloch (1811-43).
 [b. 1760, d. 1843 (*FES* 3:484)]
 GMS: director--1797.
- FOWLER, JAMES CHARLES. Min. of Roxburgh Place Chapel, Edi. (1834-7); St.
 Luke's Chapel, Glas. (1837-43); Ratho, Edi. (1843-66). [b. 1808,
 d. 1866 (*FES* 1:183)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1836
 Glas. Church Building Soc.: elected minister at St. Luke's.--1837.
- FRASER, ALEXANDER. Min. of 3rd (1778-98), 2nd Charge (1798-1801), 1st
 Charge (1801-21) Inverness. [b. 1750, d. 1821 (*FES* 6:458)]
 Inverness Society for the Education of the Poor in the Highlands:
 director--1818.
- FRASER, DONALD. Min. of Kirkhill. [b. 1783, d. 1836 (*FES* 6:474)]
 Inverness Soc. for the Education of the Poor in the Highlands: sec.--
 1818.
 Ministers' Assoc. for Prayer & Conference: founding member--1831-41.
- FRASER, HUGH. Min. of Oban Chapel (1807-09); KILMORE & KILBRIDE
 (1809-17); ARDCHATTAN (1817-43). [b. 1780, FC (*FES* 4:82f)]
 EBS: collection for at K&K--1813.
 Oban Aux. Bible Soc.: founding Pres.--1813
 Scheme to distribute Bibles & tracts in the Highlands--1817.
- FRASER, SIMON. Min. of Fortrose. [b. 1806, FC (*FES* 7:9)]
 AUMA: V-P--1833.

- FRASER, THOMAS. Min. of 3rd Charge (1801-21), 1st Charge (1821-34),
Inverness. [b. 1765, d. 1834 (*FES* 6:458)]
Inverness Society for the Education of the Poor in the Highlands:
director--1818.
- FRENCH, JAMES. Min. of East Kilbride. [b. 1761, d. 1835 (*FES* 3:268)]
GMS: annual sermon--1796.
- FYFE, ANDREW. Min. of St. Mary's, Dumfries. [b. 1796, d. 1854
(*FES* 2:271)]
Dumfriesshire Bible Soc.: Treas.--1829, 1833.
- GAIRDNER, DAVID. Min. of Skirling. [b. 1798, d. 1837 (*FES* 1:258)]
Biggar Bible Assoc.: Pres.--1829.
- GARDNER, JAMES. Min. of Tweedsmuir. [b. 1759, d. 1830 (*FES* 1:296)]
Tweedsmuir Aux. Bible Soc.: Pres.--1816.
- GARIOCH, GEORGE. Min. of Meldrum. [b. 1793, FC (*FES* 6:174)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 5 articles--1837, 39.
- GEDDES, JOHN. Min. of High Kirk, Paisley (1821-32); St. Andrew's, Glasgow
(1832-3). [b. 1793, d. 1833 (*FES* 3:434).
EBS: on platform at annual meeting--1831.
- GEMMEL, JOHN. Min. of Newtown-Crommelin, Ireland (1835-7); Fairlie (Q.S.)
(1837-43). [b. 1807, FC (*FES* 3:195)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1841.
- GIBBON, CHARLES. Min. of Lonmay. [b. 1789, d. 1871 (*FES* 6:229)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1837.
- GIBSON, JAMES. Min. of Kingston (Q.S.), Glasgow. [b. 1799, FC
(*FES* 3:419)]
Church of Scotland Mag.: editor--1834-7.
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1836.
Glasgow Bible Soc.: director--1833.
- GILCHRIST, JOHN. Min. of East Church, Greenock (1807-25); 1st Charge,
Canongate (1825-49). [b. 1770, d. 1849 (*FES* 1:26f)]
Edi. Eastern District Bible Soc.: V-P--1833.
- GILCHRIST, WILLIAM. Chaplain to Glasgow Prison (1840-44). Min. of
Dalmellington (1844-56). [b. 1800, d. 1856 (*FES* 3:32)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 6 articles--1840.
- GILLAN, JAMES. Min. of Speymouth. [b. 1750, d. 1828 (*FES* 6:403)]
Elgin & Morayshire Bible Soc.: V-P--1828.
- GILLESPIE, GEORGE. Min. of Cummertrees. [b. 1795, d. 1870 (*FES* 2:244)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1841.
- GILLIES, COLIN. Min. of St. George's, Paisley. [b. 1748, d. 1810
(*FES* 3:176)]
LMS: director--1797.
Paisley Aux. Miss. Soc.: Sec.--1797; sermon--1797.

- GLEN, JAMES. Min. of Benholme. [b. 1792, FC (*FES* 5:456)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: 1 article--1833.
Scottish Christian Herald: 3 articles--1837-8, 41.
- GLEN, JOHN. Min. of Portobello (Q.S.). [b. 1782, FC (*FES* 1:181)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1838, 40.
 EBS: on platform at annual meeting--1830-1.
 Portobello Aux. Bible & Scottish Missionary Soc.: Pres.--1829, 1833.
- GRAHAM, MATTHEW. Min. of Johnstone Chapel (1802-04); Calton Chapel,
 Glasgow (1804-45). [b. 1776, d. 1845 (*FES* 3:404)]
 CBARP: founding V-P--1815-19.
- GRANT, JAMES. Min. of South Leith (1824-43); St Mary's, Edi. (1843-90).
 [b. 1800, d. 1890 (*FES* 1:113)]
 Leith Aux. to the EBS: Pres.--1833
 SBS: Sec.--1836-74.
- GRANT, WILLIAM. Min. of Logiealmond (asst. 1837-40); St. John's, Glasgow
 (1840-3); Wallacetown (1843). [b. 1814, FC (*FES* 3:16)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 9 articles--1839-40.
- GREY, HENRY. Min. of Stenton (1801-12), St. Cuthbert's Chapel, Edi.
 (1812-20); New North Church, Edi. (1820-5); St. Mary's Chapel,
 Edi. (1825-43). [b. 1778, FC (*FES* 1:112f)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 7 articles--1839-41.
 EBS: director--1816-9; Sec.--1821-5.
 SBS: office-bearer--1824.
 Sciennes & Newington Bible & Missionary Union: Pres.--1816.
 Edinburgh Soc. for Promoting Christianity among Jews: director--1818.
 Sabbath School Union for Scotland: founding director, 1816.
 Edi. Aux. of the LMS: office-bearer--1824.
 Soc. for Improving the System of Church Patronage: founding office-
 bearer--1824.
 Edi. Religious Subscription & Circulating Library: office-bearer--
 1824.
 Hope Park Library: office-bearer--1824.
 Edi. Deaf & Dumb Institution: office-bearer--1824.
 Edi. Soc. for the Abolition of Slavery: office-bearer--1824.
 Edi. Lunatic Asylum: sermon--1815.
 Edi. Continental Soc.: addressed annual meeting--1823.
- GORDON, ABERCROMBY LOCKHART. Min. of Greyfriars, Aberdeen. [b. 1803, FC
 (*FES* 6:9)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1837.
- GORDON, DAVID WILLIAM. Min. of Morebattle (1807-14); Gordon (1814-24);
 Earlston (1824-68). [b. 1786, d. 1868 (*FES* 2:150)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1836.
- GORDON, GEORGE. Min. of Knockando. [b. 1808, d. 1834 (*FES* 6:347)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1838.
- GORDON, GEORGE. Min. of Loth. [b. ?, d. 1822 (*FES* 7:96)]
 EBS: collection for--1816.

- GORDON, ROBERT. Min. of Kinfauns (1816-21); Buccleuch (Q.S.), Edi. (1821-4); Newington (1824-5); New North Church, Edi. (1825-30); St. Giles, Edi. (1830-43). [b. 1786, FC (FES 1:61)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 5 articles--1836, 39.
 SMS: requested to lead prayer meeting--1824.
 EBS: director--1821-8, 1831, 1833-4; sermon at Stichel for--1822.
 Edi. Middle District Aux. Bible Soc.: V-P--1829.
 Edi. Committee for Aiding the Education of Pious Gaelic Students for the Ministry: founding member--1825.
- GORDON, THOMAS. Min. of Aboyne. [b. 1743, d. 1826 (FES 6:78)]
 EBS: collection for--1811.
- GRANT, ALEXANDER. Min. of Cawdor. [b. 1743, d. 1828 (FES 6:439)]
 Nairnshire Bible Soc.: founding V-P--1814.
- GRANT, DUNCAN. Min. of Gaelic Chapel, Aberdeen (1814-27); Forres (1827-43). [b. 1790, FC (FES 6:423)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 3 articles--1836-7.
 Published addresses & hymns for Sabbath Schools.
- GRANT, FRANCIS WILLIAM. Min. of Dallas (1816-21); Banff (1821-43). [b. 1787, FC (FES 6:277)]
 Banff Bible Soc.: Pres.--1829, 1833.
- GRANT, JAMES. Min. of Nairn. [b. 1790, d. 1853 (FES 6:444)]
 Nairnshire Bible Soc.: founding V-P--1814.
 Inverness Soc. for the Education of the Poor in the Highlands: director--1818.
- GRANT, JOHN. Min. of Petty & Brachollie. [b. 1804, FC (FES 6:480)]
Presbyterian Review: founding editor--1831.
- GRIERSON, JAMES. Min. of Cockpen. [b. 1768, d. 1844 (FES 1:308)]
 Cockpen & Carrington Bible Soc.: founding Pres.--1816
- GRIERSON, JAMES. Min. of Errol. [b. 1791, FC (FES 4:208)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1837.
 Perthshire New Bible Soc.: Sec.--1829, 1833.
- GUN, ADAM. Min. of Hope St. Gaelic Chapel, Glasgow. [b. 1802, dep. 1835 (FES 3:416)]
 Glasgow Bible Soc.: Gaelic Sec.--1833.
- GUNN, ALEXANDER, SR. Min. of Ophir (1803-05); Watten (1805-36). [b. 1773, d. 1836 (FES 7:139)]
 Watten Aux. Bible & Missionary Soc.: Pres.--1829, 1833.
- GUNN, THOMAS. Min. of Keiss (Q.S.). [b. 1800, FC (FES 7:124)]
 Wick Bible Soc.: director--1833.
- GUTHRIE, THOMAS. Min. of Arbirlot (1830-7); Old Greyfriars, Edi. (1832-40); St. John' Edi. (1840-3). [b. 1803, FC (FES 1:108)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1839, 41.
 EBS: director--1839-41.

- HALDANE, ROBERT. Min. of Drumelzier (1807-20); 1st Charge St. Andrews (1820-54); Principal of St. Mary's College (1820-54).
St. Andrews Bible Soc.: Pres.--1829, 1833.
Sabbath School: founder--1829.
Bengal Aux. of the B&FBS and of the Religious Tract and Book Soc.: founder.
- HAMILTON, ANDREW. Min. of High Kirk, Kilmarnock. [b. 1773, d. 1839 (FES 3:109)
Scottish Christian Herald: 4 articles--1837-8.
- HAMILTON, JAMES. Min. of Roxburgh Place Chapel, Edi. (1841); Regent Square, London (1841-43). [b. 1814, FC (FES 1:187)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1841.
Tracts for a Glasgow tract soc.--1831.
- HAMILTON, JAMES. Min. of Shotts (1799-1814); Lesmahagow (1814-38).
[b. 1763, d. 1838 (FES 3:315)]
Lesmahagow Bible Soc.: Pres.--1829, 1833.
- HAMILTON, ROBERT KERR. Min. of Saltoun. [b. ?, d. 1865 (FES 1:394)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 3 articles--1837.
- HAMILTON, WILLIAM. Min. of St Andrew's Chapel-of-ease, Dundee (1807-09); Strathblane (1809-35). [b. 1780, d. 1835 (FES 3:368)]
Religious Monitor: numerous articles esp. in its last years, under 'Ruricola', 'W.H.'
Edi. Christian Instructor: several articles before 1819.
SMS: preaching tour on behalf--1824.
Parish Bible Soc.: founded by 1821.
Parish Temperance Soc.: founded--1831; also helped to found elsewhere.
Anti-Patronage Soc.: spoke in behalf of in Edi., Glas., Greenock, & Dumbarton--1831-3.
Parish Sabbath Schools & Young Adult Classes: founded--1819.
Parish Library: founded--1819.
Glasgow Mechanics Institute: lecturer--1832-3.
Glasgow Clerical Literary Soc.: member of--1819, 1822.
Glasgow Corresponding Society for Prayer: sermon--1835.
- HANNA, ROBERT. Min. of Stracathro & Dunlappie. [b. 1754, d. 1828 (FES 5:418)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles under 'R.H.S.'--1810.
- HARLEY, ANDREW. Min. of Catrine Chapel (1800-05); JOHNSTONE (Q.S.) (1805-08). [b. 1764, d. 1808 (FES 3:146)]
Religious Monitor: memoir of--1808.
Catrine Sabbath School: superintendent.
Fellowship meeting in Paisley: member of.
- HENDERSON, JAMES. Min. of Low Meeting Berwick-on-Tweed (1821-3); Stockbridge Chapel, Edi. (1823-8); Ratho (1828-32); St. Enoch's, Glas. (1832-43). [b. 1797, FC (FES 3:442)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 4 articles--1836-9.
EBS: contributions--1824, 1826; director--1827-30; on platform at annual meeting--1830.
Glasgow Bible Soc.: director--1833.

- HETHERINGTON, WILLIAM MAXWELL. Min. of Torphichen. [b. 1803, FC (*FES* 1:232)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 13 articles--1837-41.
- HILL, ALEXANDER. Min. of Colmonell (1815-6); Dailly (1816-40); Prof. of Divinity, Glasgow (1840-62) [b. 1785, d. 1867 (*FES* 7:402)]
 Ayr Bible Soc.: Pres.--1833.
- HILL, GEORGE. Min. of 1st Charge St. Andrews & Principal of St Mary's College. [b. 1750, d. 1819 (*FES* 7:422)]
 St. Andrews Bible Assoc.: Pres.--1813.
- HODGSON, JOHN. Min. of Blantyre. [b. 1781, d. 1832 (*FES* 3:229)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles--1810-12.
- HOPE, CHARLES. Min. of Wandel & Lamington. [b. 1781, d. 1862 (*FES* 1:266)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 articles--1838.
- HOPE, JOHN. Min. of Leadhills (1834-43); Dunscore (1843-86). [b. 1804, d. 1886 (*FES* 2:274)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 3 articles--1840-1.
 Leadhills Bible Soc.: Pres.--1833
- HOUSTON, ROBERT. Min. of Dalmellington. [b. 1803, d. 1853 (*FES* 3:409)].
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article-1837.
- HUNTER, ANDREW. Min. of Tron Church & Professor of Divinity, *Edi.*
 [b. 1743, d. 1809 (*FES* 1:137)]
 EMS: sermon--1797; Pres.--1798.
 B&FBS: subcommittee of SSPCK for collecting funds--1805.
- HUNTER, JOHN. Min. of Oxnam. [b. 1754, d. 1830 (*FES* 2:137)]
 Teviotdale Bible Assoc.: founding director--1814.
- HUNTER, JOHN. Min. of Swinton (1814-32); 2nd Charge, Tron Church, *Edi.*
 (1832-?). [b. 1788, d. ? {did not join FC} (*FES* 1:141f)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 9 articles--1836, 38-9, 40.
 Berwickshire Bible Soc.: director--1829.
- INGLIS, ROBERT. Min. of Lochlee (1837-41); Edzell & Newdosk (1841-3).
 [b. 1803, FC (*FES* 5:391)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1838, 40.
- INNES, JAMES. Min. of Yester. [b. 1733, d. 1821 (*FES* 1:400)]
 EBS: contribution--1810.
- INNES, WILLIAM. 2nd Charge Stirling. [b. 1770, dem. 1799 (*FES* 4:325)]
 Dundee Miss. Soc.: led prayer at quarterly meeting--1797.
 SSPCK: prospective missionary to Bengal--1797.
- IRELAND, WALTER FOGO. Min. of North Leith. [b. 1775, d. 1828 (*FES* 1:156f)]
 Aux. Soc. at Leith, for promoting Christianity among the Jews, and
 for aiding the B&FBS: founding Sec.--1811.
- IRVINE, ALEXANDER. Min. of Fortingal (1805-6); Little Dunkeld (1806-24).
 [b. 1772, d. 1824 (*FES* 4:159)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles under signature 'I.D.'--1812.
 [Work of interest: *Defence of Bible Societies.* *Edi.*, 1815]

- IRVINE, ALEXANDER ROBERTSON. Min. of Foss (1830-42); Fortingal (1842-3); Blair-Atholl (1843-67). [b. 1806, d. 1867 (*FES* 4:146)]
Perthshire New Bible Soc.: director--1833.
- IRVING, LEWIS HAY. Min. of Abercorn. [b. 1806, FC (*FES* 1:191)]
EUMA: Treas.--1829.
- ISDALE, ALEXANDER. Min. of Dron. [b. ?, d. 1834 (*FES* 4:203)]
Perthshire New Bible Soc.: director--1833.
- JAFFRAY, WILLIAM. Min. of Dunbarton. [b. 1790, d. 1840 (*FES* 3:343)]
Dunbarton Bible Soc.: Pres.--1833.
- JAMIESON, ROBERT. Min. of Westruther (1830-7); Currie (1837-44);
St. Paul's, Glas. (1844-80). [b. 1802, d. 1880 (*FES* 3:464)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 39 articles--1836-41.
Westruther Aux. Bible Soc.: Pres.--1833.
- JOHNSTON, BRYCE. Min. of Holywood. [b. 1747, d. 1805 (*FES* 2:276)]
LMS: director--1801.
Dumfries Miss. Soc.: sermon in behalf of--1797
- JOHNSTON, DAVID. Min. of North Leith. [b. 1734, d. 1824 (*FES* 1:156)]
EMS: sermon--1796; V-P--1797; missionary send-off--1803.
EBS: present at organizing meeting & on committee to draw up
regulations--1809; director--1810-13; contribution--1810, 1814;
collection in parish church 1810.
Auxiliary Soc. at Leith, for promoting Christianity among the Jews,
and for aiding the B&FBS: founding director--1811.
Edi. Gaelic Schools Soc.: founding V-P--1811.
Soc. for the Instruction of Deaf & Dumb Children--examiner for--1815.
Edi. Asylum for the Industrious Blind: founder--1793.
- JOHNSTONE, JOHN. Min. of Crossmichael. [b. 1757, d. 1820 (*FES* 2:405)]
Religious Monitor: funeral sermon of Bryce Johnston--1805.
- JOHNSTONE, ROBERT JOHN. Min. of Stanley Chapel (1829-32); ACHTERMUCHTY
(1832-44). [b. 1803, d. 1871 (*FES* 4:356f)]
Perthshire New Bible Soc.: director--1829, 1833.
- JONES, THOMAS SNELL. Min. of Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, Edi. [b. 1754,
d. 1837 (*FES* 1:79)]
B&FBS: subcommittee of SSPCK for collecting funds--1805.
EBS: present at organizing meeting--1809; on platform at annual
meeting--1830-1.
Edi. Gaelic Schools Soc.: founding director--1811-16.
- KENNEDY, ANGUS. Min. of Lairg (1802-17); Dornoch (1817-43). [b. 1769,
FC (*FES* 7:85)]
EBS: collection for--1815, 1823, 1829.
- KENNEDY, JOHN. Min. of Killearnan. [b. 1772, d. 1841 (*FES* 7:13)]
Scheme to distribute Bibles & tracts in the Highlands--1817.
Ministers' Assoc. for Prayer & Conference: founding member--1831-41.

- KENNEDY, NEIL. Min. of Gaelic Chapel, Aberdeen (1804-13); Logie-Easter (1813-36). [b. 1778, d. 1836 (*FES* 7:63)]
Scheme to distribute Bibles & tracts in the Highlands--1817.
- KENNEDY, THOMAS. Min. of St. Madoes. [b. 1756, d. 1828 (*FES* 4:247)]
Perth Miss. Soc.: annual sermon--1797.
Dundee Miss. Soc.: annual sermon--1807.
- KIDD, JAMES. Min. of Gilcomston Parish, Aberdeen & Prof. of Oriental Languages, King's College. [b. 1761, d. 1834 (*FES* 7:375f)]
Aberdeen Bible Soc: director--1829; V-P--1833.
Aberdeen Aux. Anti-Patronage Soc.: member--1834.
Aberdeen Temperance Soc.: founder--1830.
Parish Sabbath School--founder.
- KIRK, JOHN. Min. of Barry (1824-37); Arbirlot (1837-43). [b. 1795, FC (*FES* 5:422)]
Barry & Carnoustie Bible & Miss. Soc.: Pres.--1829, 1833.
- KIRKLAND, MATTHEW. Min. of New Cumnock. [b. 1799, FC (*FES* 3:28)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1841.
- LAING, WILLIAM. Min. of Crieff. [b. 1790, d. 1845 (*FES* 4:266f)]
Crieff Bible Soc.: Pres.--1829, 1833.
Crieff New Aux. Bible Soc.: Pres.--1833.
- LANDELLS, ADAM. Min. of Hutton (1789-1821); Whitsome & Hilton (1821-38).
[b. 1748, d. 1838 (*FES* 2:64)]
Berwickshire Aux. Bible Soc.: director--1833.
- LANDSBOROUGH, DAVID. Min. of Stevenston. [b. 1779, FC (*FES* 3:123f)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 21 articles--1836-41.
- LEARMONTH, PETER. Min. of Sandwick & Stromness, Orkney. [b. 1801, FC (*FES* 7:253f)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1838.
Stromness Bible Soc.: Sec.--1833.
- LEE, JOHN. Min. of Presby. Cong. in Hanover St, London (c.1806-08);
Peebles (1808-21); Prof. of Church History, St. Andrews (1821-23); 1st Charge Canongate (1823-5); Lady Yester's Parish, Edi. (1825-35); Old Kirk, Edi. (1835-59); Principal of Edi. Univ. (1840-59); Principal Clerk of the General Assembly (1827-59). [b. 1779, d. 1859 (*FES* 1:73)]
EBS: director--1822-5; contribution--1824; defended in legal case against King's printers--1824-6.
SMS: requested to lead prayer meeting--1824.
Edi. Gaelic Schools Soc.: director--1824; addressed meeting--1825.
- LEE, ROBERT. Min. of Inverbrocthock Chapel-of-ease (1833-6); Campsie (1836-43); Old Greyfriars, Edi. (1843-68). [b. 1804, d. 1868 (*FES* 1:42f)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 3 articles--1836-7.
STAUMA: committee--1826-9; Sec.--1831-2.

- LEWIS, GEORGE. Min. of St. David's, Dundee. [b. 1803, FC (*FES*, 5, 326f)]
Scottish Guardian: founding editor--1832-5.
 Glasgow Education Assoc.: founding sec.--1834.
 Dundee Ministers' Fellowship Meeting: founding member--1839.
- LEWIS, JAMES. Min. of St. John's (Q.S.), Leith. [b. 1805, FC (*FES* 1:158)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 5 articles--1836, 39, 41.
- LISTER, JAMES. Min. of Auchtermuchty. [b. 1750, d. 1832 (*FES* 5:127)]
 EBS: collection for--1815, 1823.
 Auchtermuchty Aux. Bible Soc.: founding Pres.--1815.
- LIVINGSTON, ARCHIBALD. Min. of Cambusnethan. [b. 1776, d. 1852
 (*FES* 3:241)]
 Cambusnethan Bible Assoc.: in chair for organising meeting held in
 parish church--1813; Pres.--1833.
- LOCKHART, JOHN. Min. of Cambusnethan (1786-96); Blackfriars, Glasgow
 (1796-42). [b. 1761, d. 1842 (*FES* 3:399f)].
 GMS: director--1797; prayer meeting leader--1824.
 Glasgow Bible Soc.: director--1833.
 Society for the Instruction of Deaf & Dumb Children--founding
 director--1814.
 Glas. Sabbath School Assoc.: Pres.--1819.
 Glasgow Clerical Literary Soc.: member.
- LOGAN, DAVID. Min. of Innerwick (1817-23); Stenton (1823-49).
 [b. 1799, d. 1849 (*FES* 1:421f)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1836.
 East Lothian Soc. for Propagating the Knowledge of Christianity:
 director--1829, 1833.
- LOGAN, WILLIAM. Min. of Third Charge Lesmahagow. [b. 1798, FC (*FES* 3:318)]
 Lesmahagow Bible Soc.: Treas.--1829, 1833.
- LOGIE, WILLIAM. Min. of Lady (1811-24); Kirkwall & St. Ola (1824-56),
 Orkney. [b. 1786, d. 1856 (*FES* 7:224f)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1837.
 Orkney Aux. Bible Soc.: founding director--1812.
 Orkney Church Missionary & Bible Soc.: Sec.--1833.
- LONGMUIR, JOHN. Min. of Mariner's Chapel, Aberdeen. [b. 1803, FC
 (*FES* 6:12f)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 5 articles--1836, 40-1.
- LORIMER, JOHN GORDON. Min. of Torryburn (1829-32); St. David's, Glas.
 (1832-43). [b. 1804, FC (*FES* 3:439f)]
Scottish Guardian: organised a collection on behalf of--1833.
Scottish Christian Herald: 28 articles--1836-41.
 Glasgow Bible Soc.: director--1833.
 Glasgow Education Assoc.: lecture for--1834.
- LORIMER, ROBERT. Min. of Haddington. [b. 1765, FC (*FES* 1: 370)]
Miss. Mag.: articles--1796-7.
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles in 1810-11 under signatures,
 'T.' & 'X.'
 East Lothian Soc. for Propagating the Knowledge of Christianity:
 director--1829.

- LOVE, JOHN. Min. of Crispin St. Church, London (1788-1800); Anderston Chapel, Glasgow (1800-25). [b. 1757, d. 1825 (*FES* 3:389)]
 LMS: founding Sec.--1795-1800.
 GMS: Sec.
 Sabbath School Soc., South-west District: Pres.--1819.
 Glas. Corresponding Soc. for Prayer: member.
- LUNDIE, ROBERT. Min. of Gordon (1801-07); Kelso (1807-32). [b. 1774, d. 1832 (*FES* 2:72f)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles in 1810-12 under signature, 'K'.
 Kelso Bible Soc.: Pres.--1829.
- LYON, JAMES. Min. of Glamis. [b. 1759, d. 1838 (*FES* 5:290)]
 Forfar Bible Soc.: V-P--1829, 1833.
- MACADAM, ALEXANDER. Min. of Nigg. [b. 1749, d. 1817 (*FES* 7:66)]
 Scheme to distribute Bibles & tracts in the Highlands--1817.
- MACALISTER, JOHN. Min. of Glenlyon (1824-31); Gaelic Chapel, Edi. (1831-7); Nigg (1837-43). [b. 1789, FC (*FES* 7:67)]
 Perthshire New Bible Soc.: director--1829.
 Edi. Gaelic Congregational Bible Soc.: Pres.--1833.
- MACBEAN, HUGH. Min. of Ardelach. [b. 1778, d. 1851 (*FES* 6:432)]
 Nairnshire Bible Soc.: founding V-P--1814.
- MACBEAN, WILLIAM. Min. of Alves. [b. 1758, d. 1818 (*FES* 6:377)]
 EMS: collection for--1797.
 EBS: collection for--1811.
- MCCHEYNE, ROBERT MURRAY. Min. of St. Peter's Chapel, Dundee. [b. 1813, d. 1843 (*FES* 5:340f)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 11 articles--1836-7.
 Sabbath School teacher--1831, 1836.
 EUMA: Sec.--1834.
 EUMA Visiting Soc.: visitor--1834.
 St. Peter's Weekly Prayer Meeting: founder--1837-43.
 National Concert of Prayer: leader--1840-2.
 Dundee Ministers' Fellowship Meeting: founding member--1839.
- M'COMBIE, CHARLES. Min. of Lumphanan. [b. 1804, d. 1874 (*FES* 6:106)]
 Aberdeen Bible Soc.: director--1829.
- M'CONECHY, ARCHIBALD. Min. of Bonkill & Preston. [b. ?, FC (*FES* 2:5)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1836-7.
 Berwickshire Aux. Bible Soc.: director--1833.
- M'CORKLE, ROBERT. Min. of Limerick, Ireland. [b. 1806; FC (*FES* 7:531)]
Scottish Guardian: editor--mid 1830s.
 Glasgow Assoc. for Promoting the Interests of the CofS: agent while a probationer.
 GUMA: Pres.--1829.

- M'CULLOCH, JAMES MELVILLE. Min. of Inverbrothock Chapel (1829-32); Kelso (1832-43); West Parish, Greenock (1843-83). [b. 1801, d. 1883 (FES 3:208)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1839.
 Kelso Bible Soc: Sec.--1833.
 EBS: preached on its behalf in England--1834.
- M'CULLOCH, ROBERT. Min. of Dairsie. [b. 1740, d. 1824 (FES 5:149)]
 EBS: contribution--1810, 1814.
- MACDONALD, JOHN. Min. of Gaelic Chapel, Edi. (1807-13); Ferrintosh (1813-43). [b. 1779, FC (FES 7:47f)].
 SMS: preaching and fundraising tour on behalf of--1830.
 EBS: contribution--1810.
 Scheme to distribute Bibles & tracts in the Highlands--1817.
 Ministers' Assoc. for Prayer & Conference: founding member--1831-41.
- MACDONALD, JOHN. Min. of Kinloch-Rannoch (1830-43); Comrie (1843-75).
 [b. 1794, d. 1875 (FES 4:264)]
 Perthshire New Bible Soc.: director--1833.
- MACDONALD, ROBERT. Min. of Fortingal. [b. 1770, d. 1842 (FES 4:179)]
 Perthshire New Bible Soc.: director--1833
- MACEWEN, JOHN. Min. of Milton of Balgonie (1839-43); Dyke, Moy & Culbin (1843-86). [b. 1800, d. 1886 (FES 6:417)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1839.
- MACFARLAN, PATRICK. Min. of Kippen (1806-10); Polmont (1810-24); St. John's, Glasgow (1824-5); St. Enoch's, Glasgow (1825-32); West Parish, Greenock (1832-43). [b. 1781, FC (FES 3:207f)]
 EBS: on platform at annual meeting--1830, 1831, 1840.
 Glasgow Bible Soc.: anti-Apocrypha pamphlets on behalf of--1827;
 Hon. Sec.--1833.
- MACFARLAN[E], DUNCAN. Min. of Anderston Chapel (1827-30); Renfrew (1830-43). [b. 1793, FC (FES 3:187)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 29 articles--1836-9.
- MACFARLANE, JAMES. Min. of North Church, Stirling (1831-2); Stockbridge Chapel-of-ease (1832-41); Duddingston (1841-66). [b. 1808, d. 1866 (FES 1:20f)]
 EBS: director--1833, 1834, 1840.
- MACFARLANE, JOHN. Min. of Ardoch (1823-33); Collessie (1833-43).
 [b. 1798, FC (FES 5:135)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 6 articles--1836-7.
 Perthshire New Bible Society: director--1833.
- MACFARLANE, THOMAS. Min. of Edinkillie. [b. 1773, d. 1827 (FES 6:419)]
 Forres Aux. Bible Soc.: founder--1817.
- MACGILL, STEVENSON. Min. of Eastwood (1791-7); the Tron, Glasgow (1797-1814); Prof. of Divinity, Glasgow (1814-40).
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1836, 38.
 GMS: prayer meeting leader--1824.
 Clerical Literary Society: founding Sec.--1800-40.

MACGILL, STEVENSON. (continued)

Glasgow Gaelic Schools Soc.: Sec.

Glasgow Soc. for Promoting the Education of the Deaf & Dumb:
director--1814.

Glasgow Insane Asylum: founder--1814.

Glasgow Society for the Encouragement of Penitents: founder--1815.

Glasgow Magdalene Asylum: founder--1815.

Glasgow Seamen's Friend Soc.: director--1822.

MACGILLIVRAY, DONALD. Min. of Lochgilhead & Kilmorich (1820-31);

Kilmallie (1831-5). [b. 1777, d. 1835 (*FES* 4:135)]

Scheme to distribute Bibles & tracts in the Highlands: promoted in
Religious Monitor--1817.

MACGILVRAY, WALTER. Min. of St. Mark's, Glasgow (1835-42); Hope St.

Gaelic Chapel, Glasgow (1842-3). [b. 1807, FC (*FES* 3:416)]

Scottish Christian Herald: 4 articles--1836, 40.

Church Accomodation Soc.: elected minister of St. Mark's.

M'HARDY, CHARLES. Min. of Crathie. [b. 1747, d. 1822 (*FES* 6:93)]

EBS: contribution--1810.

MACKAY, GEORGE. Min. of Rafford & Altyre. [b. 1791, FC (*FES* 6:428)]

Forres Aux. Bible Soc.: founding Sec.--1817.

Elgin & Morayshire Bible Soc.: V-P--1833.

MACKAY, MACKINTOSH. Min. of Laggan (1825-32); Dunoon (1832-43). [b. 1793,
FC (*FES* 4:24)]

Scottish Christian Herald: 3 articles--1840.

MACKENZIE, GEORGE. Min. of Olrig. [b. 1750, d. 1825 (*FES* 7:129f)]

EBS: collection for--1823.

MACKENZIE, HUGH. Min. of Assynt (1817-25); Clyne (1825-8); Killin
(1828-33). [b. 1786, d. 1833 (*FES* 4:185)]

Perthshire New Bible Soc.: director--1829, 1833.

M'KENZIE, HUGH. Min. of Gaelic Chapel, Aberdeen. [b. 1787, FC (*FES* 6:6)]

Aberdeen Bible Soc.: director--1829.

MACKENZIE, WILLIAM. Min. of Comrie (1829-41); Dunblane (1841-3).

[b. 1804, FC (*FES* 4:344)]

Perthshire New Bible Soc.: director--1833.

MACKENZIE, WILLIAM. Min. of Tongue. [b. 1738, d. 1834 (*FES* 7:110)]

Cape Wrath Aux. Bible Soc.: organizer--1817.

MACKINLAY, JAMES. Min. of 2nd Charge (1786-1816); 1st Charge (1816-41)

Kilmarnock. [b. 1756, d. 1841 (*FES* 3:106f)]

LMS: director--1805.

MACKINTOSH, AUGUSTUS [ANGUS]. Min. of Tain & Morinnis. [b. 1763, d. 1831
(*FES* 7: 73.)]

LMS: director--1797.

NMS: founding Sec.--1800-31.

Ministers' Fellowship Meeting: member.

- MACKINTOSH, JAMES. Min. of Kilarrow. [b. 1765, d. 1842 (*FES* 4:71f)]
Bowmore Branch of the Islay Bible & Education Soc.: director --1829,
1833.
- MACKINTOSH, WILLIAM. Min. of Thurso. [b. 1764, d. 1830 (*FES* 7:137)]
Thurso Bible Soc.: V-P--1829.
- MACKRAY, WILLIAM. Min. of Spittal Square Chapel, Stirling. [b. 1800, FC
(*FES* 4:331)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1840.
- MACLAGAN, JAMES. Min. of Auchtergaven (1813-21); Kinfauns (1821-43).
[b. 1788, FC (*FES* 4:217)]
Perthshire New Bible Soc.: Sec.--1829, 1833.
- M'LAUHLAN, JAMES. Min. of Gaelic Chapel, Edi. (1799-1806); Moy &
Dalarossie (1806-43). [b. ?, d. 1843 (*FES* 6:476f)]
Inverness Society for the Education of the Poor in the Highlands:
director--1818.
- M'LEAN, JAMES. Min. of the Gorbals, Glasgow. [b. 1761, d. 1833
(*FES* 3:409)]
GMS: prayer at annual meeting--1797; director--1797.
- MACLEOD, NORMAN, Sr. Min. of Campbeltown (1808-25); Campsie (1825-35);
St. Columba's Glas. (1835-62). [b. 1783, d. 1862 (*FES* 3:437)]
Gaelic Messenger: founding editor--1829-31.
The Visitor of the Glens: founding editor--1840-43.
GBS: elected Gaelic Sec.--1837.
EBS: on platform at annual meeting--1840.
St. Columba's Sabbath School: supporter.
- MACMORLAND, PETER. Min. of Regent Sq. London (1835-9); St. Matthew's,
Glasgow (1839-45). [b. 1810, d. 1881 (*FES* 1:382f)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1836-7.
- MACNAUGHTAN, JOHN. Min. of Scots Church Crown Court, London (1831-2);
High Kirk, Paisley (1832-43). [b. 1807, FC (*FES* 3:173)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1839.
- MACRITCHIE, WILLIAM. Min. of Clunie. [b. 1754, d. 1837 (*FES* 4:152)]
Dunkeld Bible Soc.: director--1829, 1833.
- MACTAVISH, ARCHIBALD. Min. of Jura & Colonsay (1812-23); Kildalton
(1823-58). [b. 1783, d. 1858 (*FES* 4:76)]
Kildalton Branch of the Islay Bible & Education Soc.: director--1829,
1833.
- MACVICAR, PATRICK. Min. of Crops (1795-1808); St. Paul's, Dundee
(1808-42). [b. 1765, d. 1842 (*FES* 5:332)]
Dundee. Aux. BS: founding Treas.--1812; V-P--1833.
Dundee Juvenile Bible & Miss. Soc.: Pres.--1833.
- M'WHIR, JOHN. Min. of Chapel-of-ease, Dunfermline (1810-13); Urr
(1813-35). [b. 1775, d. 1835 (*FES* 2:307)]
Stewartry of Kirkcudbright Bible Soc.: Sec.--1829, 1833.

- MALCOLM, WILLIAM. Min. of Leochel-Cushnie. [b. 1792, d. 1838 (*FES* 6:136)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 6 articles--1836-8.
- MARSHALL, GEORGE. Min. of Bressay (1811-33); Flisk (1833-42). [b. 1775, d. 1842 (*FES* 5:156)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: article--1826.
 Zetland Aux. Bible Soc.: Sec.--1815.
- MARTIN, JOHN. Min. of Strathmiglo (1793-1807); St. Brice's, Kirkcaldy (1807-37). [b. 1769, d. 1837 (*FES* 5:104)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles--1811 under 'J.M.K.'
 Ministers' Fellowship Meeting: member--1814.
- MARTIN, SAMUEL. Min. of Bathgate. [b. 1802, FC (*FES* 1:194)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1836.
- MATHESON, CHARLES ROSS. Min. of Kilmuir-Easter. [b. 1786, FC (*FES* 7:59)]
 Scheme to distribute Bibles & tracts in the Highlands--1817.
- MELLIS, DAVID BARCLAY. Min. of Tealing. [b. 1800, FC (*FES* 5:372f)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1838.
- MENZIES, JOHN. Min. of Bressay, Burra & Quarff (1792-9) Lerwick [Shetland] (1799-1827). [b. 1754, d. 1827 (*FES* 7:286)]
 Zetland Aux. Bible Soc.: Sec.--1815; sermon--1819.
- MENZIES, ROBERT. Min. of Hoddam, Ecclefechan & Luce. [b. 1801, d. 1877 (*FES* 2:249f)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1836-7
- MILL, JOHN. Min. of Dunrossness and Fair Isle, Sandwick & Cunningburgh. [b. 1712, d. 1805 (*FES* 7:283)]
 LMS: director--1797.
- MILLER, JAMES. Min. of Eassie & Nevay (1803-27); Monikie (1827-43). [b. 1777, FC (*FES* 5:366)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles under 'A Christian Instructor'--1811.
 Forfar and Strathmore Auxiliary Bible Soc.: sermon--1816.
- MILROY, ANDREW. Min. of Crailing & Nisbet. [b. 1801, FC (*FES* 2:109)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 4 articles--1837-9.
- MINTY, WILLIAM. Min. of Kennethmont & Rathmureal. [b. 1796, d. 1869 (*FES* 6:131)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 5 articles--1837-8.
- MITCHELL, DAVID. Min. of Pulteneytown (Q.S.) [b. 1797, FC (*FES* 7:131)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 6 articles--1839-40.
- MITCHELL, GRAHAM. Min. of Whitburn. [b.?, d. 1869 (*FES* 1:236)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1837.
- MITCHELL, JOHN. Prof. of Divinity & Biblical Criticism, St. Mary's College. [b. 1772, d. 1835 (*FES* 7:430)]
 St. Andrews Bible Soc.: V-P--1829, 1833.

- MOLLISON, PATRICK. Min. of Walston. [b. 1745, d. 1825 (*FES* 1:264)]
Biggar Bible Assoc.: chaired founding meeting--1810.
- MONCREIFF, HENRY WELLWOOD. Min. of Baldernock (1836-7); East Kilbride
(1837-43). [b. 1809, FC (*FES* 3:269)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1839.
- MONILAWS, GEORGE HOPE. Min. of Tulliallan. [b. 1805, d. 1870 (*FES* 1:288)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1840.
- MONTEITH, JAMES. Min. of Dalkeith. [b. 1790, FC (*FES* 1:317)]
Dalkeith Aux. Bible & Friendly Soc.: V-P--1833.
- MOODIE, ROBERT. Min. of Clackmannan. [b. ?, d. 1832 (*FES* 4:302)]
Clackmannan Aux. Bible Soc.: Founding Pres.--1815.
- MOODY-STUART, ALEXANDER. Min. of St. Luke's (Q.S.), Edi. [b. 1809, FC
(*FES* 1:111)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 7 articles--1836, 1838-9.
St. George's Parochial and Congregational Assoc.: founding Pres.--
1834.
- MORREN, NATHANIEL. Min. of North Parish, Greenock (1823-43); Brechin
(1843-7). [b. 1798, d. 1847 (*FES* 5:378)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1837.
- MUIR, JOHN. Min. of Lecropt (1803-20); St. James, Glas. (1820-57).
[b. 1778, d. 1857 (*FES* 3:445)]
Glasgow Bible Soc.: director--1833.
Soc. for the Instruction of Deaf & Dumb Children: founding
director--1814.
- MUIR, THOMAS. Min. of Carrington. [b. 1751, d. 1835 (*FES* 1:306)]
Cockpen & Carrington Bible Soc.: founding V-P--1816.
- MUIR, WILLIAM. Min. of St. George's, Glas. (1812-22); New Greyfriars,
Edi. (1822-9); St. Stephen's, Edi. (1829-69). [b. 1787, d. 1869
(*FES* 1:116)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 9 articles; testimonial on behalf of in
advertising--1839.
EBS: director--1823-4, 1837; contribution--1824.
Edi. Gaelic Schools Soc.: director--1824.
Scottish Soc. for Promoting the Due Observance of the Lord's Day:
director--1839.
- MUIRHEAD, GEORGE. Min. of 2nd Charge (1788-1807), 1st Charge (1807-16)
Dysart; Cramond (1816-43). [b. 1764, FC (*FES* 1:13)]
Missionary Mag.: articles--c. 1796-7.
Scottish Christian Herald: 34 articles--1837-41.
EBS: on platform at annual meeting--1830-1.
Ministers' Fellowship Meeting: member--1812.
- MUNRO, ALEXANDER. Min. of Edderton. [b. 1756, d. 1820 (*FES* 7:54)]
Scheme to distribute Bibles & tracts in the Highlands--1817.
- MUNRO, GEORGE. Min. of Carstairs. [b. 1778, d. 1857 (*FES* 3:294)]
Lanark Bible Soc.: Pres.--1829, 1833.

- MURRAY, JOHN. Min. of Abbotshall (1826-39); Morton (1839-82). [b. 1798, d. 1882 (*FES* 2:322)]
Abbotshall Bible Soc.: Pres.--1829, 1833.
- MYLNE, ANDREW. Min. of Dollar. [b. 1776, d. 1856 (*FES* 4:307)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles--1810.
- NAIRN, CHARLES. Min. of Forgan. [b. 1803, FC (*FES* 5:204f)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1837-8.
- NAIRNE, JAMES. Min. of Pittenweem. [b. 1750, d. 1819 (*FES* 5:228)]
EBS: Collection for--1811.
- NICOLL, FRANCIS. Min. of Auchtertool (1797-9); Mains & Strathmartine (1799-1819) St. Leonard's, St. Andrews (1820-4); Principal of United College, St. Andrews (1820-35). [b. 1771, d. 1835 (*FES* 7:415)]
St. Andrews Bible Soc.: Patron--1829, 1833.
- NICOLSON, WILLIAM. Min. of Ferryport-on-Craig. [b. 1796 FC (*FES* 5: 202)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 3 articles--1836-7.
Ferryport-on-Craig Bible & Miss. Soc.: V-P--1833.
- NISBET, ARCHIBALD. Min. of North Albion St. Chapel, Glasgow. [b. ?, dep. 1848 (*FES* 3:427)]
Glasgow Bible Soc.: director--1833.
- NISBET, WILLIAM. Min. of New Street Chapel, Edi. [b. ?, FC (*FES* 1:186)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 4 articles--1836-7, 1840-1.
- NIVISON, WILLIAM BROWN. Min. of Scots Church, Amsterdam (1818-23); Kirtle (Q.S.) (1838-44). [b. 1793, dem. 1844 (*FES* 2:252)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 3 articles--1837.
- NOBLE, JAMES. Min. of Lybster (1839-40); Gaelic Parish, Edi. (1840-3). [b. 1805, FC (*FES* 1:31)]
EBS: director--1841-3.
- NOBLE, JAMES. Min. of St. Madoes. [b. 1800, d. 1848 (*FES* 4:247)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1836.
Perthshire New Bible Soc.: director--1829, 1833.
- OLIPHANT, SPENCE. Min. of Largo. [b. 1753, d. 1822 (*FES* 5:219)]
EBS: collection for-1812.
- OMOND, JOHN REID. Min. of Monzie. [b. 1804, FC (*FES* 4:280)]
Presbyterian Review: founding editor--1831-4.
EUMA: Sec.--1832-4.
- PARK, JOHN. Min. of Cadder. [b. 1800, d. 1881 (*FES* 3:374)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1840.
- PARKER, GAVIN. Min. of Union Terrace Chapel, Aberdeen. [b. 1780, FC (*FES* 6:42)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1838.
Aberdeen Bible Soc.: V-P--1829; Sec.--1833.

- PATERSON, JAMES. Min. of Birnie. [b. 1778, dem. 1832 (*FES* 6:380)]
Elgin & Morayshire Bible Soc.: V-P--1829.
- PATERSON, NATHANIEL. Min. of Galashiels (1821-34); St. Andrew's, Glasgow
(1834-43). [b. 1787, FC (*FES* 3:434)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1839.
- PATERSON, WILLIAM. Royal Bounty Missionary at Whiteness (Shetland).
[b. 1810, d. 1871 (*FES* 1:405)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 3 articles--1837, 39.
- PATON, JAMES. Min. of Craig & Dunnald. [b. 1727, d. 1811 (*FES* 5:385f)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles under 'Senex'--1811.
- PATTERSON, ALEXANDER SIMPSON. Min. of Whitehaven (1837-9); Hutcheson
(Q.S.), Glasgow (1839-43). [b. 1805, FC (*FES* 3:416)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1836.
Glasgow Church Building Soc.: elected *min. of Hutcheson*--1839.
- PAUL, JOHN. Min. of Straiton (1817-23); Maybole (1823-8); St. Cuthbert's,
Edi. (1828-73). [b. 1793, d. 1873 (*FES* 1:98f)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 7 articles--1837-8, 41.
EBS: director--1830-1, 1834-5.
Water of Leith Aux. to EBS & Jews Soc.: V-P--1829, 1833.
- PAUL, ROBERT. Accountant, Commercial Bank, Edi.; CofS Elder.
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles under 'Burlopater'--1811.
EBS: Treas.--1843.
Pres. of Edi. Middle District Aux. BS--1833
Water of Leith Aux. Bible Soc. & Soc. for Promoting Xianity among the
Jews: V-P--1833.
Edi. African & Asiatic Soc.: founding Treas.--1811.
Edi. Gaelic Schools Soc.: founding Sec.--1811; addressed
meeting--1825.
Edi. Committee for Aiding the Education of Pious Gaelic Students for
the Ministry: founding member--1825.
- PAUL, WILLIAM. Banker, Edi.
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles under 'P.W.'--1812.
Edi. African & Asiatic Soc.: founding Sec.--1811.
Edi. Gaelic Schools Soc.: addressed meeting--1825.
Edi. Committee for Aiding the Education of Pious Gaelic Students for
the Ministry: founding member--1825.
- PEEBLES, WILLIAM. Min. of Newton-upon-Ayr. [b. 1753, d. 1826 (*FES* 3:13f)]
Newton-upon-Ayr Miss. Soc.: sermon--1796; contribution to LMS on
behalf of--1800.
- PETERS, ALEXANDER. Min. of Logie-Pert (1784-1809); St. John's, Dundee
(1809-36). [b. 1750, d. 1836 (*FES* 5:328)]
Missionary Mag.: Poem on the interesting subject of missions--1797.
EMS: collection for--1797.
Dundee Juvenile Bible & Miss. Soc.: V-P--1829.
Dundee Bible Soc.: V-P--1833.

- PETRIE, PETER. Min. of St John's Chapel, Leith (1828-31); 2nd Charge, Kirkwall & St. Ola, Orkney (1831-43). [b. 1798, FC (*FES* 7:227f)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1838.
 EBS: contribution--1829: on platform at annual meeting--1831.
 Orkney Church Missionary & Bible Soc.: Sec.--1833.
- PHIN, ROBERT. Min. of Wick. [b. 1778, d. 1840 (*FES* 7:142)]
 Wick Bible Soc.: Sec.--1827, 1829, 1833.
- PITCAIRN, ALEXANDER, ESQ. Insurance Broker, Edi., Elder Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, Edi.
 Sabbath School, Edi.: assisted John Campbell
 Sabbath School, Burntisland: founder
 EBS: director--1810.
- PITCAIRN, DAVID. Min. of Evie & Rendall, Orkney. [b. 1788, d. 1870 (*FES* 7:216)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1837.
- PROUDFOOT, JAMES. Min. of Coulter. [b. 1796, FC (*FES* 1:247)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1836.
- PROUDFOOT, PETER. Min. of Arrochar. [b. 1794, d. 1843 (*FES* 3:326)]
 Luss & Arrochar Bible Soc.: Sec.--1829, 1833.
- PURVES, JOHN. Min. of Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, Edi. (1826-30); Jedburgh (1830-43). [b. 1800, FC (*FES* 2:128)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1837.
 EBS: director--1829.
- RALPH, HUGH. Min. of Oldham Pres., Liverpool (1824-42); Aberdour (1842-4); Dalgety (1844-54). [b. 1801, d. 1854 (*FES* 5:24)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 11 articles--1836-9.
- RANKEN, ALEXANDER. Min. of St. David's, Glasgow. [b. 1755, d. 1827 (*FES* 3:439)]
 GMS: Sec.--1796-7; sermon--1797.
 Glasgow Clerical Literary Soc.: member.
- REID, ALEXANDER. Min. of Portsoy (Q.S.). [b. 1801, FC (*FES* 6:293)]
 Banff Bible Soc.: Sec.--1833.
- REID, WILLIAM. Min. of Chapelshade (Q.S.). [b. 1793, FC (*FES* 5:324f)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1841.
- RENNISON, ALEXANDER. Min. of Scots Church in Risley, Lancashire (1839-44); St. George's, Paisley (1844-67). [b. 1807, d. 1867 (*FES* 3:177)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1841.
- RIDDELL, HENRY SCOTT. Min. of Caerlanrig Chapel. [b. 1797, dem. 1842 (*FES* 2:141)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1839.
- RITCHIE, WILLIAM. Min. of Athelstaneford. [b. 1770, d. 1846 (*FES* 1:355)]
 East Lothian Soc. for Propagating the Knowledge of Christianity:
 director--1829.

- RITCHIE, WILLIAM. Min. of Tarbolton (1794-8); Kilwinning (1798-1802); St. Andrew's, Glas. (1802-08); St. Giles, Edi. (1808-30) & Prof. of Divinity, Edi. (1809-30). [b. 1748, d. 1830 (*FES* 1:61)]
 EUMA: patron--1825-9.
- ROBERTSON, JAMES. Min. of Gargunnoch (1787-1804); 2nd Charge, South Leith (1804-32). [b. ?, d. 1832 (*FES* 1:169)]
 EMS: sermon--1806.
 Aux. Soc. at Leith, for promoting Christianity among the Jews, and for aiding the B&FBS: founding director--1811.
 Sabbath School Union for Scotland: founding director--1816.
- ROBERTSON, JAMES. Min. of Mid & South Yell, Shetland (1828-44); St. Fergus (1844-54). [b. 1796, d. 1854 (*FES* 6:241f)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1837, 41.
- ROBERTSON, JOHN. Min. of Cambuslang. [b. 1768, d. 1843 (*FES* 3:238f)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles under 'J.C.R'--1811.
 Glasgow Clerical Literary Soc.: member.
- ROBERTSON, JOSEPH. Min. of Leith Wynd Chapel-of-ease Edi. [b. ?, dep. 1818 (*FES* 1:185)]
Edi. Clerical Review: involved--1799.
 SPRKP: sermon--1805.
- ROBERTSON, PETER. Min. of Callander. [b. 1787, dem. 1843 (*FES* 4:341)]
 EBS: collection for--1814.
 Callander Bible Soc.: Pres.--1829, 1833.
- ROBERTSON, ROBERT JOHN. Min. of Gask (1815-22); Forteviot (1822-56). [b. 1791, d. 1856 (*FES* 4:212f)]
 Perthshire New Bible Soc.: director--1829, 1833.
- ROBERTSON, WILLIAM. Min. of Fort William (1813-6); Laggan (1816-18); Kinloss (1818-43). [b. 1787, FC (*FES* 6:425f)]
 Fort William Aux. Bible Soc.: Treas. & Sec.--1815
- ROGERS, JOHN. Min. of Collace. [b. 1764, d. 1851 (*FES* 4:200)]
 EBS: collection for--1820.
- ROGERS, WILLIAM. Min. of Rescobie. [b. 1782, d. 1842 (*FES* 5:303)]
 Forfar Bible Soc.: V-P--1829, 1833.
- ROSE, ALEXANDER. Min. of 2nd Charge Inverness. [b. 1772, d. 1850 (*FES* 6:462f)]
 Inverness Society for the Education of the Poor in the Highlands: director--1818.
- ROSE, RICHARD. Min. of Dallas (1794-1816); Drainie (1816-53). [b. 1769, d. 1853 (*FES* 6:383)]
 Elgin & Morayshire Bible Soc.: V-P--1829.
- ROSS, THOMAS. Min. of Lochbroom. [b. 1768, d. 1843 (*FES* 7:158f)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 5 articles--1836-8.
 Scheme to distribute Bibles & tracts in the Highlands--1817.

- RUNCIMAN, DAVID. Min. of Newington (Q.S.), Edi. (1829-44; St. Andrews, Glas. (1844-72). [b. 1804, d. 1872 (*FES* 3:434f)]
EBS: director--1835.
EUMA: founding V-P--1825.
- RUSSEL, JOHN. Min. of Kilmarnock Chapel-of-ease (1774-1800); 2nd Charge Stirling (1800-17). [b. 1740, d. 1817 (*FES* 4:326)]
LMS: director--1797.
- RUSSELL, ROBERT. Min. of Yarrow. [b. 1766, d. 1847 (*FES* 2:197f)]
EBS: collection for--1826.
- SAVILE, DAVID. Min. of New Street Chapel, Edi. [b. 1774, d. 1810 (*FES* 1:186)]
Missionary Mag.: articles--c. 1796-7.
EMS: sermon--1803.
- SCOTT, JAMES. Min. of East Church, Perth. [b. 1733, d. 1818 (*FES* 4:232)]
Religious Monitor: many articles including a series on the Reformers.
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles under 'J.S.P.'--1810.
- SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, WILLIAM. Min. of Penicuik. [b. 1804, d. 1857 (*FES* 1:345)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 7 articles--1836-8.
STAUMA: member--1824-26
- SHAW, ROBERT. Min. of Caerlanrig Chapel (1804-16); Ewes & Ewis-Duris (1816-53). [b. 1781, d. 1853 (*FES* 2:235)]
EBS: collection for--1823.
- SHAW, JOHN. Min. of Duirinish (1811-3); Bracadale (1813-23). [b. 1784, d. 1823 (*FES* 7:167)]
Edi. Orphan Hospital Fellowship Meeting: member--1799.
Scheme to distribute Bibles & tracts in the Highlands--1817.
- SWAN, ROBERT. Min. of St. Monans. [b. 1773, d. 1849 (*FES* 5:179)]
Anstruther Bible Soc.: V-P--1833.
- SHEPHERD, GEORGE. Min. of Laggan (1818-25); Kingussie (1825-43). [b. 1793, FC (*FES* 6:365f)]
EBS: on platform at annual meeting--1831.
Perthshire New Bible Soc.: director--1833.
- SHERRIFF, THOMAS. Min. of Fala. [b. 1791, d. 1836 (*FES* 1:319)]
Fala Bible & Miss. Soc.: director--1829, 1833
- SIBBALD, JAMES HOPE. Min. of Cranshaws. [b. 1787, d. 1853 (*FES* 2:7)]
Berwickshire Aux. Bible Soc.: founding director--1815.
- SIBBALD, WILLIAM. Min. of Johnstone (1785-1808); 2nd Charge Haddington (1808-33). [b. 1760, d. 1833 (*FES* 1:373)]
East Lothian Soc. for Propagating the Knowledge of Christianity: V-P--1829.
- SIEVEWRIGHT, JAMES. Min. of Presby Cong. at Gateshead-on-Tyne (1815-18); Markinch (1818-43). [b. 1783, FC (*FES* 5:114)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1836.

- SIMPSON, DAVID. Min. of Burghead (1823-5); Trinity Chapel, Aberdeen (1825-43). [b. 1795, FC (*FES* 6:33)]
Aberdeen Bible Soc.: director--1829.
- SIMPSON, GEORGE ALEXANDER. Min. of Tyrie. [b. 1787, d. 1841 (*FES* 6:246)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 3 articles--1841.
- SIMPSON, ROBERT. Min. of Kintore. [b. 1791, FC (*FES* 6:170)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 12 articles--1836-9.
- SIMPSON, WILLIAM. Min. of 2nd Charge, Tron Church, Edi. [b. 1744, d. 1831 (*FES* 1:141)]
Edi. Eastern District Aux. Bible Soc.: V-P--1829.
- SIMPSON, HENRY. Chapel of Garioch & Fetterneir. [b. 1789, FC (*FES* 6:152)]
Aberdeen Bible Soc.: director--1829.
- SMEATON, GEORGE. Min. of Morningside (1839-40); Falkland (1840-3).
[b. 1814, FC (*FES* 5:154)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1840.
EBS: director--1840.
- SMITH, JAMES. Min. of Ettrick & Buccleuch. [b. 1787, d. 1858 (*FES* 2:176)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 4 articles--1836, 38.
- SMITH, JAMES DOUNE. Min. of Urquart & Glenmoriston. [b. 1781, d. 1847 (*FES* 6:483)]
Inverness Society for the Education of the Poor in the Highlands:
director--1818.
- SMITH, ROBERT. Min. of Lochwinnoch. [b. 1787, FC (*FES* 3:153f)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: 1 article--1840.
Scottish Christian Herald: 6 articles--1837-8.
- SMITH, ROBERT. Min. of Borthwick (1814-18); Newtyle (1818--25); 1st Charge, Montrose (1825-53). [b. 1788, d. 1853 (*FES* 5:411f)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1838.
- SMYTH, JOHN. Min. of St. George's, Glas. [b. 1796, FC (*FES* 3:443)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 3 articles--1836, 1839.
Glasgow Bible Soc.: Sec.--1833.
- SNODGRASS, JOHN. Min. of Middle Parish, Paisley. [b. 1744, d. 1797 (*FES* 3:179)]
LMS: director--1796.
Paisley Aux. Miss. Soc.: sermon--1796.
- SOMERVILLE, JAMES. Min. of Drumelzier. [b. 1764, FC (*FES* 1:269f)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles in 1811-12 under signatures, 'Mathetes' and 'J.S.D.'.
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1836.
- SOMERVILLE, JAMES. Min. of First Charge Stirling. [b. 1747, d. 1817 (*FES* 4:321f)]
LMS: director--1796-7.

- SOMERVILLE, THOMAS. Min. of Jedburgh. [b. 1741, d. 1830 (*FES* 2:127f)]
Teviotdale Bible Assoc.: Founding Pres.--1814
- STARK, WILLIAM. Min. of Airdrie Chapel-of-ease (1798-1801); Stonehouse
(1801-05); Direlton (1805-34). [b. 1772, d. 1834 (*FES* 1:361)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles in 1811-12 under signatures,
'Presbyter', 'Colonus'.
East Lothian Soc. for Propagating the Knowledge of Christianity:
director--1829, 1833.
- STEVEN, JAMES. Min. of Crown Court Church, London (1787-1803); Kilwinning
& Dalgarven (1803-24). [b. 1761, d. 1824 (*FES* 3:118)]
LMS: founder--1795.
- STEVENSON, WILLIAM. Min. of Arbroath. [b. 1805, d. 1873 (*FES* 7:390)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1836-7.
- STEWART, ALEXANDER, SR. Min. of Moulin (1786-1805); Dingwall (1805-20);
Canongate, *Edi.* (1820-1). [b. 1764, d. 1821 (*FES* 1:26)]
Missionary Mag.: articles--c. 1796-7.
NMS: sermon--1804, 06; director--1806.
EBS: collection for--1817; contribution to--1820.
Scheme to distribute Bibles & tracts in the Highlands--1817.
Inverness Soc. for the Education of the Poor in the Highlands:
director--1818.
Prayer Meeting, Moulin: member--1796-9.
Sabbath School, Moulin: founder--1791-1805.
Gaelic School, Dingwall: founder.
Sabbath School, Canongate: superintendent--1820-1.
- STEWART, JOHN. Min. of Oldham St. Presby. Church, Liverpool (1823-4);
Sorn (1824-43); Liberton (1843-79). [b. 1793, d. 1879
(*FES* 1:173)]
Sorn & Catrine Bible Assoc. for Religious Purposes: Pres.--1829, 1833
- STIRLING, ROBERT. Min. of Dunblane. [b. 1765, d. 1817 (*FES* 4:344)]
Dunblane Bible Soc.: founding Sec.--1813.
- STOW, DAVID. Educationalist & Elder, St. John's, Glas.
Scottish Guardian: organised a collection on behalf of--1833.
Saltmarket Sabbath School: founder--1816.
Tron Sabbath School Soc.: teacher.
Glasgow Infant School Soc.: founding sec.--1826.
Glas. Education Assoc.: founding sec.--1834.
- STRONG, DAVID. Min. of 2nd (1833-41) & 1st Charge Kilmarnock (1841-3);
Dailly (1843-55). [b. 1803, d. 1855 (*FES* 3:30)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1836.
- SYM, JOHN. Min. of Sprouston (1833-4); Old Greyfriars, *Edi.* (1834-43).
[b. 1809, FC (*FES* 1:42)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 3 articles--1836, 1839-40.
EBS: director--1836.

- TAIT, WALTER. Min. of Lundie & Foulis (1795-7); Tealing (1797-13);
Trinity Church, Edi. (1813-33). [b. 1771, dep. 1833
(FES 1:128f)]
LMS: director--1797.
Dundee Miss. Soc.: led prayer at meeting--1797; sermon--1807.
EBS: director--1818-21.
Edi. Middle District Aux. Bible Soc.: V-P--1829.
Edinburgh Soc. for Promoting Christianity among Jews: director--1818.
Soc. for the Instruction of Deaf & Dumb Children--examiner for--1815.
Edi. Gaelic Schools Soc.: director--1815-17; Sec.--1818-29.
Edi. Aux. Irish Evangelical Soc.: office-bearer--1824.
Edi. Parochial Insts. for the Religious Education of Poor Children:
office-bearer--1824.
Edi. Deaf & Dumb Institution: office-bearer--1824.
Edi. Magdalen Asylum: office-bearer--1824.
Soc. for Improving the System of Church Patronage: founding office-
bearer--1824.
- TANNOCH, JOHN ALEXANDER CASTLEMAINE. Min. of St. David's, Edi. (1837-42);
Kinross (1842-4); Glamis (1844-72). [b. 1805, d. 1872
(FES 5:291)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1840.
- TAWSE, JOHN. Merchant & Church of Scotland Elder.
ENS: founding Treas.--1796, 1799, 1806.
Edi. Soc. for Clothing the Industrious Poor: founding director--1815.
- TAYLOR, JAMES WILLIAM. Min. of Grangemouth (1839-43); Flisk (1843).
[b. 1813, FC (FES 5:156)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 4 articles--1838, 41.
- TENNANT, WILLIAM. Prof. of Hebrew, St. Mary's College. [b. 1784, d. 1848
(FES 7:426f)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 7 articles--1836-7, 39.
- THOMSON, ANDREW. Min. of Balmerino. [b. 1746, d. 1836 (FES 5:129)]
Galdry (or Balmerino) Aux. Bible Soc.: V-P--1814.
- THOMSON, ANDREW MITCHELL. Min. of Sprouston (1802-08), East Parish, Perth
(1808-10); New Greyfriars, Edi. (1810-14); St. George's, Edi.
(1814-31). [b. 1778, d. 1831 (FES 1:105f)]
Religious Monitor: articles.
Edi. Christian Instructor: founding editor--1810-31.
EBS: contribution--1810, 1814; director--1813-6, 1819-22, 1824;
Sec.--1826-31.
Edi. Tract Soc.: member--1811.
Sabbath School Union for Scotland--founding Extraordinary director,
1816.
Soc. for the Instruction of Deaf & Dumb Children: examiner for--1815.
Edi. Deaf & Dumb Institution: office-bearer--1824.
St. George's Institution (school): founder--1823.
Edi. Religious Subscription & Circulating Library: office-
bearer--1824.
Edi. Parochial Insts. for the Religious Education of Poor Children:
office-bearer--1824.
Edi. Education Soc.: office-bearer--1824.
Edi. Orphan Hospital: office-bearer--1824.

- THOMSON, ANDREW MITCHELL. (continued)
 Edi. Soc. for the Abolition of Slavery: office-bearer--1814, 1824.
 Soc. for Improving the System of Church Patronage: founder--1824.
- THOMSON, CHARLES. Min. of North Shields (1823-40); Wick (1840-43).
 [b. 1795, FC (*FES* 7:142f)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1841.
 Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, North Shields, South Shields, and Sunderland
 Bible Soc. in connection with the EBS: director--1829, 1833
- THOMSON, GEORGE. Min. of Melrose. [b. 1858, d. 1835 (*FES* 2:189)]
 EBS: collection for--1815.
- THOMSON, JAMES. Min. of Girban (1784-1809); Prestonkirk (1809-41).
 [b. 1760, d. 1841 (*FES* 1:416)]
 East Lothian Soc. for Propagating the Knowledge of Christianity:
 V-P--1829, 1833.
- THOMSON, JAMES. Min. of Newark Chapel, Port Glasgow (1802-06); St.
 Clement's, Dundee (1806-57). [b. 1771, d. 1857 (*FES* 5:322f)]
 Dundee Miss. Soc.: sermon--1807.
 Dundee Aux Bible Soc.: founding secretary--1812.
- THOMSON, JOHN. Min. of Leith Wynd Chapel, Edi. (1820-4); 2nd Charge
 Dysart (1824-43). [b. 1791, FC (*FES* 5:90)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 8 articles--1837-40.
- THOMSON, JOHN. Min. of Mariners' Church, Leith. [b. 1808, FC (*FES* 1:185)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1841.
- THOMSON, JOHN. Min. of Markinch (1785-1800); New Greyfriars, Edi.
 (1800-02, 1814-22); New North Parish, Edi. (1802-14). [b. 1741,
 d. 1822 (*FES* 1:34f)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles under 'V.D.M.' & 'N.N.'--1810-11.
 EMS: sermon--1804.
 LSPCAJ Scottish Committee: director--1810.
- THOMSON, JOHN. Min. of Yester. [b. 1809, FC (*FES* 1:400)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 3 articles--1838, 41.
- THOMSON, JOHN WILLIAM. Min. of Moneydie. [b. 1802, FC (*FES* 4:226)]
 Perthshire New Bible Soc.: director--1829, 1833.
- THOMSON, WILLIAM. Min. of Ochiltree. [b. 1762, d. 1817 (*FES* 3:62)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles under 'O.C.H.'--1811.
- THOMSON, WILLIAM AIRD. Min. of Dalziel (1801-08); 3rd Charge Perth
 (1808-43). [b. 1773, FC (*FES* 4:237f)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles under 'W.A.T.'--1810-13.
 Author of a history of the Bible Soc. movement with W. Orme--1815.
 Perthshire New Bible Soc.: Treas.--1829, 1833.
- THORBURN, DAVID. Min. of 2nd Charge South Leith. [b. 1805, FC (*FES* 1:169)]
 EUMA: V-P--1829.
 Leith Aux. to the EBS: director--1833.

- THORBURN, JOSEPH. Min. of Union Chapel-of-Ease, Aberdeen (1829-31);
Forglen (1831-43). [b. 1790, FC (FES 6:252f)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1837.
- THORTON, JAMES. Min. of Milnathort. [b. 1791, FC (FES 5:73)]
Milnathort Juvenile Bible & Miss. Soc.: Pres.--1829.
Ottell Parish Bible Assoc.: director--1829.
- TOD, GEORGE. Min. of Inveresk (1825-7; Tealing (1827-9; St. David's,
Dundee (1829-38). [b. 1798, d. 1838 (FES 5:326)]
Dundee Juvenile Bible & Miss. Soc.: V-P--1833.
- TOUGH, ALEXANDER ESQ. Elder from Middle Parish, Greenock.
Scottish Christian Herald: 5 articles--1836-9.
- TOUGH, GEORGE. Min. of Berwick-on-Tweed (1802-14); Ayton (1814-42).
[b. 1774; d. 1842 (FES 2:32)]
Berwickshire Aux. Bible Soc: founding director--1815, 1833.
- TULLOCH, WILLIAM WEIR. Min. of Tibbermore. [b. ?, d. 1814 (FES 4:256)]
Perthshire New Bible Soc.: director--1829, 1833.
- TURNBULL, JOHN. Min. of Eyemouth. [b. 1797, FC (FES 2:46)]
Berwickshire Aux. Bible Soc: director--1833.
- TURNER, ALEXANDER. Min. of Gartmore (1833); the Gorbals, Glasgow (1833-
43); Port of Monteith (1843-72). [b. 1808, d. 1873 (FES 4:360)]
Presbyterian Review: founding editor--1831.
- TWEEDIE, WILLIAM KING. Min. of Scots Church, London Wall (1832-6); South
Parish, Aberdeen (1836-42); the Tolbooth Church, Edi. (1842-3).
[b. 1803, FC (FES 1:121)]
EBS: director--1842-3.
- WALKER, JAMES. Min. of Muthill. [b. 1784, d. 1867 (FES 4:285)]
Perthshire New Bible Society: director--1833.
- WALLACE, EBENEZER BRADSHAW. Min. of Barr. [b. 1792, FC (FES 3:18)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1836.
- WALLACE, JOHN AIKMAN. Min. of Burntisland (asst. 1827-33) Hawick
(1833-43). [b. 1802, FC (FES 2:116)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 16 articles--1836-40.
- WATERS, DAVID. Min. of Burghead (Q.S.). [b. 1793, FC (FES 6:381)]
Elgin & Morayshire Bible Soc.: V-P--1833.
- WATSON, CHARLES. Min. of Burntisland. [b. 1794, FC (FES 5:83f)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles--1812 under 'Sign. At Home';
editor--1831.
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1836.
EBS: collection for--1824.
SMS: assisted with fund raising--1822.
Parish Sabbath School: superintended--1822.
Edi. Continental Soc.: attended annual meeting--1823.
Edi. Gaelic Schools Soc.: attended annual meeting--1825.

- WATSON, JOHN. Min. of Dollar. [b. 1737, d. 1815 (*FES* 4:307)]
EBS: contribution--1810; collection in parish church--1810.
- WATT, ALEXANDER. Min. of Dalgety. [b. ?, dem. 1813 (*FES* 5:24)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1837.
EBS: contribution--1829.
- WATT, JAMES. Min. of Glenisla. [b. 1799, d. 1861 (*FES* 5:281)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 2 articles--1838-9.
- WAUGH, JOHN. Merchant, Edi.
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles under 'J.W.'--1811.
EBS: present at organizing meeting & on committee to draw up regulations--1809; director--1810.
Edi. Soc. for Promoting Christianity among Jews: Treas--1818.
- WELLWOOD, HENRY MONCREIFF. Min. of St. Cuthbert's, Edi. [b. 1750, d. 1827 (*FES* 1:98)]
EMS: founding director--1796.
Sabbath School Union for Scotland: founding V-P--1816-1826.
Anti-Slavery Soc.: director--1814.
- WELSH, ALEXANDER. Min. of Heriot (1817-29); Cranstoun (1829-59). [b. ?, d. 1859 (*FES* 1:311)]
EBS: collection for--1821, 1823.
- WELSH, DAVID. Min. of Crossmichael (1821-7); St. David's, Glasgow (1827-31); Prof. of Church History, Edi. (1831-43) [b. 1793, FC (*FES* 7:390)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles--1812.
EBS: director--1833.
Scottish Bible Board: Sec.--1839.
Glasgow Education Assoc.: lecture for--1834.
St. George's Parochial and Congregational Assoc.: founding director--1834.
- WHITSON, JAMES. Min. of Guthrie & Carbuddo. [b. 1793, d. 1840 (*FES* 5:438)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1838.
- WHYTE, ALEXANDER. Min. of Fettercairn. [b. 1790, d. 1858 (*FES* 5:463)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1836.
- WIGHTMAN, JOHN. Min. of Kirkmahoe & Kilblane. [b. 1762, d. 1847 (*FES* 2:283)]
Edi. Christian Instructor: articles under signature, 'Phil of Christians'--1812.
Dumfries-shire Bible Soc.: founding director-1811.
- WILKIE, DANIEL. Min. of Stonehouse (1806-21); Yester (1821-9); New Greyfriars, Edi. (1829-38). [b. 1781, d. 1838 (*FES* 1:35)]
EBS: director--1837.
- WILSON, JOHN. Min. of Chapel at Hexham (1813-20); Irvine (1820-44). [b. 1788, d. 1852 (*FES* 4:323)]
Irvine Bible Soc.: director--1829, 1833.

- WILSON, JOHN. Min. of Walston. [b. 1793, d. 1858 (*FES* 1:264)]
Biggar Bible Assoc.: Pres.--1833.
- WILSON, JOHN. Missionary to Bombay (SMS--1828-35; CofS--1835-43).
[b. 1804, FC (*FES* 7:711f)]
Oriental Christian Spectator: founding editor--1829.
Scottish Christian Herald: 3 articles--1837-8.
Stow Aux. Bible Soc.: member--1824.
EUMA: founding Sec.--1825.
- WILSON, MARGARET BAYNE (MRS. JOHN).
Oriental Christian Spectator: articles.
Sabbath School teacher--1821.
Female Benevolent Soc.: visitor--1821.
- WILSON, ROBERT. Min. of Anstruther Easter. [b. 1764, d. 1839 (*FES* 5:181)]
Anstruther Bible Soc.: founding Pres.--1812, V-P--1829, 1833.
- WILSON, WILLIAM. Min. of Carmylie. [b. 1808, FC (*FES* 5:433)]
Scottish Christian Herald: editor--mid-1830s.
- WOOD, JAMES JULIUS. Min. of Newton-upon-Ayr (1827-36); 1st Charge
Stirling (1836-9); New Greyfriars, Edi. (1839-43). [b. 1800, FC
(*FES* 1:35)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 3 articles--1838-9.
Ayr Bible Soc.: Sec.--1833.
EBS: director--1840-2.
GUMA: sec.
- WOOD, JOHN. Scots Church, Monkwearmouth (1825-44); Broughty Ferry (Q.S.)
(1844-64). [b. 1794, d. 1864 (*FES* 5:311f)]
Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, North Shields, South Shields, & Sunderland Bible
Soc. in connection with the EBS: director--1829.
- WRIGHT, GEORGE. Min. of High Kirk, Kilmarnock (1800-01); Markinch (1801-
18); 1st Charge Stirling (1818-26). [b. 1776, d. 1826; *FES* 4:322]
Sabbath School: teacher--1797.
Fellowship Meeting: member--1797-8.
Ministers' Fellowship Meeting: member--1814.
- WRIGHT, JOHN. Min. of Alloa West. [b. 1809; FC (*FES* 4:295)]
Scottish Christian Herald: 1 article--1837.
- WYLIE, JOHN. Min. of Carluke. [b. 1793, d. 1873 (*FES* 3:285)]
Carluke Aux. Bible Soc.: Pres.--1829, 1833.
- YOUNG, THOMAS. Min. of Ardoch (1813-23); Gask (1823-52). [b. 1782,
d. 1852 (*FES* 4:274)]
Perthshire New Bible Soc.: director--1833.