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The Continuation, Breadth, and Impact of Evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland, 1843-1900

Andrew Michael Jones

A Thesis Submitted to

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Declaration

This thesis has been composed by the candidate and is the candidate’s own work.

Andrew M. Jones
PhD Candidate

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Andrew Michael Jones
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For my father, Oliver King Jones III

Who first brought me to Scotland as a thirteen-year-old, encouraged my love of learning, and persistently models character, grace, and generosity.

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Abstract

This thesis examines the nature and role of evangelicalism within the Established Church of Scotland between the Disruption of 1843 and the end of the nineteenth century. It focuses on three prominent evangelical clergymen within the Church of Scotland and three contemporary religious periodicals. The thesis argues that the Church of Scotland developed theologically, socially, and culturally away from the conservative Calvinism of the Westminster Confession of Faith toward a more inclusive theology, while still maintaining typical evangelical views on missions, conversion, atonement, and the Bible. It further argues that the increasingly liberal evangelical movement contributed greatly to the post-Disruption recovery of the Church of Scotland. Chapter One considers the role of the evangelical Middle Party and especially the Edinburgh clergyman William Muir (1787-1869) in the initial recovery of the Establishment following the secession of a third of the clergy and nearly half her members in 1843. Chapter Two discusses the work of the Church's missionary organizations in the wake of Disruption, drawing on the reports of the Church's *Home and Foreign Missionary Record*. Chapter Three examines the life of Norman MacLeod (1812-1872), minister of the Barony Church, Glasgow, and argues that his Romantic sympathies greatly influenced the confessional liberalization of the Church. Chapter Four shows how the influence of this more theologically liberal evangelicalism was further advanced by MacLeod's religious periodical *Good Words*. Chapter Five focuses on Archibald Hamilton Charteris (1835-1908), a parish minister and later university professor whose efforts to democratize evangelistic and social work and encourage spiritual life strengthened and revitalized the Church at large. Finally, Chapter Six examines the Church of Scotland periodical begun by

Charteris – *Life and Work* magazine – and considers its theological, spiritual, and social impact on the Church between 1879 and the turn of the new century.

ABBREVIATIONS

DNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
DSCHT	*Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*
GW	*Good Words*
FES	*Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*
LW	*Life and Work*
MR	*Home and Foreign Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland*
RSCHS	*Records of the Scottish Church History Society*

INTRODUCTION

On the morning of 18 May 1843, the evangelical William Muir, minister of St. Stephen's parish church, Edinburgh, left his house at 13 Saxe Coburg Place in the Stockbridge district and began the uphill walk to the opening meeting of the Church of Scotland's General Assembly in St Andrew's parish church on George Street.[1] What happened in the Assembly that day would radically reshape the history of religion in modern Scotland. In a brief note to his future wife, Anne Dirom, written shortly after the event, he recorded what he saw: "Dr. Welsh, after reading a long and heavy protest against the Law Courts and Government, made a bow to the Commissioner, and walked out, with, I have not heard the numbers, the Lord Provost at their head!"[2]

What Muir witnessed would soon become known as the Disruption. After a decade of heated controversy over church patronage and spiritual independence in the ecclesiastical and civil courts between the Evangelical and Moderate parties, a majority of Evangelicals seceded from the national Church. In total, about a third of the ministers and nearly half of the laity left to form a new Church, a church free from the perceived intrusion of the State in its spiritual affairs. The secession and consequent creation of the Free Church of Scotland greatly weakened the Established Church. How would the Establishment recover? Who would lead the Church into the new, more competitive religious atmosphere of the high Victorian era? Would home and foreign missions be weakened by the departure of so many committed Evangelicals?

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[1] William Muir, "Extracts from Journal Letters Addressed to Anne Dirom, now Mrs. Muir," MUI2, New College Library Special Collections, Edinburgh University (accessed September-November 2015): Letter from 18 May 1843.

[2] Ibid. Muir noted that he was present in "the Assembly House" during the momentous secession. However, he was there as an observer, having not been a member of the Assembly in 1843. Cf. *Roll of Members of the General Assembly of Scotland, 1843* (Edinburgh: Peter Brown, 1843), 2.

Fifty-three years later, in 1896, Archibald Hamilton Charteris, Professor of Biblical Criticism at the University of Edinburgh and a Church of Scotland minister, declared: "The heart of the Church is sound. The people want to have a strong Mission, worthy of the name and ability of the National Church of Scotland."[3] By then, the Established Church had recovered from the Disruption and was again by far the largest Presbyterian denomination in Scotland.[4] While the Free Church had grown in membership during the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Church by law established had grown at a much faster rate. This thesis will explore the extraordinary resurgence of the national Church of Scotland in the decades after the Disruption. It will develop the argument that it was largely evangelicalism that accounted for that success, and that such gifted and committed evangelical leaders as William Muir and A.H. Charteris played a vital role.

While evangelicalism within the Established Church following the Disruption has been mentioned in various studies of the era, no one has yet provided a comprehensive study of the movement. This thesis will assess the different ways in which evangelicalism continued to play a role in the Established Church of Scotland following the Disruption of 1843. The research has been directed to three main questions. First, how much continuity existed – ideologically, theologically, and institutionally – between the Church of Scotland evangelicals during the first four decades of the nineteenth century and the evangelicals who chose to remain in the

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[3] A.H. Charteris, "The People's Verdict," *LW*, 1898, 43.

[4] Callum G. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland Since 1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 45-47.

Establishment in 1843 on into the second half of the century? Second, how and to what extent did evangelicalism within the Establishment broaden in terms of belief and practice in the Victorian era, as the faith of the Church interacted with the surrounding culture and society? Third, how much impact did Established evangelicalism have on the Church of Scotland at large?

Through the efforts of such committed and influential ministers as William Muir, Norman MacLeod, and A.H. Charteris, the evangelical movement flourished in the post-Disruption Church of Scotland and contributed to its overall recovery. The core convictions that defined evangelicalism prior to the secession of 1843 remained largely the same. True Christian faith, which was heartfelt, Christ-centered, and rooted in Scripture, spurred the individual women and men to unite in cooperation with the Church's missionary agencies in pursuit of evangelism and social activism. Still, certain theological ideas held by previous generations of evangelicals were adapted to the social and cultural needs of the day. For example, the belief in a limited, penal, and substitutionary atonement – a doctrine ensconced in the Westminster Confession of Faith in the seventeenth century – was quietly but overwhelmingly rejected in favor of a moderate Calvinism, which emphasized paternal love over retributive justice. Regarding impact, the Church of Scotland's evangelical leaders harnessed the power of the press in order to mobilize the increasingly literate Scottish populace in support of the home and foreign missions of the Church. By 1900, Charteris' Life and Work Committee with its *Life and Work* parish magazine had created a massive network of age- and gender-specific Church organizations across Scotland. All of these developments bolstered the institutional strength and national relevance of the Church of Scotland in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Research Context and Literature Review

Church and Nation, c. 1843-1900

At the broadest level, three works have helped to frame the national and international context of the thesis. T.C. Smout's *A Century of the Scottish People, 1830-1950* focuses on the "masses" of Victorian and early twentieth-century Scotland and remains a useful social history of Scotland during those eras. His chapter on churchgoing includes mention of the post-Disruption renaissance within the Established Church of Scotland at the hands of Norman MacLeod and others.[5] A more recent and equally impressive survey is Sir Tom Devine's *The Scottish Nation, 1700-2007*. The evangelicals in the post-Disruption Church of Scotland interacted heavily with issues of social and physical amelioration in the booming, yet poverty-stricken, Victorian cities. Devine's chapter on urbanization provides a broad survey of the issues and events involved.[6]

A third source at this broader level is Stewart J. Brown's *Providence and Empire: Religion, Politics and Society in the United Kingdom, 1815-1914*. Brown, who is Professor of Ecclesiastical History at the University of Edinburgh, surveyed the actions and interactions of Church and State in nineteenth-century Britain through a helpful chronological and topical study of the main figures and events. Much of what is addressed had significant bearing on the Established Church evangelicals in Scotland in the period of 1843-1900, including the pressures of dissent and disestablishment campaigns, the morphology of belief in light of scientific and philosophical innovations, and the role of Christian missions in the British Empire.[7] While all three of these broad surveys provide necessary historical context, none of them provide a detailed analysis of evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland after 1843.

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[5] T.C. Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People: 1830-1950* (London: Collins, 1986).

[6] T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation: 1700-2007* (London: Penguin Books, 2006).

Five other surveys more specifically address the major issues, themes, and figures of the Church of Scotland in the nineteenth century, while several other books and articles provide detailed and nuanced exploration and analysis. Chronologically, the first survey is J.R. Fleming's *The Church in Scotland*, published in two volumes between 1927 and 1933. Fleming – who worked both as a Church of Scotland parish minister and secretary of the Presbyterian Alliance – covered the history of Christianity in Scotland from the Disruption of 1843 to the reunion of the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church in 1929.[8] Though he addressed the other churches in Scotland (Roman Catholic, Scottish Episcopal, Free Church, etc.), his account of the "residual establishment" provided a hitherto unsurpassed level of coverage and detail. Yet despite its strength of coverage, Fleming's work fails to assess the notable, coherent evangelical movement within the Established Church. He was also a man of his time, with noticeable pro-Presbyterian church union and anti-Roman Catholic biases. Still, many of the events, themes, and figures covered by Fleming will likewise feature prominently in the following chapters. As such, it remains a helpful work.

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[7] Stewart J. Brown, *Providence and Empire: Religion, Politics and Society in the United Kingdom 1815-1914* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2008).

[8] J.R. Fleming, *A History of the Church of Scotland, 1843-1874* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1927); J.R. Fleming, *A History of the Church of Scotland, 1875-1929* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1933).

After Fleming, the next notable survey is J.H.S. Burleigh's 1960 *A Church History of Scotland*.[9] Burleigh – the Professor of Ecclesiastical History at New College in the early- to mid-twentieth century – covered similar terrain, but also provided commentary on the role of the Middle Party at the Disruption – evangelicals who remained in the Church of Scotland – and their contribution to the recovery of the Establishment. As for the strengths of his work, Burleigh devoted an entire chapter to "the slow, gradual, but distinct recovery of the national Church" at the hands of ministers like James Robertson and Norman MacLeod.[10] He also noted others within the Church of Scotland that played a leading role in the post-Disruption era including A.F. Mitchell and John Marshall Lang.[11] The weaknesses of Burleigh's *Church History* are twofold. First, it casts too broad of a net to provide any level of specificity. Second, Burleigh himself was primarily an Early Church historian, placing the nineteenth century somewhat out of his scholarly purview. Overall, *A Church History of Scotland* provides a highly readable sweep of the era without digging very far beyond the surface.

Third, A.L. Drummond and J. Bulloch's two volumes, *The Church in Victorian Scotland* (1975) and *The Church in Late Victorian Scotland* (1978), cover the history of the Church of Scotland from 1843-1874 and 1874-1900, respectively.[12] Drummond and Bulloch were parish ministers, yet both devoted considerable effort to historical research and writing. Drummond had died several years before the two books were published, and they were written mainly by Bulloch. Although not as focused as Fleming in their account of the events, themes, and figures of the era, they excelled in relating the theological history of the Church of Scotland (and other Scottish churches) to the social and intellectual history of the nation. In the first volume covering 1843-1874, they traced the decline of Calvinism amid the underlying social revolutions of the mid to late-Victorian era.[13] The 1874-1900 volume continues this line of thought and assesses the influence of German theology and idealist philosophy upon the Church and academy.[14] Yet for all their breadth and theological gravitas, Drummond and Bulloch relied heavily on secondary and published sources, rather than the manuscript and primary source evidence expected in modern historical scholarship. An obvious antipathy towards religious enthusiasm and theological conservatism also colors the works throughout. In the end, they can only serve as a tour guide to the broadening mindscape of the nineteenth-century evangelicals in the Church of Scotland.

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[9] J.H.S. Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960).
[10] Ibid., 370.
[11] Ibid., 379-380.
[12] A.L. Drummond and J. Bulloch, *The Church in Victorian Scotland, 1843-1874* (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1975); A.L. Drummond and J. Bulloch, *The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, 1874-1900* (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1978).

Callum G. Brown's *Religion and Society in Scotland Since 1707* from 1997 provides the fourth attempt to address the Victorian Church of Scotland with notable breadth.[15] A social and economic historian of religion, who was then based at Strathclyde University in Glasgow, Brown's study added a level of statistical sophistication to the existing literature, and it questioned the previously hegemonic modernization theories which portrayed secularization as a necessary accompaniment to industrialization and urbanization. The third chapter on "The Patterns of Religious Adherence" acknowledges the difficulties with the available data while nevertheless pointing to the best sources. Yet Callum Brown's strength is also his weakness, as he failed to engage meaningfully with theological and cultural paradigm shifts. It is, nevertheless, a vital piece of recent scholarship on religious life in Scotland.

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[13] Drummond Bulloch, *1843-1874*, 266-297.
[14] Ibid., Chapter Five: "The Mind of the Church."
[15] Brown, *Religion and Societ*y.

The final and most recent work at this survey level is Andrew Muirhead's *Reformation, Dissent and Diversity* from 2015.[16] The seventh chapter, "Disruption to Diversity," helpfully outlines the major events in the Church of Scotland during the nineteenth century, including the evolution of doctrine and the abolition of patronage. Most relevantly, this chapter also pays notice to the way in which the Middle Party evangelicals contributed to the Church of Scotland's "resurgence" in the decades following the Disruption.[17] Overall, however, Muirhead's intent was to simplify and streamline a vast swathe of Scottish church history. Such being the case, his attention to post-Disruption evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland is necessarily brief and topical.

Several other works address more specific issues relating to the Church of Scotland between 1843 and 1900. Concerning the years leading up to Disruption and the emergence of the evangelical Middle Party, three sources provide the best introduction. Stewart J. Brown's *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland* explores the life and work of the famous churchman and leading Scottish evangelical, with particular attention to his social thought.[18] In Brown's assessment, Chalmers' career was defined by his attempt to implement the local, parish-oriented, communitarian ideal of his Fifeshire youth and upbringing on the national and international level. Though on one hand he failed to achieve this goal due to the increasing social pressures of industrialization and the encroaching political power of the State, his writings, example, and vigor left an enormous mark on nineteenth-century Scottish life and laid the groundwork for further church-led social reforms in the following decades of the century. His legacy, as well as his personal impact on influential pre- and post-Disruption ministers like Norman MacLeod and Matthew Leishman, played an important role in shaping the continued evangelicalism within the Church of Scotland.

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[16] Andrew T.N. Muirhead, *Reformation, Dissent and Diversity: The Story of Scotland's Churches, 1560-1960* (London: Bloomsbury T. & T. Clark, 2015).

[17] Ibid., 129.

[18] Stewart J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).

Regarding the years leading up to Disruption and the event itself, A.C. Cheyne's published lecture, *The Ten Years' Conflict & the Disruption*, of 1983 provides an excellent brief assessment of the ecclesio-political events of the 1830s and 1840s.[19] Cheyne succeeded Burleigh as Professor of Ecclesiastical History at the University of Edinburgh in 1962 (and preceded S.J. Brown in that professorial chair). Cheyne's short work on the Disruption locates the events in their political (Reform Act of 1832), ecclesiastical (rise of Dissent and Evangelical Party ascendancy), economic (industrialization), and social (population increase, urbanization) contexts and pays special attention to the ways in which the Veto and Chapels Acts of 1834 led to the crisis of 1843.[20] Cheyne also discussed the point along the timeline at which the largely evangelical Middle Party formed in response to those of the Evangelical Party with more hardline views on the intrusion of ministers and definitions of spiritual independence.[21] Hamstrung by its brevity, Cheyne's *Overview* nevertheless provides a more – if not perfectly – objective survey of the Disruption than did the contemporary chroniclers.

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[19] A.C. Cheyne, *The Ten Years' Conflict & the Disruption: An Overview* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1993).

[20] Ibid., 1-2.

[21] Ibid., 8-10.

Stewart J. Brown and Michael Fry's 1993 edited volume, *Scotland in the Age of Disruption*, added more nuance and detail to the period described in Cheyne's shorter piece.[22] Brown's chapter notes a number of ideological continuities between the pre-Disruption evangelicals and the Popular Party of the eighteenth-century. He also drew attention to the "dramatic recovery" of the Church of Scotland from the 1850s.[23] Other chapters by Peter Hillis, Donald MacLeod, and Angus Calder examine the Disruption from social, economic, and literary perspectives. As a whole, the volume offers a critical modern assessment of the events and context surrounding the Disruption of 1843. Yet, due to the nature of the content in view, it leaves unanswered questions regarding evangelicalism and the Church of Scotland in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

As for the Middle Party, J.F. Leishman's 1924 *Matthew Leishman of Govan and the Middle Party of 1843* remains the most exhaustive account.[24] J.F. Leishman was Matthew Leishman's grandson. His book describes the influence of the Middle Party ministers within the Established Church, including William Muir, Norman MacLeod, and seven others who went on to sit in the Moderator's chair in the

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[22] Stewart J. Brown and Michael Fry (eds.), *Scotland in the Age of Disruption* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993).

[23] Stewart J. Brown, "The Ten Years' Conflict and the Disruption of 1843," in Stewart J. Brown and Michael Fry (eds.) *Scotland in the Age of Disruption* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), 5, 24.

[24] James Fleming Leishman, *Matthew Leishman of Govan and the Middle Party of 1843: A Page from Scottish Church Life and History in the Nineteenth Century* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1924). Another notable source with regard to the Middle Party is James McCosh's *The Wheat and the Chaff Gathered into Bundles: A Statistical Contribution Towards the History of the Recent Disruption of the Scottish Ecclesiastical Establishment* (Perth: James Dewar, 1843). McCosh, with an obvious and often arrogant Free Church bias, catalogued those ministers that remained in the Established Church following the Disruption into two separate groups: those who sympathized with the Evangelical Party aims during the Ten Years' Conflict and those who were aligned with the Moderate Party interest.

General Assembly.[25] Although biased in favor of Matthew Leishman and Middle Party, J.F. Leishman did include extensive quotations from manuscript evidence from his grandfather and others. Thus, it remains a valuable work.

Stewart J. Brown's contributed chapter "Thomas Chalmers and the Communal Ideal in Victorian Scotland" analyzes the continuing influence of Chalmers's social thought within the post-Disruption Church of Scotland following his death in 1847.[26] Brown noted: "The renewed commitment to Chalmers' parish community and godly commonwealth ideals in the Church of Scotland coincided with the remarkable revival of the Establishment, in membership and social outreach, during the 1860s and 1870s."[27] Within this movement he located such Established Church luminaries James Robertson, Norman MacLeod, and A.H. Charteris. This thesis will explore the ways in which these three men contributed to the presence of evangelicalism within the mid to late-Victorian Kirk, as well as the degree to which the revival of the Establishment can be understood in relation to the rise of Middle Party and other Established evangelicals.

Johnston McKay's 2013 *The Kirk and the Kingdom* also addresses the nexus of social and theological issues in nineteenth-century Scotland.[28] McKay argued – like Brown – that a number of important Victorian Scottish ministers – including Norman MacLeod – continued to emphasize the role of the Church in alleviating poverty along the lines of Chalmers' territorial system. Yet McKay found MacLeod's social prescriptions "palliative," and concluded that the necessary

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[25] Leishman, *Middle Party*, 137.
[26] Stewart J. Brown, "Thomas Chalmers and the Communal Ideal in Victorian Scotland," in *Victorian Values*, ed. T. C. Smout (Oxford: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy, 1992), 61-80.
[27] Ibid., 77.
[28] Johnston McKay, *The Kirk and the Kingdom: A Century of Tension in Scottish Social Theology, 1830-1929* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012).

"rigorous critique of structural poverty" was beyond his capabilities.[29] While *The Kirk and the Kingdom* is an intelligent account of nineteenth-century Scottish social theology, the main Church of Scotland figures that it deals with – Robert Flint, John Marshall Lang, and Donald MacLeod – are not prominent in the context of this thesis. Still, McKay's work is laudable and important.

A final notable exploration of the post-Disruption Church of Scotland is A.C. Cheyne's 1983 *The Transforming of the Kirk*.[30] He identified five "revolutions" within the Scottish Victorian Presbyterian Churches, including the Established Church. For Cheyne, the first revolution was a biblical one, as the influences of higher criticism progressively pervaded the Church of Scotland and the other mainstream Presbyterian Churches. A confessional revolution in theological doctrine came about through the influence of German idealism and English latitudinarianism. A revolution of liturgy came through the influence of Robert Lee and others and resulted in the introduction of hymns and organs, trained choirs, set orders of service, written prayers, and stained-glass windows in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The privatization of religion and the rise of religious social critique were noted by Cheyne as the key aspects of a social revolution. Finally, a revolution in lifestyle was marked by an increasing "de-Puritanisation."[31]

Taken as a whole, the revolutions explored by Cheyne changed the face of the Church of Scotland in the nineteenth century and mirrored the equally tumultuous social and political history of Victorian Scotland. Still, two main weaknesses of the book stand out. First, Cheyne wrote beautifully, but he tended to favor eloquent prose at the expense of detailed historical analysis and documentary evidence, citing minimally and generalizing often. Second, he appeared biased towards the group of liberal Presbyterians and "confessional revolutionaries," including Lee, Tulloch, and Caird. However, Cheyne's *Transforming of the Kirk* usefully contextualizes and thematically subdivides the era in which the Middle Party ministers like William Muir and Norman MacLeod and their successors like A.H. Charteris lived, thought, preached, and wrote.

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[29] McKay, *The Kirk and the Kingdom,* 20-22.
[30] A.C. Cheyne, *The Transforming of the Kirk: Victorian Scotland's Religious Revolution* (Edinburgh: St. Andrews Press, 1983).
[31] Ibid., 157.

In summary, while Fleming, Callum Brown, Cheyne, and others provided a base layer of historical context, their explorations of evangelicalism in Scotland after 1843 were all tantalizingly brief. Fleming noted that the post-Disruption Church was "mildly if drily evangelical," but failed to draw out the implications.[32] Callum Brown mentioned "remaining evangelicals [that] slowly grew in power" and catalogued the numerical recovery in terms of church adherence, but said little else.[33] A.C. Cheyne began to explore concepts of liberal evangelicalism with regard to MacLeod and others, but stopped short of relating these issues to a dynamic Established evangelicalism.[34] These are the major gaps in the scholarship relating specifically to the nation and Church of Scotland that this thesis will address.

Evangelicalism: Definitions and Scottish Context

In his 1988 intellectual history of the socio-economic impact of evangelicalism on Victorian Britain, Boyd Hilton wrote of the movement: "While almost every historian acknowledges the role of evangelicalism in shaping the mentality of the period, none has yet defined its impact at all precisely, and the task may well be impossible, for it was not a precise phenomenon."[35] A year later, David W. Bebbington's *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730's to the 1980's* provided a robust definition of the movement. Bebbington's definition lays out the shared theological tenets of the movement:

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[32] Fleming, *1843-1874*, 38.
[33] C. Brown, *Religion and Society*, 21, 47.
[34] Cheyne, *Transforming*, 55, 158.

> There are four qualities that have been the special marks of Evangelical religion: *conversionism*, the belief that lives need to be changed; *activism*, the expression of the gospel in effort; *Biblicism*, a particular regard for the Bible; and what may be called *crucicentrism*, a stress on the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. Together they form a quadrilateral of priorities that is the basis of Evangelicalism.[36]

Bebbington's definition continues to hold sway among scholars of the movement to the present day.[37]

However, the acceptance of the "Bebbington quadrilateral" has not been without qualification. A number of scholars over the past two decades have conducted studies that nuance and critique Bebbington's original effort. In 1995 John Wolffe affirmed the legitimacy of Bebbington's priorities, while acknowledging that "problems of definition arise, especially when one moves from the history of individuals to that of the range of ideas associated with them."[38] Yet Wolffe also regarded this taxonomical ambiguity as a sign of “the pervasiveness of the movement’s interactions with wider society.”[39]

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[35] Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795-1865* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), 7.

[36] D.W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730's to the 1980's* (London: Routledge, 1989), 2-3, italics his. Bebbington's most popular work, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* traces the ways in which the movement interacted with the various "spirits of the age" in the time periods under consideration.

[37] For example: Patricia Meldrum, *Conscience and Compromise: Forgotten Evangelicals of Nineteenth-century Scotland* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2006), 1-2; Ian Randall & David Hilborn, *One Body in Christ: The History and Significance of the Evangelical Alliance* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2001), 2; John Wolffe, *The Expansion of Evangelicalism: The Age of Wilberforce, More, Chalmers and Finney* (Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 2006), 19.

[38] John Wolffe, "Introduction," in *Evangelical Faith and Public Zeal: Evangelicals and Society in Britain 1788-1980*, ed. John Wolffe (London: SPCK, 1995), 4-5.

In 2004 Mark Noll, the preeminent historian of American Christianity, also affirmed the use of the Bebbington definition, but with two main qualifications. First, he added the importance of a “genealogical” definition: “The individuals, associations, books, practices, perceptions and networks of influence shared by the promoters of the eighteenth-century revivals and their descendants.”[40] Second, he pointed out – similarly to Wolffe – that: “Evangelicalism was and is a set of beliefs and practices easier to see as an adjective (for example, Evangelical Anglicans, evangelical missionary efforts, evangelical doctrine) than as a simple noun.”[41]

Another recent scholar has also voiced qualified dissent. In 2012 Martin Spence, utilizing language from the history of nationalism, described evangelicalism as an “invention” or “imagined community” of those individuals who first took part in the transatlantic revivals of the 1730s and 1740s.[42] For Spence, the best definition of evangelicalism is not the Bebbington quadrilateral, which he sees as helpful and empirical but overly self-restricting. For Spence, rather, evangelicalism is “a transdenominational community with complicated infrastructures and institutions and persons which identify with ‘evangelicalism.’”[43] Rather than some kind of historically located theological set of beliefs, he finds that the unity and tension of the movement center around the emphasis on personal, experiential piety.[44]

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[39] Wolffe, “Introduction,” 5.

[40] Mark Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield, and the Wesleys* (Leicester: InverVarsity Press, 2004), 15-16.

[41] Ibid., 18.

[42] Martin Spence, “Unraveling Scottish Evangelicalism (Part One),” *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology* 30, no. 1 (Spring: 2012), 35-39.

[43] Ibid., 40.

[44] Ibid., 44-49.

In 2007, Timothy Larsen's article "Defining and Locating Evangelicalism" helpfully synthesized the main caveats proffered by such historians of Christianity as Wolffe and Noll by providing a dynamic definition of who an evangelical was and a simplified statement of what evangelicalism is. Larsen – who studied with both Noll and Bebbington – proposed,

> An evangelical is: 1. an orthodox Protestant 2. who stands in the tradition of the global Christian networks arising from the eighteenth-century revival movements associated with John Wesley and George Whitefield; 3. who has a preeminent place for the Bible in her or his Christian life as the divinely inspired, final authority in matters of faith and practice; 4. who stresses reconciliation with God through the atoning work of Jesus Christ on the cross; 5. and who stresses the work of the Holy Spirit in the life of an individual to bring about conversion and an ongoing life of fellowship with God and service to God and others, including the duty of all believers to participate in the task of proclaiming the gospel to all people.[45]

"In short," Larsen concluded, "evangelicalism is a *network* that reflects particular *distinctives of doctrine and Christian practice.*"[46] While taking into account Spence's critique of the traditional taxonomic task and the key role of piety, I find Larsen's theological definition of the movement as a whole the most compelling due to its contextualization and nuanced reading of Bebbington's original definition, as well as its greater interpretive breadth.

The best topical survey of the evangelical movement in Scotland from its inception is Bebbington's 1990 article "Evangelicalism in Modern Scotland."[47] As the movement began to spread in Wales, England, and the American colonies in the

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[45] Timothy Larsen, "Defining and Locating Evangelicalism," in *The Cambridge Companion to Evangelical Theology*, ed. Timothy Larsen and Daniel J. Treier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1. While the term "Orthodox Protestant" could be associated with other traditions outside of evangelicalism (high church Anglicanism, Lutheranism, etc.), its place among (and not without) the other five provide its distinctive evangelical qualities, in Larsen's estimation. Cf. Larsen, 3-5.

[46] Ibid., 7, italics his.

[47] David W. Bebbington, "Evangelicalism in Modern Scotland," *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1991): 4-12.

1730s, two revivals (Cambuslang and Kilsyth) in the early 1740s marked its arrival in Scotland. In 1733 and 1761, two evangelical groups split from the Church of Scotland over issues of lay patronage, forming the Secession and Relief churches – the twin forces of nineteenth-century Presbyterian dissent.[48] Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the movement – both within and outside of the Church of Scotland – began to gather strength and exert influence.

The best study of the evangelical movement in the Established Church context between the 1790s and the Disruption is David Alan Currie's 1990 unpublished St Andrews PhD thesis, "The Growth of Evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland, 1793-1843." He defined evangelicalism in Scotland in the era 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," and focused on four particular areas: "religious periodicals, voluntary societies, education, and corporate prayer."[50]

Currie found that these four touchstones characterized and distinguished evangelicalism within the Church of Scotland between 1793 and 1843. The main strength of the work is its ability to engage with a range of primary sources, while sustaining a broader narrative relative to the theological and cultural developments within the movement. However, it lacks the detailed character study of the type that I will undertake for the following era. Still, a portion of this thesis will entail weighing evidence from the decades following the Disruption against Currie's findings from the first half of the century in order to discover how much social and ideological continuity existed between them.

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[48] Bebbington, "Evangelicalism in Modern Scotland," 5-7.

[50] David Alan Currie, "The Growth of Evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland, 1793-1843" (PhD diss., University of St. Andrews, Scotland, 1990), 3.

The final source relating specifically to Scottish evangelicalism is a 1996 article by Bebbington on the "Scottish Cultural Influences on Evangelicalism."[51] Defining culture anthropologically as "a web of attitudes, the ways in which people look at reality," he explored the ways in which different cultural paradigms – Enlightenment, Romanticism, Modernism, Calvinism – flavored the specific expressions of evangelicalism in different times. Though broad and helpful with contextualization, Bebbington was unable in an article-length study to detail the ways in which these cultural trends relate to the Church of Scotland in the period under consideration. Nevertheless, his exploration of such themes provided a solid foundation for a study of the ways in which certain Established evangelicals interacted with the Romantic mood between 1843-1900.[52]

Major Figures

This thesis focuses on three major figures who represented the continuation of evangelicalism in the Established Church of Scotland between 1843 and 1900. They were William Muir, minister of St. Stephens, Edinburgh, Norman MacLeod, minister of the Barony, Glasgow, and Professor Archibald Hamilton Charteris of the University of Edinburgh.

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[51] David W. Bebbington, "Scottish Cultural Influences on Evangelicalism," *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology* 14, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 23-36. Bebbington's work often investigates cultural influences on the evangelical movement, cf. fn. 36 above.

[52] In a more recent work, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody* (Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 2005), Bebbington discusses the particular ways in which evangelicalism interacted with the Romantic cultural mood of the era and led to liberalization in certain situations. Victorian evangelicals of a more liberal persuasion shared common characteristics including an affinity for the Fatherhood of God motif of the broad church movement, and receptivity to biblical criticism, lower atonement theories, evolutionary thought, Gothic architecture, doubts regarding hell and eternal punishment, and an emphasis on Christ's incarnation (241).

The first key figure, William Muir (1787-1869), was one of the leading Middle Party sympathizers. Muir was born in Glasgow and studied at Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities prior to being licensed for the ministry in 1810. After having served as minister of two parishes, one in Glasgow and the other in Edinburgh, he was translated to the ministry of the newly formed Edinburgh parish of St. Stephen's in 1829. [53] The Middle Party historian J.F. Leishman noted how Muir, although repulsed by the bitter partisan politics of the Ten Years' Conflict and never directly involved with the Middle Party, nevertheless embodied the spirit of the movement and became the ideal of an Established evangelical within the Church of Scotland until his death in 1869.[54] Though Fleming and Currie also address his prominence in the movement, other biographical or scholarly literature on Muir is unfortunately lacking. However, extracts from his private journal from 1835 to 1864 provide a means of learning more about his life. Muir was chosen as the best representative of this first era of continuity due to his Middle Party connections, key role in using patronage to benefit evangelical colleagues within the post-Disruption Established Church, and overall stature as a leading figure in Kirk preaching and activism.

The second main figure – also a Middle Party man – was Norman MacLeod of the Barony, Glasgow (1812-1872). Born into a family of ministers with roots on the Isle of Skye, MacLeod was educated at Edinburgh – where he was influenced by Chalmers – and Glasgow Universities. He was a renowned preacher and ministered at Loudoun and Dalkeith before arriving at the Barony in 1851. He was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1869 and a favorite of Queen Victoria. He edited two religious periodicals: the *Edinburgh Christian Magazine* from 1849-1860 and *Good Words* from 1860-1872.[55] His brother, Donald MacLeod, minister of Park church, Glasgow, published a two-volume biography of Norman after his death, which included a significant amount of material from his correspondences and unpublished writings.[56] Peter Hillis's 2007 *The Barony of Glasgow* represents the most recent scholarly account of MacLeod. Hillis focused on the ways in which MacLeod emphasized the holistic message of the Christian gospel toward the spiritual and social betterment of the people.[57] In his social theology, his varied literary interests, and his openness to cultural shifts, Norman MacLeod's life and work represented the broader and more generous evangelicalism that began to emerge in the Church of Scotland around 1860. As such, he will be the primary churchman considered regarding of the breadth of Established evangelicalism.

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[53] *FES*, I: 115-116.
[54] Leishman, *Middle Party,* 115-120, 192-193.

Professor Archibald Hamilton Charteris (1835-1908) of Edinburgh is the third Established Church evangelical addressed in this thesis. The son of a schoolmaster from Wamphray, Dumfriesshire, Charteris studied and trained for the ministry at the University of Edinburgh and was licensed in 1858. His first appointments as a parish minister in St. Quivox, New Abbey, and Park, Glasgow, were followed in 1868 by his appointment as Professor of Biblical Criticism at the

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[55] Scott, *FES* Vol. III: 394-395.

[56] Donald MacLeod, *Memoir of Norman MacLeod, D.D.* 2 Vols. (London: Daldy, Isbister & Co., 1876).

[57] Peter Hillis, *The Barony of Glasgow: A Window onto Church and People in Nineteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press, 2007), Ch. 3. In his larger book on the Barony, Hillis goes over much of what he explored in his 1992 article "Towards a New Social Theology: The Contribution of Norman MacLeod," *RSCHS* 24 (1992): 263-285. The article emphasizes the shift in theological focus in Scotland around 1860 from atonement to incarnation and the social ramifications associated with it.

University of Edinburgh. In his role as professor (and in his academic writings), he exhibited broad reading and contact with German scholarship, yet typically arrived at conservative conclusions.

His interests outside the university were directed toward the consolidation of evangelical activism. He formed the standing Life and Work Committee of the General Assembly in 1869 and he was the founding editor of *Life and Work* magazine in 1879. An advocate of missions at home and abroad, he established the Young Men's Guild to bridge the gap between Sunday School and adult communicant membership. He and his wife, Catherine, were likewise instrumental in the reestablishment of the office of deaconess in the Church of Scotland, a landmark improvement for women in Scottish Christian service. Charteris also served as a chaplain to Queen Victoria and King Edward VII, and was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1892. Charteris was chosen to demonstrate the impact of evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland during the later decades of the nineteenth century due to the ways in which he used his leadership roles to encourage Biblicist and experiential faith amongst the ordinary men and women of the Kirk.

The major biography of Charteris was written in 1912 by Arthur Gordon.[58] Similar to Donald MacLeod's account of his brother's life, Gordon incorporated a significant amount of primary source material, including various "sketches of autobiography" written by Charteris prior to his death.[59] The only other recent sources to address Charteris in any depth are R.D. Kernohan's 1979 history of the

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[58] Arthur Gordon, *The Life of Archibald Hamilton Charteris, D.D., LL.D.: Professor of Biblical Criticism and Biblical Antiquities in the University of Edinburgh; Chaplain to Their Late Majesties Queen Victoria and King Edward, and One of the Deans of the Chapel Royal of Scotland; Moderator of the General Assembly of 1892* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1912).

[59] Ibid., viii.

Life and Work magazine and Donald H. Bishop's 1953 PhD. thesis, "Church and Society." Kernohan's well-researched – if not technically scholarly – survey is useful in framing my own analysis.[60] Bishop's work on Charteris mostly rehashes earlier biographical assessment, while at several points referring to him as an evangelical.[61] But no one, as of yet, has related the life and work of A.H. Charteris to the impact of evangelicalism on the post-Disruption Established Church with any kind of cogency.

Methodology and Chapter Synopses

Each section of the thesis will employ two research methods: biographical discussion and textual analysis of religious magazines or journals. The first chapter of each section will consider the ways in which the lives of William Muir, Norman MacLeod, and A.H. Charteris represented their periods as Established evangelicals by closely examining their personal activities, relationships, social and ministerial prominence, pastoral work, socio-cultural attitudes, theological positions, and views of the Bible. The sources for the biographical research include previous biographies, sermons, personal journals and extant journal entries, memoirs, correspondences, General Assembly speeches, reports, and literary outlay including hymns, novels, and works of biblical scholarship.

The second chapter of each section will consider the ways in which three religious periodicals represented Established evangelicalism in an era roughly contiguous with the figures being considered in the first chapters. This structure is intended to evidence the manner in which the themes of continuity, breadth, and impact characterized not only three influential ministers, but also the wider network of evangelical leaders and laity in the Church of Scotland as a national religious institution. The first section will analyze the *Home and Foreign Missionary Record for the Church of Scotland* from 1843 to 1860. The second section will analyze Norman MacLeod's highly popular *Good Words* from its inception in 1860 to his death in 1872. The third section will analyze A.H. Charteris' brainchild, *Life and Work* magazine, from 1879 to the turn of the century.

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[60] R.D. Kernohan, *Scotland's Life and Work* (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1979).

[61] Donald H. Bishop, "Church and Society: A Study of the Social Work and Thought of James Begg, D.D. (1808-1883), A.H. Charteris, D.D., LL.D. (1835-1908), and David Watson, D.D. (1859-1943)" (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 1953), 112-113.

The first chapter will focus on the research question: how much continuity existed – ideologically, theologically, and institutionally – between the ascendant Evangelical Party of the 1830s and the evangelicals who chose to remain in the Establishment in 1843 on into the second half of the century? It will begin by considering the nature of evangelicalism in the first half of the century, including the Ten Years' Conflict of 1834-1843, which resulted in the Disruption and founding of the Free Church of Scotland. It will then focus on the nature and role of the Middle Party, the group of evangelicals led by Matthew Leishman of Govan who chose to remain in the Established Church when most other evangelicals seceded with Thomas Chalmers and joined the Free Church. It will then address the ways in which William Muir embodied evangelical ideals through the 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s as the Church began to recover in membership and vitality.

The second chapter complements the first by considering the ways in which the early post-Disruption Established Church evangelicals thought about home and foreign missions. It will do so through textual analysis of the *Home and Foreign Missionary Record*, a monthly magazine of sixteen pages, which aimed to publicize and promote the work of the six Committee Schemes of the General Assembly: Education, Colonial Churches, Foreign Missions, Home Missions, Church Endowment, and Missions to the Jews. Indeed, this first periodical was chosen in part due to such a breadth of coverage. It also – like the Middle Party – provides an example of continuity between the pre- and post-Disruption Church. By exploring the ways that evangelicals in the Established Church conceptualized and executed education, home missions, and church extension in the 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s, this chapter will further explain the nature and place of those evangelicals' role in the Church at home. By considering colonial, Jewish, and foreign missions, it will interact with the wider issues of global evangelism and the role of the Church of Scotland missionaries in the expanding British Empire.

The third chapter will address the research question: how and to what extent did evangelicalism within the Established Church of Scotland broaden as the Church interacted with culture and society? It will focus on the life and work of Norman MacLeod of the Barony, Glasgow, and the ways in which he was characteristic of the broadening tendencies within Established evangelicalism in the second half of the century. MacLeod was openly fond of liberal theological thinkers, including Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and John McLeod Campbell. The chapter will give particular attention to the influence of Romanticism on Norman MacLeod, and explore the degree to which he and other mid-Victorian Established Church evangelicals might be considered Romantics. In order to do so, the chapter will trace the development of MacLeod's thought in response to his encounters with these various cultural forces and consider how his writings impacted the nature of Established evangelicalism.

Chapter four will provide a textual analysis of MacLeod's monthly periodical, *Good Words,* from its founding in 1860 to his death in 1872, as a means of further addressing the new cultural and theological openness within Established evangelicalism, and in particular the influence of Romanticism and theological liberalism. *Good Words* was chosen out of other potential contemporary religious magazines[62] due to the central editorial role of Norman MacLeod and the ways in which he interacted with more conservative, more progressive, and equally broad evangelical figures within his own church and others.

The fifth chapter will consider the life and work of Archibald Hamilton Charteris, and focus on the research question: how much impact did Established evangelicalism have on the Church's home and foreign missions? It will begin by focusing on the theological and cultural positions of Charteris as minister and professor. Then it will examine his role in encouraging and participating in the 1873-1874 revival, brought about through the popular preaching and hymns of Americans Dwight Moody and Ira Sankey. Finally, it will assess his degree of success in consolidating the evangelicalism of the revival through the Life and Work Committee of the General Assembly.

The sixth chapter will provide a textual analysis of Charteris's *Life and Work* magazine from its founding in 1879 to 1900, exploring how the magazine served to publicize the Young Men's Guild, establish a female deaconate, plan mission weeks and prayer meetings, and promote foreign missions and the social benefits of temperance. *Life and Work* was a natural choice for the third and final periodical chapter due to Charteris' founding and continuing role in the magazine up to and beyond the turn of the twentieth century.

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[62] For example, a continued analysis of the *Home and Foreign Missionary Record* beyond 1860.

Finally, a conclusion will provide a summative assessment of the arguments of the six main chapters and highlight the vital importance of evangelicalism in the extraordinary recovery of the established Church of Scotland's sense of mission, social influence, and numbers of adherents. The conclusion will also suggest some lines of approach for further scholarship in the field.

CHAPTER ONE: THE CONTINUATION OF EVANGELICALISM IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND: THE MIDDLE PARTY OF THE DISRUPTION AND WILLIAM MUIR OF ST. STEPHEN'S, EDINBURGH

In the final, divisive years leading up to the Disruption of the Church of Scotland in May of 1843, a minority of ministers previously in line with the ascendant Evangelical Party broke away from the hardline Non-Intrusionists – the group of ministers unswervingly against what they perceived as the "intrusion" of ministerial candidates into parishes at the hands of local patrons – to form a Middle Party loyal to the Establishment, with Matthew Leishman of Govan at the helm. Through the leadership and example of the Middle Party members, along with such sympathizers of the movement as William Muir of St. Stephen's, Edinburgh, evangelicalism continued to exert a notable influence in the post-1843 Church of Scotland. This chapter will consider the actions, composition, and legacy of the Middle Party, along with the life and work of William Muir. The questions to which this chapter will attend are important for two main reasons. First, relatively little has been written about the Middle Party or William Muir.[1] Second, the dominant narrative regarding the history of evangelicalism in Scotland has – as noted in the Introduction – made only passing note of the presence of the evangelical movement within the Established Church following the Disruption. Therefore, studies of the Middle Party and Muir are important in and of themselves as well as critical first steps toward a better understanding of the evangelical faith and practice in the Church of Scotland after 1843.

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[1] Two primary texts are associated with the Middle Party. The first – and the text from which much of this chapter draws both key information and new questions – is James Fleming Leishman's *Matthew Leishman of Govan and the Middle Party of 1843: A Page from Scottish Church Life and History in the Nineteenth Century* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1924). The second is Alexander Turner's *The Scottish Secession of 1843* (Edinburgh: Paton and Ritchie, 1859). Muir, though noted in passing as a major figure by a number of scholars, has yet to receive modern biographical attention.

Context: The Ten Years' Conflict

The context within which the Middle Party movement arose was the ecclesio-political turmoil within the Church of Scotland between 1834 and 1843 known as the Ten Years' Conflict. A renewed evangelical movement within the Church of Scotland from the 1790s became a dominant force. Many of these evangelicals consolidated into an ecclesio-political group, which confusingly became known as the Evangelical Party.[2] On the other side of the Assembly aisle – and not to be confused with the Middle Party – were the Moderates: ministers who held, for the most part, a higher regard for culture, tradition, and the landed interest.[3] In 1834 the Evangelical party became the ascendant party in the General Assembly and began to utilize its new position to further its own agenda. In so doing two Acts were passed in that Assembly: the Veto Act and the Chapels Act.[4]

The Veto Act was aimed at addressing the disgust within Scottish evangelicalism over the abuse of the system of patronage, whereby lay heritors had the ability to choose the parish ministers without regard to the congregations' particular theological-ideological taste. The Veto Act gave male heads of families in congregations the right to veto the presentation of a minister in their parish church as a way to combat the "intrusion" of undesirable candidates at the hands of the patrons. With the Act in place, a patron would present a candidate, the Presbytery would examine the candidate, but the congregation would have the final say. The conflict of the Ten Years' Conflict arose when the Scottish Court of Session (the supreme civil court of Scotland) in 1838, and then the House of Lords (the highest appellate court in the United Kingdom) in 1839, judged the Veto Act to be illegal. The Chapels Act was aimed at elevating ministers of chapels-of-ease, built to extend Church influence and accommodate the increasing urban population of Scotland, to the same level as normal parish ministers, including the ability to form a session and actively participate in the church courts.[5] Similarly, this Act was judged to be illegal by the Court of Session in early 1843.

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[2] Cf. David Alan Currie, "The Growth of Evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland, 1793-1843" (PhD diss., University of St. Andrews, Scotland, 1990). For a comprehensive and nuanced treatment of the ecclesio-political parties in the Church of Scotland, see Iain Finlay MacIver, "The General Assembly of the Church, the State, and Society in Scotland: Some Aspects of Their Relationship, 1815-1843" (M.Litt. diss., University of Edinburgh, 1977), 1-55.

[3] David W. Bebbington, "Evangelicalism in Modern Scotland," *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1991), 5. MacIver also notes the Moderate tendency to maintain influence via elite power networks over and against popular appeals. See "The General Assembly," 1-23.

[4] A.C. Cheyne, *The Ten Years' Conflict & the Disruption: An Overview* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1993), 1-2.

It was primarily these issues that led to the Disruption. In 1842, the Evangelical-led General Assembly backed the outright abolition of patronage and issued a Claim of Right on the spiritual headship of Christ over the Church. In November of the same year, a Convocation of the Non-Intrusionist Evangelical Party met and prepared to secede. In January of 1843 the Church's Chapels Act was judged to be illegal. Finally, on 18 May 1843, David Welsh and Thomas Chalmers led more than four hundred ministers of the Evangelical Party from the General Assembly in order to form what soon became known as the Free Church of Scotland.[6] However, not every minister within the remaining Established Church of Scotland associated himself with the Moderate Party's interests. Many sympathized with the evangelical movement – which stressed zealous personal faith, the centrality of the Bible and the cross, and support for home and foreign missions – and had been supporters of the Evangelical Party in the Church until the final heated years of the Ten Years' Conflict. Such was the case of the Middle Party.

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[5] Cheyne, *Conflict*, 3-6.
[6] Ibid., 10-11.

The Middle Party: Actions and Composition

During the Ten Years' Conflict, a number of efforts were made to stave off an impending disruption by attempting to mediate between the rights of congregations and patrons in the appointment of ministers. However, the 1840 General Assembly failed to accept a Bill by the conservative statesman Lord Aberdeen, which would have placed authority in the Church courts over and against a congregation or patron. The formation of the Middle Party followed the failure of yet another attempt at negotiation, this time through the Evangelical Non-Intrusion Committee's failure to accept a new version of Aberdeen's Bill in 1841 from Sir George Sinclair of Ulbster.[7] According to J.F. Leishman, the grandson and biographer of the Middle Party leader, Matthew Leishman of Govan, "The sole aim of this party was to save the Church from schism, to discover or engineer some *via media* by which both parties might yet return to *walk in the house of God as friends*."[8]

In order to begin working towards such conciliatory aims, four sympathetic ministers joined Leishman at his manse in March of 1842. The result of their efforts was a Declaration, tabled at the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr during the April meeting of that body.[9] In essence, the Declaration of the Middle Party advocated the acceptance of the *via media* aimed at by the Bill of Sir George Sinclair that would put the power to reject ministerial presentees in the hands of the presbyteries (lower church courts). A presbytery could decide not to approve a patron's presentation if the objections of the parishioners were deemed valid or the number of parishioners objecting made it unlikely that the presentee would be successful as the parish minister.[10] Forty-seven members of the synod – most of them previously Evangelical in party sympathy – signed the Declaration, although they were labeled "the Forty" in many places from that point forward. Their conciliatory ideals were lambasted from within the ranks of the younger, more polemical Evangelical partisans who would go on to form the Free Church.[11] They were, however, applauded by the Peel Government and others, and their movement gathered increasing support.[12] When the more implacable group of Evangelical Non-Intrusionists gathered for their Convocation in November of 1842, the Middle Party held a counter-meeting at a nearby hotel. Yet, despite their efforts, they could not stem the impending secession. However, the decision of the Middle Party to remain within the Establishment (along with the exclusion of the chapel ministers from the church courts following the revocation of the Chapels Act) resulted in a secession of a minority of the ministers, rather than schism between Church and State – which would likely have been the case had the Evangelical Non-Intrustionists maintained a majority in the 1843 General Assembly.[13] As a result, the actions of the Middle Party helped preserve the Church of Scotland in 1843.

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[7] Leishman, *Middle Party*, 106-115.

[8] Ibid., 115. Italics are his.

[9] Ibid., 121-126.

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[10] Leishman, *Middle Party*, 130-132.

[11] According to Brown, these "doctrinaire Calvinists and opponents to patronage," including R.S. Candlish, William Cunningham, Robert Buchanan, and Thomas Guthrie, became more intransigent following the initial ruling against the Veto Act, and "spoke openly of breaking the Church's State connection" as early as 1839. See Stewart J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 297-303.

[12] Leishman, *Middle Party*, 132-147. According to MacIver, the Peel Government hoped that the rise of the Middle Party would provide a venue through which to satisfy the Evangelical Party and avoid schism. See Iain F. MacIver, "Moderates and Wild Men: Politics, Religion and Party Divisions in the Church of Scotland, 1800-1843," in *The Scottish Nation: Identity and History, Essays in Honour of William Ferguson,* ed. Alexander Murdoch (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2007), 116-117.

[13] Leishman, *Middle Party*, 153-158.

The composition of the Middle Party is a fascinating and complicated issue, for therein lies the beginnings of an answer to the question of continued evangelical presence within the post-Disruption Church of Scotland. Initially, the Middle Party was composed of those forty-seven ministers from the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr that signed the Declaration espousing support for Sinclair's *via media*. J.F. Leishman's account appended the list of original signatories. He also provided commentary on their local leadership. The main figures within the movement prior to the synod meeting were Leishman of Govan, Lawrence Lockhart of Inchinnan, Alexander Lockhart Simpson of Kirknewton, Robert Story of Roseneath, and R.O. Bromfield of Auldfield. Other prominent signatories from within the synod were Robert MacNair of Paisley Abbey, Norman MacLeod of Loudoun, Peter Hay Keith of Hamilton, John Wylie or Carluke, and Alexander Turner of Gorbals.

Later, the original forty-seven were joined in their support by those within the Church from outside the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr. The prominent list of Middle Party men within this broader framework included John Paul of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, Archibald Bennie of the Chapel Royal, Lewis Balfour of Colinton, James Melville McCulloch of Kelso, and William Muir of St. Stephen's, Edinburgh.[14] In sum, the Middle Party originated as forty-seven but became larger as their sentiments came to be shared by others within a number of other synods.

In terms of both religious conviction and Church politics, the Middle Party was primarily comprised of ministers within the pale of Established evangelicalism. J.F. Leishman noted that the core of the movement "belonged to the old Evangelical party in the Church."[15] Iain MacIver described them as "evangelical in their religious sentiment."[16] Two other sources help provide more information. First, at the end of his PhD thesis, David Currie produced a prosopography that lists "Individuals from the Church of Scotland Participating in Evangelical Institutions, 1793-1843."[17] There are one hundred and twenty-nine ministers listed who Currie notes in association to evangelical institutions – such as magazines, General Assembly Schemes, and voluntary societies – that remained in the Establishment after the Disruption. Still, there were likely a good deal more than that who both stayed in and shared evangelical sympathies, yet failed to leave a paper trail within the institutional framework of Currie's research. His list also included seventeen of the members of the Middle Party mentioned by J.F. Leishman. In this first case, the Middle Party appears fairly evangelical, with a third of its members notably involved in evangelical institutions.[18]

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[14] Leishman, *Middle Party*, 115-147.

However, a second source also exists that provides a robust taxonomy of Scottish Churchmen. In his 1843 volume *The Wheat and the Chaff Gathered into Bundles*, James McCosh offered a statistical analysis from a Free Church perspective of those ministers who left, and those who remained, at the Disruption.[19] When considering the ministers that stayed within the National Kirk, he subdivided them into a class of Moderates and a class of "those who professed the same principles as the adherents of the Free Church, and throughout the controversy were more or less active and forward in their advocacy and support of the Evangelical cause."[20] Within this second class he placed 260 of the remaining 741. Taking these numbers into account, the Established Church retained just over a third of all the pre-Disruption evangelicals.[21] With regard to the Middle Party, thirty out of the forty-seven original signatories – well over half – are listed among McCosh's residual class with evangelical ties. More to the point, eleven out of the thirteen listed as prominent by J.F. Leishman both from within and outside of the Glasgow contingent appear on McCosh's list. By this metric, nearly eighty-five percent of the core members of the Middle Party were well within the bounds of evangelicalism, as per McCosh's definitions.

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[15] Leishman, *Middle Party*, 138.
[16] MacIver, "The General Assembly," 23-4. MacIver further described the Middle Party as "Evangelical Moderates" and argued that the Middle Party was "Moderate in ecclesiastical politics" due to their reluctance to continue supporting the Non-Intrusion cause following the legal decisions of the Court of Sessions and House of Lords in the late-1830s.
[17] Currie, "Growth," 442. The prosopography reads from pp. 442-82.
[18] An email correspondence with Dr. David A. Currie helped elucidate my understanding of the prosopography, 3 March 2015.
[19] Donald Withrington wrote more extensively on the degree to which the Middle Party was "fiercely reviled by Free Church writers." See "The Disruption: A Century and a Half of Historical Interpretation," in *RSCHS* 25, no. 1 (1993), 137.

It is here worth emphasizing the differences between the evangelicals who stayed and those who went out at the Disruption. The two groups ultimately diverged on attitudes towards conciliation and beliefs regarding the importance of a national religious establishment. In the first place, the Middle Party members and the future leaders of the Free Church both viewed unwelcomed ministerial intrusion at the hands of local patrons as an abuse in need of correction. The Evangelicals that departed viewed the abolition of patronage as the only means of redressing that particular grievance. The evangelicals that formed the Middle party and stayed in the Church of Scotland viewed measures of compromise (Lord Aberdeen's Bill, Sinclair of Ulbster's Bill) as plausible – and, eventually, decisive – rationales for remaining in communion with the National Church.[22]

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[20] James McCosh, *The Wheat and the Chaff Gathered into Bundles; A Statistical Contribution Towards the History of the Recent Disruption of the Scottish Ecclesiastical Establishment* (Perth: James Dewar, 1843), 6-7.

[21] McCosh, *Wheat and the Chaff*, 12-13.

For the Evangelicals that went out, the threat to the Church's spiritual independence posed by the Government surpassed the desire to preserve a Church established and maintained by law for the social and spiritual benefit of the Scottish people.[23] They eventually came to believe that such purposes could be pursued and attained with superior effectiveness in the context of a voluntary church. In contrast, the Middle Party evangelicals were firmly committed to the ideal of a National Church. Among the reasons given in the Middle Party's Declaration for an end to the Ten Years' Conflict was a fear that the partisan rancor was not only "tending to sunder the bonds of Peace and Unity among her members, but threatening her national safety, and even her existence, as a National Establishment."[24] Adherence to the ideal and practical mission of an Established Church continued to define the evangelicals who stayed in the Church of Scotland beyond the era of the Middle Party.

In sum, the Middle Party was primarily evangelical, and served to channel many of those within the Evangelical Party who desired a peaceful end to the Ten Years' Conflict into the Establishment majority that limited the damage of the Disruption. Composed of ministers both within and outside of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, the movement developed from a Declaration into a form of neutral protest on behalf of its evangelical constituency. Would evangelicalism – the pre-Disruption movement described by Currie as “a broadly-based intellectual and social movement which sought to shape the overall thought and life of the Kirk” – have continued to exert a presence within the Established Church without the Middle Party? Perhaps. However, the presence of the Middle Party members within the post-Disruption Church of Scotland like Leishman, William Muir, and Norman MacLeod ensured that evangelicals would be key in shaping the National Church throughout the nineteenth century. The immediate nature of this continuity is the topic of the following sections.

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[22] For example, Matthew Leishman claimed in a speech prior to the tabling of the Middle Party's Declaration: "If the Government be willing to give us any measure which we may deem admissible, and under which we could remain together as ministers of the Church of Scotland, and be left to perform, without interruption or distraction, the unobtrusive duties of our sacred vocation, surely it is our duty to accept it." Leishman, *Middle Party*, 129.

[23] McCosh, *Wheat and the Chaff*, 6-7; Cheyne, *Conflict*, 3-4.

[24] Leishman, *Middle Party*, 130-131.

Middle Party Influence and the Continuation of Evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland After 1843, Pt. I

Following the Disruption, a number of factors contributed to the influential role of evangelicalism within the Kirk. First – and a sign of the influence that they wielded – the Middle Party gained their desired conciliatory measure as the Scotch Benefices Act. It was essentially a modified version of Lord Aberdeen’s bill, and firmly placed the powers to judge ministerial candidates in the Church courts.[25] Passed by Parliament and approved by the General Assembly in 1843, the Scotch Benefices Act insured that the Church of Scotland would continue to practice patronage along these lines until the abolition of patronage in 1874.

The second factor that contributed to the continuation of evangelicalism in the recovering Church was the decline of the party strife in the Church courts that had distracted the Establishment for decades. This trend had two catalysts. First, the hardline Moderates either died out or were gradually assimilated into the increasingly irenic post-Disruption Church.[26] As the staunch Evangelical partisans were now separated as the Free Church, the Establishment became "disencumbered from the influence of extreme views on either side."[27] The shock of the Disruption to a large degree forced a "burial of the hatchet" between those who had identified as Evangelicals or Moderates as they faced an uncertain future together.[28] Another explanation for this phenomenon appeared in an address from a prominent Middle Party minister – Robert MacNair of Paisley Abbey – to his parishioners on the eve of Disruption. MacNair suggested that the main point of disagreement between the Middle Party and remaining Moderates involved church polity, not theology. Regarding theology, he wrote: "You may perhaps think, that while the one part are styled Evangelical, and the other Moderate, that the theological opinions entertained by the latter, are not evangelical or gospel opinions; in short, that the doctrines they preach are not those of the gospel. Now, there can be no greater mistake than this."[29] He went on to note a number of Moderate men involved in the evangelistic enterprises of the Church.[30] Granted, this might not have been the opinion of all the remaining evangelicals. Yet, over time, according to the historian of the Middle Party in 1859, "party distinctions" all but disappeared.[31]

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[25] Turner, *Secession*, 376-385. J.R. Fleming notes that the passing of the Act was in considerable part due to the influence of the Middle Party and the desire to maintain their allegiance to the Establishment. See Fleming, *A History of the Church in Scotland, 1843-1874* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1927), 38.

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[26] Callum G. Brown, *Religion and Society*, 22.

[27] Turner, *Secession*, v.

[28] Leishman, *Middle Party*, 168.

[29] Robert MacNair, *Address to the Parishioners, Especially the Congregation, of the Abbey, on Their Duty in the Present Circumstances of the Church of Scotland* (Paisley: Neilson and Murray, 1843), 14.

[30] Ibid., 14-15.

[31] Turner, *Secession*, vii. This is not, of course, to suggest that there were no more ideological divisions or disputes with the Church of Scotland between 1843 and 1900. On the one hand, there never developed a wide, bi-partisan split such as that which formed between the pre-Disruption Moderate and Evangelical parties. This can be attributed at least in part to the new and increasing hostilities that emerged between church bodies (Established, Free, United Presbyterian), rather than within them. On the other hand – and to use Burleigh's term – various "schools of thought" did emerge within the Auld Kirk that distinguished certain groups of ministers from others. A Scoto-Catholic school loosely analogous to the Oxford Movement in England developed in the Church of Scotland and was promoted by organizations like the Church Service Society and Scottish Church

The second factor acting against excessive partisanship was the generally antipathetic feeling toward strife and controversy among Middle Party members and sympathizers during and after the Ten Years' Conflict. Four prominent Middle Party figures – Leishman, MacNair, Alexander Brunton, and James Melville McCulloch – all expressed similar feelings against partisan animosity. Matthew Leishman preferred quiet pastoral ministry and private scholarship to the controversies of the Church courts prior to his seminal role in the Middle Party formation in 1842.[32] Two months before the Disruption, Brunton also wrote that though he agreed with the Non-Intrusionist's cause, he bemoaned "the means which they are using to accomplish their purpose."[33] MacNair declared himself a non-partisan from the outset of his ministry.[34] McCulloch's son-in-law and biographer noted that his father-in-law, in a manner similar to that of Brunton, became disenchanted by the hyper-partisanship of the Evangelical party hardliners after 1842.[35] In sum, these ministers largely shied away from the partisan conflicts of the Ten Years' Conflict because of their preference for mediation and peace, despite often sharing in the opinions of the majority Non-Intrusionists.

Society. A broad church school sought to integrate new ideas in biblical criticism, systematic theology, philosophy, and the natural sciences with the life and teachings of the Church. This, in turn, produced a number of conservative reactions from confessional traditionalists. In terms of relative strength, the high churchmen never gained a significant degree of influence and the broad churchmen were fairly prominent (particularly as preachers associated with Queen Victoria). The majority of ministers occupied the moderate-conservative, evangelical middle ground between strict conservatism and dogmatic progressivism. See, for example, J.H.S. Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 381ff.

[32] Leishman, *Middle Party*, 101-103.

[33] Alexander Brunton, *Outlines of a Speech Intended to Have Been Delivered in the Commission of General Assembly, 1st March 1843* (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1843), 4. Brunton was noted by Currie as one of the "evangelical Moderates" associated with the Middle Party (Currie, "Growth," 270-271). He was born in 1772, ordained in 1797, and had a long and active career in the pulpit and the academy as Professor of Oriental Languages at Edinburgh and Moderator of the General Assembly in 1823. See *FES*, I:115-116.

[34] MacNair, *Address*, 4.

[35] James Melville McCulloch, *Sermons on Unusual Subjects and Compendious Views of the Prophecies in the Pentateuch, with Memoir of the Author by His Son-in-Law James Rankin, D.D., Muthill* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1884), xxviii.

Due to the absence of a strong Moderate party and a general feeling against parties of any kind, ministers like the Middle Party members and sympathizers found themselves in an institutional and theological environment in which their piety, activism, and vision of gospel living could continue to exist in an Established Church context. The following section will take a more detailed look into the life and work of some key Middle Party ministers in order to see the ways in which they continued to express evangelical sympathies in the Church of Scotland into the 1850s and 1860s, as well as some ways in which their paths diverged.

Middle Party Influence and the Continuation of Evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland After 1843, Pt. II

In the account of his grandfather's life and the Middle Party, J.F. Leishman pointed to thirteen prominent members. They were: Robert MacNair, Norman MacLeod, Archibald Bennie, John Paul, James Craik, James Melville McCulloch, John Baird, Peter Hay Keith, John Wylie, Colin Smith, Lewis Balfour, James Curdie, and Alexander Turner.[36] Of these, seven – MacNair, Bennie, Craik, McCulloch, Baird, and Wylie – either published sermons, speeches, or memoirs of their own or were memorialized in print after the Disruption, including Leishman. The life and work of these seven elucidate the nature of the continued evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland.

Matthew Leishman was born in Paisley in 1794 and educated at the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh. In these university years, he was friends with a mixture of men who went on to achieve eminence, including John Paul, also a Middle Party notable and later minister of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, and the

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[36] Leishman, *Middle Party*, 139-147.

Romantic charismatic Edward Irving, later a founder of the Catholic Apostolic Church. During these years he was also mentored by a number of notable evangelical Churchmen including Sir Henry Moncreiff and Professor Alexander Brunton. Following his ordination to Govan in 1821, Leishman spent the years before 1842 in unobtrusive and active parish ministry.[37] After his role in leading the Middle Party during the Disruption years, he returned to his parochial ministry – which included leading local Bible classes for Govan's youth – until his death in 1874.[38] That he was also made Moderator of the General Assembly in 1858 speaks for itself in terms of the Middle Party's reputation in the decades following the Disruption.[39]

James MacNair was born in 1790 in Slamannan, near Falkirk, and educated at the University of Glasgow. His first ministerial charge was Ballantrae, in Ayrshire, followed by translation to Paisley Abbey in 1824. He remained there until his death in 1851.[40] John Wylie was born in Dundee in 1793 and educated at the University of St. Andrews. He was ordained in 1818 to the parish of Carluke in the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, where he remained until his death in 1873. His old university made him Doctor of Divinity (D.D.) in 1851.[41]

Archibald Bennie was born in 1797 in Glasgow and educated at the University of Glasgow. He was ordained to the Albion Street Chapel in Glasgow in 1823 and translated to Lady Yester's, Edinburgh in 1835. He was active in evangelical institutions and edited the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* from 1836-1837.[42] In 1843 he headed the Church scheme for raising endowments for *quod*

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[37] Leishman, *Middle Party*, 13ff.
[38] Ibid., 210.
[39] Leishman, *Middle Party*, 192-193.
[40] *FES*, III:167.
[41] Ibid., III:286.
[42] Ibid., I: 83, cf. Currie, "Growth," 443.

sacra parishes.[43] In his later years he received a number of successive honors. He was Dean of the Chapel Royal for Queen Victoria in 1841, a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1844, and was made D.D. by the University of Glasgow in 1845. He died a year later. John Baird was born in Eccles, Dumfriesshire in 1799. He studied Arts and Divinity at the University of Edinburgh and became a keen amateur geologist. Between 1825 and 1829 he spent time as a preacher with the Irish Evangelical Society, but returned to Scotland in 1829 to take up his first and only charge in the Borders parish of Yetholm. He devoted his life to parish ministry and died in 1861.[44]

James Melville McCulloch was born in St. Andrews in 1801 and studied Arts and Divinity in that town's University. He began his career as a teacher and headmaster in Edinburgh and was ordained to a chapel-of-ease in Arbroath in 1829. From Arbroath he translated to Kelso in 1832, and immediately after the Disruption translated once more to the West Parish, Greenock.[45] Awarded the D.D. by St. Andrew's in 1841, he was "dear friends" with Matthew Leishman and James Craik throughout his life and died in 1883.[46] Finally, James Craik was born in Kennoway, Fife, in 1801 and educated at the University of St. Andrews. He was ordained to Scone in 1832 and translated to St. George's West, Glasgow in 1843. He was awarded the D.D. in 1844 from St. Andrews, convened the Foreign Mission

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[43] John Paul, *Memoir of Archibald Bennie, D.D.* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1847), xxxviii.

[44] William Baird, *Memoir of the Late Rev. John Baird, Minister of Yetholm, Roxburghshire; With an Account of His Labours in Reforming the Gipsy Population of That Parish* (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1862), 4-7.

[45] McCulloch, *Sermons… with Memoir of the Author by His Son-in-Law James Rankin, D.D.*, vii-xxxii.

[46] Ibid., li.

Committee of the Church from 1856-1862, and was the Moderator of the General Assembly in 1863. He died in 1870.[47]

The lives and work of these seven Church of Scotland ministers after 1843 illustrate three primary trends in the continuation of evangelical faith and practice after the Disruption. By examining these similarities, we gain a clearer idea of the theological and ideological cement that held the movement together into the latter part of the century. However, there were also notable ways in which the prominent Middle Party men's paths diverged. Exploring these differences helps to offer a better understanding of what the post-Disruption Church of Scotland evangelicals considered flexible in terms of both orthodoxy and orthopraxy.

These post-Disruption evangelicals continued to emphasize vital, personal, saving faith in Jesus Christ, evangelistic and remedial activism at home and abroad, and committed, active parish ministry. First, they continued to be defined by what they considered the *evangel* itself – the gospel of salvation through Jesus Christ. On the eve of Disruption, MacNair appealed to his people who may have considered seceding, exclaiming: "If you think I do not preach to you the gospel of the blessed Saviour, …I have only to say, that much as I shall regret parting with you, you carry my best wishes and most earnest prayers."[48] The weight of this appeal was clearly that – to the best of his ability – MacNair had indeed been preaching the "gospel of the blessed Saviour" and would continue to do so with the same vigor into the post-Disruption era.

This emphasis on gospel preaching continued throughout the following decades. In his moderatorial address in 1858, Leishman admonished his fellow

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[47] *FES*, III:443-444.
[48] MacNair, *Address*, 16.

Church of Scotland clergymen to "be at all times all times more anxious to make converts," and that "their great aim ought to be to win souls for Christ."[49] In 1861, John Baird's brother, William, remembered the minister of Yetholm as one whose "preaching was always a faithful declaration of the gospel of Christ."[50] Though most Church of Scotland ministers would have preached an orthodox Christian sermon, it was evangelicals like Leishman and Baird who laid emphasis on preaching earnest, heartfelt messages to convict, convert, and sanctify.

Conviction, conversion, and sanctification – these were the watchwords of the Established evangelical ministers. For them, the three steps were inseparable in the economy of "saving faith." First, evangelical preaching was meant to elicit the conviction of sin. In a sermon for the "fencing of the tables"[51] at a communion service in 1846, Archibald Bennie expounded upon the markings of a "true Christian." The first characteristic of an authentic believer is that he "has been awakened to feel that he is guilty, and liable to condemnation, sinful, and unable to overcome and renounce sin," helpless to save himself, and only saved through faith in Christ.[52]

Upon the conviction of sin and awareness of one's personal depravity before God, the second act was the conversion of the sinner from death to life as he or she acknowledged and received Christ as the atoning sacrifice for their sin. Further, the reception and acknowledgement of this transaction must be personal. Wylie, in a sermon from 1846, explicated this distinction. He said, "It is then 'eternal life' to know God—not to know about God; but to *know God—to know him in Christ Jesus*."[53] Preaching to convert also characterized the occasional preaching of the Church of Scotland's evangelicals. During a lull in the cholera epidemic of 1849-1851, Queen Victoria declared a day of national thanksgiving. James Craik, then minister of St. George's West, Glasgow, took the chance to express thanks to the Almighty, but also directed an appeal to conversion toward those who had survived the outbreak unscathed – and unsaved. With a tone of seriousness, he declared to them: "The death of every acquaintance by this distemper had a voice of warning… Oh! Be persuaded to listen to it now. This destructive malady may return."[54] He also urged those already converted to examine their lives for lack of zeal and lukewarm faith.[55]

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[49] Leishman, *Middle Party*, 231-232.

[50] Baird, *Memoir*, 70.

[51] The "fencing of the tables" was part of the rather elaborate Scottish communion – a multi-day affair – by which the communicant members of the church were exhorted to examine themselves for unconfessed sin prior to partaking in the Eucharist.

[52] Bennie, *Discourses* in Paul, *Memoir of Archibald Bennie, D.D.* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1847), 221.

The last mark of a zealous evangelical faith was the pursuit of holiness and godliness following the conviction of sin and conversion to "new life" in Christ. In Christian language this was alternatively referred to as the process of sanctification, over and against the individual's justification in the death and resurrection of Christ – received upon conversion. The preaching on sanctification was often couched in the language of lordship or submission. In his communion sermon from 1846, Bennie continued to note: "The true Christian, not only believes in Christ as a Saviour, but submits to him as a king, conforms to the laws of his kingdom, and strives to resemble his image."[56] In an 1851 sermon published in the *Edinburgh Christian Magazine*, Craik also exhorted his hearers and readers to cultivate transformed and godly lives through the purifying power of the Holy Spirit.[57] For him, sanctification involved "a comprehensive discernment of redemption-blessing in its vast extent, in its origin, in its revelations of justice, holiness, truth, and mercy of God."[58] For these Established Church evangelicals, the gospel of free grace in Christ for the redemption of sin and the consequent power to live moral, godly lives was the cornerstone upon which all other aspects of evangelicalism stood or fell.

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[53] James Wylie, *Two Discourses, being Christ's Way to Unity, and Christ's Prayer for Unity* (Glasgow: M. Ogle & Son, 1846), 22. Italics his.

[54] James Craik, *A Discourse Preached on Thursday, November 15, 1849, Being the Day Appointed by Royal Proclamation for a National Thanksgiving* (Glasgow: John Smith & Son, 1849), 20.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Bennie, *Discourses* in Paul, *Memoir*, 224.

Second, the evangelicals of the Church continued to pursue the activist endeavors of pre-Disruption evangelicalism through the promotion of home and foreign missions. John Baird of Yetholm became well known for his work among the travelling people in his parish. He helped to set up a local Ragged School for their children and devoted equal energy in the evangelization and care of the adult population.[59] As noted previously, others within the Middle Party went on to play key roles within the General Assembly Schemes. Perhaps the most prominent of these men, James Craik, was the Convener of the Foreign Mission Committee between 1856 and 1862 and Moderator of the General Assembly the following year.

A number of Craik's writings reveal the ethos of the Established evangelicals toward missions. In his thanksgiving sermon from 1849 he explicitly showed how activism followed conversion and piety within the evangelical framework. Having called the people to give thanks for their salvation, he appealed to them to turn the gratitude into good works through Christian philanthropy.[60] In a sermon "preached on behalf of a Ladies Society for visiting and relieving the wants of the aged poor," published by the *Edinburgh Christian Magazine* in 1855, he connected the biblical injunction to "bear fruit" from John 15:16 with the material and spiritual needs at home and abroad. While acknowledging the large number of "claims on Christian liberality," he nevertheless proclaimed: "If you are animated by the real and active spirit of the Gospel, you will find much that may be done among the ignorant and the neglected; and grasping, within a comprehensive charity, the inhabitants of distant lands, you may be instruments in bringing the truth to many."[61] He concluded by noting again that the actions of charity should be bi-products of a heartfelt love for God and others.[62]

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[57] James Craik, "Sanctification; - the Means and Nature of Its Progressive Advancement," from *The Edinburgh Christian Magazine*, 1850-1851, 66.
[58] Ibid., 70.
[59] Baird, *Memoir*, 7ff.
[60] Craik, *Thanksgiving*, 22-25.

Craik also felt comfortable speaking of the need for missions and missionaries from the moderator's chair at the General Assembly. In his concluding address to that body in 1863, the first topic that followed the customary formalities and thanks was missions. Having been so involved with that effort between 1856 and 1862, this hardly comes as a surprise. He said:

> The important enterprises on which for many years the energies of the Church have been expended, have engaged a large share of your attention, and much has been advanced, admirably calculated to awaken and extend a spirit of missionary zeal, to draw forth liberal contributions, and to lead many who are amply qualified to form the determination of devoting their powers and attainments to the work of communicating to the ignorant in all lands the Gospel of Christ, which is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.[63]

He later returned to the topic of missions before closing his speech.[64] For Craik, Baird, and the other ministers in the first generation of post-Disruption Church of Scotland evangelicals, the natural corollary to a saving faith was a desire to perpetuate salvation in the lives of others and society as a whole, both near and far.

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[61] James Craik, Untitled Sermon from *The Edinburgh Christian Magazine*, Oct. 1855, 198.

[62] Ibid., 199.

[63] James Craik, *Concluding Address to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland of 1863* (Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1863), 4.

[64] Ibid., 11-12.

Finally, the evangelical ministers who remained in the Kirk after 1843 shared a common emphasis on the parish ministry. J.F. Leishman noted that his grandfather went immediately from the Disruption back into an active and unobtrusive pastoral ministry, in keeping with the neutral persuasion of the Middle Party leaders.[65] He also observed that an element of their strength as Established evangelicals were the Middle Party ministers' later "personal influence as quiet, duty-loving parish priests."[66] This trend, as the following section will discuss, appeared notably in the life of William Muir.

First, John Baird's work among the travelling people of Yetholm was not only activist and evangelistic, but both of those things within the context of his own parish. Archibald Bennie's biographer, friend, and fellow evangelical John Paul of St. Cuthbert's described the minister of Lady Yester's, Edinburgh, as well-suited for prestigious role in the Church, but more at home "doing 'the duty of an evangelist' to the souls of his fellow-men in the pulpit and in his private ministrations."[67] James Melville McCulloch's West Parish in Greenock was struggling for members during the months and years immediately following the Disruption. Yet his work among the people and reputation as a preacher helped initiate a period of significant recovery. By 1855, his son-in-law noted that the number of communicants was approximately nine hundred strong.[68] Evangelical preaching, activism, and earnest parish work were the defining characteristics of men like Craik, Leishman, McCulloch, and Baird. Yet as David Bebbington and others have noted, nineteenth-century Scottish evangelicalism was a dynamic and culturally-influenced movement that – while it shared common pillars – was also subject to change.

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[65] Leishman, *Middle Party*, 160-161.

[66] Leishman, *Middle Party*, 168.

[67] Paul, *Memoir*, xxxvi-xxxvii. An example of his pastoral, Evangelical preaching to his people comes from the end of his "fencing of the tables" sermon from 1846. He concluded: "If you have one grain of faith, it is enough. If you have one satisfactory evidence of the Spirit's influence, it is enough: and though you be ignorant, unsteady, and defective, as members of the church; though the holiness of the Christian character seem almost unattainable, and your timid hearts are yielding to despair; yet, come in the spirit of repentance and prayer to the table of your Lord, and your hearts will be comforted and your faith confirmed." From Bennie, *Discourses* in Paul, *Memoir*, 226-227.

[68] McCulloch, *Sermons… with Memoir of the Author by His Son-in-Law James Rankin, D.D.*, xxxv-xxxvii.

The evangelicals in the Church of Scotland diverged on issues of theology and liturgy. The two related paradigms developed by Cheyne in *The Transforming of the Kirk* provide helpful ways of approaching the differences between certain evangelicals in the post-Disruption era. In nineteenth-century Scotland, a dogmatic shift began in the 1830s and 1840s when men like Edward Irving, John McLeod Campbell, and Thomas Erskine of Linlathen began to expound novel views of Christ's atoning work on the cross that clashed with the traditional Reformed understanding as laid out in the Westminster Confession of Faith – the Church of Scotland's official standard of orthodoxy. Though chastised by the majority of ministers, these doctrinal innovations began to assert themselves in the 1850s-1870s with greater force, as some began to question the validity of the Confession in light of new theological and biblical developments.[69]

Alongside the change in belief was a gradual acceptance of new and renewed forms and styles of worship. Encouraged by the Romantic tastes of the day, a desire to retain upper class membership, and a fear that long, plain, monotonous services would alienate the working classes, some ministers within the Church of Scotland introduced older Presbyterian liturgies – or orders of worship – including printed prayers, calls to worship, kneeling and standing, and organ accompaniment. Though many within the Church remained dubious, in 1865 the Church Service Society was founded to further the aims of liturgical innovators like Robert Lee of Greyfriars, Edinburgh, and published the *Euchologion, or Book of Common Order* in 1867.[70] These were the twin contexts in which the divergences between some of the prominent Middle Party ministers occurred.

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[69] A.C. Cheyne, *Transforming the Kirk: Victorian Scotland's Religious Revolution* (Edinburgh: St. Andrews Press, 1983), 60-71.

In terms of theology, many of the Established evangelicals upheld the Reformed doctrine of election – including the predestination of some to salvation and others to damnation. Bennie and Craik shared this theme in their sermons. From his "table service" message at the 1846 communion at Lady Yester's, Bennie addressed the question of predestination head-on. Regarding the atoning death of Christ, he rhetorically asked: "But did he endure it for all?" The answer was unambiguous: "No; for the church alone—for the few who believe. To them, his atoning death is the foundation of peace and the source of hope."[71] Several places in Craik's published work also reveal a confessional conservatism. In his 1855 speech to the Ladies Society, he made clear God's sovereign election was the necessary precursor to bearing the fruit of good work.[72]

In his concluding speech as Moderator of the General Assembly in 1863, Craik again took an opportunity to speak out against what he perceived as dangerous theological liberalism. Along with Scripture and personal piety, he spoke to the continued doctrinal import of the Westminster Confession and catechisms, which he described as "the standards at which the most enlightened and highly gifted have arrived…"[73] He then went further in his critique of creedal relaxation and doctrinal innovation in a sermon preached at St. Giles in the following year. Acknowledging the benefit of progress in terms of science, technology, and even – cautiously – biblical criticism, he strenuously opposed the introduction of the idea of progress into the realm of doctrine. According to Craik, "the advocates of such progress see in the doctrines revealed only the germ of more expanded views, and maintain that faith in these doctrines as they are stated in the Bible is impossible, inconsistent with that advancement towards higher truth, which, as the world grows older, cannot be arrested."[74] In his closing remarks, Craik set out his own, conservative vision:

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[70] Ibid., 88-96. Also see Stewart J. Brown, "The Scoto-Catholic Movement in Presbyterian Worship c. 1850-1920," in *Worship and Liturgy in Context: Studies and Case Studies in Theology and Practice*, ed. Duncan Forrester and Doug Gay (London: SCM Press, 2009), 153-159.
[71] Ibid., 230. Bennie, *Discourses* in Paul, *Memoir,* 229
[72] Craik, Sermon from *The Edinburgh Christian Magazine*, Oct. 1855, 194.
[73] Craik, *Concluding,* 5.

> The Church, instead of being fettered by her creeds and articles, may see in them the bulwarks by which her citadels are defended, and her enemies discomfited and repelled. With no feeling antagonistic to progress, and occupying no isolated position, the Church, thus vigorous and safe, may diffuse an elevating influence over every pursuit to which the exertions of man ought to be devoted."[75]

For men like Bennie and Craik, there was no need for theological progress. Rather, they continued to earnestly believe that the best, truest, and most biblical theology was that which was ensconced securely in the Westminster Confession of Faith.

Yet other Established evangelicals disagreed. Leishman noted that a few of the Middle Party stalwarts shared the novel views of Irving and McLeod Campbell, both of whom had been deposed from the ministry of the Church of Scotland for heresy.[76] Apart from Norman MacLeod, the best example is John Wylie of Carluke. Writing in 1868 about his earlier sermons from around 1830, he noted: "They may bear an impress of a more urgent and constant presentation of the free Gospel—God's love to all men—Christ's work for every man—with the constant condemnation of unbelief, rarer *then* in Scotland, than, I thank God, is the case *now*."[77] Wylie was personal friends with John McLeod Campbell and corresponded with the theologian of the atonement. In one letter, McLeod Campbell told Wylie his main beliefs: "Faith in the incarnation underlies the faith, that the true and absolute knowledge of God is of the essence of that life in Sonship, which we have by the son of God."[78] One of Wylie's 1846 sermons echoed hints of McLeod Campbell's theological emphasis on knowledge, essence, and unity. Wylie assured his people that: "We are taught, equally, in what the essential *oneness* of the church or body of Christ consists—not framework surely, however beauteous and perfect; but in the knowledge of the name of God in each member *consciously*, and in the whole body's being thus brought together in that name, by the oneness of life and love."[79] In sum, the Established evangelicals did not always agree on the finer points of scholastic Calvinism. Some remained dogmatic defenders of the Confession, while others clearly welcomed new theological ideas, like John Wylie with his appreciation for the softer, more universalist Calvinism of John McLeod Campbell.

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[74] James Craik, *Progress; A Discourse Preached in the High Church, Edinburgh, on the 19th of May 1864, Previous to the Opening of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1864), 12.

[75] Ibid., 18.

[76] Leishman, *Middle Party*, 138.

They also differed in their reaction to liturgical reform. Alexander Brunton published a work in hopes of forwarding the trend.[80] McCulloch's son-in-law wrote that the minister "was one of the first in the passing or past generations of ministers of the Church of Scotland to give that study to devotion which is the special aim of the Church Service Society."[81] Wylie also noted in 1867 that he wished the Church of Scotland would facilitate more expressions of standing in praise and kneeling in prayer.[82] Leishman was of the other opinion. To his grave in 1874 he remained steadfast against liturgical innovation, the use of hymns, and instruments in public worship.[83] For the Established evangelicals, both worship and theology existed on a broader spectrum than the core evangelical emphases.

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[77] John Wylie, *Pastoral Reminisces* (Carluke: John Cossar, 1868), v-vi. Italics his.

[78] Ibid., 340.

[79] Wylie, *Two Discourses*, 23. Italics his.

[80] Brunton, *Forms for Public Worship in the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: 1848).

[81] McCulloch, *Sermons… with Memoir of the Author by His Son-in-Law James Rankin, D.D.*, li.

To be an evangelical in the post-1843 Established Church of Scotland was to be a devoted pastor who believed in and preached a gospel of salvation of Jesus Christ and committed himself and his parish to the work of evangelistic and social outreach. Though they did not always share opinions regarding doctrine and liturgy, the prominent ministers of the Middle Party of 1842-43 continued to embody the distinctives of the evangelical movement into the following decades and were – as Chapter Two will detail – in many ways responsible for the recovery and renewal of the Church's missionary institutions in the 1850s and 1860s.

Biographical Case Study: William Muir of St. Stephen's, Edinburgh

Of those ministers within the pale of pre-Disruption evangelicalism who remained in the Established Church of Scotland following the cataclysmic events of 18 May 1843, none is more paradigmatic than William Muir of St. Stephen's, Edinburgh. Deeply committed to evangelical preaching, rich parish ministry, philanthropic and evangelistic activism, and the idea of a National Kirk, Muir – along with MacLeod and others – played a critical role in piloting the ecclesiastical ship through the rough waters of the mid-to-late 1840s and into the era of recovery in which other Established evangelicals like James Craik and Matthew Leishman began to exert influence.

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[82] Wylie, *Pastoral Reminisces*, 340.
[83] Leishman, *Middle Party*, 202-207.

Early Life and Induction to St. Stephen's

William Muir was born into a middle-class Glaswegian family in 1787. Little information survives of his early life, and reports are conflicting concerning his university education. In the *Fasti*, Hew Scott of Anstruther recorded that he was educated at the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh.[84] However, in his study of St. Stephen's from 1927, Sir Christopher Nicholson Johnston, Lord Sands, inquired further and discovered from a contemporary – a Mr. David Murray – that Muir in fact did not take an MA from Glasgow.[85] Whatever the case may be, Muir was licensed by the Presbytery of Glasgow in 1810 and presented to the parish of St. George's West, Glasgow in 1812. He also received the degree of LL.D from Glasgow in 1812. Murray, whose correspondence was copied in a footnote by Lord Sands, contended that this degree was given to the young Muir – then only 25 – in order to make him appear more qualified for his first charge in the prominent city church.[86] He married Hannah Black in 1813, and they had a daughter and four sons. Otherwise, this time in his life remained mostly unnoted. His preaching and pastoral ministry must have been well received, however, for he received a D.D. in 1820 from Glasgow and in 1822 translated to another prominent parish in Edinburgh – New Greyfriars.

The period in his life as the minister of New Greyfriars from 1822 to 1828 were some of the most active, personally trying, and formative years for William

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[84] *FES*, I:115-116.

[85] The Hon. Lord Sands (Sir Christopher Nicholson Johnston), *The Story of St. Stephen's Edinburgh, 1828-1928* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, Ltd., 1927), 36. Lord Sands inquired into Muir's education and was directed to Mr. David Murray, LL.D. by Sir Donald MacAlister, who was Principal of Glasgow during the time of Sands' research. Murray was an 1863 MA graduate of Glasgow and remained involved in the university until his death in 1928. He wrote *Memories of the Old College of Glasgow* in 1927. See "The University of Glasgow Story," University of Glasgow, Accessed February 04, 2016. http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH0124.

[86] Johnston, *St. Stephens,* 37.

Muir. For one, he was active in preaching and parish ministry and "drew a crowded audience" to hear his discourses.[87] He was also active in a number of evangelical voluntary societies, notably as president of the Edinburgh Bible Society in 1823-24 and director of the Edinburgh Gaelic Schools Society in 1824.[88] A contemporary noted that Muir's physical appearance was "very fine and engaging," and that he possessed "a well modulated voice" and "excellent style."[89] Regarding his Church career, William Muir experienced success and acclaim.

Yet his personal life during the same period involved repeated tragedy. Between 1822 and 1827, Muir lost his daughter Hannah Shortridge Muir, his sons John and Hugh, and finally in 1827, his wife Hannah.[90] Though there was no indication of spiritual torpor prior to these tragedies, through them he seems to have had an evangelical conversion experience.[91] His later poetry reflected – again and again – his personal trials of suffering pushing him toward a greater reliance on Christ, rather than away from God. One poem mentioned this explicitly:

> Glory be to Thy Mercy's dealing,
> That subdued my rebel feeling.
> Glory be to Thy chastening rod,
> That brought and kept me near to God.
> Glory be to Thy saving grace,
> That draws me 'neath Thy smiling face.[92]

Whether or not he can be considered as such prior to these hardships, his life and ministry from that point forward was "decidedly orthodox and evangelical."[93]

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[87] John Anderson, Jr. *Sketches of the Edinburgh Clergy of the Established Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Anderson and Hunter, 1832), 70.
[88] Currie, "Growth," 470.
[89] Anderson, *Sketches*, 73.
[90] *FES*, I:115-116.
[91] Anderson, *Sketches*, 71.
[92] William Muir, *Metrical Meditations* (Edinburgh: James Taylor, 1870), 11-12. This poem titled: "Lines Composed During a Sleepless Night."
[93] Anderson, *Sketches*, 71.

During the mid-1800s, the city of Edinburgh continued to expand. The growth of the legal, banking, and publishing professions, along with manufacturing trades, contributed to rising middle-class incomes. Consequently, fashionable neighborhoods developed to the south of the Old Town, as well as in the New Town north of Princes and George Streets. With this latter shift in population came a need for additional church accommodation for the new residents of New Town. Following an Act of Parliament, the Edinburgh Town Council moved forward with plans to erect a new church near St. Vincent Street, just east of modern-day Stockbridge.[94]

St. Stephen's was built between 1826 and 1827 at the expense of £21,000 and with a seating capacity of 1,600.[95] It was designed by the renowned architect William Henry Playfair in the Renaissance style and contains solid, gray stone quarried in nearby Craigleith.[96] The most imposing feature of the church is the tower, which stands 162 feet high and first greets the pedestrian eye going north from George Street to Queen Street.[97] William Muir was presented by the Town Council to St. Stephen's in 1828 and translated to the parish on 26 February 1829.[98] Indications from his private correspondence suggest that it was during this time that he and his remaining children moved to 13 Saxe Coburg Place, further north along a bend in the Water of Leith and about a ten minute uphill walk from St. Stephen's.[99]

His ministry at New Greyfriars and St. Stephens between 1829 and 1832 was marked by polished but earnest preaching, evangelistic work among the poor of his parish, catechizing, visiting sick parishioners, and – as best he could – avoiding the strife in the Church courts.[100] Sometime during the early 1830s, he was introduced to Anne Dirom, a devout woman from Mount Annan in Dumfriesshire. Friendship blossomed into romance and between 1835 and 1864, Ms. Dirom and the widower minister exchanged letters on a regular basis. They were eventually married in 1844, at which point the epistolary relationship continued at a slower pace up to 1864. Over three hundred of these letters from William Muir to Anne Dirom, transcribed by the latter, were eventually donated to New College Library. These letters, alongside Muir's published works, provide much of the following information about his life, views, and work in the Church of Scotland before and after the Disruption of 1843. They reveal both the private and public lives of the minister of St. Stephen's over a period of nearly three decades.

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[94] Johnston, *St. Stephen's*, 3-5.
[95] Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy, *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1834-1845), 665.
[96] Johnston, *St. Stephen's*, 18-20.
[97] Ibid., 23.
[98] *FES*, I:115-116.
[99] William Muir, "Extracts from Journal Letters Addressed to Anne Dirom, now Mrs. Muir," MUI2, New College Library Special Collections, Edinburgh University (accessed September-November 2015): Letter from 13 Aug. 1862. Henceforward the letters will be cited in the following format: W.M. to A.D. 13/8/1862.

Early Ministry at St. Stephen's and Ten Years' Conflict: 1835-1842

The letters between 1835 and 1842 provide pertinent information about William Muir's parochial activities, personal life, and theology, as well as his activities within the wider Church of Scotland and interaction with the issues that led to so much tension during the Ten Years' Conflict. First, they reveal his pastoral care for the people of St. Stephen's and his emphasis on Christian activism. Throughout the correspondence, he noted on his preaching schedule. This typically included two or three sermons per Sabbath – one in the forenoon or morning, one in the afternoon, and an evening lecture. Along with his preaching, he also helped lead the young people's Sabbath School.[101] He encouraged Christian philanthropy from the pulpit, as well. In one of the earliest letters, he noted having taken up a collection during the Sunday morning service for the Glasgow Deaf and Dumb Institution.[102] In another Sunday morning service in December of 1837, Muir made a plea for one of his favorite causes – the India Mission of the Church of Scotland.[103]

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[100] Anderson, *Sketches*, 71-76.

During the weekdays Muir spent time preparing sermons, attending meetings, visiting the poor and sick of the parish, and leading Tuesday night Prayer Meetings.[104] Though he was deeply engaged in the structures and politics of the Church beyond St. Stephen's, he showed a clear preference for regular, zealous ministry within his parish. In October of 1840 he gave a fast day sermon during a period in which he was considered – to his displeasure – for a professorship at Glasgow. Regarding this sermon, he later wrote: "Such is the intended effect of God's Ordinances that they serve to raise a barrier between one's mind and the worldly disagreeables."[105] Statistically, his parish ministry seems to have been highly effective. When referring to the spring Communion of 1840, he noted 1,350 communicants – enough to nearly fill the massive city church to capacity.[106]

Throughout this period William Muir's relationship with Anne Dirom continued apace, though there was no sign that they would eventually marry. He was a highly esteemed evangelical preacher and much sought after as an advisor on both spiritual and temporal matters. His schedule was unpredictable and always full. Still, though he was incredibly busy on Sundays, one of Muir's favorite and oft-repeated activities was writing a Sabbath letter to Ms. Dirom in which he included a unique prayer-benediction. Blurring the lines between romantic affection and spiritual care, the letters show a sensitive and gentle side to the minister for whom intimate relationships surely conjured up memories of hardship and loss. On 29 August 1841 he wrote: "I have very vivid thoughts of you on Sundays, of you, in your privacy with your bible in your hand and in prayer to your God and Saviour, and in the Sanctuary in your mother's church at Mount Annan, and my earnest desire for you is that you may have and enjoy the blessing promised to the blessed Sabbath."[107]

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[101] W.M. to A.D., 19/10/1835.
[102] W.M. to A.D., 1835 (no date).
[103] W.M. to A.D., 17/12/1837. Muir was so keen on Indian missions, he told Anne that "at another period of life, I could have joined the band of Christian Brothers who are devoting themselves to the cause of Jesus in India."
[104] W.M. to A.D., 17/11/1837. The Tuesday Prayer Meeting was mentioned first on this date, and mentioned elsewhere throughout.
[105] W.M. to A.D., 20/10/1840.
[106] W.M. to A.D., 29/4/1840. To be sure, some of the 1,350 communicants would have been from other parishes, in keeping with the tradition of attending multiple Communion Seasons in Scottish church culture.

In these pre-Disruption years, Muir's correspondence also reveals some of his theological leanings. As noted in relation to Wylie and Craik, though the official Church of Scotland line of belief was the scholastic Calvinism of the Westminster Confession of Faith and its catechisms, this was not strictly enforced nor shared by all within the umbrella of the Kirk. Edward Irving's theology of the person of Christ included a belief that in the incarnation of the second Person of the Trinity, the God-man Jesus assumed everything inherent to humanity, including a sinful nature. John McLeod Campbell critiqued the doctrine of penal substitutionary atonement and suggested that full atonement was available to all via Christ's vicarious repentance on behalf of sinful humanity.[108]

Muir was consistently wary of such theological developments. In a letter from 1837 he decried "Irvingism" as "the horrible doctrine of the Human nature of

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[107] W.M. to A.D., 29/8/1841.

[108] Cheyne, *Transforming the Kirk*, 60-63. See Chapter Three for more a detailed consideration of McLeod Campbell's theology.

Christ being corrupted with a principle of rebellion against God's will."[109] On the atonement he was unbending that "He was substituted for us, and we stand complete in Him."[110] He was also anti-premillennialist and held to the conservative postmillennial view that Christ's return in glory would only follow the bringing in of the nations – nations that Muir, keenly aware of the global missions situation, knew had yet to hear the Gospel.[111] With regard to Calvinism as a system of theology, Muir found it "Scriptural" as long as it included "a free unlimited, and earnest offer of the Saviour to sinners."[112] For Muir, though, as with most other Evangelicals, theology was important only insomuch as it resulted in a warm, personal, heartfelt faith. What really mattered for him was finding "good and spiritual peace and Comfort" in "the grand doctrines of the Cross."[113]

The letters – and one notable sermon – from 1835-1842 exhibit Muir's involvement with issues external to his personal life and ministry, particularly in relation to national and Church politics, influential relationships, and the "Church Question" issues of the Ten Years' Conflict. William Muir's conservatism is key to understanding his public life. Politically, dispositionally, and ecclesiastically, Muir was cautious of radical change and zealous to maintain the status quo in most situations. His conservative tendencies first emerge in relation to Church Extension – the work of the Church to endow and build new churches to adapt to the growing urban society. In a note from 1835, he was pessimistic about the Government providing endowment for the Church of Scotland extension schemes because he considered the Government Commission to be largely Whig in political sympathy and more attuned to the desires of Protestant Dissenters.[114] In 1836 he also expressed a strong opinion that the role of the Church in education – a cause that he championed for years – should be aimed at educating the people of Scotland in order to curb what he perceived as increasing secularizing and anti-establishment tendencies in British society.[115] In 1837 he was concerned that the young Queen Victoria would fall prey to "Radicals and Whigs" rather than "follow the lesson of pure Conservatism."[116] He was also no friend of Catholicism. Like other conservatives of the era, he championed the cause of the Protestant Association to proselytize Catholic families in specific parishes and vehemently opposed Catholic Emancipation.[117] Thus, William Muir was in many ways an archetypical Victorian Conservative.

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[109] W.M. to A.D., 13/2/1837.
[110] W.M. to A.D., 28/12/1835.
[111] W.M. to A.D., 28/7/1837.
[112] Muir indicated that he found Calvinism "Scriptural" in a note from 26/9/1836, with the qualification of the free offer in a note from September 1839.
[113] W.M. to A.D., 19/10/1835.

The years between 1837 and 1842 were particularly busy in Muir's public life. In 1837, he was appointed Moderator of the General Assembly of 1838. At the idea of such a public role, Muir wrote to Anne Dirom: "I literally detest it."[118] Despite his aversions, he eventually told the Dean of Faculty that he would consent to the role, but only if no one else could be found, and only "to preserve the harmony of the Church."[119] In the summer of 1838 he carried out his moderatorial duties, but said little else on the matter. In the spring of 1838, Muir and other members of the Church Extension Committee travelled to London in an attempt to lobby Lord

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[114] W.M. to A.D., 18/11/1835.
[115] W.M. to A.D., 8/7/1836.
[116] W.M. to A.D., 22/6/1837.
[117] W.M. to A.D., Protestant Association (1836) and Catholic Emancipation (6/2/1840).
[118] W.M. to A.D., (No Date, 1837).
[119] W.M. to A.D., (June, 1837)

Melbourne's Whig Government.[120] To the dismay of the deputation, Melbourne's plan would not support the Government endowment of new urban churches as Thomas Chalmers and the Church Extension Committee had hoped. [121] The Scottish deputation returned with little to show for their efforts.

In 1841, Muir was asked to assist with the dispensation of royal patronage by suggesting ministerial candidates for those Church of Scotland parishes held by the Crown. He reluctantly accepted the task.[122] Like other Scottish evangelicals, Muir considered the abuse of patronage a problem. However, he never went so far as to call for its abolition, because of his sincere belief that the practice of patronage could, in fact, both further the aims of evangelicalism and avoid conflict over the settlement of ministers.[123] In a letter from June of 1842, he wrote: "I advise the presenting of men who preach Christ's gospel faithfully… and who will not participate in this agitation."[124] As it will be evident later, he would retain these views on the usefulness of patronage after the Disruption.

During the late 1830s and early 1840s, two of Muir's personal relationships also developed – though in different directions. The first was with Thomas Chalmers. Chalmers was a sometime attendant of St. Stephen's and a longtime friend and associate of Muir.[125] However, the Ten Years' Conflict resulted in a slow severing of ties. Muir first noted that Chalmers was "in an unhappy frame of mind" following the failed London trip of 1838.[126] A year later, Muir began to worry that

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[120] W.M. to A.D., Muir first mentions he travels to London (17/3/1838).
[121] See Stewart J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, 267-269 for a fuller description of the deputation's work in London.
[122] W.M. to A.D., (26/10/1841).
[123] W.M. to A.D., on his conservative understanding of the popular will, see (1/3/1838).
[124] W.M. to A.D., (24/6/1842).
[125] W.M. to A.D., Anne notes his attendance at St. Stephen's (28/7/39).
[126] W.M. to A.D., (12/5/1838).

Chalmers was becoming more radical and susceptible to the influence of the likes of Candlish, Cunningham, and other hardliners.[127] A year after this comment, he regretted to Anne Dirom that – due to his continued affiliation with the "wild party" men – he must, at least temporarily, discontinue their friendship.[128]

This relationship contrasts starkly with his association with James Broun-Ramsay, Lord Dalhousie. As Chalmers began to interact with more "radical" men, Muir found a likeminded friend in the conservative Lord Dalhousie.[129] On several occasions Muir travelled from New Town to Dalhousie Castle, a magnificent red stone edifice on the banks of the River Esk. Likewise, Lord and Lady Dalhousie attended a number of services at St. Stephen's. After the Disruption, Muir continued to cherish the friendship of the Dalhousie family.

As the Disruption approached, Muir began to make known his views on the "Church Question." First, he always considered himself removed from both extreme factions of the parties in the Church. He angrily noted how much he hated the way some within the Evangelical Party "are bringing Evangelical Truth into perfect contempt" via the appropriation of the term for party strife.[130] At the same time, he had no sympathy whatsoever with "the extreme Moderates."[131] In the only published declaration of his views on the issue of Non-Intrusion from 1839, Muir showed that he held a similar line to that of the later Middle Party. In the published pastoral letter, he clarified his position on the Church Question: while he believed that congregations should have a voice in the appointment of ministers, he also believed that the Church Courts were the proper place for the people's concerns to be considered.[132] He insisted that his intention in writing the letter was primarily to correct the distortions by which his views had been presented previously by the Non-Intrusion press.[133] In sum, Muir's views on the Church Question were more conciliatory and neutral than the Moderate and Evangelical parties in the Church.

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[127] W.M. to A.D., (26/5/1839).
[128] W.M. to A.D., (20/5/1840).
[129] W.M. to A.D., (12/6/1839).
[130] W.M. to A.D., (July, 1840).
[131] W.M. to A.D., (8/8/1840).

The Middle Party and the Disruption, 1842-1843

Muir's letters also offer a window into the events immediately preceding the Disruption. As previously mentioned, William Muir was not a member of the "original Forty" from the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, but rather a sympathizer with the Middle Party more broadly construed. In a letter of Monday 14 November 1842, Muir noted a visit from "Dr. Leishman," and wrote, "He and his friends are also moving." He went on to describe the Middle Party manifesto as "that excellent Declaration."[134] As he was far too wary of the heated partisanship in the Church courts, Muir did not go on to play an active role in the Middle Party.[135] However, he continued to embody their mediating principles, as per his 1839 pastoral letter.[136]

In the account of his grandfather and the Middle Party, James Fleming Leishman noted that Muir "stood aloof" from the Middle Party.[137] While he may not have participated to the extent that Matthew Leishman did to secure a legislative *via*

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[132] Ibid., 21. He wrote: "The voice of the Christian people *is* to be heard, at the appointment and induction of Pastors; their expressed desire, their smallest murmur of disapproval, with the cause of it; their likings and dislikings are all to be observed and considered; but are to be observed and considered by the Spiritual Court, whose judging and aim are to centre the procuring Pastors suitable to the parishes to which they are sent."

[133] Ibid., 37.

[134] W.M. to A.D., (14/11/1842). Underlined in the original.

[135] An example of his exhaustion with politics and preference for ministry comes from a letter in which he reacted to the Non-Intrustionist Convocation of 1842. He wrote to Anne that he saw it all as misspent time and energy in comparison to preaching and Christian living. W.M. to A.D., (no date/11/1842).

[136] Cf. n. 149 above.

[137] Leishman, *Middle Party,* 120.

media, Muir continued to work through his own networks in an attempt to ascertain a measure of ecclesiastical peace. One major way that he did this was by limiting the power of the Moderates through his work with the Home Office to fill ministerial vacancies that fell within the remit of Crown patronage with party-neutral, evangelical preachers.[138] This work continued until January of 1843, at which point Muir prophetically noted that he might soon need to return to the duties to fill more vacancies if "an Extraordinary Secession" were to occur at the 1843 General Assembly.[139]

The other way in which he undermined the Moderates was by working to limit their power in the General Assembly. Should the Evangelicals secede, he predicted, "you see the Church falls into the hands of Cook, Bryce, and Peterkin."[140] William Muir did not want to see this happen any more than he wished for the success of the Non-Intrusionist hardliners like Cunningham and Candlish.[141] To this end, he opposed the Moderate's attempt to have Principal MacFarlan of Glasgow University – an arch-Moderate – put forward as a candidate for the Moderator of the next General Assembly.[142] Four days after first voicing these opinions in a letter to Anne, he met with Duncan McNeill, Lord Advocate and – behind closed doors –

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[138] The Home Secretary, Sir James Graham, consulted with Muir personally. In a letter of 25 October, 1841, Graham described to Muir the type of candidates he preferred: "My wish is to give to each vacant parish an Evangelical minister, whose preaching may be suited to his hearers, whose life and conversation shall be pure, whose demeanor may edify his neighbors, and win them to the paths of piety and peace." Graham further desired suggestions of men who "renounce the extreme opinions of the Anti-patronage and Non-intrusion." Quoted in Charles Stuart Parker, *Life and Letters of Sir James Graham, Second Baronet of Netherby, P.C., G.C.B., 1792-1861*, vol I (London: John Murray, 1907), 383-384.

[139] W.M. to A.D., (13/1/1843).

[140] W.M. to A.D., (date off/2/1843). These three men were Moderate leaders.

[141] By 1843, Muir was so displeased with the Evangelical partisans that he refers to "the incessant and demeaning noise of Non-intrusion, civil jurisdiction, and all the other chaff in which the public are blowing about." W.M. to A.D., (17/1/1843).

[142] W.M. to A.D., (20/4/1843).

suggested a candidate that would not inflame the controversies of the Assembly, in order to keep the peace.[143]

But try as they might, neither William Muir nor the Middle Party could preserve the unity of the Church of Scotland. The Disruption Assembly was drawing near. There are two points of interest in Muir's correspondence on the eve of the Disruption. First, despite the restlessness of the Ten Years' Conflict and the pre-Disruption secessions from some of the churches, William Muir's St. Stephen's congregation remained loyal to their minister. He noted "nearly thirteen hundred and fifty" communicants on a Communion in the spring of 1843 – the same number as three years earlier.[144] Second, Muir remained – above all else – a committed pastor. When referring to the same Communion, he noted: "I think there will be about forty new communicants. Their several cases always burden me very heavily. But Jesus beareth all our burdens."[145] While he was typically annoyed with the din of Church politics, he was overwhelmingly burdened for the care of souls.

William Muir – along with the rest of Scotland, the United Kingdom, and the wider Atlantic world – was shocked as nearly a third of the ministers and perhaps half of the lay adherents in the Church of Scotland seceded to form the Free Church of Scotland. Though shocked, he was not surprised. Time and time again, his letters to Anne Dirom bewailed the situation and fearfully predicted a catastrophe should cooler heads not prevail in the Ten Years' Conflict.

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[143] W.M. to A.D., (24/4/1843). Muir's candidate was a Dr. Dunbar of Applegarth.
[144] W.M. to A.D., (Late April of early May/1843).
[145] W.M. to A.D., (28/4/1843).

After the Storm: Local and National Ministry, 1843-1863

During the year following the Disruption, Muir's letter writing remained constant and provide a contemporary account of an evangelical minister who remained within the Church of Scotland. He noted with approval the passing of Parliament's Scotch Benefices Act in August 1843. As a result, he hoped that the "Ultra-Moderatism and the dominance is broken forever."[146] As to the early signs of recovery in the Church, he wrote two months later that a recent Communion Sunday was well attended in a number of churches that were heavily impacted by secession losses.[147] He maintained a pastoral and theological emphasis on "the precious doctrine of the atonement."[148] Despite heavy losses of overseas missionaries at the Disruption, he also continued to support the missionary efforts of the Established Church and attended a meeting of the India Missions Committee in March of 1844.[149]

Beyond these various notes regarding the process of recovery and his own views on issues, the main themes of the correspondence between 1843 and 1844 are local difficulties brought on by the Disruption and Muir's role as a leader in the Church. Following the Disruption, a spirit of competition emerged between the "Auld Kirk" and the "Free Kirk" and St. Stephen's was not immune. Not even a month after the secession, Muir noted that two of the teachers from the local parish school were joining the Free Church and might even conspire to carry students and families out with them.[150] A few months later he told Anne that *The Witness*, Hugh Miller's Free Church newspaper, published an article accusing the Established Church of bribing parents to keep their children in Church of Scotland parish schools.[151] Despite the attacks from outside, Muir's disposition throughout the whole conflict was one of resignation.[152] In the end, as Anne noted during her transcription of the letters, the tension over the local parish school proved short-lived and most of the students stayed in the Church of Scotland school.[153]

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[146] W.M. to A.D., (10/8/1843).
[147] W.M. to A.D., (30/10/1843).
[148] W.M. to A.D., (5/11/1843).
[149] W.M. to A.D., (22/3/1844).
[150] W.M. to A.D., (16/6/1843).

He exerted his leadership in the recovering Established Church primarily in the work of recommending ministers for presentations to vacant Crown parishes. He also continued to recommend evangelicals. After making a list of candidates for the Home Office, he wrote: "The ten preach the gospel soundly and fully and my heart is relieved of the weight of the responsibility by that persuasion."[154] He also wrote that the Moderates "rage at not having Government patronage at their disposal."[155] Because of his prominence and friends in power like Sir James Graham and Lord Dalhousie, Muir had the very thing that the Moderates wanted and was using it to settle ministers who would go on to become other Established evangelicals. For example, in October of 1843, he wrote to Anne to tell her of his plans to travel to Glasgow in order to preach the induction sermon of a minister he had helped settle in his old parish, St. George's West. That minister was none other than James Craik.[156]

1844 and 1845 were – despite the continued recovery of the weakened Church – happy years for William Muir. In October of 1844, he and Anne Dirom were finally married, and in 1845 he was made Chaplain in Ordinary to Queen Victoria and Dean of the Order of the Thistle.[157] Following their marriage, however, William and Anne no longer corresponded via letter with nearly as much regularity.

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[151] W.M. to A.D., (Late August/early September/1843).
[152] W.M. to A.D., (13/9/1843).
[153] W.M. to A.D., (30/7/1843).
[154] W.M. to A.D., (30/6/1843).
[155] W.M. to A.D., (1/8/1843).
[156] W.M. to A.D., (no date/10/1843).
[157] *FES*, I:115-116.

None the less, the surviving correspondence between 1844 and 1863 (typically when one of them travelled) provides some information about his activities.

In the summer of 1845, Muir returned to London to lobby against the Maynooth Bill of 1845 and state before the House of Lords his conservative views on education and establishment.[158] In 1846 he wrote from the West Lothian parish of Dalmeny, noting that he had preached in his son Robert's pulpit.[159] In the summer of 1848 he was back in London with the Church of Scotland Education Committee.[160] A published letter explaining his decision to resign the convenorship of the Education Committee from 1849 gives further insight into Muir's conservative convictions as they related to education. The General Assembly passed a Resolution that, for Muir, "implies acquiescence in the Government Scheme of Education."[161] This he found "undignified, precipitate, and dangerous."[162] As he and his backers' dissenting views were not shared by the General Assembly, he felt it his duty to resign.[163] Muir was concerned about the secularizing influence that the Government might have if the General Assembly accepted State funding prior to addressing what Muir considered problems with "the system that dispenses the gift."[164] He thought that the influence of Government Inspectors in schools might lead to the decline of religious education. For Muir – despite the failings of Scottish education and those seeking to reform it – the primary role of education was the dispensation of "knowledge that maketh wise unto salvation." [165]

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[158] W.M. to A.D., (3/5/1845 and 8/5/1845) In the early months of 1845, Sir Robert Peel – a Tory – supported a Bill for the further endowment of a Roman Catholic institution in Ireland, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. In doing so, he divided the Conservative party and incited a backlash of anti-Catholic agitation to challenge the Bill. Muir, though a staunch Peelite up to this point, could not support the Bill, as he regarded it a challenge to the national Protestant Establishment. See John Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain, 1829-1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 198-199.

[159] W.M. to A.D., (29/8/1846).

[160] W.M. to A.D., (29/5/1848).

[161] From the mid-1830s there was increasing pressure to reform the Scottish system of education due to the inability of the pre-industrial Church of Scotland parish school model to cope with the burgeoning population. A "patchwork system" of parish schools and private, charity-funded schools failed to address the ongoing need for increased provision and standardized teaching. As a result, educational reformers and critics of the Established Church campaigned for legislation to remove education from the Church and place it under the control of local, state-funded school boards. However, disagreement over the place of religious instruction in the state schools resulted in a failure to fully address the education problem until the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872. Even then, the churches retained significant influence. See I.G.C. Hutchison, *A Political History of Scotland, 1832-1924: Parties, Elections and Issues* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2003), 70-83; and Helen Corr, "An Exploration into Scottish Education," in *People and Society in Scotland, Vol. II: 1830-1914*, eds. W. Hamish Fraser and R.J. Morris (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1990), 291-298.

[162] William Muir, *Letter to the Members of the Late General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, on His Having Resigned the Convenorship of the Education Committee; and on Other Topics Related to Recent Proceedings on the Subject of Education* (Edinburgh: Paton and Ritchie, 1849), 4.

Also in 1849, Muir wrote to Anne when she was back visiting in Mt. Annan about his weekly parish activities: preaching, visitations, a funeral, and helping teach the Sabbath School.[166] In 1851 he wrote to her again and happily noted that the St. Stephen's congregation had raised £200 for the endowment of a church in Brydekirk, near her Mt. Annan childhood home.[167] In 1853 he wrote to console her, as she had travelled back to her Dumfriesshire home for the funeral of her mother.[168] He also wrote a few lyrical stanzas to assuage his wife, which later appeared in her 1870 collection of his poems. On the death of Mrs. Dirom, he wrote:

> But chiefly, the Saviour Himself was nigh
> In whose Cross she trusted alone,
> Who, with pity, undid every temporal tie,
> To render her wholly His own.[169]

After 1853, the correspondence all but ceased. However, four of his published works attest to his later life.

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[163] Muir, *Education*, 4-5.
[164] Ibid., 22, 8.
[165] Ibid., 22-24.
[166] W.M. to A.D., (9/9/1849).
[167] W.M. to A.D., (10/8/1851).
[168] W.M. to A.D., (25/10/1853).
[169] Muir, *Metrical Meditations*, 20.

First, he preached an ordination sermon on the nature and importance of missions in July 1853. He exhorted the men being ordained to missionary work in India to preach a simple, conversionary Gospel message with the focus on Christ, rather than "fine sketches of sentimental picturing."[170] He noted that the missionaries' callings "unite with the Saviour's design" and "form occasions of manifesting His glory."[171] He concluded with a flourish, connecting the reality of vital faith to the necessity of activism: "Surely it can never be that any who know the redemption and who love the Redeemer, are not affectionately and zealously concerned for the fulfillment of Christ's expressed purpose!"[172] Like Craik and his other evangelical contemporaries, William Muir was passionate about foreign missions.

His passion, however, was matched by experience and commitment. Under his ministry in 1842, the congregation of St. Stephen's had begun supporting a missionary school in Ghospara, thirty miles northeast of Calcutta, India. In 1856, he published an address to the congregation on the topic of the Ghospara Mission. The occasion of the address was Muir's decision to keep the Ghospara school independent of an 1856 General Assembly measure whereby the India Schools (which combined evangelism and secular education) could join the Government schools (purely secular) by procuring "Grants in Aid" from the State. Rather than sacrifice the Gospel for education or continue to proselytize and deceive the Government, Muir suggested that the congregation could instead increase their giving toward the aim of supporting a native catechist, Kali Coomer Ghose, in full-time ministry.[173] In this instance, William Muir's activism and involvement with foreign missions mirrored his earlier commitments to religious education in Scotland.

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[170] William Muir, *Heathen Conversion Christ's Glory: A Discourse Delivered in St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh, on Tuesday, July 12, 1853, on Occasion of the Ordinations of Mssrs. Ferguson, White, and Wallace, as Missionaries to India* (Edinburgh: Paton and Ritchie, 1853), 15-16.
[171] Muir, *Heathen Conversion*, 19.
[172] Ibid., 19-20.

In 1854, he preached a sermon at the outbreak of the Crimean War that took as its text 1 Peter 5:6: "Humble yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God." He began by noting that it was appropriate that the sermon from this text should fall both on a fast day before a Communion and a day Queen Victoria put aside for national humiliation and prayer. Above all the sermon affords an opportunity to discover what Muir considered the pressing "national" sins of Great Britain in 1854. First, he bemoaned the removal of religious discourse from "national transactions, literature, and manners."[174] He then considered the national arrogance at the perceived infallibility of the British Empire, as well as engagement in "worldly" activities.[175] He also, unsurprisingly, saw the nation's softening views toward Roman Catholicism as a downward turn in society. He did not mince words, regretting "breaking down the strong fences which our godly fathers at the Reformation from Popery erected and cemented with their blood, and thus opening a free passage for the return of the antichristian error."[176] Finally, he critiqued the economic wealth of British society and failure to contribute of personal finances to ecclesiastical and philanthropic causes.[177] For William Muir, blind nationalism, the secularization of society, the tolerance of Catholicism, and the misuse of personal and communal wealth were the pressing moral issues of the mid-1850s.

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[173] William Muir, *Letter to the Members of St. Stephen's Congregation, Edinburgh, and to Those Among Them Especially Who Support the Ghospara Mission* (Edinburgh: Paton and Ritchie, 1856), 1-12.

[174] William Muir, *Humiliation Under the Divine Hand: A Sermon preached in St. Stephen's Church, on Wednesday, April 26, 1854, Being the Sacramental Fast, and the Day of Humiliation and Prayer Appointed by the Queen in Reference to the Impending War* (Edinburgh: Paton and Ritchie, 1854), 13.

[175] Muir, *Humiliation*, 14.

[176] Ibid., 14, 22. As Wolffe discusses at length, organized anti-Catholicism was on the decline by 1854. Nevertheless, members of the Church of Scotland continued to be involved in organizations like the Scottish Reformation Society (founded 1850), the General Assembly's Anti-Popery Committee (founded 1851), and the Church of Scotland's Scottish Protestant Association (founded 1854). See Wolffe, *Protestant Crusade*, 247-257.

His final published piece of writing from the 1850s was an anniversary sermon at St. Stephen's from 1859 – thirty years after his induction to the parish. Tellingly, he took 1 Corinthians 2:5 as his text: "For I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ and Him crucified."[178] This sermon provides an opportunity to understand the theological and biblical nature of Muir's thought nearly two decades after the Disruption. He began by wondering soberly whether or not he had, over the past thirty years, done his job to preach the saving Gospel week in and week out.[179] He then expounded his core views on Christology, preaching, and Scripture:

> He is to be preached not merely as a prophet of wisdom who taught the sublimest of truths and the purest of morals, nor merely as a King of righteousness, who would rule His people by the holiest of laws; but, in union with these offices, He is to be preached as 'Christ crucified'—a priest having a sacrifice, without whose perfect offering we, the guilty, could never have had access either to the benefit of His teaching or to the blessings of His reign. It is this peculiarity that marks the religion of the Bible. This makes the Bible what it is, the record of the incarnation, and gracious interposition of 'God manifest in the flesh.'[180]

He concluded the sermon by warning his people to avoid the polar opposites of preaching Christ crucified, namely antinomianism (license) and legalism (moralism).

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[177] Muir, *Humiliation*, 24.

[178] William Muir, *"The Christian Preacher's Resolution": A Sermon Delivered on the First Sabbath of March 1859, Being the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Beginning of His Ministry in St. Stephen's Church Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Paton and Ritchie, 1859), 5.

[179] Muir, *Resolution*, 6-8.

[180] Ibid., 13.

In Muir's doctrinal mindscape, "the doctrine of grace" and the "rule of holiness" were inextricably connected in the evangelical life.[181]

Final Years, Retirement, and Death

By the mid-1860s, Muir's correspondence to Anne Dirom Muir had ended and he was beginning to lose his health. Three final pieces of written work from between 1864 and 1869 present a view of the minister of St. Stephen's toward the end of his life, and show his consistent regard for evangelical parish ministry and conservative Reformed theology, as well as a deeply cultivated spiritual life. The first is a letter copied into the collection of letters by Anne written from Muir to the congregation of St. Stephen's in early January of 1864. He was forced south to convalesce in Bournemouth due to an illness, and wrote to his parishioners apologizing for his absence and encouraging them in their faith. He began the letter by offering his regrets for missing the first Sabbath of the New Year – a time which he wrote always brought him great joy as he led the people in worship and prayer.[182] He continued that, though absent in body, he was nevertheless "to be found in the prayer of gratitude and faith pleading on behalf of his flock at the Mercy Seat." The remainder of the letter is an extended and emotional blessing for his parishioners from every station of life: "the youth of the congregation," "those advanced in years," and "the aged." He then closed:

> The Lord grant that afflicted ones among you may be comforted through the sympathy of Jesus, that the sick, and feeble and depressed be healed, and strengthened and gladdened by the Physician of body and soul, that the needy may receive the supply of their wants, and the wealthy feel more and more the luxury of aiding the poorer brethren, and finally, the practical and happy

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[181] Muir, *Resolution*, 19.
[182] W.M. to A.D., (1/1/1864).

> results of Gospel faith may come forth with enlargement and clearness in the lives of all; and "walking humbly with God" justified through the Saviour's grace, sanctified through the Holy Ghost, sealed for the completed redemption, free wholly from death's fear, and rejoicing in the hope of salvation's glory, "an abundant entrance thither may be ministered unto you all."
>
> With these expressions of earnest desire, I subscribe myself.
> Dear Friends,
> Your affectionate Minister,
> William Muir[183]

At that point in his life, Muir was unsure whether or not he would ever see his people again. In the case that he would not, he left them with a personal and heartfelt pastoral letter commending to them the essentials of an evangelical life.

However, William Muir did recover. He returned to his pulpit for another few years and in December 1865 preached a sermon to remind the people that the Westminster Confession of Faith – in subservience to Scripture – was the ultimate standard of theological truth. He began by acknowledging that the most basic "form of sound words" that leads to saving faith were the rudimentary attestations to Jesus' divinity made by Peter, Martha, and the Ethiopian in the New Testament.[184] On the need for doctrinal standards beyond the Bible, he then reminded them that corruption and heresy even crept into the views of ostensibly Bible-believing people over time, creating the need for creeds.[185] He concluded the sermon by describing some of the "profitable and spiritual ends" toward which the Confession could be used.[186]

There are two particularly intriguing aspects of Muir's sermon on "sound words." First, the end of the sermon begins to sound like to James Craik's similarly conservative speech on the danger of doctrinal progress from 1864 – just one year earlier. Muir wrote, “Alas! No doubt, voices are now heard around us, muttering, directly or through covert insinuations, the notes of dissatisfaction or even contempt over her Standards.” He continued, expressing the supposed challenge of a critic: “They must be cut asunder, no more to stop the progress of liberal thinking!”[187] Both Muir and Craik – influential evangelicals in the Established Church of Scotland – considered theological innovation a major threat near the middle of the 1860s. Both ministers remained on the conservative end of the evangelical spectrum in the Church with regards to theology.

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[183] W.M. to A.D., (1/1/1864).

[184] William Muir, *"Holding Fast the Form of Sound Words": A Sermon Preached in St. Stephen's Church, Edinburgh, on Sabbath, the 3rd of December, 1865* (Edinburgh: Thomas Paton, 1865), 6-7.

[185] Muir, *Sound Words*, 8-9.

[186] Ibid., 9-13.

The second interesting characteristic of the sermon is the way in which Muir appropriated the word “evangelical” to mean “conservative and Reformed.” Three times in the short sermon he equated Westminster Calvinism with “evangelical truth.”[188] Another time he referred to the Church of Scotland’s standards as an “evangelical creed.”[189] Finally, he implicitly noted that the Confession contained “the peculiarities of evangelical views.”[190] What exactly did he mean by “evangelical”? As he explained in one of his uses of “evangelical truth,” he meant the Westminster Confession’s emphasis on “the grand fact of ‘Christ crucified.’”[191] For Muir, evangelical faith centered on a vital, saving trust in the substitutionary work of Christ on the cross.

The final publication from William Muir was the posthumous collection of poems published by Anne Dirom Muir in 1870. Some of the poems appeared previously to describe other portions of his life. Three of the poems from the last years of his life give insight into the personal spiritual life of the aging minister. The poems highlight his awareness of personal depravity and shortcomings, trust, and Christocentric faith. In “To Know the Love of Christ” from December of 1863, Muir focused on what he held to be the three blessings of Christ’s love:

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[187] Muir, *Sound Words*, 12-13.
[188] Ibid., 9,10,12-13.
[189] Ibid., 10.
[190] Ibid., 6.
[191] Ibid., 9.

> Pardon, to remove all sin;
> Peace, to quench each fear within;
> Purity, to fit for heav’n—
> May these gifts to me be given.[192]

In “Lines Composed When the Author Was Losing His Sight” from October of 1866, he looked to God as the “Light of Life” as his reality became increasingly dark:

> My day far spent!—Shade after Shade
> Steal on, declining into night;
> But on Thy promise I am stay’d,
> ‘At Ev’ning time it shall be light.’[193]

Finally, in “Bethany,” dated 1868, Muir comparatively reflected on the story of Mary, Martha, and Lazarus from the Bible. When he considered why Jesus wept, he pointed to sin as the root cause of pain and death, and then noted Christ’s atoning work to “set us free” from “the judgment-doom.” He ended the poem with a rapturous reinfusion of Paul’s words from Philippians 1:21:

> Oh! In Thy blood be quenched my guilty fears!
> Thy Spirit cleanse my soul from sin’s foul stain,
> And in Thy joy be wiped away all tears!
> FOR ME TO LIVE BE CHRIST—FOR ME TO DIE BE GAIN.[194]

William Muir’s spiritual poems from the end of his life reflected the personal and theological convictions that he had held since the 1820s. At his death in 1869, he was mourned and memorialized by other significant churchmen like Norman MacLeod, and then laid to rest in the northwest corner of Edinburgh’s Dean Cemetery.

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[192] Muir, *Metrical Meditations*, 22-23.
[193] Ibid., 24-25.
[194] Muir, *Metrical Meditations*, 29-31. The final line is capitalized in the original.

Conclusion

The Disruption was a devastating blow to the Church of Scotland. The great number of ministers and lay people who seceded alongside the Free Church fathers in 1843 took with them an evangelical zeal unmatched by those who remained. Nevertheless, the Established Church retained an influential group of evangelicals in the Middle Party who contributed to its gradual recovery and eventual renaissance. Their common emphases on personal, heartfelt faith in the work of Christ on the cross, the necessity of Christian action in response to God's salvation, and the importance of devoted, workaday ministry in their individual parishes channeled the preexisting evangelical movement into the post-Disruption Establishment. The diversity of beliefs on issues like atonement and worship ensured that evangelicalism in the new era of the Church would be less defined by doctrinal debates, and more concerned with preaching the gospel to the rapidly-growing of Scottish population.

In many ways, William Muir was typical of the evangelicals who remained. Further, his conservatism and evangelicalism led him to play a central role in the recovery of the Church of Scotland after 1843. Had he been less conservative, he might have been convinced by his friend Thomas Chalmers to join him in seceding to seek a "godly commonwealth" outside the Establishment. Had he been less evangelical, he would not likely have worked nearly as hard to use his influence in the Church to secure like-minded ministers for the parishes left vacant at the Disruption. As it was, he retained both sentiments. Not only did he hold fast to the Establishment, he also secured key Church positions for capable evangelicals like the Moderator of the 1863 General Assembly, James Craik.

CHAPTER TWO: EVANGELICALISM, RECOVERY, AND REVIVAL: CHURCH OF SCOTLAND MISSIONS AT HOME AND ABROAD, 1843-1860

The following jingle was popular in Scotland after the Disruption:

> The wee Kirk, the Free Kirk
> The Kirk wi'out the steeple;
> The Auld Kirk, the cauld Kirk
> The Kirk wi'out the people.[1]

Though appealing for its colloquialism and pith, was it in fact the case that the Auld Kirk was both "cauld" and people-less in the years following the secession of ministers and people into the Free Church? As noted in Chapter One, the Disruption saw around half of the total Church of Scotland population join the Free Church. By the religious census of 1851, Callum Brown observed that such was still the case – the Church of Scotland and the Free Church each had about 32% of the churchgoing population.[2] However, by 1860 the Free Church held only about 32% of all Scottish Presbyterians while the Church of Scotland had 48%. Thirty-one years later, the Church of Scotland showed a further increase in membership with 53% of the nation's Presbyterians.[3] Though obviously effected by the secession losses of 1843, the Church of Scotland regained its strength and was the dominant religious body in Scotland by the end of the nineteenth century.

With reference to the "cauldness" of the Auld Kirk, Chapter One described the ways in which the evangelical movement within the Church of Scotland was not extinguished in 1843, but rather was notably present in the Middle Party and the life and work of major Church figures like William Muir of St. Stephen's, Edinburgh.[4] This chapter considers the degree to which that evangelicalism continued to be a driving force within the post-Disruption period and was channeled into the Church's official institutions in the years of recovery and revival between 1843 and 1860.[5]

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[1] Olive and Sydney Checkland reference it in *Industry and Ethos: Scotland, 1832-1914* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984), 122.

[2] Callum G. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland Since 1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 45.

[3] Ibid., 47.

Context: The Missionary Schemes of the Church of Scotland

Between 1820 and 1840, the Church of Scotland formed five permanent General Assembly committees – home missions, foreign missions, colonial churches, education in rural and urban Scotland, and the conversion of Jewish people of both British and foreign extraction. Following the Disruption, these Five Schemes – as they were commonly known – continued to operate, and they were joined in 1847 by a newly formed Committee for the Endowment of the Chapels-of-Ease. Prior to the Disruption, the Five Schemes were the loci of evangelical activism in the Church at home and abroad. Don Chambers' 1971 Cambridge thesis, "Mission and Party in the Church of Scotland, 1810-1843" provided a valuable study of the Five Schemes prior to the Disruption.[6]

According to Chambers, support for the schemes came from both ecclesiastical parties – Moderates and Evangelicals. A number of the committee founders, for example, were of a Moderate stamp.[7] Up until the 1830s, a majority of the Church of Scotland evangelicals had focused their activities on extra-ecclesial societies, including the British and Foreign Bible Society and Edinburgh Missionary Society. However, two major controversies – the Apocrypha Controversy and the Voluntary Controversy – within the wider world of British evangelicalism caused the Kirk evangelicals to disassociate from these increasingly Dissenter-led voluntary associations and re-channel their efforts into the Established Church's Assembly schemes.[8]

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[4] As with the previous chapter, in what follows evangelical will not be capitalized unless used in the context of the pre-Disruption Church parties.

[5] The language of "recovery" and "revival" are helpful frameworks from J.R. Fleming's *A History of the Church in Scotland, 1843-1874* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1927), chapters 3-4.

[6] Don Chambers, "Mission and Party in the Church of Scotland, 1810-1843" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Cambridge University, 1971).

[7] Chambers, "Mission and Party," 158

The "culmination" of this process whereby the evangelicals concentrated their extra-ecclesial activities in Church endeavors was the foundation in 1838 of a religious periodical to promote the work of the Five Schemes – *The Home and Foreign Missionary Record for the Church of Scotland*.[9] In the first issue of May 1838, the co-founder and first editor – Robert Smith Candlish – made explicit the purpose for such a publication. First, it was to inform the people of the Church of Scotland "of our stewardship to our own people, whose stewards, under God, we are, administering their means and resources."[10] The Acts of the General Assembly from the years in question included an Act directing the Church's collection for the Five Schemes. The ministers of the Kirk were instructed to hold a special collection for one particular scheme every other month of the year. Consequently, the *Mission Record* sought to encourage these collections by providing news from "the field" of each of the schemes. Thus another goal of the *Mission Record* was "that [our brethren] may see the fruit of their offerings and their prayers."[11]

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[8] David Alan Currie, "The Growth of Evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland, 1793-1843" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of St. Andrews, 1990), 240-251. Currie goes into greater detail regarding the Apocrypha Controversy and the Voluntary Controversy.

[9] Ibid., 255. Referred to from here as the *Mission Record*.

[10] *MR*, May 1838, No. 1: Vol. I, 1.

[11] *MR,* 5/1838, 1:I, 2.

The *Mission Record* survived the Disruption and continued to be the primary source of information on the Five Schemes into the second half of the century. Although their energy, capabilities, and numbers were all weakened by the Disruption, the proponents of the Five Schemes continued to work toward evangelistic and activist goals. The following subsections trace the work of the committee schemes from the Disruption to 1860 by focusing on two sources. One is the *Mission Record*. While there was no issue in the month following the Disruption, by July the *Mission Record* was again up and running with reports and updates on the impact of the Disruption on the missionary work of the Church. The other sources are annual finance reports from the General Assembly. By tracing the recovery and continued work of the Five Schemes and the addition of the Endowment Scheme in 1847, this chapter will analyze and assess the presence of institutionalized evangelicalism in the Church. By focusing on the parochial giving to the schemes provided in the finance reports, it will also examine the role and interests of the people in the pews.

Education

The Highlands and Islands Education Scheme was established in 1824 under the leadership of Principal George Baird of Edinburgh University. While some of the leaders – like Baird – were Moderates, the scheme also drew support from key Evangelicals in the Lowlands such as Thomas Chalmers, Andrew Thomson, and Robert Gordon.[12] The primary goal of the scheme was to provide a basic education based on the Bible and the Westminster Catechisms to children in places too remote or too poor to have access to a parish school. The kirk sessions of the Church of Scotland shared responsibility for the schools with the heritors – the principal landowners – in each parish.[13] Non-theological subjects were also within the remit of these Assembly Schools.[14] While the Evangelicals supported education ventures so that the people would be able to read the Bible and have access to a personal conversion experience through the Word of God, both Evangelicals and Moderates agreed that – in keeping with their shared Calvinist system of theology – all learning and knowledge manifested God's self-revelation.[15] Hence, leaders of the scheme "refused to recognize any cleavage between 'secular' knowledge and Christian education."[16]

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[12] Chambers, "Mission and Party," 43-49.

Robert Gordon succeeded Principal Baird in the convenership in the later 1830s. Due to the perceived threat of Presbyterian Dissent, the committee began to focus on the urban Lowlands in an attempt to retain the Establishment's dominance over education.[17] The shift in focus to urban areas also reflected trends within the wider Scottish society. Between 1831 and 1901, the population of Scotland more than doubled, rising from 2.4 million to 5.5 million. Due to increasing industrialization in the Central Belt – particularly toward Glasgow – the impact of this increase was felt most in the cities.[18] Nevertheless, in the period from 1843 to

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[13] During this era, there were around 1,000 parish schools under the aegis of the Church of Scotland. See John Stevenson, *Fulfilling a Vision: The Contribution of the Church of Scotland to School Education, 1772-1872* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2012), 4-5.

[14] In his study of education in Scotland during the long nineteenth century, Stevenson found that the Assembly Schools aimed to mirror the available subjects of the parish, burgh, and private schools in order to encourage the poorer students toward literacy, numeracy, and beyond. Some Assembly Schools even included Greek, Latin, and even book-keeping. See *Fulfilling a Vision*, 46.

[15] Currie, "Growth," 287.

[16] Chambers, "Mission and Party," 53.

[17] Ibid., 55-60.

[18] Checkland, *Industry and Ethos*, 34-54, 111ff.

1860, the Education Committee continued to focus on both the "urban masses" and the distant communities in the Western Highlands and Islands.

To assess the continuation of evangelical leadership in the Church of Scotland after 1843, this and the following sections will pay particular attention to the ministers within the Kirk who convened the committees. As with Chapter One, James McCosh's second-class residuals from *The Wheat and the Chaff*, David Currie's list of ministers participating in Evangelical activities and publications prior to 1843, and J.F. Leishman's Middle Party account will help in assessing to what degree these men were involved in the evangelical movement. The convener of the Education Committee from 1843 to 1849 was William Muir of St. Stephen's, who needs no introduction.[19] The next convener was John Cook of St. Andrews. Born in 1807, he was the son of George Cook, D.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy at St Andrews. He was educated at St Andrews University and ordained to the parish of Cults, Aberdeenshire, in 1832. In 1833 he was translated to Haddington where he remained for the rest of his life. He received a D.D. from St. Andrews in 1843 and was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1866.[20] Interestingly, Cook was a Moderate during the Disruption years and was not involved in much evangelical activism outside the confines of the committees he led or participated in, as noted above. This implies that the non-partisan evangelistic and educational ethos of the pre-Disruption committee – represented by Baird and Gordon – continued along the same lines with Muir and Cook.

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[19] See Chapter One for a full account of his life and work.

[20] *FES,* VII:433.

The Disruption's impact on the Education Scheme in terms of teacher retention was similar to the impact on the ministerial numbers in the Church. Between a quarter and a third of the Assembly School teachers – 39 out of 146 – joined the Free Church. According to the *Mission Record* from January 1844, the Church of Scotland "promptly supplied" new teachers to replace the 39 and the *Mission Record* reassured its readership that the scheme was "in as full and efficient operation as it was, before the occurrence of the late event."[21] According to the Committee Report of 1844, inserted in the *Mission Record* for July 1844*,* the primary goals for the Education Scheme were "establishing schools for the children of the poor," ensuring "the due qualification of elementary teachers," and cooperating "with the Presbyteries of the Church in their superintendence of the schools."[22] The *Mission Record* from 1843 to 1860 focused on the erection and establishment of new schools, the training and support of teachers, and the work of the scheme at the individual and presbyterian levels.

The same report from 1844 reiterated the pre-Disruption focus on Bible and catechism. In the mind of the committee, "Nothing truly valuable is gained by [the students] unless their eternal salvation is gained." The report continued: "Your Committee assure you, therefore, that their unceasing aim is, and will be, to make your schools essentially Bible Schools:—the means of training up a godly youth,—a youth sanctified and guided through this world by the power of the world to come."[23] The Committee Report from two years later propounded a similarly Biblicist aim, hoping "that the time might come when every child in this dominion should be able to read the Bible and have a Bible to read."[24] Despite the departure of Gordon 1843, the committee under Muir maintained – if not elevated – the evangelical ethos of the Education Scheme.

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[21] *MR,* 1/1844, 24:II, 1.

[22] *MR,* 7/1844, 30:II, 1-4.

[23] Ibid.

In 1849, William Muir resigned his convenership for reasons mentioned in Chapter One.[25] Rather than shifting to a less evangelical paradigm, Cook and his committee immediately reacted by affirming the religious emphases of the Assembly Schools. In September of 1849, they appended a "Declaration by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland on National Education" to the *Mission Record* ensuring their steadfast antipathy to any form of national education that would remove Bible-based religious teaching from the curricula.[26] The following month's *Mission Record* included yet another repudiation of the secularization of education within the committee notices.[27]

Beyond the Assembly Schools, the Committee focused their efforts between 1843 and 1860 on a number of complementary projects. A matter of months following the Disruption, the education notices from the *Mission Record* announced that the committee had decided to build a Normal School in Edinburgh for training teachers. Along with this first notice were reports of Normal Schools in England with notes on their management and operation.[28] Notices from 1844 happily announced the admission upon examination of nine male teacher candidates to the Normal School and a Privy Council grant of £1,000.[29] On 19 May 1845, the

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[24] *MR*, 9/1846, 21:III, 3.

[25] Refer here to his uneasiness with the acceptance of Government funds due to a fear of secularizing influences of Government Inspectors. See Chapter One, 42, n.159.

[26] *MR*, 9/1849, 12:V, 2-4.

[27] *MR*, 10/1949, 13:V, 2. The fear was not the inclusion of non-religious material, but the potential exclusion of Bible teaching and catechesis. See Stevenson, *Fulfilling a Vision*, 85-86.

[28] *MR,* 10/1843, 21:II, 2-9.

[29] *MR*, 3/1844, 26:II, and 6/1844, 29:II.

Edinburgh Normal School officially opened to much pomp and circumstance.[30] This was followed three months later by the opening of the Glasgow Normal School on 4 August.[31] From this point forward, much of the space in the *Mission Record* for the Education Scheme was devoted to notices and adverts for admission examinations and lists of scholarship recipients. A report with examination results from the Edinburgh Normal School in 1851 indicated the most common regions to which the teachers, once trained, were employed. Considering the continued emphases on the Highlands and Islands, it is not surprising that the two most common places were Perthshire and Inverness-shire.[32]

The committee spent further energy with regards to Gaelic education and practical education. The education notices from July 1846 regretted that the Gaelic School Societies had largely joined the Free Church, creating a temporary hiatus in the Established Church's efforts toward education in the Gaelic-speaking areas of the Highlands and Islands. However, a Ladies Association in Support of the Gaelic Schools in Connection with the Church of Scotland was established in 1846 and intended to rejuvenate the association between Gaelic Schools and the Auld Kirk.[33] A further notice from 1847 reported that the Ladies' Association for Gaelic Schools would officially become an auxiliary of the Education Scheme, but that the Society's "funds are to be under their control." Essentially, it became a supplementary fund of the Education Committee with specific aims toward Gaelic-language schools.[34]

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[30] *MR,* 7/1845, 7:III, 1-2.
[31] *MR*, 9/1845, 9:III, 5.
[32] *MR*, 8/1851, 16:VI, 2-4.
[33] *MR,* 7/1846, 19:III, 2-3. For more on the nature and socio-cultural role of the Gaelic Schools during the era, see Charles W.J. Withers, *Gaelic in Scotland, 1698-1981* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publisher, Ltd., 1984), 137-156.
[34] *MR*, 1/1847, 1:IV, 2-3.

While William Muir chaired the Education Scheme, Mrs. Ann Dirom Muir was the chair of the General Committee for the Gaelic Schools. It also bears repeating that when she posthumously published Muir's poetry in 1870, it was intended that the proceeds should go entirely to the support of the Ladies' Association.[35] Finally, the Education Scheme also utilized industrial schools, farm schools, and specifically focused agricultural education outside the classroom to provide young members of the rural Highlands and Islands with the most up-to-date methods of land management and cultivation.[36]

As for numerical success in the years between 1843 and 1860, the Annual Reports published in the *Mission Record* each year show a steady increase in the number of schools under the umbrella of the scheme, which included the Assembly Schools, the Ladies' Association Gaelic Schools, and the Normal Schools. In 1844, there were 146 schools with 13,000 pupils. In 1847-1848 there was a sharp increase from 196 to 209, and from the 1850 to 1860 the numbers again show a fairly stable rise from 177 to 189. By 1860, then, there were 189 schools with 24,000 pupils. During the eighteen years after the Disruption – years of increasing educational competition with the Free Church – the Education Committee succeeded in building two normal institutions for teacher training, expanding into other educational ventures like agricultural and industrial schools, reviving the Gaelic Schools connection with the Establishment, and adding 43 schools and 11,000 students to the rolls.

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[35] William Muir, *Metrical Meditations* (Edinburgh: James Taylor, 1870), 5-6.

[36] *MR,* 11/1850, 7:VI, 2-4; 4/1853, 4:VIII, 1-3.

The financial history of the Education Scheme from 1843 to 1860 is slightly more complex. This scheme, along with the other five, faced the constant threats of under-collecting and over-spending. Despite the annual collections publicized in the *Mission Record* and from the Church's pulpits, there were periods in which the debts of the scheme were so dire that the committee faced downsizing their efforts.[37] There were also periods of relative stability. The Acts of the General Assembly Finance Reports from 1843 to 1860 include specific information on parochial giving – how the people in the pews responded financially to the appeals of the Church in relation to the missionary schemes. These numbers generally indicate a steady rise both in funds and lay participation. For example, for the 1847-1848 financial year, 829 parishes gave a total of £2,644-7s-1d.[38] Ten years later, 938 parishes gave a total of £3,238-8s-6d.[39]

The parochial giving for the Education Scheme was also supplemented by a number of lay auxiliaries. First, the Ladies' Association for Gaelic Schools provided extra funds from their own fundraising efforts. Another group that helped in this regard was the Elders' Daughters' Association.[40] Finally, an organization known as the Lay Association was formed in 1843 immediately following the Disruption, and continued to supplement parochial giving toward all of the schemes all the way up to 1860 and beyond. In October of 1843, the *Mission Record* included a report of a Lay Association meeting. In moving a resolution, the prominent Church of Scotland layman, J.S. Hepburn of Colquhalzie, said:

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[37] The years 1850 and 1856-58 included *Mission Record* notices appealing for funds due to financial difficulty. Ex. *MR* 2/1850, 17:V; 2/1856, 2:XI; 3/1857, 3:XII; 2/1858, 2: XIII.

[38] *Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland*, Annual Finance Report, 1847-1848. Hereafter cited as *Acts*.

[39] Ibid., 1857-1858.

[40] This group is mentioned throughout the era, for example: *MR* 1/1850, 16:V, 3-6.

> It is of the most vital importance to the credit and character, and consequently to the best interests of the church, that these schemes should be maintained on a footing of unimpaired and even extended efficiency; and the deficiency of their resources, caused by the desertion of many of their supporters, must be met by increased exertion on the part of those who remain.[41]

The utilization of societies – a distinguishing mark of the pre-Disruption evangelical movement – by all of the Five (and later, six) Schemes, showed the energetic desire of post-Disruption Church of Scotland members to channel their efforts and giving in extra-parochial contexts.[42]

Despite financial constraints, the Education Scheme under Muir and Cook from 1843 to 1860 showed a remarkably quick recovery from the Disruption in terms of personnel and energy. The goal remained the education of the rural and urban poor, the means continued to be religiously focused education that prioritized the Bible and the Westminster Catechism, and the efforts expanded along with the population. Although the Scottish Education Act of 1872 largely removed education from the churches and placed it within the provenance of locally elected school boards, the two decades following the Disruption for the Education Scheme were defined by recovery and stable expansion.

Foreign Missions

Global missionary zeal had already arisen in Scotland prior to the formation of the Foreign Mission Scheme in 1824. Missiologist and historian Andrew Walls notes that the eighteenth-century transatlantic evangelical awakening "brought a new urgency to bring the Christian message to the whole world, especially where it was hitherto unknown."[43] A further source of early Scottish involvement in foreign missions was the 1709 establishment of the Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK), which began with efforts to bring continued Reformation to the Highlands and Islands' Gaelic-speaking population through local catechist-missionaries. It then began work overseas through the support of colonial figures like John MacLeod of Georgia and David Brainerd of New England.[44]

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[41] *MR*, 10/1843, 21:II, 14.

[42] Currie, "Growth," Chs. 4-6.

Around the turn of the nineteenth century, Scottish missionary efforts began to consolidate within voluntary missionary agencies such as the Glasgow and Edinburgh Missionary Societies, both formed in 1796. However, once the churches began to accept and promote foreign missions, the voluntary missionary societies became largely obsolete. The Church of Scotland entered into official missionary activity in 1813 when a Church of Scotland chaplain was sent to Bengal in accordance with new regulations of the East India Company. The involvement there led to the establishment of the Missionary Committee by one of the former East India chaplains, James Bryce, in 1824.[45]

Under the two conveners between 1824 and 1843 – Dr. John Inglis and Alexander Brunton – the scheme focused on the three Indian presidencies of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. The methodology of the mission work in India was the education of local elites in both Christian and secular subjects, with the intended goal of raising up a generation of native, high-caste Indian converts to disseminate the Gospel to their own people in their own language. The committee's appeal, like that of the Education Scheme, increased among the evangelicals in the Church after to the Voluntary Controversy of the 1830s.[46] Another factor in the popularity of the scheme among Evangelicals was a dynamic and zealous young missionary to India, Alexander Duff, who spent time on furlough in the mid-1830s in Scotland rousing the Church to action through tours and speeches. By 1843, due to the influence of Duff and the popularity of the nascent *Mission Record,* the Church of Scotland was decidedly a missionary church, with the Foreign Mission Scheme on solid footing.[47]

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[43] Andrew F. Walls, "Three Hundred Years of Scottish Missions," in *Roots and Fruits: Retrieving Scotland's Missionary Story*, ed. Kenneth R. Ross (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 2014), 5.
[44] Donald E. Meek, "Scottish Highlanders, North American Indians and the SSPCK: Some Cultural Perspectives," *RSCHS* 23, No. 3 (1989), 378-396.
[45] Walls, "Scottish Missions," 4-21.

The post-Disruption conveners of the committee up to 1860 were some of the major names of Established evangelicalism. First, Alexander Brunton continued as the convener following the Disruption until 1847. Though McCosh classed him as a Moderate, Chapter One discussed how he was more of an evangelical in his religious sympathies and pastoral activities.[48] James Veitch followed Brunton as convener from 1847 to 1850. A native of the Borders, Veitch was educated at Edinburgh University and ordained to Galashiels in 1834. He was translated to his third parish – St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh – in 1843 and remained there until his death in 1879.[49] He, unlike Brunton, was evangelical by McCosh's standards.[50] Although he was not a Middle Party man and did not publish much in the way of evangelical literature, he was a close friend of William Muir. In a letter from 1843, Muir wrote of his coming to St. Cuthbert's: "He is indeed a most estimable individual and his coming to Edinr. [sic] is a prodigiously great refreshment in these disagreeable times."[51]

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[46] Chambers, "Mission and Party," 9-42.

[47] Elizabeth G.K. Hewat, *Vision and Achievement, 1796-1956: A History of the Foreign Missions of the Churches united in the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1960), 35-38. Hewat notes that the 1842 circulation of the *Mission Record* was around 10,000.

[48] See Chapter One, 13 n.30.

[49] *FES,* 1:103.

[50] James McCosh, *The Wheat and the Chaff Gathered into Bundles; A Statistical Contribution Towards the History of the Recent Disruption of the Scottish Ecclesiastical Establishment* (Perth: James Dewar, 1843), 20.

Upon Veitch's resignation in 1850, James MacFarlane took the helm of the Church's Foreign Mission Committee from 1850 to 1856. Born into the family of a Relief Church minister in 1808, MacFarlane graduated MA from Glasgow University in 1825 and initially trained in his father's Dissenting tradition. However, he entered the Church of Scotland and was ordained to a Stirling charge in 1831. In the 1830s he was the minister of St. Bernard's, a Chapel-of-Ease in Stockbridge, near Muir's St. Stephen's church. In 1841, he was translated to the village parish of Duddingston, just outside of Edinburgh, where he remained until his death in 1866. He was a well-respected Churchman, receiving a D.D. from Glasgow in 1848 and becoming Moderator in 1865. James McCosh also included him among the evangelical residuals in the Established Church.[52] MacFarlane had no Middle Party ties, but was the Director of the Edinburgh Bible Society in 1833, 1834, and 1840.[53] Finally, the last convener of the era was James Craik from 1856 to 1860. Craik's continued evangelical influence in the Church was considered more fully in Chapter One. In sum, the conveners of the scheme from 1843 to 1860 were all well-entrenched Established evangelicals, several of whom had close ties to Muir.

The impact of the Disruption on the Foreign Mission Scheme was devastating. All the Church of Scotland missionaries, with the exception of one female lay teacher in India, Miss Saville, joined the Free Church. The introductory notice to the section of the *Mission Record* on the Foreign Mission Scheme from November 1843 appended Alexander Duff's letter of transference to the Free Church. It then honestly surveyed the current situation, admitting "some short time must elapse before these Missions, cherished by the Church of Scotland, it is hoped, with no particle of unworthy affection, are again in full operation."[54] However, an appended correspondence from the following month indicated that the Church of Scotland's Corresponding Board had reached an agreement with Duff and the other missionaries in Calcutta to remain in their stations, with remuneration, until the Established Church's scheme could get back on its feet. Among other things, this indicates that a degree of unity and ecumenism existed between the missionaries of the disrupted Church that was lacking at home.[55]

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[51] William Muir, "Extracts from Journal Letters Addressed to Anne Dirom, now Mrs. Muir," MUI2, New College Library Special Collections, Edinburgh University (accessed September-November 2015): Letter from 20 April 1843.
[52] McCosh, *The Wheat and the Chaff*, 20.
[53] Currie, "Growth," 466.

Despondency was never an option for the Foreign Missions committee. Under Brunton's leadership, they immediately set out on a course of recovery. By February of 1844 the *Mission Record* was pleased to report that the Establishment's mission in India would be back up and running soon. This notice paid special attention to the work of the Scottish Ladies' Association for the Advancement of Female Education in India (SLAFEI). An auxiliary of the General Assembly committee similar to the Ladies' Gaelic Association of the Education Scheme, the SLAFEI supported female teachers from Scotland to work with Indian girls toward the end of establishing native schools – essentially the same methodology of the male schools in the three presidencies. They also sought to raise funds for a female orphanage in Calcutta.[56] By September of 1844, two missionaries had been sent out to Madras and one to Bombay.[57] By November, the Ladies' auxiliary had sent one female teacher back to Madras.[58] The June edition of the *Mission Record* noted the continued work of the Ghospara Mission outside Calcutta, supported solely by Muir's St. Stephen's congregation.[59]

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[54] *MR*, 11/1843, 22:II, 5-6.
[55] *MR*, 12/1843, 23:II, 6-7.
[56] *MR*, 2/1844, 25:II, 7-8.

In 1846, the recovery was nearly complete. The February notice for Foreign Missions included the following intimation: "Every member of our church must rejoice to see how soon she has been enabled, by the Divine blessing, to emerge from her recent discouragements and difficulties relative to the operations of this one of her schemes."[60] Two months later, the committee announced that the General Assembly Institutions in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay had all reopened, "by the good hand of God upon the Church."[61] By 1850, the Institute in Calcutta had 1,021 pupils for daily attendance, the Madras Institute 300, the Bombay Institute 395, and the native catechist in Ghospara around 50.[62] Though the Disruption truly disrupted the work of the Foreign Mission Scheme in 1843, the Church of Scotland recovered relatively quickly by the end of the decade. By the next decade they began to expand their efforts.

The two main purposes and goals of the Foreign Mission Scheme between 1843 and 1860 were evangelical action abroad and increased piety at home. The notices in the *Mission Record* were meant to both inform the members of the Church of Scotland about the work of her missionaries in India and encourage them to seek a livelier faith in Scotland. The work of the Assembly's Institutions in the three presidencies, along with the female schools established by the SLAFEI, continued along the pre-1843 path of education-for-conversion. A notice from 1849 made this explicit:

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[57] *MR*, 9/1844, 32:II, 3-4.

[58] *MR*, 11/1844, 34:II, 5-6.

[59] *MR*, 6/1845, 6:III, 2-3. See Chapter One, 44.

[60] *MR*, 2/1846, 14:III, 4.

[61] *MR*, 4/1846, 16:III, 3. The school properties in India had stayed in the hands of the Established Church at the Disruption. This saved the Foreign Mission Committee considerable time and money in their recovery efforts.

[62] *MR*, 7/1850, 3:VI, 6-9.

> The course of training, it will be seen, embraces a wide and valuable field. The discipline as such, as to train the mental powers generally—to cultivate the reflective and reasoning faculties; while the great object is never forgotten, of bringing before the minds of the pupils, the sublime truths of Revelation—of explaining the credentials and contents of the Word of inspiration—and of impressing upon the youthful heart and conscience the necessity of the glorious Gospel of Christ, as offering what man stands especially in need of, as a guilty and dying creature.[63]

The goal of mobilizing the lay elite also survived the Disruption. Another 1849 report expressed the purpose of the Madras mission as "the Christian education of the young, with the training up of a race of duly qualified native evangelists, who may be able to communicate to their countrymen the glad tidings of salvation."[64] In sum, the purpose of the Indian missionary work of the Church of Scotland in the era in question was both educational and conversionary.

The scheme also aimed to awaken livelier faith in the lay supporters and fellow ministers of the Church of Scotland. In his commissioning address to the first two Bombay missionaries to return to India after the Disruption, Alexander Brunton exhorted the men and women gathered for the service: "Within the limit of your own sphere, remaining in the bosom of your kindred and of your own home, ask yourselves, as in the sight of God, whether you have faithfully done, whether you are faithfully doing, what is possible, what is incumbent upon you, for Christ and for the

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[63] *MR*, 4/1849, 7:V, 1-7.
[64] *MR*, 6/1849, 9:V, 1-7.

Gospel!"[65] Another address from 1848 attempted to convict and enliven the reader, adding, "It is only the man who has been brought into saving fellowship with Jesus that so looks upon the things of others as to care for their spiritual state, and be ready to make sacrifices for their conversion to the truth."[66] In 1857, another notice on "The Conversion of the Heathen" even went so far as to imply that an active, mission-centric faith would allay spiritual doubt.[67] Rather than losing its evangelical ethos at the Disruption, the Foreign Mission Scheme of the Church of Scotland continued to pursue its work with vigor, desirous for both native converts in India and a reinvigorated Scottish laity and clergy at home.

The *Mission Record's* coverage of the Foreign Mission Scheme between 1843 and 1860 also noted the difficulties encountered by the Church in India. For one, several notices from the late 1840s addressed the challenges encountered by native converts at the hands of their own families and communities. The upper-caste Indians who sent their children to the Assembly Institutions were vehemently anti-conversion, and strongly opposed to baptism, which they viewed as a rejection of traditional Indian faith, culture, and community. As the Protestant converts to Christianity in India were typically required to renounce the caste system, the post-conversion life of a young Indian Christian could result in difficulty gaining employment, as well as social ostracism; they were often declared dead to their families and communities.[68] In 1850 a convert from Calcutta named Dwarkanauth Dey was violently seized by his family on the day after his conversion and consequently rescued by some native Christian friends before admission to baptism on the following day.[69] This situation was somewhat relieved when William Muir's old friend Lord Dalhousie became Governor-General of India from 1848 to 1856 and passed an Act in the Council of India in 1850 allowing for religious liberty and State protection for native Christian converts.[70] These and a number of other issues faced by the missionaries in India received serious attention in the *Mission Record* throughout the 1840s and 1850s.[71]

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[65] *MR*, 4/1845, 4:III, 3.

[66] *MR*, 2/1848, 14:IV, 1-3.

[67] *MR*, 5/1857, 5:XII, 2-3.

[68] *MR*, 2/1847, 2:IV, 3; 4/1847, 4:IV, 3. Hewat also notes it was typical for parents to pull many of the children out of the Institutions after a baptism for fear of their child being the next new Christian. See *Vision and Achievement*, 46-47.

The financial reports and parochial giving to the Foreign Mission Scheme between 1843 and 1860 in many ways mirror the Education Scheme. A notice from the *Mission Record* of July 1848 detailed ways in which (despite increased funds) the costs of the ocean voyage and supplies for the replacement missionaries and their families necessitated even further giving.[72] In 1849 Veitch's committee provided a report that honestly described the financial impact of the Disruption due to the high price of beginning the mission anew. The same report noted that the late 1840s were hard times financially for everyone due to a slump in the national economy.[73] It was common for the committee to operate at a loss during the period, due to their desire to continue and expand the Church's mission work in India more and more each year. Though some periods were more desperate than others, as long as the debt was manageable the scheme continued to operate efficiently.[74]

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[69] *MR*, 1/1850, 16:V, 6-7.

[70] *MR*, 8/1850, 4:VI, 3-4.

[71] Another hotly-debated issue were the Grants-in-Aid begun in 1854, which some within the Church saw as an attempt by the Colonial Government to secularize the educational system of India and directly oppose missions. Cf. Chapter One.

[72] *MR*, 7/1848, 19:IV, 6-8.

[73] *MR*, 1/1849, 4:V, 3-6.

[74] One dire year was 1853, due to a large debt taken on for a new building project in Madras. Cf. *MR* 2/1853, 2:VIII, 1-3.

Parochial giving also tended to increase over time. The collection from 1843-1844 was a meager £593-10s-2d. After that, however, it tended to fluctuate between £2,500 and £3,000. In 1848-1849, 814 parishes gave £2,693-7s-11d. Ten years later both congregational participation and funds had increased to 862 parishes and £3,175-17s-11d.[75] Like the Education Scheme, the Lay Association and other societies supplemented these funds with yearly donations. The SLAFEI also had a number of local auxiliaries throughout Scotland. After the Disruption, the people in the pews – as well as the wealthy benefactors of the Lay Association – continued to support the work in India with their pocketbooks as well as their prayers.

Even though the committee themselves admitted in 1858 that the Church of Scotland's work in India after the Disruption was "very limited" in comparison to other Western missionary endeavours, the extent to which they recovered and even extended their efforts indicated that active global evangelism was an immediate priority within the Establishment. In a notice from 1852, MacFarlane's committee called the Church back to the zeal that had defined the earlier part of the century. He wrote: "The last command of an ascending Saviour began to assume its proper place in the Christian scheme, and not a few of us left for heathen lands, determined to know nothing among the Gentiles save Jesus Christ and Him crucified."[76] Not a few answered the call. Following the extension of the mission into the Punjab region, Thomas Hunter, his wife Jane, and their young son were all murdered during the Indian Mutiny of 1857 as they attempted to flee to safety. However, the Church's scheme increased rather than decreased efforts to replace the murdered missionaries.

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[75] *Acts*, 1843-1859.
[76] *MR*, 1/1852, 1:VII, 1-4.

By March of 1860 they had done so.[77] The Annual Report from August of 1860 applauded "cheering prospects that may be reasonably entertained as to the prospect of Christianity in [India]."[78] Indeed, between 1843 and 1860, the Church of Scotland remained a missionary church.

Home Missions

The committee on Home Mission began as the committee on Church Extension in 1834. That scheme itself was the conglomeration of three previous committees: Church Accommodation, Church Endowments, and Subdivision of Parishes. Both the Extension Scheme and its predecessors began as means of reaching the increasing amount of un-churched people, both in the sparsely populated and expansive Highlands and Islands and the continuously growing cities.[79] The energetic leadership and (increasingly privately aimed) fundraising apparatus of Thomas Chalmers in the 1830s and early 1840s brought a surge of church building. By 1841, 222 places of worship had been provided to ameliorate "religious destitution."[80] By the Evangelical Party's Chapels Act of 1834, these churches were given disciplinary authority over new ecclesiastical, or *quoad sacra* parishes, alongside the older civil, or *quoad omnia* parishes, in Scotland. The Court of Session's ruling in early 1843 that the Chapels Act was illegal resulted in a considerable loss of chapel ministers into the Free Church.[81] Nevertheless, the post-Disruption Kirk continued to pursue a steady program of evangelistic and ministerial provision. Renamed by an Act of the General Assembly in 1842, the committee on Home Mission of the Church of Scotland between 1843 and 1860 explicitly sought to inaugurate the Kingdom of God in the lives of Scotland's poorest and under-reached citizens.

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[77] *MR*, 3/1860, 3:XV, 2-4.

[78] *MR*, 8/1860, 8:XV, 2-11.

[79] Chambers, "Mission and Party," 61.

[80] Ibid., 61-63.

[81] Cf. Francis Lyall, "*Quoad Omnia*" and "*Quoad Sacra*" in *DSCHT*, 687-688.

The architect for almost all of the efforts pursued during these years was the first convener, Alexander Lockhart Simpson. Born in 1785, Simpson – like James MacFarlane of the Foreign Mission Scheme – trained in a Dissenting (Secession) tradition before joining the Church. He was ordained in 1812 to the parish of Kirknewton, where he would remain for the rest of his long life. He received a D.D. from Edinburgh University in 1836 and was the Moderator of the 1849 General Assembly.[82] Simpson was a key supporter of the Middle Party and joined Veitch and MacFarlane in McCosh's residual class of Established evangelicals from the Presbytery of Edinburgh.[83] He was convener of the scheme from 1843 to 1858.

The convener from 1858 to 1860 was another notable Churchman, Thomas Jackson Crawford. Born and educated in St. Andrews, he was ordained to a village parish in Fife in 1834. After several decades of parish ministry in Fife, Angus, and Edinburgh, he became Chair of Divinity at the University of Edinburgh from 1859 to 1875. He received a D.D. from St. Andrews in 1844, convened the Jewish mission Scheme from 1850 to 1854, the Home Mission scheme from 1858 to 1860, and was also elected Moderator of the General Assembly in 1869.[84] Though he possessed little in the way of Simpson's evangelical *bona fides*, he displayed a keen affinity for evangelism and activism through his leadership of not one, but two missionary schemes in the 1850s.

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[82] *FES*, I:152.

[83] McCosh, *Wheat and Chaff*, 18-19; J.F. Leishman, *Matthew Leishman of Govan and the Middle Party of 1843* (Paisley: Alexander Gardiner, 1924), 122-123.

[84] *FES*, VII:383-384.

In a General Collection notice from October of 1843, Simpson and his committee laid out the four primary aims of the scheme: "church extension," "aiding congregations, unable of themselves to support their minister," "the employment of probationers, to act as missionaries," and "encouraging promising young men for ministry."[85] Following the Disruption, the committee exerted most of their energy on the second goal – filling vacant pulpits of parish churches and chapels whose ministers had seceded with the Free Church. In March 1844 the committee were happy to report in the *Mission Record* that the ministers found thus far to replace the seceders were mostly "highly popular and efficient."[86] By August the committee were still pursuing these goals and noted that the work of church extension was in "abeyance" due to the urgency of filling the vacant churches.[87] However, the Disruption only temporarily curtailed the efforts of the Auld Kirk in providing churches and ministers for the poorer districts.

What the scheme lacked initially in personnel after the Disruption, it more than made up for in Simpson's charismatic and evangelical leadership. The first month that the *Mission Record* returned to circulation following the Disruption, Simpson propounded the *modus vivendi* of the Home Mission:

> The great end, at which we are steadily and uniformly to aim, is, that the influences of Gospel truth and of Gospel ordinances be shed like the dews of heaven, on every portion of our own beloved land, seeking to convert it into a garden of the Lord,—the dense masses of our cities, and the widely scattered population of the remotest wilds of our Highlands and Islands sharing and rejoicing in the common boon.[88]

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[85] *MR*, 10/1843, 21:II, 1.
[86] *MR*, 3/1844, 26:II, 6-7.
[87] *MR*, 8/1844, 31:II, 1. Cf. Muir's role in this process, Chapter One.
[88] *MR*, 7/1843, 18:II, 10.

The evangelicals in the Church of Scotland during the era in which Simpson came to theological maturity promoted the biblical-theological idea of the Kingdom of God coming to bear on the created world through the evangelistic and remedial activities of "awakened" men and women.[89] For Simpson, it defined his understanding of the work of the Church at home after the Disruption. When appealing for funds in July of 1844, he focused on "the extension of the Redeemer's Kingdom."[90] In February of 1847 he repeated the phrase verbatim.[91] Again in January of 1850, he wrote: "The Committee would ask of the members and friends of our Church, How the kingdom of Christ, so far as human instrumentality is concerned, is to be advanced upon the earth; and more especially among those from whom the Home Mission seeks to provide…."[92] For Simpson and other supporters of the Home Mission Scheme, the conversion of the people of Scotland – individually and collectively – had both local and eschatological implications.[93]

It also had social implications. Another key aim of the scheme was to address the moral and temporal needs of the "religiously destitute" communities in urban Victorian Scotland. In the annual collection notice from 1848, Simpson noted the relationship between Home Mission and morality: "Immorality and carelessness are fearfully prevalent; drunkenness and Sabbath-breaking are the palpable outward signs of a community living in the world without God and without hope." He continued, regarding poverty, "It is right to minister to the temporal necessities of the needy; but it is more imperative still to provide for their spiritual wants…"[94] While the ideology of social Christianity – later embodied by Churchmen like Donald MacLeod – had yet to make inroads in the work of the scheme, it was nevertheless mindful of its role in society at large.

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[89] Currie, "Growth," 63.
[90] *MR*, 7/1844, 30:II, 6-7.
[91] *MR*, 2/1847, 2:IV, 2.
[92] *MR*, 1/1850, 16:V, 1-2.
[93] Andrew Walls refers to this tension between individual and collective in Kingdom ideology, "Scottish Missions," 29-30.

In 1852, the committee's appeal for funds on the basis of social immorality and disorder bordered on panic. In a *Mission Record* notice from March of that year, they first detailed the rise of pauperism, crime, intemperance, and other social ills. They reached a crescendo with the warning that, "if an effectual cure is not provided against the spreading malady, the infidel and godless masses must soon become too strong for constituted authority, and overthrow the institutions of the land. *We must cure them, or they will kill us.*"[95] Though the European Revolutions of 1848 were surely fresh in the memories of the Scottish élite, that such a statement could appear in the *Mission Record* in 1852 speaks to the extent that many Victorian Church of Scotland ministers regarded the Established Church as both a spiritual and a social bulwark.

The primary operations of the scheme between 1843 and 1860 were, as noted, the provision of ministers to weak or vacant congregations.[96] Although at one point the committee blatantly acknowledged the "sameness" of the scheme's reports printed in the pages of the *Mission Record*, they attempted to incite interest and financial generosity by including real-life "applications for aid" from un-endowed churches and missionary stations.[97] One significant shift in the work occurred in 1849 when the Church of Scotland legally recovered a large number of her chapels from the Free Church.[98] In terms of numerical effectiveness, the amount of "places receiving aid" generally increased from 1843 to 1860 – especially following the Free Church case. While there were only 76 localities supported in 1846, the Annual Reports from 1851 to 1860 recorded an average of just over 107 places per year.

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[94] *MR*, 1/1848, 12:IV, 1-2.
[95] *MR*, 3/1852, 3:VII, 10-16.
[96] *MR,* 7/1845, 7:III, 8-9.
[97] *MR*, 11/1849, 14:V; 3/1846, 15:III, 6-7.

In terms of overall financial health, the general funds increased annually from 1843 to 1846.[99] However, by September of 1850 the added burden of supporting the chapels coming to the Church after the successful outcome of the Free Church case forced the committee to issue a plea for funds.[100] Early in 1860, the committee were forced to hold an Extra Collection to support their work.[101] By October, however, the finances had improved and the debts had been significantly reduced.[102] Congregational giving, along with the fundraising efforts of societies and associations, enhanced the scheme's finances. In 1848-1849, 822 parishes gave £2,669-14s-7d. By 1858-1859, 957 parishes and chapels had raised £3,145-4s-10d.[103] Over £3,000 was collected parochially for every financial year in the 1850s, save 1851-1852.[104] The Lay Association handsomely supplemented the congregational support, averaging around £400 per annum.[105] Throughout the 1840s and 1850s, the formation of parochial associations in support of the schemes added a further source of lay support.[106] Overall, the scheme gradually increased throughout the era, both in terms of operations and finance.

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[98] The case was reported in the *MR* in 3/1849, 7:V, 7-9.
[99] *MR*, 12/1846, 24:III, 3-4.
[100] *MR*, 9/1850, 5:VI, 1-3.
[101] *MR*, 4/1860, 4:XV, 1-2.
[102] *MR*, 10/1860, 10:XV, 1-2.
[103] *Acts*, 1848-1860.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.
[106] In the *MR,* 1/1851, 9:VI, Simpson commended these local societies and wrote a list of suggested guidelines.

Between the Disruption and 1860, the Home Mission scheme under Simpson and Crawford helped ensure that “the Gospel of salvation is preached to many thousands of our countrymen who would otherwise be, for the most part, suffered to remain undisturbed in the slumber of spiritual death.”[107] The laity of the Church of Scotland shared this desire, expressed most observably through their steadily increasing financial support. The Home Mission Scheme played a major role in the Church’s recovery from the losses of the Disruption and increased the Church’s evangelical work and influence.

Jewish Missions

The Jewish Mission was one of the more exceptional endeavors pursued by the Church of Scotland.[108] The interest in converting the world’s Jewish population to Christianity had earlier nineteenth-century origins in groups like the London Jewish Mission in the Holy Land. However, due to a “fascination with the subject of the fulfillment of Biblical prophecies in a literalist sense,” and an increasing tendency to view the British Empire – like Israel of old – as an elect or covenanted nation, a number of Scottish evangelicals developed a serious interest in the movement during the 1830s. In 1839, three of these evangelical leaders from the Church of Scotland – Alexander Keith, Robert Murray M’Cheyne, and Andrew Bonar – traveled to the Holy Lands to explore the possibilities of missionary work. On their way east, they were forced to convalesce in Hungary for a time. Here they established connections with a local Protestant noblewoman, and were entreated to return and work amongst the local Jewish population. Upon their return, the scheme was officially recognized by the General Assembly of 1840, and in 1841 two missionaries were sent to Budapest. As this scheme in particular was strongly linked to the Evangelical Party, both of the missionaries joined the Free Church in 1843.[109] Along with the Foreign Mission Scheme, the post-Disruption Church of Scotland's Jewish Scheme was forced to start from scratch.

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[107] *MR*, 2/1851, 10:VI, 2.

[108] Chambers, “Mission and Party,” 113.

Following the Disruption, the first convener was John Hunter of the Tron, Edinburgh. Born in 1788, his father was the eminent Edinburgh divine, Andrew Hunter, D.D., also of the Tron. The younger Hunter was ordained to Swinton in 1814 and translated to his father's parish in 1832.[110] James McCosh classed him as a Moderate, and he had no recorded dealings with the Middle Party figures. However, he was Director of the Berwickshire Bible Society in 1829, and between 1836 and 1840 he published nine articles in the evangelical *Scottish Christian Herald*.[111] The convener from 1850 to 1854 was Thomas Jackson Crawford, who would later go on to chair the Home Mission Committee. Adam Duncan Tait, an Edinburgh evangelical, served for a brief stint between 1854 and 1855.[112]

The last convener during the period was Alexander Ferrier Mitchell. Born in Brechin in 1822, he was educated at St. Andrews and ordained after the Disruption in 1847.[113] While only twenty-six years of age, he was appointed Professor of Hebrew at St. Andrews University and served in that capacity from 1848 to 1868.

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[109] Chambers, "Mission and Party," 113-129. Also see Ábrahám Kovács, *The Origin of Scottish-Hungarian Church Relations: The Settlement and the First Years of the Scottish Mission in the 1840s* (Debrecen: Debreceni Református Kollégium Nyomdájában, 2001).

[110] *FES,* I:141-142.

[111] Currie, "Growth," 461.

[112] McCosh, *Wheat and Chaff*, 21.

[113] Because of his youth, the McCosh/Middle Party/Currie metrics fail to apply.

From 1868 until his death in 1899, he held the Chair in Church History at the same institution. Mitchell was a highly respected scholar and published mainly in the field of Scottish Church History, particularly in the eras of the Reformation and Westminster Assembly. He was awarded a D.D. from St. Andrews in 1862, an LL.D. from Glasgow in 1892, and was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1885.[114] In sum, the Jewish Mission Committee conveners from 1843 to 1860 were generally evangelical, perhaps excepting Hunter.

The General Assembly immediately reappointed the committee under Hunter in 1843.[115] In the February *Mission Record* from 1844, the committee took an opportunity to note the damage caused by the Disruption and to reassert their commitment:

> Recent events have deprived the Church of Scotland of her Jewish missionaries, and for a time prevented her from active exertion in this sphere of Christian enterprize [sic]; but never did she for a moment harbour the thought of abandoning a work so truly great and glorious. It is her ardent desire to redouble her efforts for promoting the spiritual interests of those 'beloved for the Father's sake,' and to send forth new labourers into the fields….[116]

As with the Education and Foreign Mission Schemes, a Ladies' Association for work with Jewish women and girls was mobilized around the same time.

By July 1844, the *Mission Record* reported William Muir's commissioning address for two newly appointed missionaries – a male missionary and his family and a female teacher – heading out to work amongst the Jews in the international trading town of Cochin, India.[117] In December 1844, a Mr. Davis, formerly of the

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[114] *FES,* VII:433.
[115] *MR*, 7/1843, 18:II, 14.
[116] *MR*, 2/1844, 25:II, 1-2.
[117] *MR*, 7/1844, 30:II, 11.

London Society, was approved for work in Tunis, North Africa.[118] By the next month, the Ladies' Association had secured the services of a Miss Brown to join Davis in Tunis.[119] By May 1845, the missionary and female teacher in Cochin reported initial successes and the General Collection notice from October happily reported that "The present condition and future prospects of the Church of Scotland's Jewish Mission are encouraging."[120] The Annual Report from 1846 announced that the funds had increased over the past year and that, despite no reports of conversions, the committee remained hopeful.[121] From that point forward, the scheme continued to increase in terms of personnel and geographical reach.

The methods employed were synagogue preaching and – as in India – the establishment of local schools. The aims of the scheme remained explicitly conversionary, and often continued to make reference to the special place of the Jewish people in the covenant history of the world. In the February *Mission Record* from 1844, the committee adopted language from Romans 11:17-24 in their manifesto "to become an humble instrument" of God "for grafting the natural branches into their own olive tree."[122] The Annual Report from 1844 appealed to the missionaries "to awaken [the Jews] to a sense of the evil of sin, and to show them their need for a Saviour, and the excellence and suitableness of the atonement of Christ."[123] The collection appeal from 1849 reminded the people of the Church of Scotland of "the purpose of communicating to Israel the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus; that, by the divine blessing, a remnant may be added to the flock of the

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[118] *MR*, 12/1844, 35:II, 1.
[119] *MR*, 1/1845, 1:III, 1.
[120] *MR*, 5/1845, 5:III, 6; 10/1845, 10:III, 1.
[121] *MR*, 8.1846, 20:III, 7-9.
[122] *MR*, 2/1844, 25:II, 1.
[123] *MR*, 8/1844, 31:II, 11.

Good Shepherd…."[124] While still preaching and teaching to convert, the Jewish Mission Scheme was self-consciously gradualist in its approach. A notice from 1850 reported that, "while they are not able to record numerous instances of conversion amongst the children of Judah, yet real and important good has been effected."[125]

Between 1843 and 1857, the scheme operated missionary stations in London, Tunis, Cochin, and a number of locations in Germany.[126] Initially, most of the missionaries were either converted Jews or German-speaking Christians. However, in 1854 two of the missionaries from Germany toured the universities of Scotland in order to stir up zeal at home and recruit for Jewish missions abroad.[127] By May 1857, three Scottish missionaries – the James Bonthorne, George Coull, and Peter Crosbie – had been sent to the field.[128] By February 1857, the Jewish Scheme had decided to direct its gaze to the Middle East. The February *Mission Record* from that year noted that a number of "stations previously occupied by the American Missionaries to the Jews" provided perfect opportunities to facilitate a Church of Scotland mission in Turkey.[129] By October of that year, the committee had operations in Salonica, Cassandra, and Smyrna.[130] In May 1860, they began work in Constantinople.[131]

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[124] *MR*, 1/1849, 4:V, 1.

[125] *MR*, 7/1850, 3:VI, 15-16. It should also be noted that while the post-Disruption Church of Scotland scheme continued in several ways to pursue the pre-Disruption agenda, there was also some divergence. The early leaders – especially Alexander Keith who penned the popular work *Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion, Derived from the Literal Fulfillment of Prophecy* in 1828 – were mostly premillennialists (expecting the return of Christ prior to a thousand-year reign as per one interpretation of Revelation 20) and particularly fascinated with the role of the Holy Land in both prophetic and recent history. After the Disruption, the scheme played down millennial language – at least in the *Mission Record* – and focused more on Jewish diaspora communities than Palestine. See Donald Lewis, *The Origins of Christian Zionism: Lord Shaftesbury and Evangelical Support for a Jewish Homeland* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 137-138.

[126] Karlsruhe, Darmstadt, Wurzburg, and Speyer.

[127] *MR*, 4/1854, 4:IX, 10-11.

[128] *MR*, 5/1857, 5:XII, 8-11.

[129] *MR*, 2/1857, 2:XII, 17-21.

[130] *MR*, 10/1857, 10:XII, 19-22.

[131] *MR*, 5/1860, 5:XV, 3-4.

Thus, the focus of the Jewish Scheme during the period in question began with India, North Africa, and London, and then gradually shifted to Germany and Turkey.

The pages of the *Mission Record* reported a number of baptisms and conversions over the years, but also at times bemoaned a lack of enthusiasm at home. The annual collection notice from 1849 included a rebuke of "the lukewarmness of many professing Christians within her pale with regard to the conversion of a people through whose instrumentality we ourselves have derived all our privileges, consolations, and hopes." It continued: "No church or individual has reason to expect the Divine blessing, that does not supplicate, and diligently seek, 'the good of Israel.'"[132] A similar piece, titled "A Plea for Jewish Missions," appeared in April 1852. The article honestly opened, "It is not disguised that many persons are disposed to look with coldness on the claims of Jewish Missions, who are not disinclined to give their countenance and support to every other branch of the Missionary enterprise."[133] For all their efforts, the committee struggled to evoke the same level of support for the conversion of Jews that defined the era of Robert Murray McCheyne.

The financial records of the scheme corroborate the lackluster popular support that remained the thorn in the side of the committee. Still, the numbers indicate a slight gradual increase in lay support – though not to the extent of the Foreign Mission Scheme. The parochial collections from 1843-1844 amounted to £1,203-4s-7d.[134] By 1847 they regularly surpassed £2,000, yet between 1849 and 1859 they leveled out around £2,100 per annum.[135] The slight indication of increased support comes from the number of parishes and chapels giving to the scheme annually. In 1848-1849, 703 parishes recorded collections for the Jewish Mission. By 1858-1859, that number rose gradually to 818 parishes and chapels.[136] Again, the Lay Association and local auxiliaries of the Ladies' Association regularly supplemented the lay support of the congregations.

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[132] *MR*, 1/1849, 4:V, 2.
[133] *MR,* 4/1852, 4:VII, 1-4.
[134] *Acts*, 1843-1859.
[135] Ibid.

The overall pattern of the Jewish Scheme from 1843 to 1860 was thus mixed. On one hand, the people in the pews – apart from the stable number of convinced enthusiasts – seemed to be more interested in the other fields of evangelistic and remedial endeavor. Yet the efforts of the committee and the missionaries to recover and expand the mission to the Jews during the same era were impressive. Starting with no one, the scheme redeveloped over time into a well-functioning organization. By 1859, the general collection notice included a headcount of the personnel abroad: five ordained missionaries, five lay missionaries, and seven native workers.[137]

Colonial Missions

As the British Empire expanded throughout the nineteenth century, so too did the number of Scottish emigrants.[138] To provide Christian ordinances and pastoral care for the settlers, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland approved the formation of a Colonial Mission in 1836. Key figures in the founding of the scheme included stalwart Moderates like Duncan Mearns and Principal Duncan MacFarlan of Glasgow University. However, Don Chambers found that the "Evangelicals guided the mission" following its inception.[139] According to Barbara Murison, the colonial ministers – at least in British North America – also tended to be evangelicals.[140] Geographically, the Church's early efforts in colonial provision centered on India (military chaplains and churches for the European residents, not to be confused with the education-focused work of the Foreign Mission Scheme), British North America (modern day Canada), and Australia. By 1860, the Colonial Committee expanded its work to a number of other colonies.

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[136] *Acts*, 1843-1859.

[137] *MR*, 8/1859, 8:XIV, 1-2.

[138] Along with a "search for new markets" and increasing migration, John Darwin's recent study of the British Empire notes the added impetus to expansion provided by evangelical missionary energy. In one sense, then, both the colonial and foreign mission efforts of the Church of Scotland occupied space in the imperial "system" that emerged in the Victorian era. See Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World System, 1830-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 41-47. Most of the Colonial Committee's efforts were directed toward white settlement colonies, described by James Belich as "the reproduction of one's own society through long-range migration." The Scots emigrated at a higher rate than the English between 1815 and 1930 and "contributed disproportionately to British expansion." See Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 21, 58-59.

Principal MacFarlan continued to act as convener from 1843 to 1855. Born in 1771, he was educated at Glasgow and ordained to Drymen in 1792. Between 1824 and his death in 1857, he held joint posts as Principal of the University and minister St. Mungo's, the Glasgow High Kirk. He received a D.D. in 1806 and served as Moderator of the General Assembly both in 1819 and at the contentious disrupted Assembly of 1843.[141] Duncan MacFarlan was an unambiguous Moderate. As noted in Chapter One, William Muir considered him a member of the arch-Moderate elite.[142] However, it seems as though his position was somewhat honorary following the Disruption. Two of his Vice Conveners, Thomas Clark of St. Andrews, Edinburgh and David Arnot of St. Giles, effectively managed the committee in the late 1840s and early 1850s.

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[139] Chambers, "Mission and Party," 99-102.

[140] Barbara C. Murison, "The Disruption and the Colonies of Scottish Settlement," in *Scotland in the Age of the Disruption*, eds. Stewart J. Brown and Michael Fry (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), 137.

[141] *FES*, III:458-459.

[142] See Chapter One.

In 1856, James Charles Fowler succeeded MacFarlan after the lengthy incumbency of the latter. Born in Aberdeen in 1808, Fowler was educated as Marishcal College, Aberdeen and ordained to the Roxburgh Place Chapel, Edinburgh, in 1834. In 1837 he translated to St. Luke's, Glasgow, and from 1843 to his death in 1866 ministered to the parish of Ratho, just outside of Edinburgh. He received an LL.D. from Marischal in 1856.[143] While James McCosh considered him a Moderate, he was also one of the original members of the Middle Party from the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr.[144] He published an article in the evangelical *Scottish Christian Herald* in 1836 and, prior to his translation to Ratho, assisted the work of the Glasgow Church Building Society.[145]

The final convener of the era, William Stevenson of South Leith, took office in 1859. He was a native of Ayrshire and completed his university training in Glasgow. He was ordained to Arbroath in 1833 and translated to South Leith in 1844, where he would remain until his death in 1873. He was awarded a D.D. from Glasgow in 1849.[146] Stevenson was another of the Establishment residuals McCosh considered to be evangelical.[147] He also published two articles in the *Scottish Christian Herald* in 1836 and 1837.[148] Following MacFarlan's long – if somewhat absentee – tenure, the overall mood of the committee began to shift toward the evangelicalism that had defined it prior to the Disruption.

The impact of the Disruption in the colonies differed from place to place. In British North America, only a quarter of the ministers from the Synod of Canada joined the Free Church. The New Brunswick Synod remained solidly committed to the Established Church, apart from a few. The colonial ministers within the Synod of Nova Scotia, however, joined the Free Church much more readily, leaving only two of their brethren to supply the needs of the Church of Scotland in that province. In the less populous and more distant Synod of Australia, only three out of sixteen joined the Free Church.[149] The pages of the *Mission Record* from that era made continual reference to the tense colonial situation, and a letter appended to the September 1843 issue included an appeal from the committee. They nervously and expectantly wrote: "We have been directed to address you with a view of obtaining such information, to express their confident hope, that you adhere steadfastly to the Church of our fathers."[150] Two months later the committee was able to announce in the *Mission Record* that "the great body of our American congregations, with their ministers, it is believed, will remain true to the Church of their fathers." Hoping to give the colonial ministers no reason to reconsider, they concluded the letter by noting: "Such fidelity must entitle them to a place in our high esteem, and to such support as we can render them."[151]

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[143] *FES*, 1:183.
[144] Leishman, *Middle Party*, 241.
[145] Currie, "Growth," 456.
[146] *FES*, VII:390-391.
[147] McCosh, *Wheat and Chaff*, 79.
[148] Currie, "Growth," 477.

From 1843 to 1860, the support rendered consisted primarily of sending out deputations of ministers from the home Church for temporary visits to North America, along with an increasingly steady stream of full-time colonial ministers, both there and further afield.[152] The first North American deputation consisted of three notable Churchmen, Norman MacLeod of Morven, his son Norman MacLeod of Dalkeith, and the Home Mission Convener Alexander Lockhart Simpson. The immediate goals of the deputation were "to heal division and not to increase it, to ascertain correctly, with a view to relieve, the spiritual destitution which prevails among the Presbyterian population."[153] Another task of the deputation, particularly the popular Gaelic preacher MacLeod the elder, was to preach and minister to the Gaelic-speaking population, much of which was concentrated in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. The report of this first deputation roused the Church at home to continue the work in the colonies "of saving souls, and thereby advancing that spiritual kingdom."[154]

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[149] Murison, "Disruption and the Colonies," 136. For a fuller assessment of the impact of the Disruption on the Canadian churches, see John S. Moir, *Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland* (Toronto: The Bryan Press, Ltd., 1974), 101-127.

[150] *MR*, 9/1843, 20:II, 9-10.

[151] *MR*, 12/1843, (23:II, 1.

[152] For more on this in relation to Australia, see Malcolm D. Prentis, "Presbyterian Ministry in Australia, 1822-1900: Recruitment and Composition," *Journal of Religious History* 13, No. 1 (1984): 46-65.

Two years later, a second deputation of J.C. Fowler, Robert Stevenson, and Simon Mackintosh arrived in North America. As in the case of MacLeod of Morven on the first visit, Mackintosh attracted crowds in Nova Scotia with his Gaelic preaching.[155] Again, the explicit goal was to "testify the cordial sympathy and Christian concern with which the Church at home regarded her children in these distant colonies, and to collect such information as might serve to guide the Church in her efforts."[156] A third deputation was dispatched in 1852. However, by this time the needs of the colonial churches were only too well known and the tremors of the Disruption had settled. As such, the purpose of the third deputation was simply for the two Scottish Churchmen – Dr. William Ritchie of Longforgan and William Sutherland of Dingwall – to "preach the Gospel for three months, and to minister the sacraments to our vacant and desolate congregations in Nova Scotia, Prince Edward's Island, and, if possible, also in New Brunswick." Ritchie preached in English; Sutherland led the Gaelic services.[157] A fourth and final deputation in 1857 focused exclusively on Nova Scotia.[158] While the deputations played a key role in keeping up colonial morale and attempting to nourish the ties between Kirk and kin, they were only able to achieve so much due to their limited time and personnel.

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[153] *MR*, 9/1845, 9:III, 7. Murison notes that the two-year gap between the Disruption and the first deputation was "fatal" to the hopes of church unity. Cf. "Disruption and the Colonies," 140.
[154] *MR*, 2/1846, 13:III, 7.
[155] *MR*, 9/1847, 9:IV, 9-11.
[156] *MR*, 7/1848, 19:IV, 10-12.

The most effective work in the colonies between 1843 and 1860 had to be done on the ground. The most common notices in the *Mission Record* for the Colonial Scheme were appeals for ministers and especially ministers for North America who spoke Gaelic. The desperation for ministers among the Scottish Presbyterian colonists had two primary causes. First, when the ministers who joined the Free Church seceded in May 1843, they left over 400 Scottish parish churches that required immediate supply. The collection notice in the October *Mission Record* from 1844 noted that many of the North American missionary ministers were called back to fill these gaps. As a result, the colonial churches felt the effects of the Disruption, perhaps more keenly than their counterparts at home.[159] The other major factor in the case of the Colonial Scheme's struggle to provide ministers was the constant flow of people from Scotland to the edges of the empire. A notice from 1850 reported that, "During the last year, the number of emigrants from Great Britain *has nearly doubled*. No provision seems to have been made for their religious instruction, either on the passage out, or on reaching the places of their exile."[160]

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[157] *MR*, 10/1852, 10:VII, 13-15.

[158] *MR*, 1/1857, 1:XII, 11-12.

[159] *MR*, 10/1844, 33:II, 1.

[160] *MR*, 3/1850, 18:V, 1-2. Though Church of Scotland ministers saw to the spiritual and physical wellbeing of emigrants throughout the immigration process in the era, the Church of England's emigrant chaplaincy network was far more effective. See Rowan Strong, "Globalising British

Despite the hardships encountered by the scheme, its work continued unabated and eventually gathered steam. In 1845, the committee received "nearly thirty" applications for ministers or missionary probationers from North America, but only five were sent.[161] By 1848 the annual report was more optimistic about "the increasing number" and "increasing zeal" in the Church's licentiates from whom the committee recruited.[162] The next year's report noted that six ministers, two missionaries, and two schoolmasters departed for colonial work.[163] In July 1852, the *Mission Record* reported "a tide of Christian sympathy setting in, which will ensure for this cause a more abundant supply, of both men and money."[164] Though personnel shortages continued to plague the colonial Churches, momentum at home gradually built. An 1854 *Mission Record* notice read:

> We have to congratulate our readers, and the Church at large, on the prosperous condition of the Colonial Scheme. We do not refer simply to what has been done in times past, though that is very great, but we refer specially to the number of well-qualified and well-educated young men, as preachers of the Gospel, who are now offering their services for the Colonial vineyard.[165]

Not long afterwards, the floodgates opened. Between 1856 and 1857, "no fewer than twenty-two ordained ministers" were sent to the colonial churches. Of that number, eleven went either to Nova Scotia or Prince Edward's Island – two of the places most consistently applying for aid.[166] As with all the other schemes, recovery during the 1840s was followed by a revival of interest and effort in the 1850s.

Christianity in the Nineteenth Century: The Imperial Anglican Emigrant Chaplaincy, 1846-c.1910," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 43, no. 1 (2015), 1-32.

[161] *MR*, 8/1845, 8:III, 1.

[162] *MR*, 7/1848, 19:IV, 10-12.

[163] *MR*, 7/1849, 10:V, 12-14.

[164] *MR*, 7/1851, 15:VI, 13-17.

[165] *MR*, 2/1854, 2:IX, 14-19.

[166] *MR*, 6/1857, 6:XII, 1-3.

Unlike the other schemes, however, the reports and articles from the Colonial Scheme's portion of the *Mission Record* indicate that the Church of Scotland's congregations in the British Colonies exercised a significant degree of local mobilization and self-determination. In 1846, both Halifax and Montreal in British North America developed their own Lay Associations.[167] By 1850 another Lay Association formed in Jamaica under the guidance of John Radcliffe.[168] In 1851, the *Mission Record* took notice and included a small piece on how the Scots abroad were "employing all competent and likely means, with a view to the alleviation of the spiritual destitution which abounds in the places of their settlement."[169] Beginning in 1852, the Australian churches even began planning their own foreign missions to the South Sea Islands and home missions to the Australian indigenous peoples.[170] In 1855, the first issue of the *Monthly Record of the Church of Scotland in Nova Scotia* began circulation.[171] Finally, and perhaps most impressively, the Church of Scotland's Colonial Scheme subsidized and worked in tandem with Queen's College, Kingston to educate a native Presbyterian ministry in British North America. In 1852 there were sixteen students at Queen's intending for ministry in the Church of Scotland.[172] By 1859 that number had tripled.[173]

Rather than simply wait for the Church of Scotland to alleviate their distress, the colonial churches supported by the scheme struck out on their own to insure a future for Scottish Presbyterianism abroad. In the end, though, this self-determination would prove a double-edged sword for the Church at home. On the one hand, the settlers began to oversee their own ecclesiastical affairs with more proficiency, alleviating the coffers in Scotland. On the other hand, the greater the self-sufficiency, the more likely ties to the Auld Kirk would loosen.[174] In 1875 all the Presbyterian churches in Canada were united as one; the Australian Presbyterians followed suit just after the turn of the twentieth century.[175]

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[167] *MR*, 2/1846, 14:III, 9.
[168] *MR*, 9/1850, 5:VI, 10-12.
[169] *MR*, 11/1851, 19:VI, 7-8.
[170] *MR*, 2/1852, 2:VII, 9-11; 4/1854, 4:IX, 8-9.
[171] *MR*, 3/1855, 3:X, 11-17.
[172] *MR*, 4/1852, 4:VII, 10-12.
[173] *MR*, 6/1859, 6:XIV, 4-13.

Apart from British North America, Australia, and India, the Colonial Scheme supported ministers and missionaries in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Mauritius, New Zealand, British Guiana, Grenada, Jamaica, and St. Vincent. Such an undertaking required consistent financial support. The general financial updates over the period from the *Mission Record* mirror the necessities of the growth in personnel. In 1850, while the Colonial Scheme neared the end of its struggle to recruit for the field, the funds were healthy and the income exceeded expenditure.[176] However, following the increased number of ministers supplied, the annual report from 1860 proposed a number of measures to tighten the belt.[177] Parochial generosity between 1843 and 1860 increased in terms of parish and chapel numbers and overall annual giving. The congregational amount recorded for 1843-1844 was £1,756-5s-6d.[178] After an initial bump between 1844 and 1848, it generally rose stably. In 1848-1849, 737 parishes gave £2,178-19s-2d. By 1858-1859, 853 parishes and chapels had given £2,410-19s-

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[174] The colonial Church of Scotland congregations were effectively voluntary churches by the 1850s. It seems, however, that the Church of Scotland approved of this in practice, at least in Australia. See Rowland S. Ward, "The Transmission of Presbyterianism to Australia," in *Presbyterian Ministers in Australia, 1822-1901: A Biographical Register*, eds. Rowland S. Ward and Malcolm D. Prentis, 3rd. Ed. (Wantirna, Australia: New Melbourne Press, 2013), xii-xvii. The relationship between the colonial and mother Church of Scotland in this era is a topic in need of further study.

[175] Murison, "Disruption and the Colonies," 143-146.

[176] *MR*, 7/1850, 3:VI, 12-14.

[177] *MR*, 6/1860, 6:XV, 1-9.

[178] *Acts*, 1843-1859.

10d.[179] In the same ten-year period, the Lay Association supplemented the congregational donations to the tune of £285, on average.[180] Fortunately for the Colonial Committee – and to the credit of the laity – funds and operations both increased during the era of recovery and revival.

After the Disruption, the Church of Scotland faced a difficult task in providing for the religious needs of her people in the various reaches of the empire. Adding to the challenge, the hundreds of ministers who returned – particularly from North America – to vacant Scottish charges in 1843 left colonial congregations behind them in need of ministers. While the needs were daunting and continued to require attention and financial appeals, the work was pursued with diligence and – as far as the *Mission Record* is able to attest – genuine care. A letter reprinted in the August edition 1853 from John MacKay, Esq. of New Glasgow, Nova Scotia, expressed his gratitude for the deputations. For MacKay and his local comrades, the Church of Scotland's Colonial Committee "watched over us with more than maternal solicitude."[181]

The Endowment Scheme

Unlike the original Five Schemes, the Endowment Scheme was a creation of the post-Disruption Church of Scotland. It began in earnest in 1847 when James Robertson of Ellon, by then Professor of Church History at the University of Edinburgh, took charge of the year-old scheme and infused it with passionate leadership until his death in 1860. Robertson had been active in the Church extension campaign of the 1830s. The general goal of the Endowment Scheme was to work alongside the Home Mission Scheme to provide the poorest members of Scottish society with the "means of religious instruction."[182] The specific goal of the scheme was to take advantage of new legislation and petition the better-off members of society – rather than the Government – for financial assistance in the endowment of chapels and erection of new churches. In 1844 under the direction of the Home Secretary, Sir James Graham, Parliament passed an Act allowing for the erection of new Church of Scotland parishes *quoad sacra*. Under the conditions of the Act, the Church had to provide an annual endowment of £120 from a larger investment of £3,000 for a minister's salary. Through this process, the un-endowed chapels of ease erected to reach the poor would be enabled to enjoy the same official ecclesiastical status as the older parishes and – it was argued – further benefit from the territorial oversight of the Established Church. To thus legally bring the approximately 220 chapels retained at the Disruption within the Establishment would require Robertson and the Endowment Scheme to raise £600,000. [183] The undertaking was monumental.

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[179] Ibid.
[180] Ibid.
[181] *MR*, 8/1853, 8:VIII, 10-12.

The man credited with the success of the Endowment Scheme began his life in humbler circumstances. He was born in Pitsligo, Aberdeenshire in 1803, the son of a farmer. He took an MA from Marischal College, Aberdeen in 1820 and was licensed by the Presbytery of Deer in 1825. He spent his first working years as a tutor and schoolmaster before his ordination to the parish of Ellon in 1832. He was a member of the Poor Law Commission, Secretary of the Bible Board for Scotland,

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[182] *MR*, 2/1859, 2:XIV, 1-3. According to the committee, "The object further embraces, indirectly, setting free the funds of the Home Mission Scheme, to be applied to the forming of new congregations in destitute districts, and other strictly missionary purposes."

[183] A.H. Charteris, *A Faithful Churchman: Memoir of James Robertson, D.D., F.R.S.E.* (Edinburgh: R&R Clark, 1897), 123-124. Also see Andrew L. Drummond and James Bulloch, *The Church in Victorian Scotland, 1843-1874* (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1975), 119-122.

Professor at Edinburgh from 1844, and Moderator of the General Assembly in 1856. As with a number of the other conveners, he received a D.D. from his *alma mater* in 1843.[184]

With respect to the Moderate/Evangelical paradigm, Robertson somewhat defied categorization. He was certainly a Moderate during the Ten Years' Conflict and Disruption years, and was often deployed against the Non-Intrusionists in matters of debate.[185] His personal faith was, however, by all accounts closer to what would have been considered evangelical. In his early years of ministry, he was particularly awakened to active piety through the accounts of the Indian missionary Alexander Duff.[186] He continued to promote missions and penned an appeal for the work of the SLAFEI in 1846.[187] A speech from 1851 emphasized the role of "the Bible, and the Bible alone" as a means of regeneration.[188] Near the end of his life, he even spoke approvingly of the spiritual benefits from the 1859-1862 religious revival movement that began in Ulster and continued throughout Scotland.[189] Similar in a way to Muir, Robertson was a conservative in public matters and an evangelical in terms of theology and piety.

The pages of the *Mission Record* captured the work of the Endowment Scheme from its infancy to the death of Robertson in 1860. The first notice appeared in 1848 and included the second annual General Assembly report, which noted that five churches were then benefiting from the work of the scheme.[190] A longer notice from Robertson in the November issue of that same year included details regarding the aims and methods of the work. He opened, “The time has now come, when efforts for the relief of religious destitution in large towns ought not be longer delayed.”[191] He continued to discuss the ways in which the increasing poverty in Scotland proved dangerous to both society and religion. He aimed his initial appeal at the wealthier classes of society for the purpose of “gathering of outcasts into a Christian congregation, and the building up of the different classes of society…into an organized structure—a living example of Christian love.”[192] Thus, the initial goals for Robertson focused more on the conservative role of the Church as a check against the threat of social upheaval – similar to the foreboding 1854 notice from the Home Mission Scheme.

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[184] *FES,* VI:191-192.
[185] See, for example Charteris, *Faithful Churchman*, 86.
[186] Ibid., 29-30.
[187] *FES*, VI:192.
[188] Quoted in Charteris, *Faithful Churchman*, 132.
[189] Charteris, *Faithful Churchman*, 181-183.
[190] *MR*, 8/1848, 20:IV, 5-7.

As Stewart Brown has noted, Robertson continued along the same ideological lines as Thomas Chalmers in the pursuit of a “godly commonwealth.” Under these principles, the Church focused on the “parish system as the means to create a sense of Christian community.”[193] In this first phase of the scheme, the watchwords were order and duty. Yet, like Chalmers, Robertson’s pursuit of a “godly commonwealth” through the Endowment Scheme eventually tempered the socially paternalistic undercurrents with evangelistic overtones. In the *Mission Record* of April 1850, he cited “God’s word” as the primary salve for “the evils under which the country thus so grievously labours.”[194] In March 1851, he said, “The only sovereign remedy is the

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[191] *MR*, 11/1848, 2:V, 4.

[192] *MR*, 11/1848, 2:V, 4-8.

[193] Stewart J. Brown, “Thomas Chalmers and the Communal Ideal in Victorian Scotland,” in *Victorian Values,* ed. T.C. Smout (Oxford: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy, 1992), 65.

[194] *MR*, 4/1859, 2:VI, 1-4.

Gospel of Christ."[195] For Robertson, the scheme's fusion of traditional social views and evangelical spirituality was not incongruous – it simply mirrored his own convictions.

By August 1854, twenty-five parishes had been endowed through the work of the scheme.[196] In 1856, Robertson switched fundraising tactics and began to focus on the middle classes, rather than the landed and commercial elite. He divided the country into five provinces in order to localize the campaigns for funds and encourage donors to give within their spheres of influence.[197] The shift in focus was a smashing success. The annual report from the scheme in 1858 reported fifty-four new parish churches had been endowed.[198] At the height of success, William Robertson died. At the time of his death, at least £400,000 had been raised and sixty parishes erected under the conditions of Sir James Graham's Act of 1844.[199]

While the financial success of the Endowment Scheme between 1847 and 1860 must be attributed primarily to the subscriptions of the middle and upper-class members and friends of the Church of Scotland, church door and congregational collections added – if slightly – to the overall funds. Local congregational giving also provided an opportunity for any generous and zealous soul to play their part in the Church's work of adding new parishes to the densely populated urban landscape of Victorian Scotland. The financial reports from 1851-1852 included the total giving from the years 1849 to 1852, which amounted to £6,341-3s-9d. There was a spike in congregational giving from 1852 to 1855, and then between 1856 and 1859 the average leveled out to just over £2,700.[200] Though it was a newcomer compared to the other schemes, the Endowment Scheme had no trouble garnering support from the laity. More importantly, it also marked the beginning of a period of new energy – to evangelize the masses and extend the pastoral and moral reach of the Establishment – that defined the Church of Scotland following her recovery from Disruption.

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[195] *MR*, 3/1851, 11:VI, 8-11.
[196] *MR*, 8/1854, 8:IX, 1-2.
[197] *MR*, 3/1856, 4:XI, 15-18.
[198] *MR*, 8/1858, 8:XIII, 17-21.
[199] Charteris, *Faithful Churchman*, 185-201. Charteris suggested that his poor physical health, which caused his death, was itself caused by over-exertion. Olive Checkland described Robertson as "perhaps the greatest philanthropic money raiser in Scotland." See *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland: Social Welfare and the Voluntary Principle* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, Ltd., 1980), 37.

Conclusion

By the time of James Robertson's death in 1860, the Six Schemes were poised to enter a new decade with operational and financial confidence in the missionary work of the Church of Scotland. The energetic work of the missionary schemes, though momentarily sapped by crises of funding and personnel in the 1840s, revived with impressive alacrity and re-infused the Auld Kirk with a spirit of optimism. Evangelicalism, rather than disappear entirely with the Free Church, continued to influence the Church of Scotland at an institutional level. Established evangelicals like Muir, MacFarlane, Simpson, Craik, Stevenson, Tait, Brunton, and Veitch all played key roles in managing the schemes through recovery and revival.[201] Beyond that, the schemes themselves focused on the hallmarks of evangelical faith – conversion to an animating and sanctifying faith in Jesus Christ, personal biblical knowledge, and – above all – evangelism.

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[200] *Acts*, 1849-1860.

[201] Esther Breitenbach has also found that many committee members in the various churches that pursued missionary work in nineteenth-century Scotland were evangelicals. See *Empire and Scottish Society: The Impact of Foreign Missions at Home, c. 1790 to c. 1914* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 71-73.

Even the pages of the *Mission Record* from 1843 to 1860 that looked beyond the Six Schemes provided information to its readers on a number of other contemporary evangelical topics. There were temperance appeals, adverts for devotional and popular millennial literature, guides for daily Scripture reading, prayer meeting announcements, reports from anti-Catholic committees[202], and missionary news from other evangelical denominations across the known world. Though some of the schemes appealed more than others, the increased participation of the Church of Scotland laity throughout the era in the various missionary endeavors also indicates that the people in the pews shared – at least to a certain extent – in the Established evangelicalism espoused by many of their clergymen. An anonymous 1851 donation from "an Aged and Afflicted" man in the parish of Forres explicitly directed his £5 boon toward "the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom."[203]

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[202] Anti-Catholicism picked up steam among evangelicals around the middle of the nineteenth century. See John Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain, 1829-1860* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 107ff. and David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 1989), 101-102. The Church of Scotland established a Committee on Popery in 1855 and promoted it through the *Mission Record*. The Committee on Correspondence with Foreign Churches was another small committee that published occasionally in the *Mission Record.* It was led by William Robertson of New Greyfriars, Edinburgh and also focused on the threat of Catholicism in Europe.

[203] *MR*, 1/1851, 9:VI, 1.

CHAPTER THREE: THE ROMANTIC EVANGELICALISM OF NORMAN MACLEOD

The most famous of the Middle Party evangelicals, Norman MacLeod, was a minister in rural Ayrshire when he appended his name to Leishman's synodical Declaration. Over the next three decades, the stout, bearded Highlander built an ecclesiastical career that rivaled Chalmers' through his magnetic personality and ability to adapt his theology to cultural and social change. Indeed, it was his openness to change that made MacLeod distinct. While he joined with William Muir to work for a robust evangelical presence in the post-Disruption Church of Scotland, MacLeod was also largely responsible for infusing that evangelicalism with a new breadth.

Biographical Overview

Norman MacLeod was born in Campbeltown on 3 June 1812 to Norman MacLeod and Agnes Maxwell MacLeod.[1] His paternal great-grandfather was Donald MacLeod, a tacksman from Swordale, Skye. Donald's son, Norman MacLeod, decided to train for the ministry and was ordained in 1774 to the parish of Morven[2], Argyllshire, where he spent the rest of his life and career. It was this Norman MacLeod's manse in Morven which provided the setting for Norman of the Barony's *Reminiscences of a Highland Parish* (1867). This first Norman MacLeod had a son also named Norman, who became a well-known Highland minister and Gaelic magazine editor. In sum, Norman MacLeod of the Barony was the third in a line of ministers named Norman MacLeod in the Church of Scotland.[3]

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[1] A number of biographical reference sources on MacLeod provide helpful cursory sketches, including Gordon Wareing, "Norman MacLeod, 1812-1872," in *DSCHT*, 532-533; John S. Andrews, "Norman MacLeod," in *The Blackwell Dictionary of Evangelical Biography, 1730-1860*, ed. Donald M. Lewis, Vol. II (K-Z) (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1995), 729-730; Thomas Hamilton, "Norman MacLeod (1812-1872)," in *DNB* Vol. 35, 829-830; *FES*, III:394-395. Several biographies emerged before the close of the nineteenth century, most notably Alexander Strahan, *Norman MacLeod, D.D.: A Slight Contribution Towards His Biography* (London: Henry S. King & Co., 1872); Jean L. Watson, *The Life of Norman MacLeod* (Edinburgh: James Gemmell, 1881); and John Wellwood, *Norman MacLeod* (Edinburgh: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1897). However, the most expansive study – and that which includes the most original material from Norman MacLeod himself – is his brother Donald MacLeod's *Memoir of Norman MacLeod, D.D.* 2 Vols. (London: Daldy, Isbister & Co., 1876). The only recent works to address MacLeod with any kind of depth are Peter Hillis' socio-historical account of MacLeod's Glasgow parish in *The Barony of Glasgow: A Window onto the Church and People in Nineteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press, 2007), and his earlier article, "Towards a New Social Theology: The Contribution of Norman MacLeod," *RSCHS* 24, no. 3 (1992).

According to his much younger brother, Donald, Norman MacLeod was a talkative and curious child. He received his earliest education in the parish school at Campbeltown and, following his father's translation to a rural Stirlingshire charge, the parish school at Campsie. He also studied for a year in Morven under the tutelage of the schoolmaster, Samuel Cameron. Norman's father was "anxious that his son should know Gaelic, and, if possible, become a Highland minister."[4] Young MacLeod proceeded to Glasgow University for his Arts degree; at Glasgow, he was a mediocre student and gregarious entertainer. In 1831 he moved to Edinburgh to begin his Divinity course. It was here that he began to assume a more serious spiritual concern due to both external influence and family tragedy. In the lecture theatre he came under the spell of Thomas Chalmers, the great evangelical Churchman of his day, who would have a profound impact on his later ministry.[5] In his private life, the illness and death of his brother, James MacLeod, in December of 1833 led to a new religious vitality and reliance on the saving work of Christ.[6]

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[2] The region is alternatively spelled 'Morvern'.

[3] MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:2-13.

[4] Ibid., I:21.

[5] See below.

[6] Norman MacLeod, Journal Entries for 3-20 December, 1833, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:40-41.

Chalmers recommended MacLeod to the wealthy Preston family of Moreby Hall, Yorkshire. Henry Preston, the High Sherriff of Yorkshire in 1834-1835, employed Norman as a tutor and companion for his son, accompanying him on a Grand Tour of Europe. From 1832 to 1835 MacLeod divided his time between Scotland, Yorkshire, and Central Europe. His sojourn on the Continent included an extended visit with his charge in the autumn of 1834 to the Court of Weimar. Here, according to his brother, "His views were widened, his opinions matured, his sympathies vastly enriched, and while all that was of the essence of his early faith had become precious, he had gained increased catholicity of sentiment, along with knowledge of the world."[7] In 1835, he finished his Divinity course at Glasgow University.

In March of 1838, at the age of twenty-five, Norman MacLeod was presented by Flora Mure-Campbell, Marchioness of Hastings to the Ayrshire parish of Loudoun. Here, Norman worked hard to develop a ministry inclusive of his various types of parishioners, which included wealthy landowners, Chartist weavers, and strict Reformed Presbyterians. He even attempted to draw doubters into the fold through a series of lectures on geology.[8] In a letter to his mother from 1841, he discussed his busy schedule, which included Sabbath School, midday, and evening sermons on Sunday, Wednesday night prayer meetings, and a course on Christian evidences for young men on Tuesdays.[9]

Though he was repulsed by the partisanship of the ultra-Moderates and Non-Intrusionists, MacLeod eventually had to take a stand regarding the controversies of the Ten Years' Conflict. In the end, he joined Matthew Leishman of Govan and William Muir of St. Stephen's, Edinburgh as a supporter of the Middle Party. As discussed at length in Chapter One, this group was comprised primarily of evangelicals who had hoped for a conciliatory end to the conflict through the provisions of Lord Aberdeen's Bill, and who remained in the Established Church of Scotland following the Disruption of 1843. After the Disruption, the secession of over 400 ministers left numerous vacant parishes. MacLeod had his pick of a number of parishes, but ultimately chose Dalkeith, a rural parish south of Edinburgh in the Esk Valley.[10]

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[7] MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:31-49 (quote, 49).

[8] Ibid., I:114-120. While MacLeod visited them as part of his duties, the Reformed Presbyterians would likely not have seen themselves as part of the parish church.

[9] Norman MacLeod, Letter to Mrs. MacLeod from Loudon, dated 1841, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:142-143.

MacLeod ministered in Dalkeith from 1843 to 1851. In Dalkeith, he began to interact more with the pressing social issues of the day, including intemperance and industrial poverty. It was also during this era that MacLeod began vigorously to support home, foreign, and colonial missions. In 1845, for example, he helped found thirty local auxiliary societies in Scotland for the support of Female Education in India.[12] As mentioned in passing in Chapter Two, Norman also joined his uncle John MacLeod of Morven and the convener of the Home Mission Scheme, A.L. Simpson, on a five-month deputation to the Church of Scotland's mostly Gaelic-speaking faithful in British North America.[13] He was also a founding leader of the Evangelical Alliance, an international and pan-denominational Protestant organization, in 1846.[14]

In the latter part of the 1840s MacLeod's theological opinions began to shift toward both the inclusiveness of the English broad church movement and the more palatable, moderate Reformed soteriology[15] of his cousin and dear friend, John McLeod Campbell. He corresponded with some of the key figures in the broad church movement from then until his death, including A.P. Stanley, F.D. Maurice, and Charles Kingsley.[16] In 1849 he became the founding editor of the *Edinburgh Christian Magazine* as a tool to "quicken a religious life which was broad and tolerant as well as earnest."[17] Following the death in 1851 of the incumbent minister of the Barony, Glasgow, MacLeod was translated from his parish in Midlothian to a city-center parish in the rapidly industrializing West of Scotland city.[18]

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[10] MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:183-206. For a full account of the Middle Party, see James Fleming Leishman, *Matthew Leishman of Govan and the Middle Party of 1843: A Page from Scottish Church Life and History in the Nineteenth Century* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1924).

[12] Norman MacLeod, Journal Entry for 29 December 1845, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:233.

[13] MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:235-251.

[14] Ibid., I:254-262.

He was inducted to the Barony in July, and on 11 August 1851 married Catherine Ann Mackintosh. By all accounts their marriage was a happy one, and produced three boys and six girls, all of whom survived into adulthood.[19] According to Donald MacLeod, the population of the Barony parish during the time of Norman's ministry was nearly 90,000, and it "afforded a noble field for the development of his convictions as to the duties of the Christian congregation in reference to the manifold wants of society."[20] Norman MacLeod of the Barony, as he then became known, worked hard in his new urban parish, pursuing programs for urban ministry that had been developed in Glasgow by his former teacher, Thomas Chalmers, over twenty years earlier. He sub-divided the parish into twelve districts, placing elders and deacons in subordinate leadership roles in each of the territorial districts. He would meet with the office-bearers and inhabitants of each district once a year to encourage a Christian communal life and to gather information. He also launched a number of evangelistic and social programs.[21] In 1857 MacLeod emulated another of Chalmers' initiatives and began holding evening services for the poor in working clothes in order to encourage working class attendance and conversion.[22] In 1858 he received a D.D. from Glasgow University, which horrified him by giving the impression that he was getting old and running out of time.[23]

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[15] Soteriology deals with the doctrine of salvation.

[16] MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:274-276. For more on MacLeod's theological influences, see below.

[17] Ibid., I:301-3.

[18] Ibid., I:312.

[19] *FES*, III:394-395.

[20] MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:1-4.

According to his brother and biographer, the years from 1860 to his death in 1872 were "the most laborious and most important of his life."[24] His Highland charm, large-heartedness, and broad church sympathies appealed to Queen Victoria, who named him her Chaplain-in-Ordinary in 1860. That same year saw the commencement of MacLeod's new periodical, *Good Words*, which would become immensely popular in both Scotland and England. In 1864 he became the convener of the India Mission of the Church of Scotland, and spent several months in India in 1867-1868 assessing the progress of Scottish missions. In 1865 he became a loathed figure among many due to his criticism of a strict sabbatarianism, over and against what he saw as a biblical view of the Lord's Day for the new dispensation. He wanted to see parks, art galleries, and museums opened on Sunday afternoons, so that working-class people could enjoy their one day of leisure. The fury aroused in some circles by his views proved limited, and he was elected Moderator of the General Assembly in 1869. That same year he was also made Dean of the Order of the Thistle. During the later 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s, he wrote a number of popular works of both fiction and non-fiction. In 1870, he was among the proponents of the abolition of patronage in the Church of Scotland, a practice that he found inimical to the ecclesiastical progress of the age, and an obstacle to any possible reunion with the Free Church. In 1871, his health began to fail and he convalesced in both the Highlands and Germany for a time. By 1872 his health had worsened. On 16 June 1872, Norman MacLeod died of heart failure in his home. Four days later, amidst great national mourning, he was buried next to his father in the parish of Campsie.[25] At the time of his death, he was arguably Scotland's most famous Churchman and a well-known Scottish public figure

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[21] MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:9-13.
[22] Ibid., II:57-61.
[23] Norman MacLeod, Journal Entry of 30 April 1858, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:76.
[24] MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:95.

Culture and Place: Romanticism and the Highlands

Having established the broad contours of his life and work, it is clear that a myriad of influences shaped the thought, ministry, and authorial output of Norman MacLeod. Before considering his immediately relevant theological and evangelical identity, however, it is critical to understand both the individual nature and interrelatedness of his ideological persuasion and regional identity in order to fully grasp the character of the man. In terms of his cultural consumption and appreciation, Norman MacLeod was a Romantic.[26] Romanticism, while fraught with problems of categorization and definition, can best be understood in this context – following David Bebbington's work – as the literary and cultural mood of the late eighteenth and nineteenth century which reacted to "the Enlightenment exaltation of reason."[27] In contrast, "there was an emphasis on will, emotion and intuition. Simplicity was replaced by mystery, the artificial by the natural and the novel by the traditional."[28] Another notable contrasting touchstone of the Romantic mood included an emphasis on communal unity versus individual autonomy.[29] Some of the major figures associated with British Romanticism included Samuel Taylor Coleridge, William Wordsworth, and Sir Walter Scott.

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[25] MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:399; *FES*, III:394-395.

[26] Recent scholarship in the fields of Church and culture in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Scotland include Crawford Gribben, "Religion and Scottish Romanticism," in *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Romanticism*, ed. Murray Pittock (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011):112-123; and Gribben's more recent "Scottish Romanticism, Evangelicalism, and Robert Pollok's *The Course of Time* (1827)," *Romanticism* 21, no. 1 (2015): 25-36.

[27] David W. Bebbington, "Evangelicalism and British Culture," in *Religion, Identity and Conflict in Britain: From the Restoration to the Twentieth Century (Essays in Honour of Keith Robbins),* eds. Stewart J. Brown, Frances Knight and John Morgan-Guy (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 109.

In his 1867 *Reminiscences of a Highland Parish*, Norman MacLeod prefaced the first full chapter describing his grandfather's manse in Fiunary, Morven with an excerpt from Wordsworth's 1831 poem "On the Sight of a Manse in the South of Scotland."[30] This tendency to view his native Argyllshire Highlands through the lens of a Lake Poet late in his life reflects the degree to which Romantic influences shaped MacLeod's conceptions of both place and self from the very beginning – and points further to ways in which that particular cultural mood permeated his social, spiritual, and ecclesiastical life. For the present purposes, *Reminiscences* provides the best case study through which to assess the role and impact of the Highlands and the Romantic mood on the by-then-famous Churchman.

According to his brother, what Norman lacked in a firm grip on Greek and Latin, he more than made up for with "a good education for the affections, sympathies, and imagination."[31] During his Arts degree at Glasgow in the 1820s, his affair with literary Romanticism began in earnest. According to his brother-in-law, Archibald Clerk, Norman "was ever ready with the most apt quotations from

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[28] Bebbington, "Evangelicalism and British Culture," 109.

[29] David Bebbington, "Evangelical Christianity and Romanticism," in *Crux* 26, no. 1 (March 1990): 10-13.

[30] Norman MacLeod, *Morvern: A Highland Parish*, edited by Iain Thornber (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2002), 9.

[31] MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:25.

Shakespear [sic], Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Keats…."[32] His special affinity for the Lake Poets continued as he transitioned to his Divinity course. In the summer of 1832, he wrote to his Aunt Jane: "Talk no more to me of the powers of music to lull the angry feelings or to excite the more gentle ones. Poetry, poetry, for ever!"[33]

During his time as a tutor and attaché in the employ of the Prestons of Moreby Hall, MacLeod was exposed to the source of Weimar Classicism and the works of Goethe, Herder, Schiller, and Wieland, whose souls, he claimed, "still cast a halo on the town, brighter than most in Germany."[34] However, it was Coleridge and Wordsworth who truly captivated his imagination. His early favorite seems to have been Coleridge. In a letter to a fellow student in 1834, he advised: "Read your Bible, and, if you want the joy, the meditative joy, which finds religious meanings in the forms of nature, read dear Coleridge, or his brother Wordsworth. But the former I love, I adore."[35] This adoration for Coleridge is perhaps most evident in that he composed an elegiac sonnet to memorialize the author's death in 1834. It ends: "Coleridge, friend of truth / Thus do I think of thee, with feelings keen / And passions strong, thou sunbeam of my youth!"[36]

Upon his return from the Continent, he also made a pilgrimage to Rydal Mount, Wordsworth's Ambleside home in the Lake District. The young, extroverted Scottish divinity student and the aging poet spent several hours walking together and discussing the virtues and faults of MacPherson's *Ossian*.[37] Several years later he would write to a close friend, describing Wordsworth: “He is a perfect Pan of the woods, but a glorious creature. Such men elevate my views of the Supreme Mind more than all the scenery of earth.”[38] To his last, the minister of the Barony counted Coleridge and Wordsworth among his most vital influences.

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[32] Excerpt from a letter from Rev. Archibald Clerk, LL.D., to Rev. Donald MacLeod, (undated), in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:33.

[33] Letter from Norman MacLeod to "Aunt Jane," June 1832, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:38.

[34] Letter from Norman MacLeod to Archibald Clerk, 30 May 1834, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:49-51.

[35] Letter from Norman MacLeod to a "fellow student," 2 December 1834, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:58-59.

[36] Norman MacLeod, "Sonnet on Hearing of Coleridge's Death (in Weimar)," in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:54.

[37] Norman MacLeod, Journal entry of 19 August 1835, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:67-68.

For MacLeod, moreover, aesthetic appreciation for Goethe and the Lake Poets led to a deeper and more nuanced interaction with the philosophical and cultural zeitgeist. While the relationship between the ideologies was complex, German idealism challenged certain key assumptions and tenets of the Scottish Enlightenment philosophy officially condoned by the Church of Scotland and her universities during the course of the nineteenth century.[39] For MacLeod, this largely manifested itself through the medium of poetry.[40] One of his closest friends, and a poet in his own right, Principal John Campbell Shairp of St. Andrews, reminisced on their early years: “We began then, too, to have dealings with [Coleridge’s] philosophy, which we found much more to our mind than the authorities then in vogue at Glasgow College—the prosaic Reid and the long-winded Thomas Brown.”[41] Indeed, Coleridge and Wordsworth were both British agents of “the German idealist tradition” during the era.[42] Several instances from MacLeod’s memoirs exhibit his interaction with this new spirit of the age. In a journal entry from the mid-1830s, he disappointedly recollected that his recent experiences consisted of, "Hardly an ounce of the ideal, and a ton of the real."[43] On New Year's Eve of 1836, he reflected: "The ideality of life soon vanishes, and can only be renewed when new channels are formed for our affections."[44] His appreciation and elevation of mental experience and pursuit of "the ideality of life" during his twenties reflect the philosophical influences of German idealism and its poetic British interpreters on the soon-to-be minister of Loudoun.

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[38] Letter from Norman MacLeod to John Mackintosh, 8 October 1842, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:165.

[39] For a survey of the relationship between Romanticism and the Scottish Enlightenment, see Murray Pittock, “Introduction: What is Scottish Romanticism?,” in *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Romanticism*, ed. Murray Pittock (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 6-9.

[40] Peter Thorslev has demonstrated some of the ways in which Kantian idealism impacted the work of Coleridge. See “German Romantic Idealism,” in *The Cambridge Companion to British Romanticism*, ed. Stuart Curran (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 81.

[41] John Campbell Shairp, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:90.

[42] Thorslev, “Idealism,” 93.

Although explored in greater depth below, it is here worth noting that MacLeod's interaction with Romanticism and its related philosophical innovations also effected the development of his personal theology. As he noted in his correspondence with a fellow student, MacLeod found "religious meanings in the forms of nature" as early as 1834. While he continually disavowed pantheism, he nevertheless fostered this appreciation for the divine immanence in nature for the rest of his life. Three years prior to his death, he wrote a letter to Charles Kingsley from a holiday in Lochaber. He found that, "For a week after arriving I was so fagged and out of sorts that Nature touched me only on the outside. My soul seemed Nature proof. It begins now to receive some of its beauty; and next to the Bible I find Nature the holiest teacher."[46] Later, around a decade after MacLeod's death, the Church of Scotland theologian Robert Flint echoed: "No Scottish divine has been less chargeable than Norman MacLeod with depreciating the revelation of God through nature, … and his freedom from this serious but common fault was largely due to Wordsworth."[47]

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[43] Norman MacLeod, Journal entry of 6 June 1836, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:81-82.

[44] Norman MacLeod, Journal entry of 31 December 1836, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:102.

[46] Letter from Norman MacLeod to Canon Charles Kingsley, 24 July 1869, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:312-313. It is perhaps even more salutary in noting that his first mention of "nature" in 1834 was spelled with a lower case "n," while that of 1869 assumed a more personified "N."

Similar tendencies also emerged in his casual musings on theological epistemology and devotion. In a private note from 1841, he rejected what he perceived as ultra-Calvinism's epistemological arrogance in favor of a more organic, humane, and mysterious view of the divine mind. To MacLeod, "No creature knows the unity of truth, or rather the whole of any truth. Each truth is but part of a system. That system radiates from God."[48] This ideological emphasis on catholicity would prove a major theme in his later sermons and theological musings. Tinctures of Romanticism also manifested themselves in the ways in which he described the active Christian life. In 1851 he had the opportunity to stay in Germany at the home of the missionary statesman and author Christian Gottlob Barth, whom he had met previously in connection to the Evangelical Alliance. In a letter to his friend John Mackintosh describing the visit, he noted how it was "really most ennobling and elevating to one's spirit" to encounter a man with such a robust and internationally-focused Christian faith. In the same letter, he waxed eloquently by quoting Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem "A Psalm of Life." "This is being a king indeed," wrote MacLeod, "Surely 'we can make our lives sublime' by doing *the* work Christ has given us."[49] For Norman MacLeod, nothing held more attraction than a paradigm of faith in which sublimity and the pursuit of Christ's calling merged into one noble vision.

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[47] Robert Flint, "Norman MacLeod," in *St. Giles Lectures: Third Series—Scottish Divines* (Edinburgh: MacNiven and Wallace, 1883), 433-434.

[48] Norman MacLeod, Excerpt from 1841 MSS, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:148-149.

[49] Letter from Norman MacLeod to John Mackintosh, 8 March 1851, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:316-317.

If the Romantic mood defined a large part of Norman MacLeod's personal and cultural affinities, the geographical locus of his genetic makeup played a nearly equal role in the development of his thought and identity. From first to last, MacLeod was a Highlander. However, exactly what that meant in the context of his life and amidst the contemporary history of the Highlands bears further inquiry. First, MacLeod spent significant time in the Highlands throughout his life. As a child and young adult, he holidayed in Morven and on the Isle of Mull to visit his family. Though his brother described it as "the great event of his boyhood," young Norman's year in Morven with schoolmaster Samuel Cameron was an extended variation on a theme.[50] For the rest of his life, he always made time to return both there and elsewhere in the region. In 1837, for example, he took a walking trip to Skye and returned via Fiunary to preach in his uncle's church.[51] These visits seem to have increased as he grew older. In 1863, he spent time in Fiunary with his uncle following the death of his aunt.[52] In the summer of 1867, prior to his departure for India, he brought his immediate family on holiday to Glencoe.[53] Three years later he spent the summer at Java Lodge on Mull, across the Sound of Mull from his childhood parish.[54] Thus, Norman MacLeod was not just a Highlander by virtue of his surname. He had genuine and sustained experiences of living in the Highlands.

Yet MacLeod probably spent over ninety percent of his life in the Scottish Lowlands. His writings on the Highlands were largely expressions of longing, memory, or nostalgia. In a letter from Edinburgh in 1831 to his Aunt Jane, he noted his disdain for the university lectures and his desire to be back in Morven.[55] He expressed similar feelings in a letter to his mother from the Weimar in 1834. “Many a time I shut my eyes,” he wrote, “and, while whistling a Highland tune, carry myself back to fishing at the rock or walking about the old castle at Aros; at other times I am in the glen or on the hill. Although it is really nonsense (as I believe there are few periods in our lives really happier than others), I often think those days must have been paradise—I was so perfectly unshackled….”[56] In a letter from Italy in 1862, he could not help but contrast the “majestic beauty” of Lake Como to the “majestic grandeur” of the Highlands.[57] According to cultural and literary historian Murray Pittock, one of the main characteristics of Scottish Romanticism was “the performance of the self in diaspora.”[58] While he was usually never more than fifty miles from Morven, MacLeod nevertheless viewed himself as a kind of exile. This dynamic would play out further in *Reminiscences of a Highland Parish*.

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[50] MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:1-2.
[51] Ibid., I:110-111.
[52] Ibid., II:153.
[53] Ibid., II:250.
[54] Ibid., 325-328.

Before assessing the published account of his Morven home as an example of the interaction between place and cultural influence in MacLeod’s mind, it is important to consider the social changes affecting both the Lowland and Highland areas in which MacLeod lived. The Glasgow parish in which he ministered from 1851 to 1872 had an enormous and mostly impoverished population. The industrialization of Lowland Scotland was, by the mid-nineteenth century, being driven by engineering innovations and the rise of heavy industries, which centered on coal, iron, and steel. These were concentrated in the Western Central Belt, which caused the massive population increase in Glasgow.[59] The challenges of urban factory life likely tended to encourage his Romantic reflections on the rural, quiet Highlands.[60] Yet his Morven Highlands were also changing. In 1819 the cash-strapped Duke of Argyll sold Morven, after which it was subdivided into smaller holdings and cleared by the new landowners. As the nineteenth century progressed, the native population continued to decline and the estates pursued sporting revenue over agriculture.[61] As the busy Glaswegian society catalyzed MacLeod's longing and nostalgia, so the "social transformation of the Highlands" also encouraged him to idealize a simpler, pre-Clearance Morven.[62]

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[55] Letter from Norman MacLeod to “Aunt Jane,” February 1831, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:37.
[56] Letter from Norman Macleod to his mother, 4 June 1834, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:51.
[57] Letter from Norman MacLeod to his parents, 15 June 1862, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:125.
[58] Pittock, “Introduction,” 2-5.

While the book was published in 1867, *Reminiscences* was first serialized in *Good Words* during the earlier 1860s. MacLeod was probably directing the work towards a Lowland Scots or English, middle-class readership. As his father was widely known as the "Friend of the Gael" and himself an accomplished Gaelic magazine editor, Norman of the Barony was early on exposed to a world in which Highland stories and periodical literature naturally coexisted, though in his father's native tongue.[63] There were also a number of likely influences from the more immediate literary context of Anglophone Victorian Scotland. According to Andrew Nash, during MacLeod's era, "The overwhelming image was of a rural, provincial culture, escaping into a pre-industrial past," and "the printing presses across the nation were flooded with books of reminiscences, typified by E.B. Ramsay's

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[59] Oliver and Sydney Checkland, *Industry and Ethos: Scotland, 1832-1914* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984), 13-33.
[60] Hillis, *Barony,* 69-70.
[61] Thornber, introduction to *Morvern: A Highland Parish*, xi-xii.
[62] This phrase is from the title of Tom Devine's *Clanship to Crofter's War: The Social Transformation of the Scottish Highlands* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994).
[63] See Donald Meek, *The Scottish Highlands: The Churches and Gaelic* Culture (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1996), 49. Also, K.D. MacDonald, "Norman MacLeod, 1783-1862," in *DSCHT*, 532.

Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character," published in 1857.[64] Though MacLeod pleaded ignorance of them, John Francis Campbell's *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* were also published in four volumes between 1860 and 1862.[65]

Underlying the *Reminiscences of a Highland Parish* was the shifting perception of the Scottish Highlands in the popular imagination that occurred between 1750 and 1850 in Britain and her empire. It is this cultural and ideological phenomenon through which the identity of Norman MacLeod as both a Romantic and a Highlander can best be interpreted. According to Peter Womack, the Romanticization of the Highlands "began, fairly decisively, with the military defeat of the Jacobite clans in 1746, and can be regarded as complete by 1810-11," at which point "a flurry of publications, including most notably Scott's *The Lady of the Lake*, both depended on and confirmed a settled cultural construction of the Highlands as a 'romantic country' inhabited by a people whose ancient manners and customs were 'peculiarly adapted to poetry.'"[66]

In *Reminiscences*, MacLeod both promoted and critiqued certain aspects of this cultural phenomenon that the historian T.M. Devine labels "Highlandism," which "took off precisely at the same time as the commercial landlordism, market pressures and clearances were breaking up the old social order in northern Scotland."[67] The resulting image of the Highlands and Islands bore several of the marks of the Romantic mood more broadly construed, but with the aid of a uniquely Scottish body of literature including Burns, Scott, and especially James

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[64] Andrew Nash, "Victorian Scottish Literature," in *The Cambridge Companion to Scottish Literature*, eds. Gerard Carruthers and Liam McIlvanney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 145.

[65] MacLeod, *Highland Parish*, 64.

[66] Peter Womack, *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands* (London: MacMillan, 1989), 2.

[67] Devine, *Clanship*, 86-87.

MacPherson's *Ossian* cycle. These authors and others portrayed the Highlands as a noble and primitive region in a manner that sated the hunger of the aesthetic spirit of the age, which reveled in the glory of an historicized past with a backdrop of "sublime" and "picturesque" landscapes.[68] Wordsworth himself, having imbibed Highlandism via the cult of *Ossian*, escaped to the Highlands in 1803 in order to recapture a "visionariness" that he felt his poetry lacked.[69] It is this specific type of Romantic context in which MacLeod's *Reminiscences* of rural Argyllshire from the 1860s can best be understood.

First, and as noted earlier, MacLeod prefaced several of the chapters with the Romantic poetry of Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Charles Lamb.[70] The language that he used in several places also reflected a Romantic view of the physical landscape. In the preamble, he described "picturesque hills," "noble peaks," and a "cathedral cave."[71] He would later describe the Highlands as possessing "scenery of vast extent and great sublimity."[72] In his reflections on the parish churchyard, he again describes the scene as "not much less picturesque" in comparison to "the stillness and desolation" of another Highland churchyard.[73] Such language is common throughout the work.

MacLeod tended to idealize Morven's past, despite being well aware of similar tendencies in the work of other authors. In his chapter on Highland tourists, he wrote: "When Scott adopted the Highlands as the subject of romantic story and song, investing its scenery, its feudal history, its chiefs, clans, old traditions, and wild superstitions with all the charm of his genius, then began a new era of centered comfort in every spot which his magic wand had touched."[74] Scott's "wand" obviously touched MacLeod himself, who in an earlier chapter narrated his grandfather's arrival in the following terms: "When the minister came to the parish, the people were but emerging from those old feudal times of clanship, with its loyal feelings and friendships, yet with its violent prejudices and intense clinging to the past, and to all that was bad as well as good in it. Many of his parishioners had been 'out in the '45,' and were Prince Charlie men to the core."[75] Perhaps the most paradigmatic example of this comes from his chapter on his father and uncles' years growing up at the manse. According to Norman, his grandfather hired a young man from Glasgow called James to be a tutor in the manse and prepare the boys for university. James came from a stifling and unhealthy urban environment. Upon his arrival, however, he "climbed the hills and dived into the glens, and rolled himself on the heather; visited old castles, learned to fish, and perhaps shoot… He began to write verses, and to fall in love with one or all of the young ladies."[76] Through such language, MacLeod's *Reminiscences* reflected a Romantic Highlandism.

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[68] Devine, *Clanship*, 88-97.
[69] Fiona Stafford, "Inhabited Solitudes: Wordsworth in Scotland, 1803," in *Scotland, Ireland and the Romantic Aesthetic*, eds. David Duff and Catherine Jones (Lewisburgh: Bucknell University Press, 2007), 95-110.
[70] MacLeod, *Highland Parish*, Chs. 2, 3, 6, and 7.
[71] Ibid., 7.
[72] Ibid., 119.
[73] Ibid., 102-104.

Yet at other points the work reads as a corrective to "Highlandist" characteristics and provides his readers with a more realistic picture of Highland people and their society. In relation to the people, MacLeod once noted, "The Highlanders whom the tourist meets nowadays are very unlike those I used to know…."[77] Later, in his chapter on "Tacksmen and Tenants," he appealed to the fact that most tacksmen were educated and intelligent men. In both cases, he challenged certain Anglophone assumptions about Highland people and failed to reduce them to a stereotype.[78] While he indulged in the romanticization of his ancestral parish, he also had personal relationships with many Highland people and would not go so far as to idealize them beyond recognition.

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[74] Ibid., 151.
[75] MacLeod, *Highland Parish*, 46.
[76] Ibid., 18-19.
[77] Ibid., 59.

The same is true in several instances relative to the social history of the Highlands. As previously mentioned, Morven was subjected to clearances, mass emigration, and the impoverishment of the remaining crofters. Rather than provide his audience in London and Edinburgh with a rosy version of the Highland parish, he was honest about the very real and unromantic issues facing its people. After discussing how the tacksmen had once been the backbone of Highland society, he noted: "All this was changed when those Tacksmen were swept away to make room for the large sheep farms, and when the remnants of the people flocked from their empty glens to occupy houses in wretched villages near the seashore, by way of becoming fishers – often where no fish could be caught."[79] MacLeod's experiences in the Highlands and family connections to Morven enabled him to exhibit solidarity with vulnerable Highland communities.

In sum, MacLeod was a Romantic and a Highlander. His *Reminiscences of a Highland Parish* exhibits both of these integral parts of his identity. An admirer of Coleridge and Wordsworth, he drew upon the language and themes of Scott and MacPherson to describe his boyhood paradise. The son of a Highland minister and a conversationally fluent Gaelic speaker, he also showed that not all of the clichés of Highlandism had basis in Highland fact.[80]

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[78] MacLeod, *Highland Parish*, 82-83. A dominant stereotype being, in the words of Charles J. Withers, "barbarians worthy of antiquarian interest but simultaneously demanding culture as a process of civilization." See *Gaelic Scotland: The Transformation of a Culture Region* (London: Routledge, 1988), 67.

[79] MacLeod, *Highland Parish*, 84.

Belief and Practice: The Theology of Norman MacLeod

Norman MacLeod was not a theologian "in any distinctive sense."[81] In the first place, his childhood was devoid of theological discussion. In the 1860s he recalled, "I never heard my father speak of Calvinism, Arminianism, Presbyterianism or Episcopacy, or exaggerate doctrinal differences in my life. I had to study all these questions after I left home."[82] Yet even after he left for university, he never intentionally developed the necessary faculties for a systematic and critical approach to Christian doctrine, unlike his cousin John McLeod Campbell. Nevertheless, his interaction with contemporary theological movements and adoption of certain key ideas proved influential in the dogmatic development of the Church of Scotland.[83]

During MacLeod's lifetime, the seventeenth-century Westminster Confession of Faith and its catechisms remained the theological standards for the Established Church – along with the other Presbyterian churches in Scotland. For much of the nineteenth century, doctrinal variation was taken seriously and dissidents were often deposed from the ministry.[84] However, from the 1840s and 1850s the gradual liberalization of Protestant theology, with its roots in Germany and England, began to assert itself north of the Tweed. It was both the English and the Scottish manifestations of this liberal theological movement that influenced MacLeod.

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[80] See Kenneth McNeil, *Scotland, Britain, Empire: Writing the Highlands, 1760-1860* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2007), 18. He aptly notes: "The predicament of bilingual Highland writers writing in English to a largely English-speaking audience, as they try to negotiate across the cultural divide, makes for a unique body of writing that bears closer scrutiny."

[81] Flint, "MacLeod," 452-453.

[82] MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:7.

[83] Flint, "MacLeod," 452-453.

[84] Alexander C. Cheyne, "The Place of the Confession Through Three Centuries," in *The Westminster Confession in the Church Today*, ed. Alasdair I.C. Heron (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrews Press, 1986), 17-21.

As has been noted, MacLeod interacted and became friends with a number of Church of England priests associated with the broad church mood. As the nineteenth century progressed, a number of British Christians came to doubt their doctrinal positions, which, in some cases, led to outright unbelief. Among these factors were Darwinian evolutionary theory and the rise of biblical criticism. In response, a group of "broad-minded" ministers and laymen in the Church of England began to propound a latitudinarian faith, based on the ethics of Jesus and fatherhood of God in contrast to creeds and formulas. The goal was to respond positively to the challenges of the age, and by removing dogmatic fences allow for an inclusive national Church.[85] The early broad churchman Thomas Arnold, Headmaster of Rugby School, and his biographer, A.P. Stanley, were his main guides in that direction.[86]

The Scottish equivalent of the broad church movement was a sustained critique of Westminster orthodoxy from both Church of Scotland and Presbyterian Secession voices – including MacLeod.[87] As described briefly in both the Introduction and Chapter One, A.C. Cheyne noted eight catalysts that caused Scottish theology to become more circumspect and non-confessional. They were, briefly: a tendency to view confessions and creeds as products of their historical contexts, a trend among theologians and other intellectuals to impose their "moral sensitivity" upon the character of God, a gradual acquiescence to evolutionary ideas, a greater appreciation for the potential goodness of man, more breadth regarding doctrine or dogma, the replacement of dogma with religious dialogue, the questioning of God's eternal plans for the unsaved due to a new awareness of overseas missions, and a "new approach to evangelism" that highlighted a free offer of salvation.[88] Though a participant himself, MacLeod was also influenced in these channels of thought by his fellow Scottish Churchmen John Tulloch and John Caird.

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[85] Stewart J. Brown, *Providence and Empire: Religion, Politics and Society in the United Kingdom, 1815-1914* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2008), 226-246.

[86] Donald MacLeod notes that it was in the period of 1848-1851 that his brother came into contact with broad church ideas in the life of Arnold. A later entry from Norman's correspondence mentions meeting Stanley in London in 1856. A letter to his wife from 1862 records another meeting with Stanley, whom MacLeod describes "a noble specimen of the Christian gentleman and scholar." MacLeod, *Memoirs*, I:274-275; II: 52-53, 127. Alexander Strahan's biography also informs the reader that Stanley and MacLeod were both chaplains to Queen Victoria. Strahan, *MacLeod*, 16.

[87] On the role of Secession Churches, see Ian Hamilton, *The Erosion of Calvinist Orthodoxy: Seceders and Subscription in Scottish Presbyterianism* (Edinburgh: Rutherford House, 1990).

Such ideas pervaded MacLeod's writings and sermons. In particular, the broad church tendency to focus on the fatherhood of God influenced much of his later thought. In a speech before the General Assembly in 1870, he said, "All 'religion'… all good, all righteousness, peace, joy, glory, to man and to the universe, are bound up in this one thing, *knowing* God as a Father."[89] In a letter to his wife from Balmoral Castle in October of 1871, he claimed "'Our Father' is the root of all religion and morality, and can be seen with the spirit, rather than the mere intellect."[90] Several of his 1862 *Parish Papers* chapters reflected the apologetic turn by appealing to factual "foundation-stones" of historical Christianity.[91] On a number of occasions, he called for a broader missions theology and complained of a "narrow, one-sided Christianity" being propounded in India.[92] This last point, discussed further below, reflected his evolving understanding of eternal salvation and punishment.

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[88] A.C. Cheyne, *The Transformation of the Kirk: Victorian Scotland's Religious Revolution* (Edinburgh: St. Andrews Press, 1983), 73-85.

[89] Norman MacLeod, *The Ministry: A Sermon Preached at the Opening of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, May 19, 1870* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1870), 6.

[90] Norman MacLeod, Letter to his wife from Balmoral, October 1871, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:357.

[91] Norman MacLeod, *Parish Papers* (London: Strahan, 1862), 1-45.

[92] Norman MacLeod, Letter to Dr. Watson from the Highlands, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:291

He was also a proponent of increased breadth and inclusivity in the Church of Scotland. As early as 1844, he wrote to John Mackintosh: "We want broad-minded, meditative men."[93] In his 1869 concluding address as the Moderator of the General Assembly, he made a number of statements in favor of theological liberality. First, he proposed, "We are thus bound, as far as is consistent with our existence as a Christian Church, to include within it as many, and to exclude from it as few, as possible of our countrymen." "To do this," he added, "we should weigh their conscientious convictions, whether as to government, forms of worship, or lesser doctrines, in the light of that true Christian charity which is at once the highest form of freedom and of restraint."[94] Near the end of the address, he declared that "The spirit of our Church is liberal and tolerant."[95] Finally, in a poignant journal entry weeks prior to his death, MacLeod admitted that he was, in fact, a proud latitudinarian – if by that term his conservative opponents meant an advocate of the more urbane, non-confessional theology of the day.[96]

MacLeod's relationship to the Westminster Confession of Faith was further evident in his evolving convictions regarding eternal punishment and the Christian Sabbath. Indeed, the idea of evolution itself was woven into both the content and direction of his beliefs.[97] As for content, a sermon he preached as the Queen's chaplain at Crathie in 1871 compared geological evolution to "the history of redemption," and observed that "the law of growth, or progressive development, pervades all things."[98] Regarding direction, MacLeod wrote in 1842 to John Mackintosh that "There are many points in theology upon which I somehow think you are destined, like myself, to undergo a change…."[99] While it began in the 1840s, this process gained steam during the 1850s and 1860s in tandem with the broadening trends in both England and Scotland. His brother Donald described the early 1860s as a time when Norman's "theological views were gradually expanding into a more spiritual and living apprehension of the purpose of God in Christ."[100]

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[93] Norman MacLeod, Letter to John Mackintosh, October 1844, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:217.
[94] Norman MacLeod, *Concluding Address to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, May 1869* (Edinburgh: Strahan, 1869), 8.
[95] Ibid., 49.
[96] Norman MacLeod, Journal Entry from 3 June 1872, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:381-384.
[97] Drummond and Bulloch also aptly note the ideological replacement of "progress" with "evolution" as the critical paradigm of the era. *The Church in Victorian Scotland, 1843-1874* (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1975), 271.

The first notable doctrine of the Westminster Confession from which MacLeod departed was the idea of eternal damnation. According to the Confession, following death human souls "neither die nor sleep." The souls of the righteous "are received into the highest heavens, where they behold the face of God," while "the souls of the wicked are cast into hell, where they remain in torments and utter darkness, reserved to the judgment of the great day."[101] Thus, the orthodox view of the Church of Scotland was that immediately following death, an unsaved person entered the punishment of hell, which would continue eternally following the Day of Judgement. On one hand, MacLeod continued to affirm the belief in eternal future punishment. He made clear in his 1856 *Home School* that each soul eventually "must be with God and Christ, with the angels and the saints, loving and beloved, a glorious and majestic being, or for ever wicked and unutterably miserable with Satan and lost spirits!"[102] In 1862 he again reaffirmed that "the fact of future punishment" was "an essential portion of what is taught."[103]

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[98] Norman MacLeod, *Sermon Preached at Crathie, 10th September, 1871* (Glasgow: Bell & Bain, 1871), 1-2.
[99] Norman MacLeod, Letter to John Mackintosh, December 1842, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:166-168.
[100] MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:117.
[101] *The Westminster Confession of Faith* (1646), 13.1.

On the other hand – and again relating to the impact of foreign missions – MacLeod gradually adopted the heterodox belief that those who never had an opportunity in their lifetime to hear and accept the Gospel message might still be given the opportunity to receive salvation after death. As early as 1841, he questioned the orthodox view in relation to "the salvability [sic] of the heathen." Without coming to any clear conclusions, he opined that "for aught we know, heathen, who are incapable of faith from their circumstances, may have the benefits of Christ's death in the same manner, and so their natural piety will be the effect and not the cause of God's showing mercy to them."[104] Thirty years later he was convinced. In a sermon at his Barony Kirk in August of 1871 entitled "The Fate of the Heathen," MacLeod affirmed his belief in a post-mortem salvation for individuals unable to choose Christ on earth.[105]

Along with the final damnation of non-believers, MacLeod also chafed against the traditional understanding and practice of the Sabbath. As confessionally prescribed, the Sabbath "is to be kept holy unto the Lord when men… observe a holy rest all the day from their own works, words, and thoughts about their worldly employments and recreations."[106] In 1865, Norman MacLeod became the voice of dissent against the continuation of this traditionally strict form of Scottish sabbatarianism. During the late summer, the North British Railway merged with the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway, resulting in the establishment of Sunday passenger trains between the two Scottish cities. To protest this perceived outrage, the Presbytery of Glasgow issued a pastoral letter in November of 1865, "which urged constituents of the Presbytery to 'sanctify the Sabbath' and use all means in their power to hold the line against further encroachments on the Sabbath."[107]

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[102] Norman MacLeod, *The Home School, or Hints on Home Education* (Edinburgh: Paton and Ritchie, 1856), 9.
[103] MacLeod, *Parish Papers*, 142.
[104] Norman MacLeod, Journal Entry from June 1841, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:146.
[105] Norman MacLeod, "The Fate of the Heathen: A Sermon by Rev. Dr. Norman MacLeod, of the Barony Church, Glasgow. Preached 1st August 1871," Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community Papers Acc. 9084/93, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh (hereafter cited as NLS MacLeod Papers).
[106] *WCF*, 11.8.

MacLeod in turn delivered a speech before the Presbytery dissenting from these widely held views of the Sabbath. Portions of the speech were printed in the national newspapers, and immediately he became either hero or villain – depending on one's views. He received letters of both support and condemnation. One such letter praised MacLeod "for having lately maintained so courageously a contest with ignorance, superstitious prejudice, & narrow bigotry."[108] A less favorable anonymous writer complained: "Dear Sir[,] greive [sic] not the hearts of those who delighteth [sic] to see God's laws honoured."[109] As he felt that it had been unjustly reported and critiqued, he clarified his views with a full publication of the speech, entitled *The Lord's Day*.

"The points on which we disagree," MacLeod asserted, "are the historical origin or the Lord's-day, and the grounds on which its observance is binding on the Christian Church."[110] He viewed the Confessional understanding of the Sabbath as a continued observance of the Fourth Commandment of the Decalogue. While MacLeod assured his opponents that he "once believed as you did," he gradually found those views inimical to both his interpretation of biblical teaching and the needs of society. For MacLeod, “The Sabbath of the Old dispensation was abrogated, or had been lost or absorbed into something far better, because belonging to the New—and that too upon apostolic authority.”[111] Further, he also found “the *tone* of teaching, in general, throughout Scotland, which has logically sprung from this view regarding the Sabbath law of the Fourth Commandment, had produced in our country a Judaical spirit, which I think is to be deplored… in order to be changed into the true freedom of the Christian life of faith.”[112] The proper and biblical way forward, then, was not to desecrate a Mosaic Sabbath, but rather reinvigorate Sunday as simply the Lord’s-day. As he understood it, the blessings of the Lord’s-day included physical rest, social freedom and relaxation, the “intellectual advantage” of sermon going and private devotional reading, free time to pursue acts of mercy and philanthropy, and of course: “The highest of all ends of this day—its *spiritual* advantages” of gathered Christian worship in local congregations.[113]

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[107] R. Douglas Brackenridge, "The 'Sabbath War' of 1865-66: The Shaking of the Foundations," *RSCHS* 16, no. 1 (1966): 23-27, 33.

[108] Letter from Rev. John Gardiner Beveridge, 27 November 1865, NLS MacLeod Papers, Acc. 9084/23.

[109] Anon. Letter, 21 November 1875, NLS MacLeod Papers, Acc. 9084/23.

[110] Norman MacLeod, *The Lord's Day: Substance of a Speech Delivered at a Meeting of the Presbytery of Glasgow, on Thursday, 16th November, 1865* (Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1865), 9.

MacLeod’s core theological convictions also evolved on the question of the atonement. As important as Arnold, Stanley, Tulloch, and Caird were in shaping his views on ecclesiastical inclusion and doctrinal liberalization, it was Thomas Chalmers, the celebrated Scottish social theologian, George Payne, an obscure English Congregationalist, and ultimately John McLeod Campbell, his beloved cousin, who guided his soteriological evolution from Confessional Calvinism towards a Reformed universalism. A specific understanding of the atonement – the nature and extent of Christ’s accomplished reconciliation between God and man in his death on the cross – defined the strain of Protestant theology in seventeenth-century Britain claiming ideological descent from the French reformer John Calvin. This orthodox Calvinist position on atonement was laid out in the Westminster Confession. In that system, the nature of the atonement is penal and substitutionary: "The Lord Jesus Christ, by his perfect obedience, and sacrifice of Himself, … has fully satisfied the justice of His Father."[114] Christ – in man's place – paid the divine penalty due for man's sin in his suffering and death. Also, the extent of the atonement is limited or definite: only the elect are "effectually called, justified, adopted, sanctified, and saved."[115] In other words, the eternal merits of Christ's atoning work are imparted only to those whom God predestined unto salvation in Christ. It was this understanding of the atonement which MacLeod endorsed when he subscribed to the Westminster Confession at his ordination in 1838.

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[111] MacLeod, *The Lord’s Day*, 10.
[112] Ibid., 13.
[113] Ibid., 29-33.

It was not long, however, before he began to seek an alternative to the Kirk's official soteriology. The first influence in this direction was Thomas Chalmers. MacLeod revered Chalmers, his university professor and an ardent, evangelical social improver, and he was drawn to Chalmers' theological beliefs. Robert Flint later charged Chalmers with planting the seeds of universal atonement in MacLeod: "I can hardly doubt that the lectures of Chalmers 'on the extent of the Gospel remedy' gave the impulse which set his thoughts moving."[116] But it was George Payne, an orthodox English Dissenter, whose writings on the atonement provided an entirely new framework.[117]

In 1841, during his first season as parish minister in Loudoun, MacLeod wrote to his mother: "There is a book I wish you would order for your Reading

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[114] *WCF,* 8.5.
[115] Ibid., 3.3.
[116] Flint, "MacLeod," 434.
[117] Ibid., 456-457.

Club—Dr. Payne of Exeter's Lectures on the Sovereignty of God. It has revolutionized my mind. It is a splendid book, and demonstrates the universality of the atonement, and its harmony with election."[118] In the collected series of lectures from 1836, Payne proposed that a more biblical understanding of the extent of the atonement should include belief in "the unlimited, universal, infinite *sufficiency* of the atonement" and that "it was the INTENTION of God, *as the moral Governor*, in giving his son as a sacrifice for sin, … to provide a remedy commensurate with the disease."[119] Further, he rejected the implication of limited atonement that Christ "delivers us from punishment by suffering the precise number of stripes which we must have endured."[120] At the same time, Payne reaffirmed the idea that Christ died particularly for the elect. In his system, the atonement was sufficient for all, yet only efficient for some.[121]

In a private note, again from 1841, MacLeod described his immediate sympathy for Payne's theology. He wrote, "That Christ died for all, or none, seems as clear to me as day, not merely from the distinct declaration of Scripture, but from the idea of an atonement. If the stripe for stripe theory is given up, which it must be, universal atonement is the consequence… Election has only to do with its application."[122] In Payne, MacLeod found a halfway house between the perceived rigidity of the Westminster view and the concept of full universalism. However, if Chalmers and Payne were catalysts, John McLeod Campbell was the architect of MacLeod's mature soteriology.

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[118] Norman MacLeod, Letter to his Mother, 1841, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:142-143.

[119] George Payne, *Lectures on Divine Sovereignty, Election, the Atonement, Justification, and Regeneration,* 3rd. ed. (London: John Gladding, 1846), 203-204. (Italics and capitalization are his.)

[120] Ibid., 206.

[121] Ibid. 203-204. The language of "sufficient for all, efficient for some" is common to moderate Calvinism.

[122] Norman MacLeod, Journal Entry, 1841, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:149.

Norman MacLeod and John McLeod Campbell were cousins and fast friends. MacLeod's grandfather, Norman of Morven, was a first cousin of McLeod Campbell's father, Donald Campbell of Kilninver. The minister of the Barony and the theologian were thus second cousins, once removed.[123] Around 1850, their friendship began in earnest and "continued to deepen until the last hour of their lives."[124] His translation to the Glasgow parish in 1851 enabled the two to spend more time together, particularly during MacLeod's regular Saturday walks.[125] During a harrowing time of family illness in 1857, MacLeod counted his cousin "a great strength and stay."[126] Finally, in his last years of life MacLeod wrote to Campbell and explicitly referenced the intimate bond: "There is no one living who can minister to me as you can. You always find my spirit, and enter *into* me, while others only touch me."[127] Shortly before McLeod Campbell died, he encouraged the remaining members of his independent church to join the Barony kirk.[128] When the time came, MacLeod preached at his cousin's funeral.[129]

A survey of McLeod Campbell's life and theological work provides the context through which to assess his impact on MacLeod. He was born at Ardmaddy House, near Oban, in 1800 to Rev. Donald and Mary McLeod Campbell. In 1811, young McLeod Campbell left home for Glasgow University. There, he took an Arts degree, followed by Divinity studies at Glasgow and Edinburgh. He was ordained to the Church of Scotland parish of Rhu (alternatively spelled "Row") in 1825. Among his early friends were Edward Irving and Thomas Erskine of Linlathen – both of whom also ventured beyond the boundaries of received orthodoxy.[130]

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[123] Family Tree, NLS MacLeod Papers, Acc. 9084/3.
[124] MacLeod, *Memoirs*, I:275.
[125] Ibid., II:2.
[126] Ibid., II:69.
[127] Norman MacLeod, Letter to John McLeod Campbell, 16 March 1871, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:344-345.
[128] John MacIntyre, "John McLeod Campbell—Heretic and Saint," *RSCHS* 14, no. 1 (1963), 49.
[129] John McLeod Campbell, *Memorials of John McLeod Campbell, Being Selections from His Correspondence*, 2 Vols., ed. Rev. Donald Campbell, M.A. (London: MacMillan, 1877), II:334.

McLeod Campbell's divergence from Westminster soteriology was at first less of a systematic critique, and more of a pastoral reaction to the spiritual needs of his parishioners. He perceived that their timidity in belief and existential fears were largely due to a lack of assurance that they were saved among the elect in Christ. To assuage their fears, he began to preach that Christ's atonement was universal – personally available to all who believe. For his universalism and preaching that "assurance is of the essence of faith," McLeod Campbell was deposed by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in May of 1831.[131]

From his deposition until his death in 1872, McLeod Campbell worked as an itinerant preacher, led a small independent Presbyterian church in Glasgow, and wrote dense theological expositions. His major work, *The Nature of the Atonement* from 1856, sent shockwaves throughout the Reformed world by biblically and systematically shifting the focus of discussion on the doctrine.[132] In *Atonement*, McLeod Campbell rejects elements of both the traditional and modified Calvinist theology. His main critique of John Owen, Jonathan Edwards, and Chalmers' classic espousal of limited atonement (extent) and penal substitution (nature) is that they take the divine attribute of justice more seriously than God's love. In Campbell's view, limited atonement as such "*ceases to reveal* that *God is love*."[133] Moreover, he finds the doctrine of election arbitrary, and one that conceals – rather than reveals – the character of God.[134] Further to his replacement of emphases, he later rejects the ways in which this brand of Calvinism substitutes "a legal standing for a filial standing."[135] Herein lies one of the major themes of *Atonement*: the Fatherhood of God. Campbell's theological system requires a reprioritization of the divine attributes, in accordance with the manner in which he interprets the Scriptures and Protestant tradition. If the divine attribute of justice receives priority in a system of atonement, the nature of that atonement will naturally be "the obedience of Christ as the *fulfilling of a law*."[136] If, however, the divine attribute of paternal love precedes all other hermeneutics of atonement, the nature of atonement becomes a perfect "*life of sonship*."[137]

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[130] Leanne Van Dyk, *The Desire of Divine Love: John McLeod Campbell's Doctrine of the Atonement* (New York: Peter Lang, 1995), 9-10.

[131] James B. Torrance, "Introduction," in John McLeod Campbell, *The Nature of the Atonement*, ed. Torrance (Edinburgh: The Handsel Press, Ltd., 1996), 1-3.

[132] A.L. Drummond and J. Bulloch, *The Scottish Church: 1688-1843, The Age of the Moderates* (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1973), 193-219; M. Charles Bell, *Calvin and Scottish Theology: The Doctrine of Assurance* (Edinburgh: The Handsel Press, 1985), 183.

[133] Campbell, *Atonement*, 65-73.

Having taken the traditional Calvinist view to task, he turned his sights on the moderate Calvinism of George Payne, which had been so influential in MacLeod's theological evolution during the early 1840s. While he appreciates that school's adoption of a more universal scope for the atonement, he still finds it lacking in essential prioritization. Although they abandon the "stripe for stripe" view of substitution in favor of a moral government theory of justice, such an understanding continues, by McLeod Campbell's estimation, to focus attention towards a legal view: "the whole character of which is determined by man's relation to the divine law," rather than the filial relationship of Father and Son.[138]

Along with McLeod Campbell's emphasis on "the relation in which our redemption is regarded as standing to the fatherliness of God," three other central themes define the theology of *The Nature of the Atonement*.[139] First, the shift of emphasis from God as judge to God as Father is accompanied by a shift from Christ as distant, forensic atonement to Jesus as the Son of God in human flesh. In his preface to the second edition, McLeod Campbell made this explicit: "My attempt to understand and illustrate the nature of the atonement has been made in the way of taking the subject to the light of the incarnation."[140] Second, McLeod Campbell places more emphasis on the prospective elements of atonement, or that to which man is saved, than the retrospective, or that from which man is saved. Rather than focus on the negative, he appeals to the positive. In sum, the holiness and righteousness of God do not simply condemn a sinner, but also call that sinner into a life of sonship, on the pattern and through the work of Christ, to become likewise holy and righteous.[141]

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[134] Campbell, *Atonement*, 74.
[135] Ibid., 76.
[136] Ibid., 77.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid., 81-90.

The final idea expounded in *Atonement* is McLeod Campbell's notion of Christ's vicarious repentance. While he continues to hold to a substitutionary theory of atonement, he contemporaneously – and famously – believed that in Christ, the "oneness of mind with the Father, which towards man took the form of condemnation of sin, would in the Son's dealing with the Father in relation to our sins, take the form of a perfect confession of our sins. This confession, as to its own nature, must have been *a perfect Amen in humanity to the judgment of God on the sin of man*."[142] In *Atonement*, therefore, McLeod Campbell delved even deeper into the theological questions for which he was deposed twenty-five years prior and left the burden of rebuttal – a monumental task – at the feet of the theological conservatives amidst the tremors of the “Confessional Revolution”.

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[139] Campbell, *Atonement*, 237.
[140] Ibid., 19.
[141] Ibid., 36-37, 50-52, 127-150. This key aspect is also noted by Douglas M. Murray, "John McLeod Campbell," in *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 190-191.
[142] Campbell, *Atonement*, 118. Also Torrance, "Introduction," 13-16.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, McLeod Campbell’s theology proved deeply influential on his close friend and cousin, Norman MacLeod of the Barony. In several instances, MacLeod acknowledged this directly. In the year of *Atonement*’s publication, he wrote to his sister, Jane: “As to John Campbell’s book on the ‘Atonement,’ it is like himself, dark, but deep, and very true. I think it has led me captive. I shall read it again; but it finds me, and fills up a huge void.”[143] However, it took six years for MacLeod to fully appreciate and endorse his cousin’s doctrinal vision. In 1862, after much prayer and study, the minister of the Barony began “preaching on the Atonement, according to the view taken of it by my beloved John Campbell.”[144]

Having been led down the path towards universal atonement by Chalmers and Payne, MacLeod finally alighted on the views of his cousin, and “accepted that teaching almost entirely.”[145] Several of his later sermons utilized the themes of *Atonement* in discussing that topic. His opening sermon to the 1870 General Assembly reflected Campbell’s emphasis on the incarnation: the “whole life” of Jesus – not simply the last moments on the cross – must determine a view of the atonement.[146] His Crathie sermon from 1871 propounded the importance of the prospective element in the atonement. He preached to the Queen and her coterie that

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[143] Norman MacLeod, Letter to his sister, 9 February 1856, in MacLeod, *Memoir,* II:50-51.
[144] Norman MacLeod, Journal Entry, 20 April 1862, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:118-119.
[145] Flint, “MacLeod,” 456-457.
[146] MacLeod, *True Christian Ministry*, 14. Another sermon from his daughter’s collected edition of his works focuses exclusively on “The Incarnation of Christ: And the Revelation Through Christ,” see A.C. MacLeod, *Love the Fulfilling of the Law: Extracts from the Writings and MSS of the Late Norman MacLeod, D.D., Selected and Arranged by His Daughter* (London: Charles Burnet & Co., 1887), 28ff.

"the gift of Christ was not mere forgiveness of sins—nay, we may so use this mercy as to turn it into licentiousness. But the gift of gifts which He seeks to bestow on us is the Spirit of Sonship—and if we receive not that from Him we receive nothing."[147] Finally and most tellingly, in a sermon entitled "Christ the Way to the Father," MacLeod preached the idea of vicarious repentance. In language similar to that of McLeod Campbell, he proclaimed: "No mere son of man can make that full, perfect, spiritual confession of sin, or endure in his soul that sense of the sin and misery of man in which I think the essence of the atonement consisted."[148] In the course of his adult life, Norman MacLeod's theology of the atonement evolved from a tacit acceptance of Westminster orthodoxy to a firm conviction that "what Jesus did as an atoning Saviour He did for all."[149] In his later years, the influence of his cousin's work took that understanding and re-contextualized it upon a framework of Fatherhood, incarnation, participatory sonship, and divine love.

Though not a systematician like his cousin, Norman MacLeod expressed his theological worldview practically through his Christian social work, particularly in Dalkeith and Glasgow. During his post-Disruption ministry in Dalkeith, he encountered the "poverty, ignorance, and squalor" in the lower social orders. According to his brother, this "missionary labour among the lapsed classes of Dalkeith" provided the training he would need to minister in the heaving commercial capital of Glasgow after 1851.[150] Upon his arrival in the Barony parish, as noted, he divided it into twelve districts to enable more efficient oversight and management. Along with his famous services for the poor in working clothes, he also established a vast system of parochial relief that included evening schools for working adults, a congregational Penny Savings' Bank to encourage thrift, and a sober refreshment room to discourage vice.[151] While he gained fame as a chaplain to Queen Victoria, popular author, and magazine editor, it was the pastoral care of his massive parish that engrossed his time and efforts.

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[147] MacLeod, *Crathie, 10th September 1871*, 5-6.

[148] MacLeod, *Love the Fulfilling of the Law*, 55.

[149] MacLeod, 20 April 1862, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:118-119.

[150] MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:212.

The degree to which his social theology was coherent and holistic is a point of debate among previous scholars.[152] What is certain, however, is that MacLeod's views on social ills and their remedies owed much – yet again – to the thought of Chalmers and McLeod Campbell. Chalmers' vision of a "godly commonwealth" animated and directed his own efforts in Glasgow.[153] He made this ideological homage explicit in his 1867 *How Can We Best Relieve Our Deserving Poor?* The book advises an aggressive, territorial system of parochial poor relief based on the twin tenets of visitation and private charity. While he did not outright condemn the use of public funds, he believed with Chalmers that "Christian charity, if its dispensers are properly organized, would … attain, in every respect, higher results."[154] This emphasis on organization and results also reveals that, like Chalmers, MacLeod was partially under the influence of the Enlightenment, which prized pragmatism, progress, and quantifiable improvement.[155] Regarding Campbell's influence, Peter Hillis has noted that MacLeod's desire to alleviate poverty and vice in his fellow human beings sprang from his conviction that Christ was God incarnate – fully human apart from sin and able to sympathize with human suffering.[156] MacLeod was thus convinced that along with worship and evangelism, the Church existed "for the advancing of all that pertains to the well-being of humanity."[157]

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[151] MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:10-14. Chalmers also pioneered programs such as these in Glasgow and Edinburgh.

[152] See Hillis, "Towards a New Social Theology," 264; Johnston McKay, *The Kirk and the Kingdom: A Century of Tension in Scottish Social Theology, 1830-1929* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 21-23.

[153] McKay, *Kingdom*, 21-23; Stewart J. Brown, "Thomas Chalmers and the Communal Ideal in Victorian Scotland," in *Victorian Values*, ed. T.C. Smout (Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1992), 77.

[154] Norman MacLeod, *How Can We Best Relieve Our Deserving Poor?* (London: Alexander Strahan, 1867), 12-14.

[155] Bebbington, ""Evangelicalism and British Culture," 106-108.

Romantic Evangelicalism

Norman MacLeod's ecclesiastical breadth and confessional liberalism were not signs of his departure from the Church of Scotland's post-Disruption evangelical fold. Rather, they indicated the degree to which the Romantic cultural mood shaped the wider world of British evangelicalism in the mid-nineteenth century.[158] The "movement of taste that stressed…the place of feeling and intuition in human perception" found a portion of the evangelical world willing to adapt, rather than react.[159] The larger shifts in evangelical conviction mirrored MacLeod's own theological evolution: a move from "legal to family terms" in reference to God, from limited to universal atonement, the thematic dominance of incarnation, and a loss of certainty on the existence and nature of hell.[160] Further, his main theological influences – the broad church and McLeod Campbell – were themselves influenced by the larger spirit of the age. The tendency of the broad church to emphasize "the importance of feeling" over rational dogmatics reflected the sensibilities of Wordsworth and Byron.[161] Like his cousin, John McLeod Campbell enthusiastically embraced Coleridge.[162] As with his Highland identity, Norman MacLeod's evangelicalism was filtered through the ideas of Romanticism.

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[156] Hillis, "Social Theology," 266-267.

[157] Norman MacLeod, quoted in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II: 4.

[158] Peter K. Stevenson also makes this argument for McLeod Campbell in *God in Our Nature: The Incarnational Theology of John McLeod Campbell* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2004), 6, 50.

[159] D.W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730's to the 1980's* (London: Routledge, 1989), 80-81, 144-145; John Wolffe, "Introduction," in *Evangelical Faith and Public Zeal: Evangelicals and Society in Britain 1788-1980*, ed. John Wolffe (London: SPCK, 1995), 13; David W. Bebbington, "Scottish Cultural Influences on Evangelicalism," *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology* 14, no. 1 (Spring 1996), 33.

[160] David. W. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody* (Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 2005), 156-172.

The distinctively Romantic characteristics of his evangelicalism were most evident in his spiritualization of aesthetic themes, interaction with other evangelicals, and preference for catholicity over "narrowness". As briefly noted earlier with reference to sublimity, many of MacLeod's evangelical writings employed terms and ideas from the cultural movement to emphasize the emotional, organic, and experiential nature of Christian faith. During his university days, he recorded a prayer in his journal in which he asked God help him "be every day more sanctified in my affections."[163] In 1845 he complained that the Church lacked a "voice to speak to men's inner being and compel them to hear." His prescription was an "*Inner Work* in the hearts of the clergy and people. We need life, and not mere action; the life of life, and not life from galvanism. If we were right in our souls, out of this root would spring the tree and fruit, out of this fountain would well out the living water."[164] In the first chapter of *Parish Papers*, "Thoughts on Christianity," MacLeod defined the "essence" of Christianity as "faith in Jesus Christ the living person."[165] He later encouraged participation in "that organic unity of the Church, springing chiefly out of a common life, derived from Christ and maintained by His indwelling Spirit."[166]

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[161] Bebbington, *Dominance*, 141.
[162] Stevenson, *God in Our Nature*, 52.
[163] Norman MacLeod, Journal Entry, 22 April 1834, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:44.
[164] Norman MacLeod, Journal Entry, January 1845, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:228.
[165] MacLeod, *Parish Papers*, 3.
[166] Ibid., 253.

Overall, the minister of the Barony's interpretive framework for an evangelical life of faith owed much to his early exposure and assimilation of Romantic ideals.

Norman MacLeod's relationships with other evangelicals and his understanding of evangelicalism itself also indicate the impact of the cultural zeitgeist. The most sustained and international context in which he interacted with fellow evangelicals was the Evangelical Alliance. The Evangelical Alliance was a transatlantic consortium of Protestant churchmen that formed in the mid-1840s on the basis of a general – though comparatively soft – anti-Catholicism and a desire to establish greater harmony among orthodox Protestants.[167] The only doctrinal standard was a "Basis of Faith" with nine non-negotiable beliefs in the arenas of Scripture and its interpretation, the person and work of Christ, the Holy Spirit, basic eschatology, and sacraments.[168] MacLeod first heard about the Alliance in the United States in 1845 during his time with the Church of Scotland's deputation to North America. Upon his return, he eagerly lent his support and leadership. He travelled to Liverpool in April of 1846 for a preliminary meeting and then to London in August for the first major conference.[169] His notes from the London conference show that he readily accepted the "cardinal doctrines" expounded in the Basis of Faith, and that he spent time with other key evangelical leaders from Germany, France, England, and the United States. He considered one of the times he spoke at the conference as the "proudest day I ever spent."[170]

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[167] John Wolffe, "The Evangelical Alliance in the 1840s: An Attempt to Institutionalise Christian Unity," in *Voluntary Religion* (*Studies in Church History 23)*, eds. W.J. Sheils and Diana Wood (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 1986), 340-341.

[168] Ian Randall and David Hilborn, *One Body in Christ: The History and Significance of the Evangelical Alliance* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2001), Appendix 2, 358-359.

[169] MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:254-260.

[170] Norman MacLeod, Letter to his mother, August 1846, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:260-261; Journal Entry, September 1846, Ibid., I:261-262.

Despite his initial enthusiasm, MacLeod eventually became disenchanted with the Evangelical Alliance. A note on his attendance in 1855 described it as of “no use,” though he continued his connection for most of the next decade.[171] He finally parted ways with the Alliance in 1863 over its narrowness. Prior to that year’s meeting, MacLeod had been accused by a number of conservative Church of England evangelicals of promulgating liberal and critical ideas in the pages of *Good Words*. It was an encounter with men like his accusers and a realization that their views predominated that caused him to depart from the Alliance following the May conference. In essence, MacLeod found that the original emphases on church unity and Gospel brotherhood – characteristic of his Romantic evangelicalism – had been replaced by the more conservative soteriological and eschatological scrutiny that demarcated that section of British evangelicals who chose to resist, rather than adapt, to the prevailing trends in culture.[172]

It was in this context of the ideological divide between Victorian evangelicals that MacLeod most often used the word “evangelical.” In 1847 he described the Church of Scotland thusly: “It is Evangelical, and equally removed from formal orthodoxy, or canting Methodism, or icy rationalism.”[173] Twenty years later he complained to his wife of “formal orthodoxy, weak ‘Evangelicalism,’ or sickly Plymouthism” as antithetical to the preferable “broad, manly, earnest Christianity.”[174] In a journal entry from 1870, he declared that the Church of Scotland “must be the church of evangelical freedom and progress.”[175] For Norman MacLeod, evangelicalism at its worst was tied to theological conservatism and social backwardness. At its best – and in the form in which he espoused it – evangelicalism was at once zealously devoted to a vital, experiential, sanctifying faith in Jesus Christ and apathetic toward theological systemization.

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[171] Norman MacLeod, Journal Entry, 21 August 1855, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:46.
[172] Norman MacLeod, Journal Entries, Spring and Summer 1863, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:135-139.
[173] Norman MacLeod, Journal Entry, August 1847, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:272.
[174] Norman MacLeod, Letter to his wife, 31 December 1867, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:268-270.
[175] Norman MacLeod, Journal Entry, 11 March 1870, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:320-321.

The distaste for dogmatization among the more liberal evangelicals was due in large part to the Romantic affinity for unity, brotherhood, and catholicity. MacLeod embodied this stereotype par excellence, and it was during the height of his early exposure to Romantic literature and philosophy that his brother noted an "increased catholicity of sentiment."[176] Along with McLeod Campbell, he was intimate friends with a number of churchmen and laymen from across the denominational and theological spectrum. His early best friend and brother-in-law John Mackintosh joined the Free Church at the Disruption. When Mackintosh died young, MacLeod not only wrote his biography, but also donated the earnings of the book to the India Mission of the Free Church.[177]

In 1867, a banquet held in MacLeod's honor included fellow Established Churchmen along with leaders of the Free Church, United Presbyterian Church, and Scottish Episcopal Church.[178] At this event, McLeod Campbell toasted his cousin. He later recollected, "The one point I that I made something of was my satisfaction on seeing my dear friend, after his thirty years in the ministry, received as representing what I most desired should be cherished; viz., catholicity of thought and feeling, rising above minor distinctions…"[179] Finally, in his closing address as Moderator in 1869, he referred warmly to ministers of the other Protestant denominations as some of his "best and dearest friends."[180] In sum, the evangelicalism of Norman MacLeod was irenic, and valued commonality and friendship over exclusion and doctrinal polemics.

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[176] See above.
[177] MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:36-37.
[178] Norman MacLeod, Journal Entry, 27 October 1867, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:258-259.
[179] Campbell, *Memorials*, II:183-186.

Yet similar to the way in which his *Reminiscences of a Highland Parish* was both Romantic and realistic, MacLeod's faith – while catholic and sublime – still retained all the typical characteristics of Victorian Scottish evangelicalism. Along with his fellow Middle Party evangelicals like Muir, Craik, and Baird who remained in the Church of Scotland, his life and three ministries were marked by vital, saving faith in the cross of Christ, evangelistic and remedial missions, and zealous parish work. He also placed a distinct emphasis on prayer, promoted movements of religious revival, and evidenced a high regard the centrality of the Bible.[181] As A.C. Cheyne noted, MacLeod "would always be more of an Evangelical than a Moderate."[182]

First, Norman MacLeod's evolving soteriology never undermined his fundamentally orthodox understanding of the Christian faith. For him, the foundation of Christian faith was a personal, loving relationship with a crucified Savior. In a journal entry from the end of 1848, he confessed that his own faith in the "work done for" him on the cross required a renewed emphasis on "sharing Christ's life as mine, of glorying in the cross as reflected in the inward power it gives."[183] Over a decade later, he marked the twenty-first anniversary of his ordination with an emotionally raw journal entry, declaring: "My sins and defects as a minister would overwhelm me, unless I believed in that glorious atonement made for the worst:

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[180] MacLeod, *Concluding Address,* 40-41.

[181] Cf. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 12-14, 114-117.

[182] Cheyne, *Transforming*, 158.

[183] Norman MacLeod, Journal Entry, 31 December 1848, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:300.

justification by faith alone. Father, in Christ, forgive thine unworthy servant!"[184] He also described Christ's work on the cross as "the climax of His love."[185] As Robert Flint would later comment, "to Dr. MacLeod the cross of Christ was the centre of the Gospel."[186]

MacLeod also exhibited the evangelical tendency to promote, support, and practice Christian missions in every sphere of his life from the parish to the Empire. At the parish level, as discussed earlier in reference to his social theology, he kept a rigorous routine of preaching, teaching, visiting, fundraising, and supervising poor relief and church extension.[187] At the national level, he was among the keenest advocates for the Church of Scotland Home Mission scheme. In his 1867 *Simple Truths Spoken to Working People*, he wrote, "It is quite true that without material churches, and printed Bibles, educated missionaries, and all the prosaic matter-of-fact details of subscriptions, collections, and accounts, Jesus Christ can reach out and convert a soul. But the fact is, that he has committed the doing of this work to men of flesh and blood."[188] Finally, he supported foreign missions. Not only was he the convener of the India Mission from 1864, he also preached sermons for various other organizations including the SSPCK and the London Missionary Society.[189] One of his *Parish Papers* was devoted to the "Progress of Missions." In it, he discussed the roots of the modern missionary movement in early evangelicalism, specifically pointing out the role played by Moravian settlers and William Wilberforce. He went on to consider the numerical and institutional impact of the nineteenth-century missionary expansion.[190] Both at home and abroad, MacLeod epitomized evangelical activism.

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[184] Norman MacLeod, Journal Entry, 15 March 1859, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:88-89.
[185] A.C. MacLeod, *Love*, 30.
[186] Flint, "MacLeod," 456.
[187] Callum Brown refers to these practices and other evangelical "social policies" in *Religion and Society in Scotland Since 1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 103-105.
[188] Norman MacLeod, *Simple Truths Spoken to Working People*, 155.
[189] Norman MacLeod, Journal Entry, 7 May 1854, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:28.

In keeping with the previous generations of Scottish evangelicals, MacLeod also emphasized the importance of prayer. Early in his first ministry at Loudoun, he wrote to a friend that he desired "to establish prayer meetings when I get my new eldership, and I trust they will be spiritual conductors (so to speak) to bring down good gifts to this thirsty land."[191] In two of his published works from the 1860s, he provided basic guidelines for various forums of prayer. In *Home School*, he encouraged parents to "pray with their children in united family prayer." For MacLeod, family prayer was "the main support of family religion."[192] In *Simple Truths*, he noted other venues for prayer, including public worship and private devotion. Regarding the latter, he suggested dividing prayer into "adoration, confession, petition, intercession, and thanksgiving."[193] The "communion with God" that prayer provided was key to the vital faith that the minister of the Barony practiced and preached.[194]

MacLeod was also a man of the book. A belief in the authority of the Bible informed both his domestic and public faith.[195] In his private life, he found "in daily study of the Bible, a daily discovery." He continued, "Surely I shall read the Bible as an alphabet in Heaven. It was my first school-book here, and I hope it shall be my first there."[196] He also encouraged others to go and do likewise. He exhorted his wife to spend an hour of the day in Scripture reading and private devotion and advised the youth to read through the whole Bible using Robert Murray M'Cheyne's *Daily Bread* as their guide.[197] Though some of his contemporaries imbibed the progressive biblical views in vogue at the time, Donald MacLeod insisted that "no verbal criticism, no logic of lower understanding, could for a moment shake his loyalty to the eternal fitness of the revelation of love and holiness in Christ."[198]

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[190] MacLeod, *Parish Papers*, Chapter 12.
[191] Norman MacLeod, Letter to a Friend, 20 September 1838, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:128-131.
[192] MacLeod, *The Home School*, 120-136.
[193] MacLeod, *Simple Truths*, 209.
[194] Ibid., 174.
[195] He once wrote: "The authority of the Bible is to me supreme…" Cf. MacLeod, *Love*, 15.
[196] Norman MacLeod, Undated Journal Entries (1848-1851), in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:281-282.

Indeed, Norman MacLeod was surprisingly conservative when it came to the Bible. Three instances from his later years illustrate this firsthand. In one of his final published works, *The Temptation of Our Lord*, he rejected the school of thought that interpreted Christ's trial in the desert as a myth. For MacLeod it was undoubtedly "historically true."[199] In a letter to John Campbell Shairp from 1870 he criticized Matthew Arnold's scholarship for denying "the inspiration, in any honest sense, of the Apostles."[200] Finally, another instance in 1870 troubled him greatly. In his journal he described an encounter with a liberal Churchman who believed it did not matter whether or not Christ's miracles actually took place. Aghast, he wrote, "This revelation of the influence of surface criticism has thrown me back immensely upon all who hold fast by an objective revelation."[201] While he pushed against the boundaries of certain theological systems, his belief in the Bible as God's Word was largely in keeping with more traditional evangelical views.

Lastly, Norman MacLeod was a keen advocate of revival – those seasons of intensified religious feeling and increased conversions that added passion and spontaneity to the nineteenth-century evangelical landscape. In 1845 he commented on a Canadian revival that had been censured by other religious authorities. In his opinion, "If there have been extravagancies, how many such were at Kilsyth[202] and other places; and surely better all this folly, with good results, than cold and frigid regularity with no results but death."[203] While reading Jonathan Edwards in 1852, he recorded in his journal how he wished for an awakening in the Church of Scotland. "It would be worth a hundred dead general assemblies," he wrote, "if we had any meeting of believing ministers or people—to cry out to God for a revival. This, and this alone, is what we want."[204]

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[197] Letter to his wife, NLS MacLeod Papers Acc. 9084/24; Norman MacLeod, *Text-Book for Young Communicants; or, Aids to a Course of Bible Instruction in Connexion with the Lord's Supper* (Edinburgh: Paton and Ritchie, 1856), iv.

[198] MacLeod, *Memoir*, 234.

[199] Norman MacLeod, *The Temptation of Our Lord* (London: Burnet & Isbister, 1896), 2-3.

[200] Norman MacLeod, Letter to John Campbell Shairp, 23 April 1870, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:323-324.

[201] Norman MacLeod, Journal Entry, 11 March 1870, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:320-321.

Seven years later, when revival did reach Scotland, MacLeod heartily welcomed it. Between 1859 and 1862, a wave of religious excitement swept across northern Ireland, Wales, and Scotland. In Scotland, the movement manifested itself in various denominational and demographic contexts, including the Church of Scotland. Urban mission halls, rural communion seasons, and impromptu prayer meetings in fishing villages were all subject to the emotional outpourings.[205] In 1859 MacLeod wrote to a friend: "Revival goes on like a great flood, ever deepening and widening without almost an eddy or a wave; churches full every morning at eight in all the great cities, and life universally diffused… it is from God, and therefore to be desired and prayed for."[206] In a letter to another friend, he assured them that "I heartily recognize it as a work of God. Praise Him for it!"[207] In his *Parish Papers* from 1862, he focused an entire chapter on revival and discussed, among other things, the ways in which spiritual awakening would benefit parishes, congregations, missions, and inter-church relations. [208] For MacLeod, a personal, living faith in Christ was the end of all Christian ministry. Anything that facilitated the promulgation of such faith on a larger scale and at a higher speed could only be encouraged.

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[202] Here he notes a recent revival in Kilsyth, Lanarkshire under the preaching of W.C. Burns in 1839.
[203] Norman MacLeod, Journal Entry (1845), in MacLeod, *Memoir*, I:245.
[204] Norman MacLeod, Journal Entry, 18 November 1852, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:18-19.
[205] Brown, *Providence*, 215-221.
[206] Norman MacLeod, Letter to Miss Scott Moncrieff, 1859, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:93.
[207] Norman MacLeod, Letter to Rev. W. Fleming Stevenson, 27 September 1859, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:94.

Conclusion

Norman MacLeod was a Romantic evangelical. His influences were Coleridge, Goethe, and Wordsworth, and his heroes of faith were Edwards, Wilberforce, and Chalmers. For the portly, vivacious Highlander there was nothing inconsistent about this. The themes of essence, organism, and ideality that animated his poetic influences also permeated his vision of vital, biblical, personal faith in Jesus Christ and the promulgation thereof – through both word and deed. It was his distinctly Romantic evangelicalism that served to direct the movement in the post-Disruption Church of Scotland into wider channels in keeping with the times.

Again, MacLeod personally lacked the intellectual capacity and desire for innovative and constructive theology – his was almost exclusively derivative. However, the ethos and ideas of the broad church movement and contemporary Scottish theology provided MacLeod with the tools he needed to broaden and transform – rather than reject – evangelicalism within the Church of Scotland. Through his popularizing work, the movement's emphases shifted from Confessional fidelity and reactionary conservatism to a simple, living, relational Gospel and its social relevance. In his funeral sermon for the recently deceased minister of the

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[208] MacLeod, *Parish Papers*, 198ff.

Barony, Charles M. Grant described his mentor as one who taught him “that there might be breadth without coldness, intensity without narrowness, and zeal without intolerance.”[209]

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[209] Rev. Charles M. Grant, in *Sermons on the Occasion of the Death of Norman MacLeod, D.D., Preached on the 23rd June, 1872, In the Barony Parish Church, and in Barony Chapel, Parliamentary Road* (Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1872), 41.

CHAPTER FOUR: IN AND BEYOND THE KIRK: VICTORIAN EVANGELICALISM AND NORMAN MACLEOD'S *GOOD WORDS*, 1860-1872

The Romantic "catholicity of sentiment" that defined Norman MacLeod's broad evangelical worldview found greater expression through his editorship of the monthly magazine *Good Words* from 1860 until his death in 1872. If MacLeod was anything, he was a man of his times; and the final era of his life was one of expanding literacy and publishing. The popular religious press was a major part of Victorian society.[1] Due to its influence, *Good Words* has received attention from a number of cultural and literary historians.[2] This chapter will interact with this previous body of work and look afresh particularly at the religious and theological content of the magazine during MacLeod's nearly thirteen-year tenure as editor.

The bulk of the following sections follow an approximate, mostly chronological pattern based on events in MacLeod's life. There will be five main sections to the chapter: first, the background and context of *Good Words*; second, the years from 1860 to 1863; third, the controversies of 1863 relating to attacks from conservative evangelicals and his censorship of Anthony Trollope; fourth, the period from 1864 to his trip to India as Convener of the Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee in 1867; and fifth, the period from 1868 to the end of 1872. What emerges corresponds in many ways to MacLeod's theological evolution, which was discussed in the previous chapter. *Good Words* evidences Norman MacLeod's project of broadening evangelicalism inside the Church of Scotland by interacting with a range of orthodox Protestant thought from without – nationally, internationally, denominationally, and across the conservative-liberal spectrum – while continuing to promote a vital, biblical, missional faith. For MacLeod, the ethos of *Good Words* was the ethos he sought to engender in the Church of Scotland. His editorial and authorial undertakings were meant to encourage the ministers and members of the Auld Kirk to go and do likewise.

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[1] See Josef Altholz, *The Religious Press in Britain, 1760-1900* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), 1ff; Richard Altick, *The English Common Reader: Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), 103; Robin Gilmour, *The Victorian Period: The Intellectual and Cultural Context of English Literature, 1830-1900* (London: Longman, 1993), 62.

[2] Ibid., along with R.C. Terry, *Victorian Popular Fiction, 1860-1880* (London: MacMillan, 1983); Mark W. Turner, *Trollope and the Magazines: Gendered Issues in Mid-Victorian Britain* (London: MacMillan, 2000); Judith Wittosch Malcolm, "Good Words," in *Oxford Reader's Companion to Trollope*, ed. R.C. Terry (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999); Catherine Delafield, *Serialization and the Novel in Mid-Victorian Magazines* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015); Mark Knight and Emma Watson, *Nineteenth- Century Religion and Literature: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Patricia Thomas Srebrnik, *Alexander Strahan, Victorian Publisher* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1986; Paul Goldman, *Victorian Illustrated Books, 1850-1870: The Heyday of Wood-Engraving* (London: British Museum Press, 1994); Aileen Fyfe, *Science and Salvation: Evangelical Popular Science Publishing in Victorian Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Caley Ehnes, "Religion, Readership, and the Periodical Press: The Place of Poetry in *Good Words*," in *Victorian Periodicals Review* 45, no. 4 (2012): 466-487; Catherine Delafield, "Marketing Celebrity: Norman MacLeod, Dinah Mulock Craik, and John Everett Millais in Alexander Strahan's *Good Words*," in *Victorian Periodicals Review*. 46, no. 2 (2015): 255-278.

***Good Words*: Background and Context**

The phenomenon that became *Good Words* developed out of a specific context and for a specific purpose. Norman MacLeod's foray into periodical literature began, it will be recalled, with the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* in the early-to-mid 1850s. In 1859, MacLeod and the Edinburgh publisher Alexander Strahan launched another, similar periodical called *Christian Guest: A Family Magazine for the Leisure Hours and Sundays*.[3] While *Christian Guest* only survived for a year, it served to solidify a professional and personal connection between MacLeod and Strahan. Together, the two men began *Good Words* in January 1860.

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[3] Srebrnik, *Strahan*, 36-37.

Alexander Strahan, like MacLeod, was a "broad-minded evangelical."[4] The relationship between the two Scots was mutually beneficial. As discussed more below, it provided MacLeod with a publisher who held similar core convictions. Strahan, for his part, could "capitalize upon the celebrity" of MacLeod as his editor and sell more copies of *Good Words*.[5] Though this professional element likely drove their interactions, they also maintained a friendship throughout their partnership. For example, MacLeod wrote a letter to Strahan in August of 1870 from Mull in which he waxed characteristically on about an Ossianic "evening of glory" among the hills.[6] Strahan later wrote a short biography of MacLeod.

The years during which *Good Words* was planned and launched were pivotal for the British publishing world. Technological advances enabled cheaper production and distribution costs. New illustration techniques, the availability of inexpensive esparto grass for papermaking, and greater rail and post efficiency all contributed to the boom in popular publishing. Stamp and paper taxes and industry regulations were also gradually removed or reduced. The increased competition thus drove down prices to the level of broad middle-class affordability.[7] *Good Words*, for example, began as a sixpenny monthly.

The years 1859-1860 were also pivotal for British literary culture at large.[8] In 1859, Charles Darwin published the paradigm-shifting *On the Origin of Species* and John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* shook the world of philosophy. In popular fiction, George Eliot's *Adam Bede* and Charles Dickens' *A Tale of Two Cities* were both published in 1859. Two other widely-circulated monthly magazines, *Macmillan's* and William Makepeace Thackeray's *Cornhill* began in 1859 and 1860 respectively.[9] Within this context, churchmen like Norman MacLeod saw an opportunity to promote the relevance of gospel teaching and Christian living to the growing reading public.

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[4] Srebrnik, *Strahan*, 3.
[5] Delafield, "Marketing Celebrity," 256.
[6] Norman MacLeod, Letter to Alexander Strahan, August 1870, in Donald MacLeod, *Memoir of Norman MacLeod, D.D.* 2 Vols. (London: Daldy , Isbister & Co., 1876), II:329.
[7] Goldman, *Victorian Illustrated Books*, 33-44.
[8] Terry, *Popular Fiction*, 15-16.

The influences, mission, and purpose of *Good Words* were largely in keeping with MacLeod's broad, Romantic evangelicalism. One of his major ideological influences was the liberal Anglican Thomas Arnold of Rugby. Arnold's magazine, the *Englishman's Register* of 1831, kindled in MacLeod an appreciation for "the broadness of Christian thought" in serial publishing.[10] According to his brother, Donald, Norman felt "that a periodical was greatly required of the type sketched by Dr. Arnold, which should embrace as great a variety of articles as those which give deserved popularity to publications professedly secular, but having its spirit and aim distinctly Christian."[11] This "growing realization within the religious press that there was a need for reading that was interesting as well as edifying" encouraged MacLeod to join Strahan's "family magazine" venture, the content of which included sermonizing alongside religious poetry, serialized novels, natural history, and current affairs.[12] Halfway through its first year, MacLeod received an affirmation of his intent. In a review copied to the inset of the title page in the June edition of *Good Words* in 1860, the *Caledonian Mercury* noted: "Dr. Arnold's well-known idea of the kind of literature required in the present day is here very well realized, as might be expected, with Norman MacLeod as editor."[13]

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[9] Altholz, *Religious Press*, 13.
[10] Knight, *Trollope and the Magazines*, 64.
[11] MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:97.
[12] Altholz, *Religious Press*, 13, 48.

MacLeod's objectives in editing and contributing to *Good Words* were symptomatic of his theological evolution in the 1850s and 1860s. First, the mission of the magazine reflected MacLeod's theological commitment to appropriate all available means in order to influence Victorian Britain with the evangel. Indeed, it was only to these ends that he reluctantly accepted the editorship. In a note in his journal from New Year's Day in 1860, he wrote, "On the principle, however, of trying to do what seems given me of God, I accepted it. May God use it for His glory!"[14] As another scholar has noted, "MacLeod treated his editorship of *Good Words* as if it were an extension to his pulpit."[15]

MacLeod also sought to adapt, rather than react to the spirit of the times, and to distance himself from the "narrowing" Evangelical Alliance during the 1850s. He joined a growing number of evangelicals who refused "to demarcate religious space" in culture. As MacLeod made explicit in reaction to the 1863 events discussed below, his purpose was to bridge the sacred/secular divide in order to Christianize the changing culture.[16]

Finally, it should be noted that *Good Words* was both popular and culturally significant. The magazine was aimed at a middle class, broadly evangelical, and trans-denominational audience in Scotland, England, and abroad.[17] Strahan published

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[13] *GW*, 1860, June title page inset. All future citations will follow the following format: *GW*, year of publication, page.
[14] Norman MacLeod, Journal Entry, 1 January 1860, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:98. Goldman cites this as well in *Victorian Illustrated Books*, 52.
[15] Delafield, *Serialization*, 67.
[16] Knight and Watson, *Religion and Literature*, 3, 123, 134; Altholz, *Religious Press*, 48.
[17] Malcolm, "Good Words," 219; Altick, *Common Reader*, 90, 108, 115.

30,000 issues in the first year alone, and circulation reached an astounding 160,000 by 1864. While it had dropped to 130,000 by 1868, *Good Words* had quickly become one of the most popular magazines in the British Empire. [18] The religious authors included famous Scottish Churchmen such as MacLeod, John Caird, John Tulloch, A.K.H. Boyd, Robert Lee, and John Ross MacDuff from the Church of Scotland, as well as such figures as Thomas Guthrie of the Free Church and William Lindsay Alexander of the Scottish Congregational Church. Contributors from the Church of England included A.P. Stanley, Charles John Vaughan, and Samuel Wilberforce. English Baptists, Methodists, Independents, and Presbyterians, as well as Irish, colonial, and international voices were also prevalent. The list of names of some of the contributors of non-religious material between 1860 and 1872 included Anthony Trollope, George MacDonald, Dinah Mulock Craik, Charles Kingsley, J.D. Forbes, and William Ewart Gladstone. The engraved illustrations in the magazine were provided by such leading artists as John Everett Millais, Edward Burne-Jones, and William Holman Hunt.[19] When Norman MacLeod joined Strahan for *Good Words* in 1860, he could not have foreseen the cultural significance of his work. The man whom people knew as the minister of the Barony and a chaplain to the Queen almost instantly became "the Editor of *Good Words*."

The First Years: 1860-1863

During the first four years of *Good Words*, MacLeod succeeded in his broad evangelical purpose. Religious authors from across the spectrum of orthodoxy wrote with a view toward real-life application. Elements of English broad church thought and the concomitant theological liberalization in Scotland distinguished some of the articles, while still more of the content from these first years drew from mainstream evangelicalism. Through MacLeod's editorship, the variant theological positions produced little tension. Catholicity was the order of the day.

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[18] Goldman, *Victorian Illustrated Books*, 49; Altick, *Common Reader*, 395.

[19] Goldman, *Victorian Illustrated Books*, 50.

Strahan's new magazine was initially published in Edinburgh. In July 1862, he moved his operation to London, where *Good Words* was published until MacLeod's death in 1872. Throughout 1860, authorship remained anonymous, although the first issue of 1861 contained a short notice naming the authors of a number of the articles. From 1861 onwards, the authors of articles were almost always named. The breadth of topics in these first years was impressive. Articles on Christian topics, sermonettes, fiction, poetry, and science were combined with pieces offering medical advice, or describing public health considerations, current events, and even care for animals.[20]

Each issue between 1860 and 1863 contained a number of major religious pieces intended for both weekly and Sabbath reading. The numbers for 1860 included "Good Words for Every Day of the Year," a series of short devotional readings for every single day of the month from specified passages of Scripture. The series began in January, ceased in February, and was brought back by popular demand from March until the end of the year. In his general editorial remarks from

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[20] For example, "The Crowded Harbour" from 1860 commented on the shipwreck of the *Royal Charter* off the coast of Anglesey in 1859, *GW,* 1860, 71-72; Dr. John Brown's "The Doctor, A Lay Sermon for Working People, by the Author of 'Rab and His Friends'" offered pious, evangelistic-laced talk to working people encouraging them to seek medical aid when needed, *GW,* 1861, 30-32; Lennie Orme's "Humanity to the Dogs" pleaded for mercy toward canines, *GW,* 1861, 486-487; and W.T. Gairdner's "Houses and Homes" commented on the relationship between health and urban housing, *GW,* 1862, 411-416.

March, MacLeod explained the lapse in February: "The Daily Readings were reluctantly given up wholly on the ground of their occupying about eight pages monthly, and thereby excluding a number of articles, which, it was believed, were necessary to give variety to the Magazine."[21] He continued, "They are now, however, restored, and will be continued, at the urgent request of very many correspondents, who found them pleasant and profitable. The Editor accedes the more willingly to this request as the Readings tend to carry out the idea which he wishes to realise in the Magazine…."[22] In the first year it thus became apparent that readers of *Good Words* desired an emphasis on the Word of God.

The following year, weekly sermonettes and religious essays replaced the daily reflections on Scripture. The 1861 run included the Free Churchman Thomas Guthrie's series on "The Religion of Life" along with a weekly exposition and reflection on Scripture in a series entitled "Our Sunday Nights."[23] In the latter, each of the monthly essays featured a new author from a variety of denominational backgrounds: Church of Scotland (MacLeod, Robert Lee, John Ross MacDuff, James Melville McCulloch), Church of England (A.P. Stanley), Free Church of Scotland (David Brown, Thomas Smith, James Hamilton), United Presbyterian (John Eadie), Congregationalist (W. Lindsay Alexander), English Nonconformist (Thomas Binney), and Wesleyan (W. Morley Punshon).

The numbers for 1862 followed a similar pattern, except that the weekly biblical sermonettes were all written by William Arnot of the Free High Church, Edinburgh. Arnot's series, "At Home in the Scriptures," dealt with a range of

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[21] Norman MacLeod, editorial note to "Good Words for Every Day in the Year," *GW,* 1860, 143.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Thomas Guthrie, "The Religion of Life," *GW,* 1861.

Christian issues. An example was his article on Acts 26:25 entitled "Soberness," which appeared in early March. "In the practical question which every one must once in his life decide for himself," he concluded, "—the question whether he shall be his own master, or accept with all his heart and soul the gospel of salvation by Jesus Christ,—there are only two sides. One side is right and safe; the other side is wrong and ruinous."[24] In 1863, there were no weekly readings, but rather monthly Christian essays by John Caird ("Essays for Sunday Reading"), Norman MacLeod ("Good Words for Children"), and Thomas Guthrie ("The Parables: Read in Light of the Present").

A number of broad churchmen contributed to *Good Words* between 1860 and 1863.[25] They included John Tulloch, John Caird, Richard Whately (Church of Ireland Archbishop of Dublin), and A.P. Stanley. A recurring liberal theme was an emphasis on character development that tended towards Christian moralism. In one of his 1863 "Essays for Sunday Reading," Caird proclaimed: "Religion is character, and the ultimate end of all religious teaching and discipline is to produce character, to make men holy, and loving, and pure."[26] Robert Lee's "Sunday Evenings in November" from 1861 appealed to a moral growth and gradual, organic maturation of faith rather than any explicit notion of sanctification.[27]

The second broad church theme was anti-dogmatism. In January of 1861, Archbishop Whatley of Dublin subtly critiqued the conservative Evangelical Alliance.[28] In the same year, John Tulloch of the Church of Scotland wrote a series on the history of the Early Church in which he made a number of critical observations that had a clear application to contemporary ecclesiastical and theological debates. In an essay on “The Christian School, and Christian Worship, of the Second Century,” he described Early Church catechesis, baptismal ceremonies, and other rites. He concluded that such “forms” were “good in so far as it is fitting and useful for its time, but just because of this fitness to one age and time, it cannot survive like the eternal truth itself.”[29] This remark was likely intended for opponents of doctrinal reform in Scotland during the 1850s and 1860s.[30] In November’s issue, Tulloch discussed “Alexandria and Its Christian School.” His description of the historical theological split between Alexandria and Antioch in the patristic era left little doubt as to which type of churchmen he considered to be the contemporary stodgy Antiochenes.[31]

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[24] William Arnot, "Soberness," *GW,* 1862, 186-187.

[25] For the key tenets, see Chapter Three, or A.C. Cheyne, *The Transformation of the Kirk: Victorian Scotland's Religious Revolution* (Edinburgh: St. Andrew Press, 1983), 73-85.

[26] John Caird, "Marriage and a Single Life," *GW,* 1863, 456.

[27] Robert Lee, "Our Sunday Evenings in November," *GW,* 1861, 636-640.

[28] Richard Whatley, "Influence of Names," *GW,* 1861, 43.

The third liberal element in several of the religious pieces between 1860 and 1863 was a doctrinal progressivism. The appeal to historical progress in theology emerged in the articles by Tulloch from 1861. In “Christian Family and Christian Manners in the Second Century,” he positively contrasted life in Constantine’s era to that of Caesar. According to Tulloch, “It is a marvelous transformation from death to life, from corruption to the dawning face of a higher and purer civilization than the world had yet seen.”[32] Caird also expounded upon the expectation of “higher and purer” things in 1863 with regard to theology: “Through all history there is to be discerned a constant progression towards some higher state, an ever-advancing movement of humanity towards perfection."[33] He then applied this approach to the theology of the Reformation: "The wheels of human progress were not then arrested, so that in matters spiritual and ecclesiastical, any more than in matters secular, we are to stick for ever at the point which the Church then reached."[34] He continued, "It would be no true honouring of the Reformers to pin our faith to their teachings, to canonize them as the permanent masters of the Church, and to treat with blind deference their dogmas and creeds and confessions."[35] For Tulloch, Caird, and their sympathizers, *Good Words* provided a venue in which to promote an improving, inclusive, progressive vision of Protestantism.

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[29] John Tulloch, “The Christian School, and Christian Worship, of the Second Century,” *GW,* 1861, 69-73.

[30] Cheyne, *Transforming*, 89ff.

[31] John Tulloch, “Alexandria and Its Christian School,” *GW,* 1861, 613-616.

[32] John Tulloch, “Christian Family and Christian Manners in the Second Century,” *GW,* 1861, 180-184.

During this first period of publication, however, the broad church voices were a minority. The bulk of the religious authors espoused evangelical beliefs. Under MacLeod's editorial eye, a substantial portion of *Good Words* was devoted to discussions of foreign missions and the Bible, appeals to conversion and personal piety, and examples of Christian activism. MacLeod and John Ross MacDuff frequently represented the Church of Scotland's evangelicals. Thomas Guthrie and Thomas Smith headed the Free Church regulars. William Fleming Stevenson and Josias Leslie Porter of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland also contributed, as did others of various denominations.

Between 1860 and 1863, *Good Words* included a significant discussion of foreign missions. In April of 1860, Thomas Smith's series of "Missionary Sketches" began with the following note: "They will consist of notices of the lives and labours of missionaries, descriptions of missionary scenes, and narratives of important events in the history of the propagation of the gospel."[36] An unattributed 1860 piece on "The Serampore Missionaries" explored the work of William Carey in India toward similar ends.[37] In 1861, William Fleming Stevenson wrote an article on "The Gospel to Chota Nagpore." Tellingly, Stevenson used the idea of "good words" to mean the preached gospel in relation to conversion of the Indian people in the early 1850s. He wrote that "whole villages had declared themselves for Christ, and crowds stream in on Sunday from places four and five hours distant to heart *the good word*."[38] John Inglis, a Reformed Presbyterian missionary from Dumfries who worked in New Zealand and Vanuatu, also contributed two missionary sketches of "The South Sea Islands" in the autumn of 1861.[39] As noted in Chapter Three, one of MacLeod's 1862 articles (later published as a part of *Parish Papers*) dealt exclusively with "Missions in the Nineteenth Century."[40] Finally, the Middle Party stalwart John Melville McCulloch wrote a heartfelt appeal for missions to the Jews in 1863.[41] Perhaps unsurprisingly, two of the initial authors besides MacLeod – Smith and Stevenson – also went on to gain positions of influence in the missionary movement.[42]

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[33] Caird, "The Reformation and Its Lessons," *GW,* 1863, 886.
[34] Ibid., 888-889.
[35] Ibid.

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[36] Editorial Note to Thomas Smith, "Missionary Sketches, No. I, Ziegenbalg and Plutschou," *GW,* 1860,193-197.

[37] Anon., "The Serampore Missionaries," *GW,* 1860, 419-423.

[38] W.F. Stevenson, "The Gospel in Chota Nagpore," *GW,* 1861, 35-38 (italics his).

[39] John Inglis, "The South Sea Islands—As They Were Twenty Years Ago," *GW,* 1861, 506-511; "The South Sea Islands—As They Are At Present," *GW,* 1861, 544-550. Cf. J.M. Hitchen, "John Inglis," in *DSCHT*, 430.

[40] Norman MacLeod, "Missions in the Nineteenth Century," *GW,* 1862, 257-262.

[41] John Melville McCulloch, "What the World Owes the Jews," *GW,* 1863, 775-780.

[42] William Fleming Stevenson became Convener of the foreign missions committee in the Presbyterian Church of Ireland in 1871, Chair of Evangelistic Theology at New College, Edinburgh in 1879-1880, Moderator of his Church's General Assembly in 1881, and Duff Lecturer on Foreign Missions in 1882 and 1886. (See Thomas Hamilton, *rev.* David Huddleston, "William Fleming Stevenson," in *DNB*, 52:611-612. Thomas Smith began as a Church of Scotland missionary in Calcutta, joined the Free Church in 1843, returned from India to minister at Edinburgh's Cowgatehead Free Church in the late 1850s, also held the New College Chair in Evangelistic Theology in 1880, gave the inaugural Duff Lectures in that same year, and became Free Church

Good Words also contained a number of characteristically evangelical articles addressing the Bible. John Melville McCulloch's "Sunday Evenings" series from August of 1861 chastised Christians who failed to read their Bibles. "They call Him Master and Lord," he wrote, "and they profess to lament his absence and long for His return; yet they allow the Book which acquaints them with His 'work and labour of love,' and instructs them how to demean themselves till He comes again, to lie from week's end to week's end unperused."[43] The following month, James Ross MacDuff's "Sunday Evenings" included a highly Biblicist and conservative evangelical response to contemporary views of Scripture. In his typically robust prosaic style, MacDuff disclaimed "that saddest phase and dogma of modern infidelity" which regarded the Bible as "a relic and memorial of bygone days, but unsuitable for an age which has superseded the cruder views of these old 'chroniclers,' and inaugurated a new era of religious development. Vain dreamers!"[44] The evangelical authors of *Good Words* were committed to the right, regular, and reverent reading of Scripture.

Between 1860 and 1863, Norman MacLeod and his evangelical colleagues also utilized the pages of *Good Words* as an evangelistic platform. Indeed, MacLeod himself led the charge in this arena. In "Moments in Life" from February of 1862, he concluded by addressing a theoretical reader in "his last moment." "Let me beseech him to improve it," he wrote, "by repentance towards God and faith in Jesus Christ, who will pardon his sins, give him a new heart, and save him as he did the thief on

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Moderator in 1891. See W.F. Gray, *rev*. Lionel Alexander Ritchie, "Thomas Smith," in *DNB*, 51:342-343.

[43] James Melville McCulloch, "Love to Christ," *GW,* 1861, 471-472.

[44] John Ross MacDuff, "True Counselors," *GW,* 1861, 525.

the cross."[45] In 1863, he included a conversionary prayer in "Good Words for Children" that read: "Lord Jesus, I trust Thee as my only Saviour! Forgive me all my trespasses and enable me to do Thy will. …I believe—but help my unbelief, and daily strengthen my faith in Thee, my love to Thee, and my will to serve Thee! Amen."[46] MacLeod's commitment to providing Christian literature for the faithful amongst the reading public included a desire to awaken the unconverted of all ages.

Among the evangelicals, there was also a sustained emphasis on prayer and personal piety. Again, this contrasted to an extent with the more liberal writers' tendency to focus on character development. One of the early, unattributed articles from 1860 expounded upon "The Power of Prayer."[47] In an exposition from 1862 on the importance of faith in Jesus as a "personal Saviour," MacLeod exhorted his readers to "daily seek to grow in the knowledge in love of this glorious One… by cultivating personal intercourse with Him in prayer."[48] In 1861, McCulloch posed the question: "What gives warmth to the piety, and a holy beauty to the walk of the aged disciple?" Discountenancing "the amount of his theological lore," McCulloch believed that "that which really feeds the sacred flame of piety within his heart, and causes it to shed beauty on his outward life, is his intimate, personal acquaintance and communion with his Lord."[49] Holiness was also considered in its own right by writers such as Thomas Smith, who devoted his entire "Sunday Evenings" series from 1861 to the theme of sanctification.[50]

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[45] Norman MacLeod, "Moments in Life," *GW,* 1862, 65-68.
[46] Norman MacLeod, "Good Words for Children," *GW,* 1863, 589.
[47] Anon., "The Power of Prayer," *GW,* 1860, 86-87.
[48] Norman MacLeod, "Four Difficulties Solved in Jesus Christ," *GW,* 1862, 385-389.
[49] James Melville McCulloch, "The Knowledge of Christ," *GW,* 1861, 471.
[50] Thomas Smith, "Our Sunday Evenings in October," *GW,* 1861, 580-584.

The final evangelical trademark of *Good Words* during its first four years was a promulgation of Christian activism. As Arnot reminded his readers in April of 1862, “Love to the Redeemer cannot lie hid in the breast of a redeemed man; it will and must break forth, a blessing to every needy creature that lies within its reach.”[51] In the September 1860 issue, an unattributed article entitled “The Midnight Mission” focused on the reclamation of prostitutes in London. It described “the remarkably and singularly bold efforts that have been lately made to preach the gospel, and to carry the light and love of Christianity into what must be described as the most repulsive class of the population of London.”[52] Two articles from 1861 positively addressed the Ragged School movement, which sought to feed, educate, and in some cases provide accommodation for abandoned or neglected street children in the cities.[53] One of the pieces was written by Thomas Guthrie, who spearheaded the movement in Scotland.[54] Along with edifying the evangelical middle class, *Good Words* also supported home mission work among the “submerged” classes.

While most of the theology in *Good Words* was implicit, some articles explored such theological issues as the Fatherhood of God, union with Christ, and the atonement. In keeping with its diverse authorship, the religious pieces between 1860 and 1863 included a spectrum of doctrinal positions. Norman MacLeod and the German theologian Wolfgang Friedrich Gess, for example, treated the atonement from differing viewpoints. As discussed at length in Chapter Three, MacLeod shared his cousin McLeod Campbell’s belief that, in salvation, the divine attribute of love should receive priority over that of justice. In an 1863 article on "The Cure for Over-Anxiety," he reaffirmed this as a general idea when he stated that, "In no case is love subordinate to power, but in every case is power subordinate to love."[55] Two pages on, in a brief discussion of atonement in relation to anxiety, MacLeod made no mention of justice and focused on peace.[56] Later in that same year, however, W.F. Gess wrote an essay on the atonement presenting the Calvinist argument for the role of the "retributive justice of God" in the death of Christ.[57] For Gess, "the atoning power of our Lord's sufferings lies in this *holy* bearing of the judgment which God has indissolubly linked with human sin."[58] Further, Christ "underwent the penalty affixed by God to sin, received the bitter cup from God's hand into his, the Son of Man's, this, by fulfilling its purpose, accomplishing its aim—*exhausting* the judgment."[59]

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[51] William Arnot, “At Home in the Scriptures,” *GW,* 1862, 251.
[52] Anon., “The Midnight Mission,” 598-600.
[53] Thomas Guthrie, “The Edinburgh Ragged School, How it was got up, and what it has done,” *GW,* 1861, 3-8; Henry W. Holland, “Facts from a South Staffordshire Ragged School,” *GW,* 1861, 659-665.
[54] N.R. Needham, “Thomas Guthrie,” in *DSCHT*, 381-382.

Yet MacLeod and his contributors' commitment to catholicity largely mitigated the potential tensions between the variant voices in *Good Words*.[60] Diversity was a salient feature of the magazine. Strahan and MacLeod published conservative evangelicals, liberal evangelicals, broad churchmen, and high churchmen; Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Congregationalists; English, Scottish, Irish, Dutch, German, American, and Swiss. In 1861, MacLeod wrote a travel series describing his trip to Russia and Eastern Europe. His description of the chapels in St. Petersburg and Moscow for expatriate English-speaking Protestants was paradigmatic for the religious tone he hoped to promote in *Good Words*: “These chapels are attended by men of various sections of the Protestant Church—Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregational; and the clergymen who minister in them are most catholic in their sentiments, liberal in their government, and faithful in their ministrations.”[61] Such, of course, was also the nature of MacLeod’s own broad evangelicalism.

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[55] Norman MacLeod, "The Cure for Over-Anxiety," *GW,* 1863, 45.
[56] Ibid., 47.
[57] W.F. Gess, "Christ's Atonement for Sin," *GW,* 1863, 285.
[58] Ibid., 289.
[59] Ibid.
[60] In February of 1860, MacLeod hoped that the list of authors (though not yet indicating what it was they wrote) from a variety of churches would "shew [sic] the catholicity of the Magazine." Editorial Comments, *GW,* 1860.

Overall, from 1860 to 1863 MacLeod maintained and reinforced the original mission and purpose of *Good* Words – evangelical influence and cultural adaptation – both by what he wrote and allowed to be included in its pages. In the March edition from 1860 in which he explained the February absence of “Good Words for Every Day of the Year,” he went on to describe the overall purpose: “furnishing interesting and instructive reading for every day of the week, and not for Sunday only. [The Editor] desires to see the ‘secular’ and ‘religious’ naturally and truthfully blended in the pages of the Magazine, as they are in the everyday life of a good man.”[62] In December of 1860, he added a note in the advert for the 1861 reading year in which he reaffirmed that “the faithful exhibition of Evangelical truth shall go hand-in-hand with every department of a healthy literature.”[63]

A journal entry and two letters included in Norman MacLeod’s memoirs also discuss the mission and purpose. In a journal note from 3 June 1861, he mentioned that some found *Good Words* insufficiently religious, to which he responded:

> I have a purpose—a serious, solemn purpose—in *Good Words*. I wish in this peculiar department of my ministerial work to which I have been ‘called,’ and in which I think I have been blessed, ‘to become all things to all men, that I might by all means gain some.’ I cannot, therefore, write stories merely

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[61] Norman MacLeod, “A Peep at Russia, and the Shore of the Baltic,” *GW,* 1861, 366-370.
[62] Norman MacLeod, Editorial Note, *GW,* March, 1860).
[63] Norman MacLeod, Editorial Note, *GW,* December, 1860).

> as a literary man, to give amusement, or as works of art only, but must always keep before me the one end of leading souls to know and love God.[64]

In a letter later that summer to the English Christian Socialist J.M. Ludlow, he exclaimed, “My calling is the gospel, to give myself wholly to it, as I know it and believe it.” Therefore, “so long as I have *Good Words* there shall be ‘preaching’ in it, direct or indirect, and no shame, or sham, about it.” For MacLeod, “This, along with my secularity, will keep it, so far, distinct from other periodicals.”[65] In another letter to W. Fleming Stevenson, he insisted, “I want to intone all [the Magazine’s] services more with the direct Christian spirit, and shall do so, or give it up.”[66]

Between 1860 and 1863, these twin commitments to “intone” *Good Words* with “direct or indirect” preaching and to bridge the divide between “secular” and “religious” works manifested themselves particularly in science and poetry. Regarding science, Victorian evangelicals “were not worried by the discoveries of geology, phenology, and nebular astronomy. All of these sciences were quite comfortable with faith, as long as they were properly interpreted.”[67] During this first era of *Good Words*, a number of scientific authors did just that. An anonymous article from 1860 entitled “God’s Glory in the Heavens: Lunar Landscape,” discussed the “grandeur and power” of “Divine intelligence” in space.[68] The evangelical Brethren naturalist Philip Henry Gosse began contributing to *Good Words* in 1861 with an essay on sponges. Towards the end of this first piece, Gosse reflected upon “the inimitable, unapproachable, incomprehensible impress of Deity” found in "the needles of a sponge picked from the mud of a tide-forsaken rock."[69] Finally, the eminent Scottish scientist Sir David Brewster in 1862 wrote a critique of *Origin of Species*, describing it as a book that "contains much valuable knowledge, and much wild speculation."[70] His negative criticism was largely due to Darwin's failure to include any theistic attribution in his work.[71] The type of science condoned in *Good Words* during the initial era blended the secular (science) with the sacred (theism).

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[64] Norman MacLeod, Journal Entry, 3 June 1861, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:109-110.

[65] Norman MacLeod, Letter to J.M. Ludlow, August 1861, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:113.

[66] Norman MacLeod, Letter to W. Fleming Stevenson, 14 August 1861, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:114.

[67] Aileen Fyfe, *Science and Salvation: Evangelical Popular Science Publishing in Victorian Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 3.

[68] Anon., “God’s Glory in the Heavens: Lunar Landscape,” *GW,* 1860, 161-164.

Similarly, the religious mission of *Good Words* often distinguished the poetry of these first four years. According to Ehnes, that specific genre "reinforced the periodical's Christian edict by emphasizing the divine presence behind texts and nature," thereby "contributing to and confirming its message that a literary work made of good words can (and should) act as a prompt for devotional thought and practices."[72] The March 1860 edition alone contained the following poems: "He's Risen!," "Pencil Marks in a Book of Devotion," "Faint, Yet Pursuing; a Song of the Church Militant," and "Faith's Question."[73] MacLeod contributed two distinctly religious poems in 1861 and 1863. The 1861 poem was written in Scots, and describes a pious deathbed scene of a Highland girl who had moved to the city. It concludes on a Christian note: "And tell them, too, I gae'd in peace, / Because I kent the Name / O' Father and Brother dear,— / Fareweel! I'm noo gaun hame!"[74]

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[69] P.H. Gosse, "An Hour Among the Torbay Sponges," *GW,* 1861, 293-298.
[70] Sir David Brewster, "The Facts and Fancies of Mr. Darwin," *GW,* 1862, 3.
[71] Ibid., 3-9.
[72] Ehnes, "Religion, Readership, and the Periodical Press," 467.
[73] Anon., *GW,* 1860, 136, 143, 152, 174-175.
[74] Norman MacLeod, "Oh It's Hard to Die Frae Hame," *GW,* 1861, 160. A unique aspect of the poem is that MacLeod uses the Scots spelling of 'faither' when referring to the girl's earthly father earlier on in the poem. His reluctance to apply a non-standard English spelling to God the Father, despite the context, seems to imply a special degree of reverence.

His 1863 poem, "Discipleship", prefaced each of the three subsections with a biblical quotation. The first part is essentially optimistic, and perhaps reminiscent of the initial phase of Christian discipleship. The first line is: "Thou perfect Brother, perfect Son, / Who died below and liv'st above, / To pardon, cleanse, and make us one, / As Thou are one with God in love." The second subsection dwells on the difficulties of following Christ, for example: "O Lord, I tremble while I pray; / And from Thy grace such glory seek; / I fear to think of all I say, / The Spirit wills, but flesh is weak!" The final portion completes the thematic arc, almost to the point of triumphalism, and concludes: "Now strong in Thee, I breathe the prayer / To be like Thee whate'er betide; / On Thee I cast my every care, / On Thee I rest, in Thee abide!"[75] Under his editorship and through his own efforts, MacLeod ensured that the poetry of *Good Words* provided edifying material in order to strengthen the faith of some readers and stimulate the faith of others.

The *Good Words* Controversies of 1863

Midway through 1863, *Good Words* came under attack by opponents of MacLeod's agenda. The conservative evangelical Church of England magazine, the *Record*, ruthlessly challenged both the legitimacy of a "mixed" periodical such as *Good Words* and the genuineness of its editor's faith. This controversy, along with MacLeod's own censorship of a serialized novel by Anthony Trollope in that same year, provided a testing ground for the magazine's mission and purpose. Further, it offered a glimpse of the internecine polemics and responses between conservative and liberal evangelicals in Victorian Britain.

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[75] Norman MacLeod, "Discipleship," *GW,* 1863, 698.

The *Record* began publication in 1828 under the auspices of a group of "London lay evangelicals."[76] Aggressively pugilistic, the magazine took aim at the Tractarians in the early 1830s and later directed its attacks at broad church liberals as their ideology began to take root in the Church of England in the following decades. The editor from the mid-1850s until 1867 was Edward Garbett.[77] However, Strahan's modern biographer contends that the former editor, Alexander Haldane, led the charge against *Good Words* in 1863.[78] Strahan eventually discovered that the author of the invectives was, in fact, "not a member of the Church of England as he ostentatiously professes to be," but rather, "Rev. Thomas Alexander, *Presbyterian* minister at Chelsea…."[79] Alexander's sustained critique consisted of six articles, printed in the *Record* between 1 and 13 April, 1863.

The first article acted as a prolegomena for the following pieces. He condemned *Good Words* for "doing about as dangerous a work as any journal of the present day," primarily due to "this 'mingle-mangle' of things secular and sacred."[80] He went on to express serious concern about "writers of the highest standing in the ranks of Evangelicalism" becoming "fellow contributors with the leaders of the extreme Broad Church party."[81] Alexander specifically named Guthrie, Arnot, and MacDuff as among the evangelical sheep, and Kingsley, Stanley, and Trollope among the broad church wolves. A key complaint from this first piece was that the "Sunday Evenings" series from 1861 only included Stanley – a liberal – amongst the

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[76] Altholz, *Religious Press*, 17.
[77] Ibid., 18.
[78] Srebrenik, *Strahan*, 56.
[79] Alexander Strahan, "To the Editor of the "Patriot," (10 June 1863)," in *An Exposure of the "Record" Newspaper in its Treatment of "Good Words (reprinted from the "Patriot"* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., 1863), 38.
[80] *Record*, 1 April 1863.
[81] Ibid.

Church of England clergy, and not someone of sounder evangelical principles (such as a member of the *Record* clique). It closed by hinting at future topics of disagreement and suggesting that, in general, the religious content of *Good Words* seemed to decrease over time.

The second and third articles (4 and 6 April) focused exclusively on MacLeod's theology. Drawing heavily from *Home School* and *Parish Papers*, Alexander first harangued MacLeod's lack of dogmatic clarity and Calvinist consistency with regard to the atonement, human depravity, and future punishment. Rather than level any clear charge of heresy, however, the *Record* reviewer was forced to settle with: "It is in the things 'conspicuous by their absence' we so sorely miss."[82] The second article took MacLeod's serialized story *The Golden Thread* to task for attempting to mimic *Pilgrim's Progress* without devoting due energy to explicit statements of depravity and atonement. "Dr. MacLeod may be a very clever man," Alexander sneered, "but he is a very awkward and bungling deacon in the craft of which Bunyan was a master."[83] He again rehearsed his antipathy towards MacLeod's theological opacity with regards to the fall of man, regeneration, and imputed righteousness. Finally – and unsurprisingly – he complained that MacLeod misconstrued the love of God: "It is this sort of love that Mr. Maurice teaches,—a maudlin, mawkish love akin to weakness."[84] Thus, his overall critique of MacLeod's theology was in keeping with the battle lines drawn between conservative and liberal evangelicals during the era – dogmatic clarity vs. doctrinal ambiguity and divine justice vs. incarnate love.

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[82] *Record*, 4 April 1863.
[83] *Record*, 6 April 1863.
[84] Ibid.

The fourth, fifth, and sixth articles (8, 10, and 13 April) shifted the attack to other perceived threats from such authors in *Good Words* as Tulloch and Stanley. Alexander despised Tulloch's "indefinite theology."[85] As for Caird, his 1863 religious writing "has taken the place held by Mr. Arnot last year; and it is a sudden and striking downcome [sic]."[86] He took particular issue with Caird's gradualist view of conversion and even reached back to the mid-1850s to critique his well-known sermon on "Religion in Common Life."[87] The fifth piece concluded with a negative assessment of Robert Lee and Charles Kingsley. The sixth and final of the *Record* attacks bemoaned what Alexander perceived as eschatological universalism and a low view of Scripture in the *Good Words* contributions of Stanley.[88] Finally, he condemned the inclusion of popular fiction authors like Trollope and John Hollingshead. "These sensation novels," he proclaimed, "are one of the crying evils of the day."[89] In sum, Thomas Alexander's *Record* denounced MacLeod and his contributors for contributing to a creeping secularization in Victorian society.

All within British evangelicalism, however, did not share his opinion. The *Patriot*, an English dissenting evangelical magazine, mounted a defense of MacLeod and *Good Words* later in April of 1863. The first article condemned the *Record* reviews as divisive and anti-Christian. How could *Good Words* be "dangerous," they asked, with contributing authors like Guthrie, Henry Rogers, W. Lindsay Alexander, and James Hamilton – men with “zeal for the Gospel.”[90] The *Patriot* also suggested that the “chief grievance” of the *Record* was the lack of conservative Church of England evangelicals among MacLeod’s stable of authors.[91] A second article spoke more to that effect. The third and final *Patriot* piece addressed Alexander’s accusations against MacLeod’s theology. While not necessarily defending MacLeod’s views, they noted that “the doctrine of redemption by the blood of Christ” appeared regularly among “distinguished Evangelical contributors,” and pointed to the 1863 W.F. Gess essay on atonement – “With which the strictest Calvinist must be satisfied.”[92] The only author that the *Patriot* took issue with was Anthony Trollope.[93]

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[85] *Record*, 8 April 1863.

[86] *Record*, 10 April 1863

[87] Ibid. Also cf. John Caird, *Religion in Common Life: A Sermon Preached in Crathie Church, Oct. 14th, 1855, Before Her Majesty the Queen and Prince Albert* (Melbourne: George Robertson, 1856). This sermon was likely influential on MacLeod's mission and purpose for *Good Words.* For example, Caird argued that "a man may be a Christian thinker and writer as much when giving to science, or history, or biography, or poetry, a Christian tone and spirit, as when composing sermons or writing hymns" (19).

[88] *Record*, 13 April 1863. Alexander took particular issue with "The Twelve Gates of Heaven" from Stanley's 1861 "Sunday Evenings," *GW,* 1861, 125-128, and "The Songs of Israel," *GW,* 1863, 121-125.

[89] Ibid.

In June of 1863, MacLeod himself defended *Good Words* in a letter to an unnamed correspondent. He opened by acknowledging the positive reception of the magazine in “the whole British press, and even the colonial.”[94] “I am so far comforted in remembering,” he continued, “that the ‘Record’ has long stood alone as the representative of the most narrow section of the great Evangelical Church in this country.”[95] As for the accusations of “mingle-mangle” in the churchmanship of his authors, MacLeod assured his correspondent that it was his intention to make the churchmanship broad in spectrum in order to attract broad readership between the poles of dogmatism and skepticism.[96] He later addressed his criteria for authorship. For MacLeod, if he would let them into his home, he would let them into his magazine. Further, the content "must be in harmony with at least the essentials of the Christian faith, and with its manners and morals."[97]

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[90] *Patriot*, 23 April 1863. Also collected later in *An Exposure of the “Record” Newspaper in its Treatment of “Good Words” (reprinted from the “Patriot”)* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., 1863).

[91] Ibid.; Srebrenik, *Strahan*, 58.

[92] *Patriot*, April 1863.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Norman MacLeod, Letter to Anon., dated June 1863 (Printed but not published), in NLS MacLeod Papers, Acc. 9084/31, 1.

[95] Ibid.

In the same letter, MacLeod defended the mission and purpose of *Good Words* against the accusations of Thomas Alexander and the *Record*. He wrote:

> My object has therefore been, I will frankly tell you for I have nothing to conceal, to combine as far as possible in "Good Words" all those elements which have made what are called "secular" periodicals attractive, whether in good fiction, wholesome general literature, or genuine science, to have these subjects *treated in a right and therefore religious spirit*, and to add to these what are called "religious articles," containing a full and uncompromising declaration of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in every number. In this way I hoped, that a journal so conducted would find its way among sections of society into which other periodicals more exclusively "religious" had not penetrated. My anticipations have been verified by fact.[98]

During the first four years of *Good Words*, the editor's refusal to countenance the sacred/secular divide "put him on a collision course…with more traditionalist views within the Evangelical church."[99] In April of 1863, the *Record* proved to be that equal and opposite force. Yet MacLeod – affirmed by the *Patriot* – reacted by standing his ground and reaffirming his commitment to infuse the popular media with Christian voices and adapt to the spirit of the age.

As the second notable event from 1863 illustrated, he would bend – but not break. During the era, a number of evangelicals continued to look askance at

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[96] Norman MacLeod, Letter to Anon., dated June 1863 (Printed but not published), in NLS MacLeod Papers, Acc. 9084/31, 3-4.

[97] Ibid., 5-6. Regarding the main targets of abuse, he also noted: "While I differ from many of the theological views of Kingsley and Stanley, yet I ask with surprise are such men *never* to write, no matter on what subject, an article for 'Good Words?'" (6)

[98] Ibid., 4-5.

[99] Delafield, *Serialization*, 61.

"imaginative literature."[100] Of particular concern was anything labeled sensational. In the controversy of April, both the *Record* and the *Patriot* expressed concern about the work of the English novelist Anthony Trollope. Trollope's work had appeared – under the editorial eye of MacLeod – for the first time in the January 1863 issue of *Good Words*.[101] That same year, MacLeod contracted with Trollope for a new novel that *Good Words* would publish serially. When Trollope's novel (*Rachel Ray*) arrived, however, MacLeod felt that it was "not suitable for the Magazine."[102] While Trollope was well within the boundaries of MacLeod's authorship parameters, and indeed "a personal friend," the content of *Rachel Ray* detracted from MacLeod's overall mission and purpose for *Good Words*.[103]

Trollope, along with Charles Dickens and Charlotte Bronte, tended to create religious characters that left "largely hostile pictures of evangelical religion."[104] Such was the case with *Rachel Ray*. In a letter to Trollope from 11 June 1863, MacLeod acknowledged that his initial desire was for Trollope to avoid "showing up what was weak, false, disgusting in professing Christians," but rather "bring out, as has never yet been done, what Christianity as a living power derived from faith in a living Saviour… can accomplish in the world, for the good of the individual and mankind."[105] When MacLeod read *Rachel Ray* for himself, he found that his novelist friend had not in fact spared "wipes," "sneers," or "prongs" in his treatment of religious characters. "In short," MacLeod wrote, "it is the old story. The shadow over the Church is broad and deep, and over every other spot sunshine reigns."[106] While he was not angry with Trollope, he was clearly disappointed in their apparent miscommunication. To make matters worse, *Good Words* sustained a £500 loss by the rejection.[107] However, the relationship between MacLeod and Trollope survived the incident and they collaborated together on less controversial projects for *Good Words* in the following years.[108]

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[100] Altick, *The English Common Reader*, 108-109.
[101] Anthony Trollope, "The Widow's Mite," *GW,* 1863, 33-43.
[102] MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:149.
[103] Ibid. According to Malcolm, the two men were fellow members of the Garrick Club. Cf. Malcolm, "Good Words," 221.
[104] Gilmour, *The Victorian Period*, 71. Gimour specifically points out *Jane Eyre*, *David Copperfield*, *Bleak House*, and *Barchester Towers*.
[105] Norman MacLeod, Letter to Anon. [Anthony Trollope], 11 June 1863, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:150.

The *Rachel Ray* episode in the summer of 1863, as with the controversy in April, showed that MacLeod was committed to his original project as it was conceived in 1859-1860. Even the fictional religious characters were required to "intone" the culture with a vibrant, authentic Christian piety. Rather than bow to the wishes of the conservative evangelicals, MacLeod continued to pursue his vision of an adaptive, liberal evangelical periodical. At the end of his letter to Trollope from 13 June, he reaffirmed that his intended audience would continue to be "all who occupy the middle ground of a decided, sincere, and manly Evangelical Christianity."[109] As one of the younger members of the Middle Party in 1843, MacLeod was not unused to partisan tensions. In many ways, he relished his mediating reputation.

Calmer Waters: 1864-1867

In the four years following 1863, MacLeod and his ministerial authors sustained the broad evangelical ethos of *Good Words*. Liberal, evangelical, and high church voices balanced each other and MacLeod again contributed a significant amount of the religious content. The Church of England's Charles John Vaughan also took an increasingly central role in the devotional writing. A multi-contributor series in 1867 expressed the periodical's overarching theological commitment to historic Christian orthodoxy. By the time MacLeod left for India, *Good Words* had been going for nearly ten years and had a healthy, stable readership.

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[106] Norman MacLeod, Letter to Anon. [Anthony Trollope], 11 June 1863, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:151.
[107] MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:149.
[108] Terry, "Norman MacLeod," 349.
[109] Norman MacLeod, Letter to Anon. [Anthony Trollope], 11 June 1863, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:152.

The regular religious pieces from 1864 consisted of Vaughan's "Plain Words on Christian Living" and MacLeod's "Evenings with the Working People in the Barony Church," the latter of which was also published by Strahan in 1867 as *Simple Truth: Spoken to Working People*. The Congregationalist Henry Rogers' "Essays, Theological and Philosophical" and Vaughan's "Christ the Light of the World" comprised the 1865 material. MacLeod and Vaughan again wrote the bulk of it in 1866 with essays on faith and the Christian life. While MacLeod, Vaughan, and others wrote smaller devotional works in 1867, the main religious series from that year was a nine-part exposition upon "The Creed of Christendom."

The more liberal authors from 1864 to 1867 included a number of familiar figures like Stanley and Tulloch, along with new contributors including E.H. Plumptre and J.J. Stewart Perowne from the Church of England and the American Horace Bushnell. The Fatherhood of God, a humanizing view of Christ, unity, and progress remained among their key emphases. Plumptre's 1866 preface to the series on the Apostles' Creed in 1867 laid out a constructive, broad, and ecumenical agenda and traced the conceptual roots of fatherhood – the theme that tied everything together – back to pagan and Jewish sources from antiquity.[110] Bushnell's 1864 article “Christ Asleep” mused upon Jesus’ time of slumber on the Sea of Galilee and drew applications for a contemporary theology of rest.[111] Regarding progress, in 1867 Tulloch dismissed the stigmata of St. Francis as historically untenable in light of modern reason. He concluded, “It is a painful illustration of the sad change apt to pass over every spiritual history. The living earnest thought of one age becomes the mere materialized symbol of another.”[112] During the middle of the decade, the broadening of Protestant British thought continued apace in the pages of *Good Words*.

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[110] E.H. Plumptre, "Our Common Faith," *GW,* 1866, 237-244.

While they were perhaps less dominant than before, a number of well-known evangelical churchmen also continued to contribute regularly, including Guthrie, Stevenson, James Hamilton, and James McCosh. It was MacLeod and Vaughan, however, who truly carried the banner of biblical, vital, personal, and active faith in Christ crucified during the four years in question. As discussed in their book form in Chapter Three, two of MacLeod’s most explicitly evangelical series ran in 1864 and 1866. The 1864 Barony sermons included the likes of “Not Saved” and “The Home Mission Work for Christians.”[113] The Chalmers-inspired *How Can We Best Relieve Our Deserving Poor* appeared first in *Good Words* 1866.[114] To the end of this second era, MacLeod appealed to his readers to pursue holy and godly lives. His New Year piece from 1867 closed in a characteristically exhortative manner: “A year has just closed with all its sin! May God in his mercy grant us all a true sense and a hearty repentance of them, so that, through faith in Him whose blood was shed as a propitiation for the sins of the world, we may be forgiven—and sin no more!"[115]

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[111] Horace Bushnell, “Christ Asleep,” *GW,* 1864, 800-804.
[112] John Tulloch, “History of a Miracle,” *GW,* 1867, 38-43.
[113] Norman MacLeod, “Not Saved,” *GW,* 1864, 24; Ibid., 653.
[114] Norman MacLeod, “How Can We Best Relieve Our Deserving Poor?” *GW,* 1866, 554.

Charles John Vaughan was born in 1816 and educated at Thomas Arnold's Rugby School before going up to Trinity College, Cambridge. After a short time as a Church of England vicar in Leicester, he became Headmaster of Harrow School in 1844. He resigned from Harrow in 1859 and was a vicar in Doncaster from 1860 to 1869, whereupon he became Master of the Temple at Temple Church, London. In 1879 he was made Dean of Llandaff, a position he maintained until his death in 1897.[116] Despite his reputation as a broad churchman, Vaughan's religious writing in *Good Words* between 1864 and 1867 was sober, evangelistic, Biblicist, and Christocentric.

His monthly series "Plain Words on Christian Living" from 1864 reflected upon a portion of Scripture and its application. In "Repentance and Forgiveness Daily Needed," he noted the importance of daily Bible reading and prayer.[117] The same piece continued to a conversionary crescendo. "Do you then believe, with all your heart," he pleaded, "in Him who died for your sins and rose again for your justification? If so, …you are one of His Church and His people, and you must honour him by hoping and resting in His power and His will to save."[118] The Charles John Vaughan of *Good Words* thus initially appeared much more in line with MacLeod's broad evangelicalism than outright liberalism.

This trend resumed in his 1865 series "Christ the Light of the World," where Vaughan continually revisited the themes of sin and atonement. The first of the series, “Why He Came,” made clear from the outset that Christ came as the only solution to human sinfulness.[119] Vaughan’s soteriology from the 1865 series was also similar to MacLeod’s own broad evangelical views on the nature of the atonement. He echoed McLeod Campbell’s priority of attributes in that Christ was “the sacrifice not to wrath but of love.”[120] He also dwelt upon the prospective elements of atonement: “A Gospel which proclaimed an unconditional pardon, but said nothing of an indwelling and inworking Spirit, would be no Gospel to him whose desire it is not only to escape God’s punishment, but to be made capable of God’s presence, and receptive of God’s love.”[121] If anything, Vaughan’s 1865 series on Christ elevated his evangelical rhetoric from what had already seemed unexpected in 1864.

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[115] Norman MacLeod, "The Past Required by God," *GW,* 1867, 17-21.
[116] John Roach, "Charles John Vaughan," in *DNB*, 56:160-162.
[117] C.J. Vaughan, "Repentance and Forgiveness Daily Needed," *GW,* 1864, 639.
[118] Ibid.

His work was less regular in 1866 and 1867, yet still appeared from time to time, again promoting serious, vital, and biblical faith in Christ. “Holiness Unto the Lord” from 1866 called his readers to a stark, near-ominous degree of self-inspection. “May He awaken us who alone can! If not otherwise,” he suggested, “by one of His sharp rocks—by fear, by shame, by bereavement, by the approach of death! Anything rather than that we should sleep on and die!”[122] “Arise! Shine!” from 1867 was energetic, Christocentric, and pastoral: “It is by communing with God Himself, in deep earnest prayer, in the study of His Holy Word, in the devout and diligent use of every means of grace, that we must become as it were penetrated and imbued with the light which is our life.”[123] He continued searchingly, “I hope we ask ourselves seriously, Is Christ manifested in me?”[124]

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[119] C.J. Vaughan, “Why He Came,” *GW,* 1865, 47-51.
[120] C.J. Vaughan, “Why He Came,” *GW,* 1865, 48.
[121] Ibid., 50.
[122] C.J. Vaughan, “Holiness Unto the Lord,” *GW,* 1866, 553.
[123] C.J. Vaughan, “Arise! Shine!” *GW,* 1867, 104.
[124] Ibid.

Overall, the religious work of Charles John Vaughan in *Good Words* between 1864 and 1867 took up the mantle of evangelical devotion and exhortation from evangelical stalwarts like Guthrie and Arnot. Perhaps his departure from Harrow in 1859 awakened dormant convictions and zeal.[125] Without psychologizing, it is impossible to be certain. Perhaps he was familiar with the *Good Words* audience and wished to assist MacLeod by reinforcing the editor's well-received spiritual pieces. Regardless of motive, the future Dean of Llandaff succeeded admirably in maintaining the un-dogmatic and evangelistic tone of the magazine's religious writing. He would continue to do so after 1867, as well.

The emphasis on catholicity and the mixture of theological views evident in the work of MacLeod and Gess in the first four years converged in the 1867 series on "The Creed of Christendom." Composed of nine separate essays, the series embodied MacLeod's duel commitment to basic, inclusive, orthodox Protestantism and vibrant, saving faith. Each individual piece considered a facet of the Apostle's Creed. Some were more philosophical and dense, others easy to read; some invoked theological traditions, while others relied more heavily on biblical exposition or apologetics. The variations largely depended on the authors, which included H.L. Mansel, Alexander Raleigh, William Alexander, William Hanna, David Brown, W. Lindsay Alexander, and Charles John Vaughan.[126] Following Plumptre's introduction from 1866, H.L. Mansel began the series by considering the Fatherhood of God.

Henry Longueville Mansel (1820-1871) was an Oxford philosopher and Church of England minister who finished his career as Dean of St. Paul's. Unlike his one-time ideological opponent F.D. Maurice (who was, incidentally, Plumptre's brother-in-law), Mansel's assessment of the Fatherhood of God remained well within the bounds of received orthodoxy.[127] He concluded that the fullest sense of His Fatherhood is "redemption through God the Son begotten of the Father, sanctification through God the Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and Son."[128] The second article, following the creedal language, took "The Sonship of Christ" as its theme. Alexander Raleigh (1817-1880), the Congregationalist author, was born in Scotland but pastored a church in London at the time of authorship.[129] The essay itself was fairly nondescript and does not stray outside well-trodden biblical and apologetic arguments.[130] However, Raleigh did express in his opening comments an appreciation for the "organic completeness" of the Apostles' Creed.[131] If nothing else, it provides another example of the de-mechanization of theology amongst MacLeod and his broad evangelical colleagues.

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[125] There is well-documented and compelling evidence that Vaughan may have been forced to resign from Harrow following the exposure of his intimate correspondence with one of the pupils. See Roach, "Vaughan," 56:160-162.

[126] Alexander and Vaughan each wrote two.

The author of the third piece on "The Incarnation," William Alexander (1824-1911), was Dean of Emly and later Archbishop of Armagh in the Church of Ireland. He was no broad churchman, but rather a high churchman who made his name as a preacher.[132] He focused on "following great Scriptural lines" and delineated the four manners in which the term Son of God are used in the Bible to refer to Christ: in the sense that "implies, above all, moral likeness and affinity," "likeness in power, most vividly expressed to humanity through the Resurrection," "His eternal Sonship and begotten nature of the Father," and finally, "as born of time, conceived of the Holy Ghost, by the Virgin Mary."[133] Alexander, like Mansel, grounded his doctrine of the incarnation in a traditional and Trinitarian interpretation of Scripture.

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[127] Bernard M.G. Reardon, "H.L. Mansel," in *DNB*, 36:527-530.
[128] H.L. Mansel, "The Fatherhood of God," *GW,* 1867, 133.
[129] W.B. Lowther, *rev*. R. Tudor Jones, "Alexander Raleigh," in *DNB*, 45:860-861.
[130] Alexander Raleigh, "The Sonship of Christ," *GW,* 1867, 201-202.
[131] Ibid., 201.
[132] Kenneth Milne, "William Alexander," in *DNB*, 1:696-697.

The fourth – and most fascinating – of the articles on the "Creed of Christendom" was "Our Lord's Death" by William Hanna (1808-1882) of the Free Church of Scotland. Hanna, an Irishman who married Thomas Chalmers' daughter Anne in 1836, was a minister at the prominent Free St. John's Church near Edinburgh Castle. Perhaps best known as his father-in-law's biographer, he was also a broad evangelical of MacLeod's ilk and wrote a biography of the liberal Scottish Episcopalian theologian Thomas Erskine of Linlathen.[134] Hanna's treatment of the death of Christ began by considering Old Testament prophecies, apostolic attestations, and the words of Jesus himself in order to establish an argument that the topic deserved "a peculiar and special regard."[135] After focusing on the singularity and uniqueness of Christ's crucifixion, he then approached the realm of atonement and appealed to the "Sacred Scriptures" as the arbiter of soteriological meaning.[136] "By all who in any true sense receive these Scriptures as containing such a revelation," Hanna wrote, "it is admitted that the sufferings and death of Christ were vicarious,—endured for others, and were sacrificial and atoning,—borne on account of our transgressions, supplying the ground upon which all sin that is repented of may be forgiven."[137] Following this definition, he noted the truth of the atonement was "well fitted to meet the first anxious inquiry of the awakened conscience as it trembles under the exceeding sinfulness of sin," and available of all who avail themselves of God's "abundant grace."[138]

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[133] William Alexander, "The Incarnation," *GW,* 1867, 264.
[134] N.R. Needham, "William Hanna," in *DSCHT*, 393.
[135] William Hanna, "Our Lord's Death," 500.
[136] Ibid., 502.
[137] Ibid.

Following this broadly orthodox, evangelical definition of atonement and appeal to salvation, however, Hanna proceeded in the article to provide a critique of the Reformed theory of atonement to which he, like MacLeod, subscribed upon ordination. He began this by expostulating upon the inability of theological systems and human metaphors to capture the essence of the atonement. After restating his own secure belief in "the vicarious, substitutionary, atoning, sacrificial character of Christ's death" for the record, he then specifically attacked penal substitutionary theory and limited atonement. He could not believe that "there was anything strictly penal in the endurance of the cross," and was "indisposed to believe that the wrath of the Father ever rested on the son, or that it was for the elect alone that Christ died."[139] He concluded the essay by focusing on the positive, reconciling aspects of the atonement and the love of God therein.[140] In sum, Hanna of the Free Church held nearly identical views on the atonement as Norman MacLeod. The de-confessionalized, broad evangelicalism of McLeod Campbell and Erskine that was deemed anathema in the 1830s was gaining influence within both the Auld Kirk and the Free Kirk in the 1860s.

Following the atonement, the other five articles in the series largely conformed to established views. Still, each of them is worth noticing briefly. William Alexander of the Church of Ireland also wrote the fifth piece on "The Resurrection of Jesus." Relying on "a true conception of our Lord's person" and "the validity of human evidence," Alexander appealed to historical and biblical facts to debunk critical readings, and lashed out at the higher critics: "The hammer of criticism will be shivered before it can break one splinter from the Rock of faith, the fact of the Resurrection of Jesus."[141] The sixth piece by the Free Church Professor David Brown of Aberdeen (1803-1897) on eschatology bore similar anti-critical remarks to Alexander's resurrection defense.[142] Against such a foe, Brown appealed to the roundly attested historicity of the Apostles' Creed and its doctrines. He also concluded by explicitly affirming the finality of the Last Judgment and implicitly accepting eternal future punishment.[143]

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[138] William Hanna, "Our Lord's Death," 502.
[139] Ibid., 503.
[140] Ibid., 503-504.

W. Lindsay Alexander wrote the seventh essay on "The Person and Work of the Holy Spirit," which was firmly rooted in Trinitarian orthodoxy. He enumerated the work of the third person of the Trinity, including "revelation of divine truth," "regeneration and renewal," and "sanctification."[144] The eighth and ninth essays by Vaughan ("The Holy Catholic Church" and "The Communion of Saints") covered the major aspects of basic ecclesiology including sacraments and church discipline. He concluded his and the series final essay on the doctrine of the invisible Church with a practical appeal: "It should cause great searchings of heart. Am I a member of this community?"[145]

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[141] William Alexander, "The Resurrection of Jesus," *GW,* 1867, 532-536.

[142] David Brown, "The Second Coming," *GW,* 1867, 599. There were two other instances during the 1864-1867 period of *Good Words* in which authors reacted negatively to a specific biblical critic – Ernest Renan. Renan's *Life of Jesus* was published in 1863 and presented an historical Jesus shorn of his divinity and miraculous power. In an 1864 review James McCosh lambasted Renan as "this unbeliever" and claimed that he had "violated all the laws of historical investigation, proceeded on caprice and prejudice, drawn a character inconsistent with itself, and given us a history utterly incongruous and incredible." (McCosh, "The Life of Our Lord, a Reality and Not a Romance," *GW,* 1864, 961-963.) In an unrelated piece from the following year, Henry Rogers took a swipe at Renan's *Life* as well. According to the Congregationalist minister, "his singular book" was "full of treacherous praise and lautitory libel." Rogers, "Thoughts on the New Year," *GW,* 1865, 44.

[143] Ibid., 600-606.

[144] W. Lindsay Alexander, "The Person and Work of the Holy Spirit," *GW,* 1867, 776-780.

The devotional writing undertaken by MacLeod and Vaughan during the period from 1864 to 1867 gave a continuity of focus to *Good Words*. Both men preached Christ crucified and the love of God available to anyone who would call upon His name. They promoted piety, action, and Christian responsibility amongst their massive Victorian readership. The exposition and application of core Christian doctrines in 1867's "Creed of Christendom" series provided *Good Words* with a theological identity. It was neither a system nor a confession, but a united front for the magazine's broad evangelical ethos. Against the "narrow" conservatives, MacLeod's unit of authors articulated and affirmed the biblical and traditional tenets of orthodoxy. Against the rationalists, they appealed to the logical and historical defensibility of the faith. Moving forward, too, there would be no more questions about the religious nature of *Good Words*. When the *Record* attacked him in 1863, the editor was put upon to explain his use of "mixed" authorship and defend his own faith. Now his ideological opponents from either side had a manifesto at their fingertips. Further, *Good Words* could continue to pursue the mission and purpose of reaching the changing culture with the gospel message that drew MacLeod to the editorship in the first place.

"Trust in God and do the Right": 1868-1872

The last five years of Norman MacLeod's editorship were also the final years of his life. In those five years, the balance of religious views in *Good Words* began to move toward the more liberal end of the spectrum. Nevertheless, a number of ministerial authors continued to contribute pieces focused on the Bible, missions, and the cross. Despite his absences in India and Germany, MacLeod carried on editing and contributing his own work.[146] The overall ethos, as long as he lived, was irenic and pious.

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[145] C.J. Vaughan, "The Holy Catholic Church" and "The Communion of Saints," *GW,* 1867, 830-833.

The religious writing for 1868 was distributed among a number of churchmen. Of these, the most regular contributor was the Church of England's John Howson, Dean of Chester. Two other Church of England notables, Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, and Henry Alford, Dean of Canterbury, wrote major series for 1869. In 1870, the Irish Presbyterian William Fleming Stevenson returned to *Good Words* with a series on the "Devoted Lives" of famous missionaries and Vaughan added ten "Half-Hours in the Temple Church" sermons. MacLeod and Stanley both wrote a number of pieces for 1871. Finally, 1872 saw the publication of a series of sermons preached before Queen Victoria by prominent Church of Scotland Ministers, including Norman MacLeod, Donald MacLeod, Archibald Hamilton Charteris, Archibald Watson, John Tulloch, Malcolm Campbell Taylor, and John Caird.

The progressive Protestantism represented in *Good Words* since the beginning – in keeping with MacLeod's purpose to present a variety of religious outlooks – reached its apex between 1868 and 1872, both in terms of authors and content. Caird, Stanley, Tulloch, Kingsley, and other regulars continued to write alongside new figures from the liberal camp including the Scottish-born Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of the Church of England, Archibald Campbell Tait, John Monsell, and Alexander Ewing of the Scottish Episcopal Church. For these churchmen, progress was nothing to fear. On the contrary, the biblical and theological developments of the era presented an opportunity to join the wider culture and participate in the evolution of society for the betterment of mankind. Where MacLeod and the broad evangelicals sought to adapt to the culture to convert the culture, others like Caird saw adaptation as a moral and theistic end in itself.

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[146] In his 1872 memorial, Stanley claimed that MacLeod maintained his involvement until "the day of his death." ("Norman MacLeod, D.D., in Memoriam," *GW,* 1872, 506. Srebrenik, however, contends that he took a less central role in the magazine following his return from India. (Srebrenik, *Strahan*, 97-123.) Whether or not he took a lighter load, he certainly remained editor and wrote articles for all five years in question.

Ewing, Caird, and Stanley were particularly devoted the themes of progress and unity. In 1868, Ewing's piece entitled "The Kingdom of the Father" sounded the confidence in a bright, un-dogmatic, egalitarian future. He wrote: "The kingdom of the Father is advancing; other kingdoms cannot be established—nay, they disestablish themselves. Creeds and confessions, temporalities and privileges, which hinder the true kingdom, wither away."[147] Caird's "The Declining Influence of the Pulpit in Modern Times" also appeared in 1868. In it, he declared: "It is surely our own fault, and not that of the religion we teach, if we have anything to dread from the progress of society in intelligence and learning." On the contrary, "According to the true conception of it, [Christianity] is in harmony with all thought, it courts the light from all quarters, it is itself the consecration of all science, philosophy, and art."[148] He continued to reemphasize the adaptability of the faith: "Ever, therefore, as the world advances in knowledge, it will only find itself drawn into closer alliance and harmony with religion; and the true preacher," he added, "will hail every new ray of light and every additional measure of culture which the public mind receives, as only awakening a deeper interest in the truths with which he deals."[149] Caird was heavily influenced by the idealist philosophy of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. According to one modern assessment, the "theme of unity, continuity" was "his grandest debt to Hegelian idealism."[150] This debt was evident in his 1868 *Good Words* sermon.

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[147] Alexander Ewing, "The Kingdom of the Father," *GW,* 1868, 582.

[148] John Caird, "The Declining Influence of the Pulpit in Modern Times," *GW,* 1868, 195.

In 1871, A.P. Stanley echoed Caird's optimism and idealism in two published memorial sermons. Preaching in Westminster Abbey following the death of the historian George Grote, Stanley expressed his belief in progress and the role of history in guiding that process.[151] The memorial sermon for scientist Sir John Herschel in May of that year afforded him an opportunity to consider "Science and Religion." For Stanley, like Caird, faith and science were entirely in harmony with one another. He specifically addressed the nature of the Bible in relation to new ideas:

> Although it is as unjust to the Bible as it is vexatious to Science, to endeavour to reduce scientific systems into conformity with the Biblical accounts, or to require the Bible to give us scientific systems—this does not prevent, nay, rather it assisted the sacred writers, in giving us the germs, the principles, the framework, of that which has, in the slow march of ages, been developed, we may almost say, into a new revelation.[152]

Stanley later went on to quote Hegel and reflected upon "the Unity of one Supreme Life and Will." Both science and religion, he continued, share an interest in the

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[149] Caird, "The Declining Influence," 196.

[150] Alan P.F. Sell, *Defending and Declaring the Faith: Some Scottish Examples, 1860-1920* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1987), 65.

[151] A.P. Stanley, "The Religious Aspect of History: A Sermon preached in Westminster Abbey, on the 25th of June, 1871, being the Sunday after the Funeral of George Grote the Historian," *GW,* 1871, 548.

[152] A.P. Stanley, "Science and Religion: A Sermon Peached in Westminster Abbey, on May 21, 1871, being the Sunday following the Funeral of Sir John Herschel," *GW,* 1871, 453.

"unity of all things."[153] For men like Ewing, Caird, and Stanley, the advance of God's kingdom would occur alongside social, cultural, or scientific progress. The challenge of the times was not how to resist, but how to partner with the forces of change. In the final period of MacLeod's editorship, such attitudes became more prevalent in *Good Words*.

Still, MacLeod welcomed conservative and evangelical voices. The high church Bishop Samuel Wilberforce's 1869 series on "Heroes of Hebrew History" presented a Christological reading of the Old Testament. In his portrait of the prophet Elisha, he made this hermeneutic explicit: "From first the last, all holy Scripture is full of Christ. In direct prediction, in type, in example, He is ever-reappearing."[154] Later in the series, he considered Abraham, Joshua, and Samson as Christ-figures.[155] While foreign Christian missions was less emphasized in the second era than the first, it returned to focus in the final era through MacLeod's accounts of his India mission work and Stevenson's "Devoted Lives" series from 1870. For example, in the February issue of that year Stevenson considered the pioneering work of Moravian missionaries in Greenland during the previous century.[156] In 1872 he wrote a similar article on the efforts of the early German missionary Bartholomew Ziegenbalg amongst the people of India.[157]

Along with traditional interpretations of the Bible and a high regard for missions, the religious authors for *Good Words* continued to appeal to conversion and preach the centrality of the cross. In his 1868 series, the Dean of Chester urged the readership to accept salvation in Christ. "Your loving Saviour is now knocking at the door of your soul. Whether He may ever knock again," Howson warned, "we cannot tell. The only security is in opening up the door now."[158] Charles John Vaughan's "Earthly Things and Things Heavenly" also appeared in 1868. Decrying soteriological systematization, as he and MacLeod were wont to do, Vaughan wrote: "Though the doctrine of the Cross is an unearthly doctrine—foolishness to men's wisdom—an offence to human pride—yet in it alone is there heavenly strength." He continued, pleading, "Take it as a message from God Himself; take is as a comfort; take is as a hope; take it as a strength; believe it, grasp it, try it, live it; live as one whose sins are forgiven him for the sake of Jesus Christ."[159] The Church of Scotland's A.H. Charteris echoed Vaughan in his 1872 Balmoral sermon: "Whatever ransom, expiation or atonement our sins needed, God's own Son, once and for all, once for ever provided that on the sinner's behalf." Because of such atonement, "It is to the personal Saviour, whose work needed, yea, admits of, no addition, the believer flees for safety."[160] Such expositions and appeals were in keeping with the broad evangelicalism of *Good Words*. As with the earlier periods, the good news of MacLeod and Strahan's magazine between 1868 and 1872 was not a theory of the atonement, but the availability and effect of the atonement on living men and women who encountered a loving, personal savior.

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[153] Stanley, "Science and Religion," 457-458.
[154] Samuel Wilberforce, "Elisha," *GW,* 1869, 127.
[155] Samuel Wilberforce, "Abraham," *GW,* 1869, 337; "Joshua," *GW,* 1869, 724; Samson the Judge," *GW,* 1869, 788ff.
[156] W. Fleming Stevenson, "New Herrnhut," *GW,* 1870, 111-119.
[157] W. Fleming Stevenson, "The Last Years of Zigenbalg," *GW,* 1872, 846ff.

Norman MacLeod contributed a fairly typical amount of original work during his final few years. Further, he or Strahan published a few pieces of his poetry (some previously published) both before and after his death in June. After an understandably lighter 1868, the descriptions of his time as a missionary envoy were published in the 1869 series "Peeps at the Far East." In 1870 he continued to write about India. In 1871 he wrote a travel story from his convalescence in Germany and the devotional series "Thoughts on the Temptation of Our Lord," which were noted in their published form in Chapter Three. Two of his Balmoral sermons appeared in 1872 – one before and one after he died. His last living contribution was a heartfelt memorial for his cousin, McLeod Campbell. "Dr. Campbell," he solemnly wrote, "was the best man, without exception, I have ever known."[161] Among his poetry was a republished version of the 1857 "Trust in God in Do the Right," set to music by Arthur Sullivan. Several of the lyrics to this poem-cum-hymn, which became his most well-known verses, implicitly described his experiences as a prominent Church of Scotland minister in the nineteenth century:

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[158] John Howson, "Thoughts for the Close of the Year: The Shortness of Time," *GW,* 1868, 725.
[159] J.C. Vaughan, "Earthly Things and Things Heavenly," *GW,* 1868, 23.
[160] A.H. Charteris, "That Which is Behind of the Afflictions of Christ," *GW,* 1872, 28.

> Some will hate thee, some will love thee,
> Some will flatter, some will slight;
> Cease from man, and look above thee,
> 'Trust in God and do the right.'[162]

Following MacLeod's death in the summer of 1872, a sonnet and two major tributes appeared in *Good Words* commemorating his life. While the sonnet was fairly insubstantial, the memorials presented two similar but distinct versions of MacLeod. A.P. Stanley's portrait was that of a burly broad churchman of fame and influence. Noting the role of "the Celtic element," Stanley mentioned his "genial humour," "lively imagination," and "romantic sentiment."[163] For Stanley, MacLeod was "the acknowledged Primate of the Scottish Church—no man had in all spiritual ministrations so filled the place of Chalmers…."[164] Regarding the bible and theology, he "had studied in Germany enough to know that criticism was not impiety" and "had seen enough of his noble-minded kinsman, John Macleod [sic] Campbell…to perceive that there was something deeper and higher in the Biblical statements of the greatest truths than was grasped either in the Decrees of Trent of the Westminster Confession."[165] Stanley's tribute thus emphasized MacLeod's qualities that appealed to members of his English broad church group.

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[161] Norman MacLeod, "John McLeod Campbell," *GW,* 1872, 353.
[162] Norman MacLeod, "Trust in God and Do the Right," *GW,* 1872, 25-27.
[163] Stanley, "Memoriam," *GW,* 1872, 505.

The other churchman to publish a remembrance of MacLeod in *Good Words* was the Free Church minister Walter C. Smith. Smith had first became acquainted with MacLeod in 1851.[166] From 1862 until MacLeod's death, they were both Glasgow ministers (Smith was minister of the Free Tron, Glasgow, from 1862 to 1876).[167] After his honorary dinner in 1867, MacLeod noted in his journal the presence of "my good and true friend, Walter Smith representing the Free Kirk."[168] Like MacLeod, Smith "represented a somewhat liberal, post-Calvinist Evangelicalism" and grieved his own General Assembly by supporting MacLeod in the Sabbath controversy.[169]

Smith, like Stanley, drew comparisons of MacLeod with Chalmers. During MacLeod's Weimar years, Smith recalled, "His winters were chiefly passed in Edinburgh, where Chalmers was now firing young clerical aspirants with Evangelical fervour rather than theological zeal."[170] Indeed, "To the last the basis of his theology was, like that of Chalmers, what is known as Evangelical."[171] He further believed that MacLeod and other "Evangelical Erastians" "became the 'little leaven' which saved the Church of Scotland from becoming what no lover of his country would ever like to see her." He continued, "Most of them also in the course of time broadened their theology to meet the larger culture of the new era; and thus they not only steadied the Church when staggering under the blow received in 1843, but also restored it latterly to not a little of its original power and usefulness."[172] Like Stanley's account, Smith presented MacLeod much like himself – a Scottish broad evangelical. Unlike the Anglican divine, however, the Scotsman's account rarely used flowery language and was – if anything – honest to a fault.[173]

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[164] Stanley, "Memoriam," *GW,* 1872, 506.
[165] Ibid., 507.
[166] Walter C. Smith, "Norman MacLeod, D.D.," *GW,* 1872, 512.
[167] D.F. Wright, "Walter C. Smith," in *DSCHT*, 781-782.
[168] Norman MacLeod, Journal Entry from 27 October 1867, in MacLeod, *Memoir*, II:258-259.
[169] Wright, "Smith," 781-782.
[170] Smith, "MacLeod," *GW,* 1872, 510.

Between 1868 and 1872, *Good Words* became increasingly liberal. In a sense, the desire to adapt to the culture of a swiftly evolving society took precedent over the earlier mission of using "good words" to mediate the message of salvation. Yet despite this rising tension, declarations of free pardon and atonement in Christ continued until 1872 alongside the progressive, ever-broadening views of men like Stanley and Caird.

Conclusion

Throughout the nearly thirteen-year editorship of Norman MacLeod, *Good Words* provided a burgeoning British middle class with a popular array of fiction, poetry, devotional literature, sermons, natural history, travelogues, societal observation, and more. The dual operating principles were gospel proclamation and cultural adaptation. Year after year, explicit "declaration[s] of the Gospel of Jesus Christ" and the utilization of other literary forms for religious ends complemented the magazine's various "secular" material. In keeping with his own theological evolution, MacLeod sought at once to infuse Victorian culture with living faith in a living Christ and show that Christianity remained a vibrant cultural force. This broad, world-affirming evangelicalism was the consistent feature of *Good Words*.

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[171] Smith, "MacLeod," *GW,* 1872, 510.

[172] Ibid., 511.

[173] Cf. Ibid., 512. Smith wrote: "Latterly, and especially when his health began to fail, he inclined to be too portly…."

The close reading of a periodical over a thirteen-year period repays effort with the awareness of otherwise subtle consistencies or themes. Regarding *Good Words*, Delafield has noted that "Norman MacLeod was vital to the tone of the periodical with his Evangelical and royal connections."[174] The royal connections were fairly obvious – MacLeod got to know men like A.P. Stanley and Charles Kingsley through Queen Victoria, who preferred more liberal churchmen as her personal chaplains and as preachers at Crathie parish church near her Scottish home at Balmoral. The evangelical content found expressions in articles on missions, popular evangelism, and theologies of the atonement. Yet another, less obvious evangelical connection was the continuing influence of MacLeod's professor, Thomas Chalmers. Of the authors who contributed to *Good Words* between 1860 and 1872, W. Lindsay Alexander, Thomas Guthrie, William Hanna, James McCosh, J.L. Porter, and Thomas Smith all studied under or worked alongside Chalmers prior to his death in 1847.[175] Although he had not studied under Chalmers, W. Fleming Stevenson spoke approvingly of his social work in 1862.[176] In 1865, Vaughan quoted

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[174] Delafield, *Serialization*, 55.

[175] Cf. J.C.G. Binfield, "William Lindsay Alexander," in *DSCHT*, 9-10; Needham, "Guthrie," 381-382; Needham, "Hanna," 393; P. Helm, "James M'Cosh," in *DSCHT*, 505; Thomas Hamilton, *rev.* H.C.G. Matthew, "Josias Leslie Porter," in *DNB*, 44:963-964; Gray, *rev.* Ritchie, "Thomas Smith," in *DNB*, 51:342-343.

[176] W. Fleming Stevenson, "On Vagabonds," *GW,* 1862, 705-711.

Chalmers' commentary on Romans as an authority in one of his "Christ the Light of the World" series.[177]

Finally, MacLeod's editorial work and original contributions to *Good Words* gave him a platform to promote his vision of broad evangelicalism for the Church of Scotland from outside the formal structures of the Church. The personal and professional relationships developed through *Good Words* strengthened ties with leaders of the other religious establishment – the Church of England. At the same time, the magazine fostered a spirit of Scottish Christian unity with the inclusion of popular Free and United Presbyterian ministers. This dynamic expressed to the readership the attitude that MacLeod sought to imbue in his Church – that establishment principles and irenicism were not mutually exclusive.

Although it was an explicitly non-denominational periodical aimed at a British reading audience, MacLeod's character as a Scot and a Church of Scotland minister were never in question. As W.C. Smith noted in his memorial, it was MacLeod's ability to broaden from an evangelical "fixed pivot" in order to meet the needs of modernizing culture and society that helped stabilize and revive the Church of Scotland after the Disruption.[178] When he died relatively young in 1872, the mantle of evangelical leadership in the Church of Scotland soon fell to another Chaplain to the Queen. Unlike Muir and MacLeod, he was not a member or sympathizer of the Middle Party. Indeed, Archibald Hamilton Charteris belonged to a new generation of churchmen.

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[177] C.J. Vaughan, "Used of Light," *GW,* 1865, 275.
[178] Smith, "MacLeod," *GW,* 1872, 510-511.

CHAPTER FIVE: ALIVE AND WORKING: A.H. CHARTERIS AND EVANGELICALISM IN THE LATE VICTORIAN CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

The third and final minister who both contributed to the revival of the post-Disruption Church of Scotland and ensured the vital role of evangelicalism in the Church was Archibald Hamilton Charteris. If Muir and the Middle Party initiated the processes of continuation and MacLeod gave the movement new breadth, Charteris diffused their shared convictions throughout the Kirk at large during the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Like his predecessors, he sought to place a biblical, heartfelt faith in the work of Christ on the cross at the center of Church life. His work as a conservative biblical scholar attempted to defend the authority of the Christian Scriptures as a means of providing the Church with a confident clergy in an age of doubt. His participation in the major revival movement of Victorian Scotland promoted the home and overseas mission of the Establishment. Finally, and crucially, his tireless efforts to increase congregational participation in the social and mission work of the Church mobilized the laity in a number of far-reaching ways. Like his friend and colleague Norman MacLeod, he played a vital role in the recovery of the Kirk as a national institution. Unlike MacLeod, however, Charteris was shaped largely by the thought of the Scottish Enlightenment. Pragmatism, empiricism, common sense, and intellectual consistency distinguished him from the minister of the Barony. It was these traits that enabled him to make significant achievements in Church work and scholarship, despite a lifetime of fragile health.

The present chapter seeks to redress a relative paucity of scholarship on Charteris.[1] While there has been some work on his social engagement, no one has critically analyzed his work as a scholar and professor. Despite recent work in the field of revival studies, few have explored the impact of revival on the post-Disruption Church of Scotland.[2] Finally, his overarching vision for democratizing the Church – while acknowledged by some – has yet to be assessed within the context of evangelicalism.[3] After a biographical overview, this chapter will address those three key gaps towards a fuller understanding of A.H. Charteris – and the Established evangelicalism that he espoused.

A Life of Mission

Archibald Hamilton Charteris was born on 13 December 1835 in the rural Dumfriesshire village of Wamphray.[4] His father, John Charteris, was master of the parish school, and his mother, Jean Hamilton Charteris, tended the home and supported missionary activity through a local auxiliary. Young Charteris, along with his brother, sister, and parents attended the Church of Scotland parish church in Wamphray which, during his youth, was under the ministration of Charles Dickson, a Middle Party sympathizer. According to his biographer, Arthur Gordon, it was primarily his mother who "impressed on her son's young mind the saving truths of religion." She even took him along to a nearby town as a boy to hear the celebrated missionary Alexander Duff promote the Indian Mission.

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[1] The major biography was written by Charteris' friend, Arthur Gordon, *The Life of Archibald Hamilton Charteris, D.D., LL.D.: Professor of Biblical Criticism and Biblical Antiquities in the University of Edinburgh; Chaplain to Their Late Majesties Queen Victoria and King Edward, and One of the Deans of the Chapel Royal of Scotland; Moderator of the General Assembly of 1892* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1912). This work includes a number of Charteris' fragmentary autobiographical writings and correspondences. The other near-contemporary account is Kenneth D. McLaren's *Memoir of the Very Reverend Professor Charteris, D.D., LL.D.* (London: A. & C. Black/Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, 1914). The only "recent" work is Donald A. Bishop's "Church and Society – A Study of the Social Work and Thought of James Begg, D.D. (1808-1883), A.H. Charteris, D.D., LL.D. (1835-1908), and David Watson, D.D. (1859-1943)" (PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1953). Bishop's work is helpful, but fails to appreciate the larger religious/theological context in its social focus.

[2] For a survey and appraisal of Scottish revival historiography, see below.

[3] A notable exception to this is Stewart J. Brown's "Thomas Chalmers and the Communal Ideal in Victorian Scotland", in *Victorian Values*, ed. T. C. Smout (Oxford University Press, for the British Academy, 1992), 61-80.

[4] The population of Wamphray in 1831 was 580, and in 1834 the parish minister (Dickson) recorded that "eighty-six families out of a hundred attend the Established church; at which there are about 170 communicants." See *The New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. IV: Dumfries—Kirkcudbright—Wigton* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1845).

He showed early signs of intellectual promise and supplemented his parochial education through a local Debating Society that his father had initiated.[5] Intending for the ministry, he proceeded to Edinburgh University in November 1849 – as a thirteen-year-old – to study for his degree in Arts. After completing his BA in 1854, he stayed on in Edinburgh to study Divinity until 1858. His student years in Edinburgh laid the groundwork for his future work as a churchman and a scholar. His interest in missions led him to join the University Missionary Association. He served as both secretary and president of the organization, which was based in the Buccleuch chapel in Edinburgh's Old Town. Outside the lecture theatre, he joined the Dumfries and Galloway Society, "tasted" the sermons of such future *Good Words* regulars as Thomas Guthrie, John Caird, and W. Lindsay Alexander, and – despite remaining "a hereditary conservative" – attended the "grand political speeches of [Thomas Babington] Macaulay and Adam Black." He also tutored to support himself, which, alongside his other commitments, exhausted him to the extent that he took the year of 1852-53 away from studies in order to recover his health.[6] He would thenceforward be dogged by a number of medical problems.

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[5] Gordon, *Life*, 1-15. Regarding Charteris' conversion, Gordon later remarked: "He had known for himself and had marked in others that slow or sudden, but enduring and extraordinary change, called conversion on the human side and regeneration on the divine." Ibid., 373-374.

[6] Ibid., 15-39.

During his time in Edinburgh, Charteris was also deeply influenced by two Church of Scotland ministers discussed previously: William Muir and James Robertson. He attended and taught Sunday School at Muir's parish church during his Divinity studies, and later recalled: "I joined the congregation of Dr. William Muir in St. Stephen's in 1854…No one had any doubt of his spiritual and evangelical power. He was very kind to me, lending me books and telling me good stories, and making me welcome at his breakfast table."[7] It was Robertson, however, whom Charteris most venerated. The founder of the Endowment Scheme was the aspiring minister's Church History professor. Charteris, late in life, wrote:

> If I am to tell what influenced my life, I must name him with reverence and love…He had been in all the struggles and conflicts as eager for missions and as self-sacrificing in pastoral duty as any other admirer of Duff and Chalmers could be; and when he was settled in his academic chair he began to infuse new life into our disheartened and shattered Established Church. My heart soon went out to the strong thinker and good man who was our professor, and my life has been moulded by the convictions that grew under his influences.[8]

When Robertson died in 1860, Charteris wrote his biography.[9] In Muir and Robertson, Charteris found examples of evangelical faith and action wedded to strong Establishment principles.

Following the completion of his Divinity curriculum, Charteris was licensed in February 1858 to preach, and initially hoped to serve as a foreign missionary. He was denied the opportunity due to his poor physical health, however, and opted for the parish ministry in Scotland. He was ordained to the Ayrshire parish of St. Quivox in June 1858. His ministry in St. Quivox was short – only a year – but active. Along with his preaching and pastoral duties, he taught the Sunday School and attempted to bring the local colliers into Church affiliation through baptism for the children and special classes for the men.[10] In July 1859 he was translated to the Dumfriesshire parish of New Abbey, where he succeeded his great uncle, James Hamilton, who had died in 1858. At New Abbey his health improved. He later remembered: "In no other five years of my life have I existed without a doctor's prescription."[11] His pastoral work at New Abbey included a yearly round of catechizing, adult Bible classes, and Sunday School. He also vigorously supported his mentor's Endowment Scheme, and went so far as to consider its support a litmus test of evangelical faith. He wrote: "As I look back, there come to mind a thousand proofs of true religion ruling in New Abbey. I think every man and woman in the parish subscribed to the Endowment Scheme."[12] As the years passed, his ministerial reputation increased. In 1863 he was translated from New Abbey to the prominent Park Church, in one of the wealthiest neighborhoods of Glasgow.[13]

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[7] Gordon, *Life,* 40.
[8] Ibid., 36.
[9] It was later popularly republished as: A.H. Charteris, *A Faithful Churchman: Memoir of James Robertson, D.D., F.R.S.E.* (Edinburgh: R&R Clark, 1897).

His ministry in Glasgow was multifaceted and popular. He was a theological conservative compared to the previous occupant of the pulpit, John Caird, but he soon "commanded the admiration, respect, and love of his people."[14] In his first year Park Church was elevated from the status of a chapel-of-ease to a parish church by receiving a permanent financial endowment through the Church's Endowment Scheme, which was a stipulation of his accepting the position. The first year was also a time of change in his personal life. On 24 November 1863, Charteris married Catherine Anderson of Aberdeen. Although they had no children, by all accounts theirs was both a happy marriage and mutually edifying partnership. In Glasgow he continued his arduous parish work and also established a Church mission in the impoverished Port Dundas district, but eventually worked himself into a breakdown. He traveled for nine months to take the airs in Europe, accompanied by his friends John Ross MacDuff and Alexander Ferrier Mitchell. Upon his return, he kept assistants to lighten his load.[15]

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[10] Gordon, *Life*, 42-65.
[11] Gordon, *Life,* 66.
[12] Ibid., 66-75.
[13] Ibid., 83-86.
[14] Mr. David Murray, LL.D. Quoted by Gordon, *Life*, 89-90.

As minister of Park Church, Charteris was a fellow member of the Presbytery of Glasgow with Norman MacLeod of the Barony. He greatly respected the liberal evangelical, but endeavored to take a mediating position during the Sabbath controversy of 1865.[16] Charteris agreed with MacLeod on the greater need for Christian liberty, but critiqued his belief that the New Covenant abrogated the Fourth Commandment. According to Charteris, "I deny that the Sabbath was a merely Jewish institution, and I hold it to be a Divine ordinance made for man, and not for Israel."[17]

During his five-year tenure in Glasgow, Charteris also addressed meetings of the National Bible Society and YMCA, founded a congregational Literary Society, and introduced liturgical reform at the Park Church.[18] He began a number of significant friendships during that time, too, with the blind minister and hymnist George Matheson, the evangelical industrialist James Baird of Cambusdoon, and the lawyer and author A.T. Innes.[19] His official parochial ministry came to an end in 1868 when he was called to the Chair of Biblical Criticism and Antiquities at Edinburgh University.

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[15] Gordon, *Life*, 86-94.

[16] Gordon, *Life*, 97-100.

[17] A.H. Charteris, *Speech on the Christian Sabbath in Its Relation to Christian Liberty, delivered in the Presbytery of Glasgow* (Privately Printed: 1865), 5.

[18] Gordon, *Life*, 95ff. Regarding the introduction of "aids to devotion," his obituary in *The Glasgow Herald* described him as "a pioneer in the matter of Church service…He gave an impetus to the reform in Church worship by the introduction of an organ, one of the first in the Church of Scotland." *Glasgow Herald*, April 25, 1908. According to Gordon, however, he did not readily join the liturgically-minded Church Service Society when it was formed in 1865. (See *Life,* 103.)

Professor Charteris held the Chair from 1868 until 1898, when he was forced to retire due to poor health. He succeeded his own Divinity professor, the liturgical innovator Dr. Robert Lee, who had died in 1868. In order to prepare for his professorship, Charteris travelled to Tübingen in 1869 and Bonn in 1870 to acquaint himself with the latest developments in German biblical criticism. While abroad, he made numerous contacts within the German evangelical world, including the University of Tübingen biblical scholar Theodor Christlieb.[20]

Alongside the academic duties of his university professorship, Charteris continued to play a vital role in the Church of Scotland until the day he died. Locally, he worked alongside the University Missionary Association – over which he had presided as a student – in Edinburgh to reinvigorate the Tolbooth Parish Church at the top of the Royal Mile at a time when the congregation had dwindled to less than thirty. Under his leadership, an aggressive territorial mission was set up among the local poor with scheduled visitations after the model of Chalmers in St. John's, Glasgow. Over the next few years, the area was transformed from a "lapsed parish" into a paradigm of Victorian evangelical agency, including a temperance tea room, a third service for working people in casual clothes, well-attended prayer meetings, a Sabbath school, a savings bank, a congregational library, a young men's fellowship, and a children's church. Thanks to the donations of wealthy patrons like Baird of

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[19] Gordon, *Life*, 95; 110-112.
[20] Ibid., 171ff.

Cambusdoon and the "Lighthouse" Stevensons, the parish received a healthy endowment in 1873 and the missionary probationer, George Wilson, was ordained as parish minister.[21]

At the national level, Charteris campaigned for the abolition of patronage and for Church reunion, defended the Church of Scotland against the politial agitation by the United Presbyterian Church and Free Church to lobby Parliament for disestablishment, and promoted a more liberal revision of creedal subscription for elders.[22] He was a member of various General Assembly committees, including the Committee on Correspondence with Foreign Churches, the Committee on the Abolition of Patronage, the Endowment Committee, and the Committee on Union with Other Churches. He was chosen as Moderator of the General Assembly of 1892, awarded the D.D. (Edinburgh, 1899) and the LL.D. (Aberdeen, 1906), and made Chaplain-in-Ordinary to Queen Victoria (1869) and King Edward VII (1901). His most notable achievement, however, was his work as the founder and Convener of the Church's Life and Work Committee from 1869 to 1894. Through the Life and Work Committee, evangelistic deputations were sent to rural and migratory working-class communities, young men and women were mobilized into active lay-mission organizations (Young Men's Guild, Women's Guild, Order of Deaconesses), and a number publications were founded to report on and encourage the work (*Life and*

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[21] Gordon, *Life,* 153ff.

[22] Ibid., 199-278; 394-416. These were four of the most prominent issues/events faced by the Church of Scotland after the Disruption. An Act of Parliament abolished patronage in 1874. Charteris, as with MacLeod, supported it primarily as a means of encouraging Church reunion. Despite several promising starts, however, such reunion eluded the Auld Kirk until 1929. One of the main barriers to reunion was the establishment principle, which caused rancor among the other Presbyterian denominations and nearly led to disestablishment legislation in 1874 and 1892. Due in part to Charteris' influence, the subscription formula on the Westminster Confession for elders was relaxed in 1889. For more on his theological/creedal views, see below.

Work magazine, *The Church of Scotland Yearbook*, the Guild Library series).[23] The final section of this chapter will discuss the Life and Work Committee in greater detail.

Charteris spent the final ten years of his life in partial retirement due to debilitating sciatica and neuritis. Although in appearance a robust man with dark brown hair and wispy sideburns, he battled illness for most of his adult life, and depression for some of it.[24] While it certainly hindered his potential work output, his friend and second biographer, Kenneth MacLaren, also believed it enabled him to sympathize with the weaknesses of those to whom he ministered in his various capacities.[25] He spent much of his retirement either in Peebles or seeking medical treatment abroad. He spent his final days, however, back in Edinburgh where he kept a house on Melville Street in the West End. On 24 April 1908, A.H. Charteris suffered a heart attack and died in the presence of his wife, Katie.[26] His funeral was held at St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, and his body was transported south to his native kirkyard in Wamphray.[27]

The Professor's Mind: Philosophy, Theology, and Biblical Criticism

Due in large part to his appointment to the Chair of Biblical Criticism and Antiquities, Charteris lectured and published on more distinctly theological issues than either Muir or MacLeod. While he worked primarily in the field of biblical criticism, his scholarship demonstrated broad erudition in philosophy, dogmatic theology, and pastoral theology. He spoke or read Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, Latin, French, and German. He rewrote his university lectures periodically in response to the rapid changes in nineteenth-century theology and biblical scholarship. He also had an international network of colleagues and friends with whom he communicated on relevant issues. His intellectual life was never divorced from his roles as pastor and Churchman.

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[23] Gordon, *Life*, 306ff.
[24] Ibid., 314; 372; 193; 376; 463-468.
[25] McLaren, *Memoir*, 137-138.
[26] "The Late Professor Charteris," *The Scotsman*, 25 April 1908.
[27] Gordon, *Life*, 479ff.

Philosophically, Charteris was shaped by the common sense conventions of the Scottish Enlightenment. These ideas were mediated through the philosophical framework of his philosophy professor, Sir William Hamilton, at Edinburgh University in the 1850s – despite the increasing popularity of continental modes of thought such as Hegelian idealism. Hamilton was a late figure in "common sense" realism, the philosophical school of Thomas Reid that affirmed the ability of the human mind to "perceive external objects immediately" and held "that ordinary human experience demonstrates the operation of general principles of common sense."[28] This system was epistemologically confident – objective facts were attainable. In his later life, Charteris recalled of Hamilton: "We did not believe that any one in ancient or modern times was so great a philosopher as the man of colossal learning and of imperial powers of mind."[29] Much of Charteris' critical scholarship from his tenure at Edinburgh University reflects a continued commitment to empirical, common sense objectivity. His critiques of the major German biblical scholars of his time often appealed to facts in contrast to what he perceived as improper idealist presuppositions.

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[28] D.F. Kelly, "Sir William Hamilton," *DSCHT*, 392.
[29] Gordon, *Life*, 28-29.

Theologically, he was a moderate Calvinist with a characteristically evangelical emphasis on the cross of Christ. Neither liberal Anglicans like A. P. Stanley nor broad church Presbyterians like his friend John Caird shaped his personal theology to the same extent as they did for Norman MacLeod. Charteris, however, shared the growing conviction that Scottish theology ought to allow for confessional breadth. As mentioned, he campaigned for loosening the terms of subscription to the Westminster Confession for Kirk elders in the 1870s and 1880s. Eight years before his death, he wrote a letter to Lord Balfour of Burleigh in which he claimed, “I am a Calvinist. I could not pray if I did not believe in undeserved grace and mercy which come when asked for. But I have always held the expression of Calvinism in our Confession of Faith to be ruthless and hard.”[30] For Charteris the main stumbling blocks in the Westminster Confession were the doctrines of predestination and election.[31] He even drew up an abridged confession of his own, based on the Shorter Catechism, which excluded those controversial tenets.[32]

Yet while eschewing dogmatism, his theology emphasized conversion through the cross. In the last year of his Glasgow ministry, he delivered a sermon to the Society of the Sons of Ministers in which reminded them:

> By the preaching of the cross, God has chosen to save the world. It is foolishness to the natural man, but it has been mighty to the pulling down of strongholds everywhere. Yet how few use it, whether ministers or people as believing in its power! How few seem to feel, that in the most decorous and contented congregations are possibly, probably, many, very many who have not been born again, and to whom, therefore, the Gospel in its divine power has yet to come![33]

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[30] Gordon, *Life*, 420.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid., 421-423.

[33] A.H. Charteris, *Is There Faith Upon the Earth? A Sermon Preached at the Annual Meeting of the Glasgow Society of the Sons of Ministers of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1867), 19.

In 1880 he preached another sermon in which he expressed agreement with McLeod Campbell's emphasis on paternal love acting more powerfully than divine justice in the atonement. "The crowning gift of the Father's love," he declared, "has been bestowed in His blessed and beloved One, sorrowing, suffering, dying for our sakes."[34] His unpublished lecture notes on Galatians further reveal that this soteriology was a natural result of his biblical exegesis and interpretation. Referring to Galatians 2:16, he wrote: "Faith is the apprehending means: Christ's blood the meritorious cause. Our union with the crucified Christ by faith [is] the fact whereby we are justified."[35] Charteris' theology was both evangelical and Reformed. However, it was in the realm of Scripture that he most thoroughly explicated and defended his evangelical beliefs.

During Charteris' lifetime, the critical consensus on the nature and authority of the Bible in the Western world changed from qualified confidence in its truth and divine origin to doubt regarding the historicity and authorship of major portions of the Old and New Testaments. The main development was the popularization of the field of biblical scholarship known as historical criticism. Unlike the more widely accepted verbal (lower) criticism, historical (higher) criticism applied the methods of secular historical research to the cultures and events of the Bible. The conclusions drawn from such investigations often called into question the tenability of the major Christian doctrines.[36]

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[34] A.H. Charteris, "The Law of Love, A Sermon," in *Modern Scottish Pulpit 34* (Edinburgh: James Gemmell, 1880), 11.

[35] A.H. Charteris, "Lectures on Galatians, Read 1885-6 [Rewritten, 1888-9, 1893-4]," New College Library Special Collections, MSS CHAR 1.2, 46.

[36] A.C. Cheyne, "The Bible and Change in the Nineteenth Century," in *Studies in Scottish Church History* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 199), 130ff.

While historical criticism had received a full expression in J.G. Eichhorn's *Old Testament Introductions* of 1787, it took several decades for the German historical criticism to have a significant impact on British Christian culture.[37] The English novelist George Eliot translated and published the German historical critic D.F. Strauss' *Life of Jesus* in 1846. In 1860, a group of Anglican churchmen and one layman published *Essays and Reviews*, in which the Oxford scholar Benjamin Jowett also critiqued the Old and New Testaments from an historical-critical point of view.[38] As these views took hold in some quarters, in others there was a strong conservative reaction. A.H. Charteris spent his entire academic career absorbing, considering, and reacting against the major streams of nineteenth-century Continental historical criticism: the Old Testament documentary hypothesis and the New Testament schools of D.F. Strauss, F.C. Baur, and Adolf von Harnack.

The key figures of the documentary hypothesis during Charteris' career were W.M.L. de Wette (1780-1849), Julius Wellhausen (1844-1918), Karl Heinrich Graf (1815-1869), Abraham Kuenen (1828-1891), and E.G.E. Reuss (1804-1891). Over time these scholars theorized, based on historical criticism, that the Old Testament was compiled by a number of individual authors from a variety of theological-cultural perspectives over a long period. They denied the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and contended that it was a compilation of at least four identifiable sources: an Elohist (E) source which used the informal name of God (*elohim*), a Jehovist or Yahwist (J) source which used the formal name for the God of Israel (Yahweh), a priestly code (P), and a Deuteronomistic (D) source added much later in

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[37] Richard Allen Riesen, *Criticism and Faith in Victorian Scotland: A.B. Davidson, William Robertson Smith, and George Adam Smith* (London: University Press of America, 1985), xix.
[38] James C. Livingston, *Modern Christian Thought, Vol. 1: The Enlightenment and the Nineteenth Century* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 240-241.

Israel's history to reassert religious law as a means of national unity. The traditional ascriptions of date and authorship of the prophetic and wisdom literature were also scrutinized and mostly dismissed. Much of their and others' work from this period presupposed the Romantic understanding of history as an organic development, thus placing Israelite-Jewish history within that interpretive framework.[39]

Charteris' interaction with this Old Testament scholarship can be considered in terms of his early, middle, and later life. The first hint of exposure occurred in his Divinity studies in the 1850s. He later recorded that, "In criticism De Wette made a deep impression; not to the extent of permanent conviction, for he was changeable as well as candid."[40] In his critique of MacLeod's Sabbath interpretation in 1865 while he was still a parish minister, he showed a critical awareness of the issue, noting, "If the distinction between Jehovistic and Elohistic MSS. were valid and valuable, this is the Elohistic portion and the older."[41] His early views on the historical criticism of the Old Testament were thus aware and appreciative of its contributions to scholarship while personally unconvinced by the conclusions.

The primary context in which Charteris critiqued the progressive school of thought was also one of the few times he gained public attention as a biblical scholar. He had been in the Chair for nearly a decade when Professor William Robertson Smith of the Aberdeen Free Church College published the entry for "Bible" in the newest edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. In many ways the professors were quite similar. Both were Scotsmen, evangelicals, and academics. Both had studied biblical criticism in Germany. However, in Germany Robertson Smith had studied with Julius Wellhausen at Göttingen, whereas Charteris associated with more conservative figures like Christlieb at Tubingen.[42] Robertson Smith's 1875 "Bible" entry accepted and disseminated the ideas of the German Old Testament source critics as well as up-to-date New Testament scholarship.[43] Here, the two men diverged.

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[39] Henning Graf Reventlow (trans. Leo G. Perdue), *History of Biblical Interpretation, Vol 4: From the Enlightenment to the Twentieth Century* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 231-334; J.W. Rogerson, *The Bible and Criticism in Victorian Britain: Profiles of F.D. Maurice and William Robertson Smith* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 28-30.
[40] Gordon, *Life*, 37.
[41] Charteris, *Sabbath*, 1865.

On 15 April 1876, an anonymous review of the theological entries in the *Encyclopedia* appeared in the *Edinburgh Courant*. The author was widely believed to be A.H. Charteris, and he never denied that it was not.[44] Charteris objected firstly to the willingness of the *Encyclopedia* editors to include what he considered mere speculation. "In order to preserve strict impartiality," he wrote, "hearsay opinion must not be substituted for ascertained knowledge, and…all important articles must not be upon one side of the question."[45] The primary article to which he applied this critique was Robertson Smith's. The Free Churchman articulated the current source theories of the Pentateuch, including the late dating of Deuteronomy. In so doing, he drew particularly from the Dutch scholar Abraham Kuenen. Charteris knew this and charged Robertson Smith with uncritical acceptance of recent theories. He wrote, "We might object to it on the ground of orthodoxy, but that is no business of ours. We object to it on the ground of inaccuracy, and we see plainly that this article does not represent the present state of critical knowledge."[46] Charteris continued to accuse

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[42] Rogerson, *Profiles*, 74; 86.
[43] Ibid., 97-98.
[44] Bernard Maier, *William Robertson Smith: His Life, His Work and His Times* (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 52.
[45] Anon. [A.H. Charteris], "The New Encyclopaedia Britannica on Theology," *The Edinburgh Courant*, Saturday, April 15, 1876, 4.
[46] Anon. [A.H. Charteris], "The New Encyclopaedia Britannica on Theology," *The Edinburgh Courant*, Saturday, April 15, 1876, 4.

Kuenen and Robertson Smith of failing to consider recent archaeological evidence that Charteris believed reinforced the earlier, traditional dates and events of the Old Testament. Finally, Charteris concluded by considering the practical religious impact and unambiguously staking his claim among the conservatives: “We regret that a publication, which will be admitted without suspicion into many a religious household, and many a carefully-selected public library, should, upon so all-important a matter as the records of our faith, take a stand—a decided stand—on the wrong side.”[47]

Robertson Smith was stung by the critique and lashed out at Charteris in the *Daily Review* of 21 June 1876. He described the reviewer as “a raw preacher thrust for party ends into a professor’s chair.”[48] However, many Free Churchmen sided with Charteris. For example, Professor Marcus Dods defended Charteris’ preaching in a letter to Robertson Smith in 1876.[49] In their biography of Robertson Smith in 1912, John Sutherland Black and George Chrystal included the note: “In Free Church circles Dr. Charteris enjoyed at that time more confidence and respect than almost any other of the clergy of the Established Church as it then was. He was recognized as a sincere and fervent Evangelical.”[50] Robertson Smith was eventually deposed from his chair in the Aberdeen Free Church College after a prolonged public trial within the Church courts in 1881 and went on to have an illustrious career as a scholar of Near Eastern languages and cultures at the University of Cambridge. While, according to Charteris, he “popularized the views of Reuss, Graf, Kuenen, and Wellhausen," he was unsuccessful in convincing enough of his fellow Scottish Free Churchmen of the same.[51]

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[47] Ibid.
[48] Maier, *Smith*, 153.
[49] Ibid.
[50] John Sutherland Black and George Chrystal, *The Life of William Robertson Smith* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1912), 189-190.

Charteris retained his conservative understanding of the Old Testament throughout his later life. As Moderator in 1892, he advised caution in the Church against source critics like Reuss who held "that the Law is of a later date than the Prophets, and the Psalms later than both."[52] In his university lectures on prophecy in the Old Testament from 1896-1897, he offered traditional arguments against the "attempt to prove the Hebrew Bible the concoction of scheming men."[53] Finally, he wrote to his friend A.F. Mitchell in February of 1897 and reported: "I have been reading hard at Old Testament Higher Criticism, and have come afresh to the conclusion that the "Analysis" is a blunder, and the Old Testament not a discredited fabrication."[54] While historical criticism of the Old Testament became more accepted in the second half of the nineteenth century, Charteris counted himself among the dissenters who questioned progressive presuppositions and appealed to what he considered empirical evidence in the growing field of archaeology.

Charteris devoted much more time and energy to the perceived challenges of New Testament criticism. He was particularly committed to defending the canonical books from historical critiques. The first scholar with whom Charteris contended briefly was David Friedrich Strauss (1808-1874). Strauss was born in 1808 near Stuttgart and studied at Tübingen in the 1820s, where he adopted the philosophical and religious idealism of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. For Hegel, "Religion originated from *feeling* and then was completed in the form of a *concept*. The content of this is fully represented in images, symbols, and myths. In philosophy, the spirit represented principally the eternal, sensual, transcendent idea."[55] This understanding allowed Strauss to lay bare the Gospel narratives to the tools of historical criticism in his 1835 *Life of Jesus*.

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[51] A.H. Charteris, Lecture Notebook on the Old Testament [n.d.], MS2832, University of St. Andrews Library, Special Collections.
[52] A.H. Charteris, *The Church of Scotland: Her Sacred Foundation, Her Functions of Ministry, Her Duty in Danger, Being the Address Delivered at the Close of the General Assembly of 1892* (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, 1892), 6.
[53] A.H. Charteris, Lecture Book: Prophecy in the Old Testament, 1896-1897, NCL MSS CHAR1.3.
[54] Gordon, *Life*, 175.

Strauss's basic premise was that nearly all of the supernatural elements of Jesus' life and ministry were non-historical and mythical. He rejected the historicity of the birth narrative, miracles, and sinlessness of Christ.[56] This was Strauss' way of imbuing historical criticism with religious meaning while maintaining the rational basis of his investigation.[57] For Charteris the whole project lacked an objective starting point. In a lecture of 1870, he explained the premise of Strauss' mythical interpretation of the Gospels. His criticism then centered on what he perceived as an "uncritical predetermination to explain away the supernatural."[58] For Charteris, the spiritual power of Jesus was inseparable from the history presented in Scripture.

The second figure whose ideas provoked a reaction from Charteris was Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792-1860). It was in responding to Baur and the "Tübingen theory" of New Testament historical-critical scholarship associated with him that Charteris devoted the majority of his time as an academic. F.C. Baur was born in Stuttgart and educated in Tübingen. After brief service as a vicar, he taught ancient languages in Blaubeuren until he was made full Professor at Tübingen in 1826. He would remain at Tübingen until his death in 1860.[59] Like his pupil Strauss, Baur was influenced by philosophical idealism. For Baur, it was Hegel's understanding of history that shaped his approach to the New Testament. According to Hegel, as history develops towards the realization of the Absolute Idea or Spirit, it progresses through stages of action, reaction, and reconciliation – or thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. Baur believed that this historical dialectic was present in the Early Church after Christ as the community was divided into a Judaizing party associated with Peter and a Gentile party associated with Paul. The synthesis reached by the Church was the basis for Catholic unity.[60] By this account, all but four of the books of the New Testament[61] were described as late additions written in the context of the Pauline/Petrine conflict by authors claiming apostolic authority for party ends. Baur's theory gained considerable support and the Tübingen theory "dominated the scene for a whole generation."[62]

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[55] Reventlow, *Interpretation*, 245-246.
[56] Ibid., 248ff.
[57] Stephen Neill and Tom Wright, *The Interpretation of the New Testament: 1861-1986,* 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 14.
[58] A.H. Charteris, *Notes on Some Present-Day Attacks on Christian Doctrine: A Lecture Delivered at the Opening of the Theological Classes in Edinburgh University, Session 1870-1871* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1870), 16-19.

Charteris, believed that the Tübingen theory cast serious doubt on the reliability of the Bible as the direct word of God, as well as on the authorship of the individual New Testament books. He employed two primary modes of discourse in response to Baur's work: metaphysical critique and comparative textual analysis. His opening lecture from 1870 focused heavily on the former. In the early portion of the lecture, Charteris made a general declaration that

> [M]any of the most frequently-urged objections against Christianity are actually preliminary, and arise from prejudices and prepossessions. We shall

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[59] Reventlow, *Interpretation*, 276-277.
[60] Livingston, *Thought*, 128; Peter C. Hodgson, "Idealist/Hegelian Readings of the Bible," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible, Vol. 4: From 1750 to the Present*, ed. John Riches (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 203-205.
[61] Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Romans.
[62] Neill and Wright, *New Testament*, 29.

> have gained much if we have persuaded a man to consider fairly the facts which we can bring forward; and we can, at all events, refuse to follow him if he enters on the questions of historical criticism, not to inquire, but to seek support for a foregone metaphysical conclusion.[63]

He applied this specifically to Baur and the Tübingen theory towards the end of the lecture. According to Charteris, "As a Hegelian, Baur cannot admit the Incarnation, because it would ascribe to One Person what is really only true of the human race. He cannot limit the absolute by allowing the very possibility of Jesus Christ being the God-Man. This is not a question for inquiry, or evidence, or proof—the dictum of his favourite philosophy must not be challenged."[64] For Charteris, any form of biblical criticism without foundations in methodological objectivity and empirical rigor failed to provide the degree of distance necessary to undertake the task.

Comparative analysis of early Christian texts was the second area in which Charteris confronted Baur and his disciples. Charteris' only major scholarly work was written in this context. In 1880 he edited, expanded, and added a lengthy introduction to Johannes Kirchhofer's (1800-1869) *Quellensammlung*, published initially in Zurich in 1844. Under Charteris' title, *Canonicity*, the work examined the origins, descriptions, and authorial ascriptions of the traditional New Testament canon.[65] He also expanded upon *Canonicity* in his 1882 Croall Lectures entitled *The New Testament Scriptures*.[66] This work focused particularly on the use of canonical texts in the early centuries CE, and concluded that the late dating suggested by Baur was irreconcilable with the testimonies of various Early Church authors. In deploying this method of critique, Charteris relied on the work of the moderate-conservative English scholars J.B. Lightfoot and B.F. Westcott, which he acknowledged in the preface.[67]

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[63] Charteris, *1870-1871*, 10-11.
[64] Ibid., 22-23.
[65] A.H. Charteris, *Canonicity: A Collection of Early Testimonies to the Canonical Books of the New Testament based on Kirchhofer's 'Quellensammlung'* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1880).
[66] A.H. Charteris, *The New Testament Scriptures: Their Claims, History, and Authority, Being the Croall Lectures for 1882* (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1882).

Charteris continued to comment at various points beyond 1882 on Baur and the Tübingen school as its prominence faded – due, at least in part, to the work of Lightfoot and Westcott. In 1892 he confidently told his ministerial brethren that "the Tübingen theory was not perhaps slain, only it died."[68] His last published assessment of current biblical scholarship from the Chair was his opening lecture for the 1896-1897 academic term. It began by revisiting Baur: "The assault of the Tübingen School upon both Epistles and Gospels has spent its strength, and has shown, more clearly than ever before, how ample is the historical evidence on which the books are accepted by that [Early] Church."[69] He later continued: "The Christian conscience felt that those theories of the assailants of the Canon, even taken at their best, were entirely inadequate to account for the facts with which we are dealing." For Charteris, "The ultimate facts with which they had to deal were *Christendom, Christianity*, and *Christ* Himself; and it was impossible to account for any one of them on the ground chosen by the critics."[70] His later discussions thus reiterated his two major critiques: Baur failed to commence on objective grounds and consider all available evidence in the construction of his historical-critical interpretation of the New Testament.

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[67] Ibid., *Canonicity*, 8.
[68] Charteris, *Church of Scotland*, 6.
[69] A.H. Charteris, *The Present State of Biblical Criticism as Regards the New Testament: The Introductory Lecture of Session 1896-97* (Edinburgh: James Thin, 1897), 3-4.
[70] Ibid., 6. By Christendom, he meant the attestations and unity of the Early Church; by Christianity, he meant the doctrine of the Early Church.

In the same lecture from 1896, Charteris addressed the newer critical school of Albrecht Ritschl (1822-1889) and Adolf von Harnack (1851-1930). Rather than utilizing Hegelian modes of thought in order to interpret history theologically, the "history of religion" school of Ritschl and Harnack returned towards Kantian philosophy and attempted to distinguish between the Jesus of history – who must be assessed on purely historical-critical grounds – and the Christ of faith – who can be known spiritually and personally by the Christian community.[71] This allowed them "to avoid the radical conclusions of the historical-critical method by resorting to an alternative source of revelation in religious experience or special sort of knowledge."[72] For Harnack, then, the historical-critical task resulted in the separation of an objectively historical "kernel" from an ideologically loaded "husk." The kernel upon which a moral, spiritual Christian faith was warranted contained three major emphases: the Fatherhood of God, the Kingdom of God, and the ethic of the Kingdom, which was love.[73] This understanding of the Bible informed the broad school of thought which became the dominant form of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century liberal Protestant theology.

As he began to address this school of thought in 1896, Charteris described them as "the great school of German scholars who do not regard any fact of Christian history as essential to Christian faith."[74] He specifically focused on Harnack's 1896 *Christianity and History*: "Harnack dismisses the idea of the Incarnation, and of many other miracles; and he cannot get rid of the old difficulties about the

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[71] Livingston, *Thought*, 270-275.
[72] Mark Chapman, "Liberal Readings of the Bible and Their Conservative Responses," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible, Vol. 4: From 1750 to the Present*, ed. John Riches (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 215.
[73] Livingston, *Thought*, 288.
[74] Charteris, *1896-97*, 14.

Resurrection; but for all that, the core Picture of Christ is, he thinks, unaffected."[75] For Charteris, such a system called into question both whether Jesus was a good man and if he could be known at all. First, he took to its logical conclusion Harnack's belief that many of the supernatural powers and actions traditionally attributed to the Jesus of history were in fact the non-historical husks of a deeper truth: "If Jesus Christ truly made claim to heal and help, to reveal the future, to send the Spirit, when all the while He had no such miraculous power—He was not admirable."[76] He also found it incongruous that any confident personal faith could result from an understanding of Christ with what he considered a meager basis in historical fact. He claimed:

> I do not find it easier to believe in a supernatural which is all unseen and within, than in a supernatural which shone through a perfect human life, which rebuked winds and waves, and disease, and spake as man never spake. Those men who deny that there was anything supernatural about the Birth and Death and Life of Christ's human body, seem to me to have sawn the branch between themselves and the tree….[77]

Charteris simply could not countenance an academic approach that explained away the central doctrines of the faith and engendered so little confidence in the biblical accounts of Jesus' life and work. As he saw it, the "history of religion" school failed to replace the Tübingen school with a biblical hermeneutic strong enough to bear the doctrinal load of his orthodox evangelical faith. As with the Old Testament, so with the New – Charteris' reaction to the trends in historical-critical scholarship were overwhelmingly negative.

How did Charteris positively approach the Bible? His fullest statements on the nature of Scripture were the first two Croall Lectures from 1882. He believed that truth, unity, and authority were the defining characteristics of the Bible. First, "The writers of Scripture profess that they write no cunningly devised fables."[78] He believed that if the biblical authors depicted something as historical fact, then it could not be otherwise. He then described the unity of Scripture. The "historical unity, a unity of fact and purpose, linked like one long chain through all the ages" ensured "an absolute perpetuity of doctrine throughout Scripture."[79] Finally, the Bible was authoritative. For Charteris, "the writers of those books claim authority. They do not seem to contemplate the possibility of being in error, when they speak of things past, present, or to come; and they do not admit that any man can be justified who disobeys their teachings."[80]

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[75] Ibid., 19.
[76] Ibid., 20.
[77] Ibid., 20-21

According to Cheyne, nineteenth-century conservatives reacting to historical-critical scholarship in Scotland often made "the highest possible claims" for inspiration in order to counter the biblical critics.[81] Charteris took a decidedly middle course. In his estimation, "while the Scriptures claim to be the Word of God, given by inspiration of His Spirit, they do not enable us to ascertain the nature or extent of inspiration."[82] Against "the advocates of verbal dictation" on one side and "the arrogance of those who cut and carve Holy Writ as they sit fit" on the other, Charteris counselled moderation: "Let us proceed inductively to search the Scriptures, that we may attain to certain principles that will regulate our use of our holy books." For him, "something higher than ordinary honesty and accuracy must be ascribed to the writers of Scripture if their writings are to be accepted at all."[83] His view of biblical authority was thus conservative and traditional, but not without rational qualification.

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[78] Charteris, *Croall*, 1-2.
[79] Ibid., 4-5.
[80] Ibid., 13ff.
[81] Cheyne, *Bible*, 126.
[82] Charteris, *Croall*, 35.
[83] Charteris, *Croall*, 45-46.

There are three major reasons for his defense of the authority of Scripture. First, he found the evidence persuasive. The empirical case for a traditional view of the Bible appealed to him. This was due in part to his training in the Scottish common sense approaches and his distrust of speculative idealism. This is evident throughout his work: facts, evidence, and induction were the intellectual tools he used. Second, the authority of Scripture was personally important to him. “Above all,” he concluded in his Croall Lectures, “we find in [Scripture] the Person of Jesus Christ, whom we need no outer proof from any quarter to show to be the chief among ten thousand, and altogether lovely…Not a dream, nor a myth, nor a fiction, nor exaggeration of loving discipleship is this to me, but the very truth of the living God, the Father in Heaven.”[84]

Finally, Charteris defended the authority of the Bible as part of his commitment to the mission of the Church of Scotland. As Professor of Biblical Criticism and Antiquities, he was responsible for the education and preparation of the next generation of clergy of the national Church. In his 1896 opening lecture, he addressed the negative impact of the Tübingen theory. According to Charteris, “under its influence a time of sorrow and dread passed over the Church of Christ: men’s hearts failed them for fear, and it seemed to many as though it were the Church itself, and not the rock-hewn tomb in Joseph’s Garden, which was empty of the Redeemer.”[85] He continued, “One is saddened to think how many earnest souls were clouded, how many Church buildings were emptied, how many sacraments were deserted, during the days of unbelief and doubt."[86]

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[84] Ibid., 221.
[85] Charteris, *1896-97*, 9-10.

As a professor, Charteris believed that instilling confidence in the authority of the Christian Scriptures would both insulate the Church of Scotland's future leaders against the ill effects of liberal criticism, and nurture the fervent conviction that the gospel they preached was truly God's Word. His purposes for publishing and teaching on Scripture were thus more pastoral than academic. He certainly devoted his intellectual capabilities to biblical studies. In the end, however, he was outmatched by men like Robertson Smith, who – despite ecclesiastical censure and deposition – became a luminary in the field.

Charteris, Revival, and the Church of Scotland

For Charteris, moreover, the orthodox mind of the Church was only effective insomuch as it complemented piety and practical missionary effort. Because he felt so strongly that faith in the work of Jesus Christ energized the Church of Scotland, he participated in and promoted the Moody and Sankey revival of 1873-1874.

According to Ian Muirhead, "Victorian religion in Scotland is not to be completely understood unless the revivalism, which has older and deeper roots, is seen as one of its proper dimensions and not as an occasional aberration."[87] Revivals are movements of intense spiritual awakening within local, regional, and sometimes national or international Christian communities.[88] The leaders of these movements sought to convert non-Christians and "quicken" the faith of nominal or lapsed Christians. They became a distinguishing mark of transatlantic evangelicalism in the eighteenth century through the work of Jonathan Edwards, George Whitefield, and John Wesley. In Scotland, however, episodes of religious awakening predated the events of the 1730s and were associated with the Presbyterian "communion season." As the sacrament was often distributed only twice a year, the days leading up to and immediately following the observation evolved into a program of popular, zealous preaching which aimed to convict the worshippers of sin and prepare their hearts for the seriousness of communion. In the parishes of Stewarton (1625) and Shotts (1630) in the Western Lowlands, this resulted in emotional and physical "signs" of awakening. The practice of holding communion seasons, discussed further below, continued well into the nineteenth century, particularly in the Gaelic-speaking Highlands and Islands.[89] Other major revivals in Scotland prior to the 1850s included those in Cambuslang (1742-1743), Moulin (1798), Arran (1804), Skye (1812), and Kilsyth (1839).[90]

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[86] Ibid.

[87] Ian A. Muirhead, "The Revival as a Dimension of Scottish Church History," in *RSCHS* 20 (1980), 195.

[88] Stewart J. Brown, "Beliefs and Religions," in *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland: 1800-1900,* eds. Trevor Griffiths and Graeme Morton (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 135.

Kenneth Jeffrey identifies three paradigms of revival in Scottish history. During the first period, from roughly 1625 to 1790, revivals were centered upon the communion seasons. At these "local community-based movements," conversion was gradual. In the second period, from the 1790s to the 1830s, revivals became "short and intense affairs" of immediate conversion with itinerant evangelists as the primary agents. In the third period, starting in the 1830s and continuing to the present, the influence of American Charles Grandison Finney (1792-1875) saw the introduction of certain revival methods. This revivalism involved more itinerancy with an increasing cult of celebrity, well-organized meetings over a set period of days with follow up efforts to integrate converts into local fellowships, and a desire for respectable meetings in place of emotional outbursts. The geographical focus in this third phase also shifted from rural communities to the burgeoning industrial cities.[91]

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[89] Kenneth S. Jeffrey, *When the Lord Walked the Land: The 1858-62 Revival in the North East of Scotland* (Carlise: Paternoster, 2002), 4-6.
[90] Ibid., 2.

Charteris was familiar with the third phase of revivalism in Scotland, as he had experienced the Scottish revival of 1859-1862, which Jeffrey has described as "the first truly national revival in Scotland."[92] An interdenominational group of Edinburgh ministers met weekly to pray for revival beginning in 1858, upon hearing of the contemporary revival in the United States.[93] In the autumn of 1859, Charles Finney traveled to Edinburgh for a preaching tour that elicited crowds of 2,000 for his Sunday meetings.[94] Throughout 1860 other itinerant evangelists held similar campaigns.[95] Described by Charteris as "a most extraordinary movement" in his biography of Robertson – who also supported the revival – the religious fervor of 1858-1860 "kept starting up in small fires" in Scotland until the arrival of Moody and Sankey in 1873.[96]

Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey were an evangelistic team from the United States who "represented most clearly the style of religious movement which Finney had cultivated."[97] Originally from New England, Moody began his career as a shoe salesman in Chicago, Illinois. After his own conversion, he began preaching in association with a number of evangelical organizations in the States, including the YMCA. Sankey played the harmonium, or small portable organ, and sang emotive gospel songs to complement the messages of Moody.[98] Moody had first visited Great Britain in 1867 and met such key figures within English evangelicalism as C.H. Spurgeon, George Müller, and George Williams. He returned with Sankey and their wives at the invitation of two other Englishmen and landed at Liverpool on 17 June 1873.[99] They remained in the United Kingdom until 1875.

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[91] Jeffrey, *When the Lord*, 4-20.
[92] Ibid., 2.
[93] J. Edwin Orr, *The Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, Ltd., 1949), 73.
[94] Nigel Scotland, *Apostles of Spirit and Fire: American Revivalists and Victorian Britain* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2009), 79.
[95] Orr, *Awakening*, 75.
[96] Charteris, *Faithful Churchman*, 368-369; Muirhead, "Revival," 184.
[97] Jeffrey, *1858-1862*, 18.

When news reached Scotland of Moody's successful revival meetings in Newcastle, he was invited to lead a series of services in Edinburgh. In preparation for revival, a group of ministers, including Charteris, began meeting for corporate prayer.[100] On 22 November 1873, Moody and Sankey arrived in the city, remaining in Edinburgh until 20 January 1874. A number of Church of Scotland, Free Church, and United Presbyterian ministers opened their churches for revival meetings. Among these were some of the most prominent churches in Edinburgh: the Church of Scotland Assembly Hall, the Free Church Assembly Hall, Free St. John's, Barclay Free Church, St. Bernard's, Free St. Bernard's, St. Stephen's, Broughton Place United Presbyterian Church, and Free High Kirk. Special services aimed at the working classes were also held in the Corn Exchange near the bottom of the Grassmarket and in the Canongate Kirk. According to a witness, Mrs. Peddie, "The utter absence of jealousy, the cordial co-operation of the clergy of all denominations in the work, has been extremely striking."[101]

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[98] Brown, "Beliefs," 135.

[99] Bruce J. Evensen, *God's Man for the Gilded Age: D.L. Moody and the Rise of Modern Mass Evangelism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 14-17.

[100] Mrs. Robert [Maria Denoon] Peddie, *A Consecutive Narrative of the Remarkable Awakening in Edinburgh Under the Labours of Messrs Moody and Sankey, The City Ministers and Christian Laymen* (Edinburgh: Religious Tract Society, 1874), 5-6. A local woman, Mrs. Peddie meticulously recorded the revival in Edinburgh. Her *Consecutive Narrative*, printed to spur the movement forward, provides precious details and broad contours of the events of 1873-1874.

Moody and Sankey carefully conducted the Edinburgh revival through a series of organized weekly meetings. Often moving from one part of the city to another depending on the week, there were at least five regular events that gave the movement structure and cohesion. These included a daily prayer meeting at noon. As John Kelman of Free St. John's, Leith, described the noon meeting: "The first half hour is employed with singing part of the psalm or hymn, reading (in summarized form) the requests for prayer, prayer, and a few remarks by Mr Moody on some passages of Scripture."[102] The second half was essentially open-ended and might include Scripture reading, hymns, or more prayer.[103] Beginning halfway through the revival – on 16 December – Moody also led a service of Bible readings at three in the afternoon, two times a week.[104] On Monday nights, there was a meeting for new converts "and those who were anxious."[105]

The primary events of the revival were the evening meetings and the inquiry meetings. During the evening meetings, Moody preached to thousands at a time and Sankey led his gospel songs. The sermon content was biblical and evangelical. According to the Andrew Thomson of Broughton Place UPC, "There is nothing of novelty in the doctrine which Mr Moody proclaims. It is the old gospel—old, yet always fresh and young too, as the living fountain or the morning sun—in which the substitution of Christ is placed in the centre, and presented with admirable distinctness and decision."[106] The inquiry meetings immediately followed the evening meetings. Mrs. Peddie described the first one from 24 November at Barclay Free Church: "At the conclusion of the first meeting, a second was held for special prayer, and a large congregation remained in their seats. During this time, and afterwards, anxious inquirers, of whom there were many, were dealt with in the several halls of the church by Moody, the minister of the church, and by other ministers and qualified persons."[107]Apart from these regular meetings, Moody also held separate meetings for students and young men, a four-hour New Year's Eve service, and a week of united prayer from 4 January.[108]

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[101] Peddie, *Consecutive Narrative,* 37.
[102] Rev. John Kelman in Peddie, *Consecutive Narrative*, 13.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Peddie, *Consecutive Narrative*, 27-28.
[105] Ibid., 15.

Charteris participated in the revival and recorded his observations in two Church of Scotland publications. He spoke in Free St. John's on Sunday night, 14 December.[109] He was one of a group of ministers and professors who led a meeting for students alongside Moody on 21 December at the Mound.[110] He was, moreover, among the signatories of a letter calling for increased petitions on behalf of the revival.[111] The other Church of Scotland notables included were Prof. Thomas J. Crawford, John McMurtrie, Maxwell Nicholson, William Robertson of New Greyfriars, George Wilson of the Tolbooth, and the laymen W.H. Hepburne-Scott and Lord Polwarth.

Charteris appraised the Moody and Sankey revival in the *Home and Foreign Missionary Record* for April 1874. For Charteris, the revival was complementary to

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[106] Rev. Dr. [Andrew] Thomson, in Peddie, *Consecutive Narrative*, 16.
[107] Peddie, *Consecutive Narrative*, 7.
[108] Ibid., 28-29, 42, 54, 66-67.
[109] Ibid., 22.
[110] Ibid.,42. Free Assembly Hall was the main building, and New College quadrangle served as overflow.
[111] Peddie, *Consecutive Narrative*, 51-52.

God’s work in the Church – not causative. His appreciation for observable evidence applied to revival as well as historical criticism. He thus described what he considered the ways in which “the ordinary course of religious life has been changed or deepened.”[112] Encouraging results were a heightened emphasis on personal and corporate prayer and the “increased study of the Scripture.”[113] It was his devotion to Scripture that Charteris most appreciated about Moody. It was “Scriptural teaching, rich with apt quotation and unexpected illustration, which only a devout life-long study of the Word of God could furnish.”[114]

According to Charteris, “In so far as we can judge, a real revival or religion has been granted to us.”[115] He noted that the inquiry meetings were well organized, and that the movement as a whole was free of sensationalism.[116] As convener of the recently formed Life and Work Committee, he especially welcomed “the tightening of the bonds of friendship and sympathy in congregations, and the increased interest in the ordinary services and work of the church.”[117] He concluded his *Missionary Record* report on a hopeful note: “When the new life is thus flooding the old channels, when the old forms are filled with increased and increasing faith, we may look for results.”[118] For Charteris and his Church of Scotland colleagues, the “old channels” and “old forms” likely recalled how the Established Church played a central role in earlier movements like the Cambuslang Revival of 1742.

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[112] A.H. Charteris, “The Religious Movement in Edinburgh,” in *Record* (April, 1874), 16.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid., 17.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid., 18.
[117] Ibid., 19.
[118] Charteris, “The Religious Movement,” 19.

Charteris commented further on the Moody and Sankey revival in the 1874 and 1875 reports of the Life and Work Committee. In the 1874 report, Charteris again reiterated the connection between the revival and Church vitality. He wrote:

> It is no unworthy object for a parish minister to take special pains in times of religious awakening to make the Church to which he belongs attractive to the newly awakened soul, by showing that it possesses spiritual life, that it lives by the constant supply of the gifts of God's Spirit, that its members are called to constant reverent prayerful study of the Word of God, and that for those who long to do some work for Christ it can provide ways of usefulness.[119]

One Edinburgh minister reported that "a considerable number of persons" within his parish "appear to have received benefit at the meetings held in connection with the services of Messrs Moody and Sankey."[120] A Glasgow minister noted a rise in the number of young people at his last communion as a result of the revival.[121]

The 1875 committee report included more testimonies to the benefits of the revival for the Established Church. Charteris echoed his 1874 approval: "It is no matter of theory, but a simple fact, that the Lord sent forth His Word with demonstration of the Spirit and with power; and that individuals, families, and whole congregations, are every day blessing Him for the light of new life."[122] Examples from Edinburgh noted "greater zeal and earnestness," an upsurge in family worship, a "quickening congregational life," and more "Bible classes for young men and young women," which "generally deepened the people's interest in the study of the Word of God."[123] One Glasgow minister frankly admitted: "Several of my elders were converted to God at their meetings."[124] According to Charteris, "favourable" accounts numbered in the hundreds, while "those on the other side are comparatively few and far between."[125]

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[119] A.H. Charteris, "Report of the Committee on Christian Life & Work to the General Assembly of Scotland, Given In by the Rev. Professor Charteris, D.D., Convener (May 1874)", in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland for the Year 1874* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1874), 462-463. These records henceforward cited: Charteris, LWC [date], [page].

[120] Ibid., 465.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Charteris, LWC 1875, 566.

[123] Ibid., 567-569.

The Moody campaign of 1873-1875 made a lasting mark on Scotland. The popularity of Sankey's spiritual songs encouraged liturgical reform in all the Presbyterian denominations of Scotland.[126] In Edinburgh alone, 1,400 people claimed that they were converted through the meetings.[127] 30,000 people reportedly attended Moody's final service in Glasgow in 1874.[128] One historian of the era claims that it marked "a high point of evangelical self-confidence and influence on British social and political life."[129] The Scottish revival of 1873-74 was monumental, and through the agency of A.H. Charteris and his likeminded colleagues, the Church of Scotland played a major role.

Charteris and the Life and Work Committee, 1869-1894

Finally, Charteris developed and led the Life and Work Committee of the Church of Scotland. This was his most ambitious and successful measure of Church revitalization. It occupied a vast amount of his attention outside of his University career. He chaired the Committee for twenty-five years.

Between 1869 and 1878, the committee was largely occupied with gathering information from yearly surveys sent to each parish in the Church of Scotland inquiring about various issues. For example, the first queries from 1869-70 asked for local information on "the state of religion," "voluntary work," and "the best means of promoting evangelistic efforts."[130] Following this initial period of inquiry, concrete, programmatic initiatives began to take shape within the Church.[131]

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[124] Ibid., 569-570.

[125] Ibid., 575.

[126] Elizabeth P. Thomson, "The Impetus Given to the Use of Instrumental Music in Scottish Churches by the Visit of Moody and Sankey to Scotland in 1873-74," in *RSCHS* 36 (2006), 183-184.

[127] Scotland, *Apostles*, 145.

[128] Evensen, *God's Man*, 35.

[129] John Coffey, "Democracy and Popular Religion: Moody and Sankey's Mission to Britain, 1873-1875," in *Citizenship and Community: Liberals, Radicals and Collective Identities in the British Isles, 1865-1931*, ed. Eugenio F. Biagini (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 119.

The Life and Work Committee addressed three issues: revival, the social and moral effects of urbanization, and Church defense. The first issue was revival. For the most part, Charteris and his fellow evangelical Churchmen welcomed the increase in itinerant evangelism during the period between the 1858-1862 and 1873-1874 national revivals. He recalled later in life that they desired "to bring ministers and other office-bearers into harmony with evangelistic workers, and to offer pastoral superintendence to such as owed their conversion to God's working through evangelists."[132]

In his first committee report to the General Assembly of 1870 Charteris emphasized the importance of welcoming both new and old members: "While shallow excitement of ignorant souls will soon pass away unless the craving for spiritual knowledge which it arouses be wisely, lovingly, and continuously met, the awakening of those who have been already instructed is as though a strong man has been roused from his slumber."[133] In the 1871 report, he reiterated that revival – despite "occasional aberrations" – was a boon to the Church. He claimed, "Never was there a stronger call than there is now on the Church of Scotland to humble herself in dust, and plead for Divine reviving."[134] The Life and Work Committee thus looked favorably upon revival movements and hoped to channel the movements into the Church of Scotland. This also explains several Churchmen's willing participation in the 1873-1874 Moody and Sankey revival. Four of the Established Church figures who signed the 4 January call for prayer in 1874 – Charteris, McMurtrie, Crawford, and Lord Polwarth – were also members of the Life and Work Committee.

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[130] Charteris, LWC 1870, 421.
[131] Gordon, *Life*, 314-315.
[132] Gordon, *Life*, 305-306.
[133] Charteris, LWC 1870, 435-436.
[134] Charteris, LWC 1871, 422.

The second issue was the threat and opportunity presented by urban poverty. The threat was perceived as both moral and national. In the inaugural report of 1870, Charteris outlined what he considered to be the pressing issues of the day: alcoholism and "profane swearing," which had decreased of late, and high rates of illegitimacy, which had not.[135] For Charteris, the presence of such evils was a sign that "the cankerworm is in our vineyard, that vital religion is on its trial, and that not only as an Establishment but as a living branch of Christ's Church it behooves the Church of Scotland to consider how much more can be done to bring about a change for the better."[136] In his understanding, such a state of affairs was not "consistent with our safety as a nation."[137] In 1872 the Life and Work Committee took specific note of the abuse of alcohol. Regarding the state of public worship, the report claimed, "The *cause of causes* producing irregularity in church-attendance and by-and-by entire neglect of it, is, especially in towns, *intemperance*."[138] The committee combatted alcohol abuse as they attempted to bring the poor and working classes into the Church of Scotland. Due to this dynamic, "The aim of putting away drink became, for many evangelicals, a cause second only to that of preaching the gospel itself."[139]

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[135] Charteris, LWC 1870, 423.
[136] Ibid., 424.
[137] Charteris, LWC 1870, 424.
[138] Charteris, LWC 1872, 422.

Finally, the Life and Work Committee was also meant to oppose disestablishment. In the 1870 report, Charteris noted that increasing the practical work of the Church was particularly critical "at a time … when foes are boldly assailing her existence."[140] For Charteris and his colleagues, revivalism, urban poverty and vice, and the place of the Church in national society were pressing issues that demanded informed analysis and institutional responses.

Under Charteris' guidance, the Life and Work Committee gathered data and developed a network of evangelistic and social agencies. Charteris was committed to a territorial urban mission. In that context, developed most famously by Chalmers, the minister or missionary responsible for the parish or chapel relied on his elders and active members to assist with the mission work of house-to-house visiting, prayer meetings, youth groups, and Sunday Schools.[141] Like Chalmers, Charteris knew that nineteenth-century urban Scotland required the "laicization of the Church."[142] In the 1870 report he honestly admitted that "the old parochial machinery has been overtasked, and must be supplemented."[143]

He was optimistic that the lay membership of the Church would rise to the occasion. In 1870, he wrote, "Communicants are beginning to realize their responsibility for the spread of the Gospel at home and abroad. There is a gratifying diminution of the power of that old notion, that to be actively engaged in Christian ministry is the duty of ministers alone."[144] Following the Moody and Sankey revival, Charteris gladly noted an upward trend: "It has promoted many to work who never worked before, and it has led many who did formerly work to labour more hopefully, because with more reliance on the promised grace of the living God."[145] In 1877, he observed that both paid and unpaid lay-workers were "needed in the Church, and that some measure of regulation of their work is urgently required."[146] His priority in the 1870s was involving the men, women, and young people in the pews in the practical work of the Church of Scotland.

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[139] David W. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody* (Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 2005), 228. For more on the Temperance Movement, see Chapter Six.
[140] Charteris, LWC 1870, 422.
[141] Brown, "Communal Ideal," 75-76.
[142] S.J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 375.
[143] Charteris, LWC 1870, 430-436.

The importance of ecclesiastical democratization was a consistent theme for Charteris in the 1880s and 1890s. In 1887, he delivered the Baird Lectures, endowed by his friend James Baird of Cambusdoon in 1874. He chose for his topic "The Church of Christ: Its Life and Work."[147] In his understanding, the Church was "a society of redeemed men and women, banded together to continue and extend Christ's redeeming work upon the earth, bringing sight to the blind, freedom to the captive, the Gospel of God's love to the poor."[148] His vision for the Church was thus both evangelical and egalitarian. Functionally, this involved individual action. He was confident that "every converted man and woman has the miraculous endowment in the heart, and receives God's witness in the success of the work done. All such gifts ought surely to be recognized, exercised, and organized."[149] In his 1892 General

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[144] Ibid., 427-428.

[145] Charteris, LWC 1875, 591-592.

[146] Charteris, LWC 1877, 574-575.

[147] A.H. Charteris, *The Church of Christ: Its Life and Work (An Attempt to Trace the Work of the Church in Some of Its Departments from the Earliest Times to the Present Day)* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1905).

[148] Charteris, *The Church of Christ*, 237.

[149] Ibid., 40. Donald Bishop also summarizes this nicely. See "Church and Society," 28.

Assembly address, he again emphasized that "the ministers are not a separate class in our Church: they are the teaching elders in a busy community where every gift suggests a function for him who has it. It is high time for our congregations to awaken out of sleep."[150] The Life and Work Committee was the primary instrument with which the Moderator mobilized his Church toward such renewed activism.

The centrality of missions and the hindrances to ecclesiastical and social progress were also consistent themes during Charteris' leadership of the Life and Work Committee. First, foreign mission work was of great personal importance to the convener and thus became a significant element within several of the lay organizations founded by the scheme. MacLaren traced Charteris's interest in foreign missions to three main sources: his memories of hearing Duff as a boy in Dumfriesshire, his friendship with a future UPC missionary (Williamson Shoolbred) while a student at university, and his lifelong correspondence with other missionaries abroad.[151] Charteris also contributed to foreign missions financially. Throughout their life, he and Katie "gave unstintedly of their own means."[152]

His commitment spanned the decades of his convenership. In 1878, the Life and Work Committee report suggested a number of ways to encourage support, including "giving prominence to missions in the ordinary services of the Church conducted by the minister himself," "deputations and addresses by returned missionaries," and "congregational and local organization."[153] In the mid-1880s he helped oversee an interdenominational student revival at the University of Edinburgh, which was inspired in part by a visit from the English missionaries to

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[150] Charteris, *Sacred Foundation*, 16.
[151] McLaren, *Memoir*, 103-109.
[152] Gordon, *Life*, 456.
[153] Charteris, LWC 1878, 525-526.

China, C.T. Studd and Stanley Smith. One observer noted that many of the students at the end of the initial meeting stood up to indicate that they were willing "to go wherever God might call them."[154] Like other nineteenth-century evangelicals, Charteris knew that home and foreign missions were inextricably linked. In the 1890s he initiated and promoted two schemes to increase missionary giving with the Church of Scotland: the Mission Advance and the Substitute Fund.[155] Throughout his life, he had friends and students living and working in Asia, South America, and Africa.[156] His familiarity with "missionary intelligence" and personal zeal were distinguishing features of his life that deeply informed his Church work.

Charteris' social theology also influenced his work for the committee. He sought to reform the pew rent system in the Church of Scotland and leveled continuous critique against competition among churches in a so-called free marketplace of religion. The practice of pew renting in Scotland was an eighteenth-century innovation by which the town councils "recouped their expenditure" incurred in erecting and endowing the local churches.[157] In the growing Victorian cities, the rents in many churches increased in response to rising demand. As a result, poor people were less likely to attend church. The seats available to them were free or less expensive, but often located in awkward locations of the sanctuary with obscured views of the pulpit; it was also well known which seats were for the poor, and to occupy one of these seats could be humiliating.[158]

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[154] A.R. Simpson, "Spiritual Movement in the University of Edinburgh," in *Medical Missions at Home and Abroad*, Vol. I, October 1885, 5.

[155] Gordon, *Life,* 457-460.

[156] Ibid., 446ff.

[157] Christina Christie Lumsden, "Class, Gender and Christianity in Edinburgh 1850-1905: A Study in Denominationalism" (PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2012), 346-347.

[158] Ibid.

Charteris first appealed for pew rent reform in the Life and Work Committee report for 1874.[159] He took it up again in 1886 with renewed vigor. He desired the "proper control over the seats of the church, so as to make them serviceable to the wants of the parish."[160] In his opinion, "our present system of seat-letting and seat-allocation is most defective, and ought to be reformed."[161] He suggested that if an Act of Parliament could place authority over church seating with kirk-sessions, the elders would be able to allocate them in a more egalitarian and efficient manner. He also suggested increasing the number of seats for the poor, but ensuring that they were not identifiable, "in order to foster hospitality and not demean" the poor. If the rents were abolished completely, the Church could recoup the loss by increasing both voluntary donations and the endowments of churches.[162] In the end, the Church of Scotland continued the practice of seat renting well into the twentieth century. However, this early willingness to consider reform spoke to the degree which Charteris and the Life and Work Committee promoted social inclusion.

While he decried the exclusion of the poor through seat rents, he was also a critic of interdenominational competition for church adherents, especially well-off adherents who could make significant financial contributions to the support of the church. For Charteris, it was a matter of efficiency and spiritual gravity. In the 1870 report, he claimed, "Territorial Home Missions are not adequately maintained; and while there is in some places an enormous waste of Christian energy, owing to several sects overlapping and embarrassing each other, in others fields white unto the harvest are not touched by a single sickle."[163] Meanwhile, the urban poor were left "slumbering almost undisturbed in the sleep that is spiritual death."[164] In his 1881 St. Giles Lectures, Charteris partially blamed the Disruption. It "embittered ecclesiastical life" and "encouraged Church Extension on the principle of supply and demand, so that territorial work, not thwarted by visible competition, is impossible."[165] While he lauded the work of Chalmers and continued to champion his home missionary strategy at the local and national level, he was frustrated that the events of 1843 had had a negative impact on the social and home mission work of all the Scottish Churches.[166]

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[159] Charteris, LWC 1874, 442-444.
[160] Charteris, LWC 1886, 403.
[161] Ibid., 404.
[162] Ibid., 404-410.

Three major organizations were developed by the Life and Work Committee under Charteris' leadership. The first was the Young Men's Guild. In his Committee report for 1873, he observed how in one parish, a minster had established "a *Young Men's Club* in connection with the congregation, the minister being the president, and a Bible-class, to be taught by the minister or his assistant."[167] As part of the club, "members promise to refrain from going into public-houses."[168] The overarching goal was keeping young men involved with Church life in between Sunday School and adult membership.[169] The Life and Work Committee returned to this notion in 1880 and acted upon it.[170] In 1881 the Young Men's Guild was officially started "to stimulate the spiritual and intellectual life of young men, and to encourage them to undertake works of Christian usefulness."[171]

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[163] Charteris, LWC 1870, 424.

[164] Ibid.

[165] A.H. Charteris, "The Church of the Nineteenth Century to 1843," in *St. Giles Lectures (First Series): The Scottish Church from the Earliest Times to 1881* (Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers, 1881), 320.

[166] Charteris' convictions on poor relief also mirrored Chalmers. While Bishop lauds him as a pioneer of social Christianity like Donald MacLeod, Smith believes that his Chalmerian ideology perpetuated social paternalism. See Bishop, "Church and Society," 150-162; Donald C. Smith, *Passive Obedience and Prophetic Protest: Social Criticism in the Scottish Church, 1830-1945* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987), 281-282. While not as complicit in the power structures as Smith implies, Charteris was certainly conservative. In 1887, he continued to promote the collection and distribution of poor relief at the parish level. He complained, "Legal assessment became the rule instead of the exception; paid officials took the place of the kirk-session; and the responsibility for the poor was transferred from the Church to the State…The Church has too completely accepted this decree of banishment from her position as God's almoner for the poor." (Charteris, *The Church of Christ*, 113) He repeated this critique in his address as Moderator in 1892: "The care for the poor ought to be remedial, and therefore personal, kindly, and encouraging; and not, as at present, a legal supervision, received without thankfulness, or an ecclesiastical relief which is at best inadequate." (Charteris, *Sacred Foundation*, 15)

[167] Charteris, LWC 1873, 451-452

[168] Ibid.

The twin themes of the Young Men's Guild were evangelism and temperance.[172] To provide a cause that might help unite the local Guild branches, the Life and Work Committee established a Guild Mission in the Himalayan town of Kalimpong.[173] In 1892 there were in Scotland 83 Guild branches with 2,287 members. By the end of the century there were 595 branches with 26,521 members, and "by 1910 seventy-two Guildsmen in all were or had been on service in the foreign mission field."[174] Through the Young Men's Guild, Charteris and the Life and Work Committee mobilized the Church's male youth into a lay organization that, in turn, provided the Church with a number of young missionaries at home and abroad.

The development of women's work in the Church of Scotland was another major innovation of the Life and Work Committee. Charteris was raised in an environment where capable and intelligent women were encouraged to participate in life outside the home. His father, the schoolmaster of Wamphray, "held advanced views on the higher education of girls," and his mother was a keen advocate for

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[169] Ibid.
[170] A.H. Charteris, LWC 1880, 470-471.
[171] Charteris, LWC 1881, 359-486.
[172] Bishop, "Church and Society," 122-124.
[173] Archibald Fleming, *Dr. Graham of Kalimpong* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee, N.D.), 13-14.
[174] Bishop, "Church and Society," 121; 127.

Scottish foreign missions.[175] Katie Charteris was also a strong-minded, highly intelligent woman, who was extremely active in Church and mission work. She participated in various forms of territorial work in Glasgow and in the Tolbooth parish in Edinburgh, such as mothers' meetings and home visitation.[176]

In 1877, the Life and Work Committee report commented for the first time on the potential office of deaconesses as female church workers: "A minister in the west suggests a training college and society of deaconesses."[177] The German Protestant Churches had established orders of deaconesses by the 1840s, and the Church of England had set apart its first woman deaconess in 1862, so there were models for the Church of Scotland to follow. In 1885, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland finally considered the issue of women's work at length. Acknowledging the benefit of lady visitors and female missionary collections, Charteris claimed that "those who have done most of the good work are most instant in asking from the Church some means of doing still more. From ministers and their female helpers have come many requests to the Committee for some provision for training, some recognition and organization of those who are trained."[178] He continued, "In the Church of England are many Homes for nurses and deaconesses—training institutions for female mission-workers of every kind…Your Committee believe that the time has fully come for our Church taking steps to supply her own wants in this important department of mission work."[179]

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[175] Gordon, *Life*, 7.

[176] Lesley Orr, "Catherine Morice (Katie) Anderson Charteris," in *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*, ed. Elizabeth Ewan, Sue Innes, and Siân Reynolds (Edinburgh: EUP, 2006), 71.

[177] Charteris, LWC 1877, 555.

[178] Charteris, LWC 1885, 424-426.

[179] Ibid.

The Church responded positively with a range of initiatives; the Life and Work Committee report for 1886 announced the foundation of Training Institutes for Women, an Order of Deaconesses, the Woman's Guild, and a Women's Worker Guild. The Deaconesses would oversee the training schools and conduct home mission work. The Woman's Guild functioned similarly to the Young Men's Guild as a means of coordinating and mobilizing female lay support at the local and national level. Citing the presence of Phoebe, a female deacon mentioned in Romans 16:1, Charteris argued, "It is *Scriptural*—It is not only in accordance with the well-known practice of the Church of Christ for many centuries, beginning with the time of the Apostles; but it is also in obedience to special and repeated apostolic injunctions in the New Testament."[180] By 1891, six deaconesses had been set apart.[181] Within a matter of years, the women's work in the Church of Scotland included a Deaconess Hospital in Edinburgh, an Orphanage for Girls in Musselburgh, a Guild Cottage for recovering female alcoholics, a Training Institute, and an urban mission in the Pleasance district of Edinburgh. [182] Katie Charteris served as the president of the Woman's Guild from 1887 to 1906.[183] The rapid growth of women's work in the Church of Scotland in the final decades of the nineteenth century was impressive and was arguably one of Charteris's most significant contributions to the recovery of the post-Disruption Church of Scotland.

Scholarship is divided as to whether or not A.H. Charteris was a seminal figure in enhancing not only the role of women in the Church but women's rights more generally. Bishop argues that "the instituting of the Diaconette came at a time when a general emancipation of women was occurring and so, in part, insured its success. Wide opportunities for women were being opened up."[184] On the other hand, the historian and practical theologian Lesley Orr has contended that the Church of Scotland's practical innovations for women in the 1880s were simply a "womanly extension of domestic virtues into the villages and slums of Scotland by their personal charitable and evangelistic dealings with the poor."[185] Charteris did, in fact, tend to couch his statements on women's work in the language of distinct male and female spheres. In his "Charge to a Deaconess" from 1892, he encouraged her to be "the leader and prompter of many other godly women."[186] Even so, Orr admits that these new roles "contained radical possibilities."[187] Certainly Charteris, who also offered his course on Biblical Criticism to women of the Edinburgh Association for the University Education of Women from 1874, helped to ensure that the Church of Scotland would promote and benefit from the enhanced role of women in society. What is also certain is that the expansion of women's work among the female laity of the Church of Scotland in the 1880s and 1890s provided a massive demographic of churchgoers with new institutional structures through which to channel their Christian energy and ingenuity.

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[180] Charteris, LWC 1886, 411-425; 425-426.
[181] Charteris, LWC 1891, 480.
[182] McLaren, *Memoirs*, 98ff.
[183] Orr, "Katie," 71.

The final agency of the Life and Work Committee that warrants discussion is the practice of holding occasional mission weeks to promote awakenings in local congregations. Within its revival context, the first report from 1870 called for "some committee or sub-committee of Assembly [to] be instructed to encourage and guide the evangelistic efforts of the ministers and members of the Church," and "that Committee to consist of ministers and elders who have experience in conducting such movements."[188] In the Church of England, the American-style revivalism of the era led to "a growing number of parishes that began to organize weeks of special preaching with calls on the hearers to make personal commitments."[189] In the 1875 Life and Work Committee report, Charteris included a Church of Scotland minister's account of a "successful" mission week. The minister attributed partial influence to the Anglican Evangelical Canon Anthony Throrold's 1874 articles promoting parochial mission weeks in the *Sunday Magazine*. He also noted the influence of Moody and Sankey's 1873-1874 Edinburgh revival.[190] Again in 1878 the report recommended "the adoption in every parish of some such efforts as those called in England 'mission-week' services" in order to stimulate spiritual vitality and missionary support.[191]

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[184] Bishop, "Church and Society," 141.

[185] Lesley A.O. MacDonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission: Women and Presbyterianism in Scotland, 1830-1930* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2000), 52.

[186] A.H. Charteris in A. Wallace Williamson, *The Place and Power of Woman: A Sermon and Service at the Admission of a Deaconess in St. Cuthbert's Parish Church, on 16th October 1892, with Address by the Moderator, the Right Rev. Professor Charteris, D.D.* (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, 1892), 16.

[187] MacDonald, *Women*, 54.

After a four-year period of relative quiet on the issue, the 1882 General Assembly gave "sanction and approval" for the organization of mission weeks within the Church of Scotland, under the Life and Work Committee's deputations branch. In 1882 and 1883, the work began to take shape. The report from 1883 noted:

> A Mission Week was held in Roxburgh in July 1882 by the Rev. George Wilson, Cramond, and another in November in St. Bernard's Parish, Edinburgh, also by Mr. Wilson. Arrangements were made, with the assistance of the Committee, for a Mission Week in January 1883 in all the churches of Hamilton, when Mr. M'Murtrie, the Vice-Convener, was the Mission preacher in the parish of Hamilton, Mr. Wilson of Cramond in Burnbank, and Mr. Campbell of Kirkaldy in Cadzow.[192]

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[188] Charteris, LWC 1870, 430-436.
[189] Scotland, *Apostles*, 221.
[190] Anon., in Charteris, LWC, 1875, 574-575.
[191] Charteris, LWC 1878, 534.
[192] Charteris, LWC 1883, 343.

The appendix to the 1883 report also included a letter to his congregation from McMurtrie explaining the purpose of mission week in November of 1882. It was "a Mission to Christians that they may be quickened, to the doubting that they may obtain faith, to the undecided that they may be brought to decision, to the backsliding that they may return to the Lord."[193] The initial period thus mirrored the ethos and energy of contemporary evangelicalism's dedication to "regular methods of mission."[194]

Between 1883 and 1888, however, there was another period of relative dormancy. The energy and practical vision of mission weeks only extended so far without financial support. The 1884 Committee Report included no mention of the movement.[195] In 1886 Charteris complained: "The ministers who are specially gifted to be "missioners" are too much occupied with their own parochial labours to have sufficient strength or leisure to undertake the services of a mission-week in another parish."[196] By his estimation, "The Church would greatly gain by setting one or two such men free from their own pastoral work and commissioning them to become evangelists."[197] In 1887 it was noted that "this branch of the work is not so vigorous as one would like to see it."[198] Without more infrastructural support, the Life and Work Committee's mission weeks seemed unlikely to promote Christian renewal and proselytization.

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[193] Ibid., 354-355.

[194] David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 2002), 117.

[195] Charteris, LWC 1884, 375ff. on deputations in general

[196] Charteris, LWC 1886, 428-431.

[197] Charteris, LWC 1886, 428-431.

[198] Charteris, LWC 1887, 399.

In 1888 the mission weeks were given new life, when an anonymous donor provided £200 to the General Assembly to "defray the expenses and supply the pulpits of ministers taking part in mission weeks, or similar special work during the next two years."[199] By 1889 the work had begun in earnest. George Wilson and Robert Blair of Cambuslang took the leading part in organizing and executing four weeks of successful mission meetings in Port Glasgow, Greenock, and Mull.

The mission weeks of 1888-1889 evidenced the use of novel revival methods alongside specifically Scottish traditions. In America, D.L. Moody had developed a "revival machine" by employing the latest marketing techniques and using the local and national press in order to circulate and promote his arrival and schedule of events.[200] George Wilson, who had been intimately involved in the 1873-1874 revival in Edinburgh, put Moody's methodology to use in his Scottish mission week for October 1888. The 1889 Report noted: "The meetings were advertised by pulpit intimations, extensively circulated programmes, a lithographed letter of invitation addressed to young men, advertisements in the newspapers, wall-posters, and tickets left once or twice in every house."[201]

From 1890 to 1894 – Charteris' final year as Convener – the mission weeks continued to progress in terms of both regularity and popularity. In 1890 there were mission weeks in Gargunnock, Dumfries, Warlawhill, Islay, and Tiree. Other mission weeks also began to occur organically throughout the country. An Aberdeenshire minister worked with an evangelist from the London Evangelization Society and other Church of Scotland-led mission weeks were planned and carried out in Inverallan, Portree, and Cromdale – two of which coincided with communion seasons.[202] In 1891 another £100 was anonymously donated and eleven mission weeks were reported. As further evidence of their growth, the mission weeks subcommittee also printed and circulated two guides, one for missioners and another for mission hosts.[203]

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[199] Charteris, LWC 1888, 517.
[200] Evensen, *God's Man*, 23-26.
[201] Charteris, LWC 1889, 696.

There were nine mission weeks reported in 1892, including one in Gargunnock aimed specifically at youth (a "Children's Mission").[204] In 1893, Charteris was pleased to note the growth of the work, both in and beyond the committee's remit:

> Your Committee readily acknowledge that a large number of Missions have been held apart altogether from their direction. Indeed, in many parishes the annual Mission has become a recognized feature of Church effort. The Report therefore cannot indicate the full extent to which this work is now being carried on. But your Committee have reason to believe that such efforts are largely the result of their operations in former years.[205]

Due to such efforts, "Believers have been quickened, sinners been awakened, and good seed has been sown for a future reaping."[206] In 1893 George Wilson also hosted a conference in Edinburgh for ministers and elders interested in employing mission week strategies to rouse and encourage their own parishes.[207]

By Charteris' final year on the Life and Work Committee, the mission weeks had developed from an innovation into a defining element of the scheme. The committee report from 1894 made explicit the connection established in 1888-1889 between mission weeks and communion seasons:

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[202] Charteris, LWC 1890, 701-702.
[203] Charteris, LWC 1891, 495-500.
[204] Charteris, LWC 1892, 540-542.
[205] Charteris, LWC 1892, 504.
[206] Ibid., 506-507.
[207] Charteris, LWC 1892, 507.

> Mission Week services are meeting the want that was provided by the older forms of Communion preparation. It is still within the living memory of many when at the special Communion season there was a series of services leading up to, and finding their culmination in, the celebration of the sacrament. These services have now, to a large extent, been discontinued. But for this very reason many ministers find it expedient to organize a Mission, or prepare for the Communion by a series of week-night meetings, at which simple and direct Gospel addresses are delivered. What we note gratefully is the fact that in many churches a series of meetings is held with the direct end in view of awakening spiritual life.[208]

The growth of mission weeks in the Church of Scotland between 1883 and 1894 exhibited Charteris' propensity for mobilization and integration. He drew on the support of likeminded Churchmen like George Wilson and Robert Blair to pursue methods of local and regular evangelization in keeping with the scheme's original purposes. In doing so, he and the Life and Work Committee infused new energy into a traditional mode of regular awakening by incorporating revival methods and procedures associated with such contemporary religious celebrities as D.L. Moody.

Conclusion

A.H. Charteris contributed throughout his life to the continuation of evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland and revival of overall Church life in three major ways. First, during a time when the new critical and historical approaches to the Bible were undermining confidence in the foundations of the Christian religion, he promoted popular and ministerial confidence in the authority of the Bible. It must be said, however, that his conservative influence within the University Faculty of Divinity in this direction likely allowed the more liberal Free Church scholars at New College to gain the academic edge. In his mind, the Edinburgh professorship was intended to make faithful pastors, not skeptics. His publishing output was thus unsurprisingly inconsequential in the wider scope of Victorian biblical scholarship.

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[208] Charteris, LWC 1894, 512-513.

Second, as much of Scotland's population, especially the urban working classes, were becoming unchurched, he partnered with Moody and Sankey in order to evangelize the lost and awaken the lapsed to a vital, individual faith. While the impressive amounts of reported conversions were perhaps overdrawn, he channeled the spiritual energy of revival into the "old forms" of the Church of Scotland to great effect. The Mission Weeks of the Life and Work Committee continued this diffusion of vital Christianity within the Church far beyond the Americans' campaign in 1873-74.

Third, Charteris spent a quarter of a century meticulously investigating and energetically developing means of engaging the Church of Scotland's laity in various spheres of practical piety and social amelioration. This was particularly significant considering his view of women in Church ministry. While he was certainly not a feminist by any modern standards, he sought the expansion of roles for women in the vast machinery of lay work in an era when women were rarely encouraged to venture beyond the domestic sphere. The Woman's Guild and Order of Deaconesses paved the way for greater ecclesiastical equality in the twentieth century.

All of Charteris' contributions took place within the greater context of the impact of evangelicalism in the recovery and revival of the Established Church of Scotland. In the words of his obituary from *The Dunfermline Journal*, he desired "to quicken religious zeal and effort in the Established Church communion; to provide educated and devoted ministers for the people of Scotland, and to make the country increasingly religious in its social and national life."[209] Having been denied foreign missionary service due to his health as a young man, Charteris dedicated his ministerial and professorial efforts thereafter to the continuing mission of the Church of Scotland at home. He was convinced that if a lively, irenic, confident evangelical faith drove the institutional agenda, the Church would continue to grow.

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[209] *The Dunfermline Journal*, "The Late Professor Charteris," 2 May 1908.

CHAPTER SIX: *LIFE AND WORK* MAGAZINE, 1879-1900

Archibald Hamilton Charteris and his colleagues from the Life and Work Committee of the Church of Scotland recognized that their vision for democratizing evangelicalism within the Church required a means of mass communication to reach both ministers and people. By the 1870s, the Church was continuing to grow and to expand its institutional mission in both the industrial Scottish towns and Britain's expanding settlement empire. *The Home and Foreign Missionary Record* – or *Mission Record* – kept pace with reporting the work of the General Assembly's schemes. However, no official Church organ as yet attempted to provide cheap and accessible Christian literature to its parochial membership. To remedy the situation, Charteris and the Life and Work Committee published and distributed the first edition of *Life and Work* magazine in January 1879.

The present chapter offers a close reading of the theological, social, and ecclesiastical content of *Life and Work* between its establishment and the turn of the twentieth century, in order to analyze further the nature and role of evangelicalism within the Church of Scotland. During this twenty-two-year period, the magazine regularly published sermons, articles, poems, and reports highlighting such evangelical concerns as revival, foreign missions, and the centrality of Scripture. Alongside these priorities, the pages of *Life and Work* also gave increasing prominence to newer evangelical trends – most notably the Keswick or holiness movement and the heightened Church concern for temperance. Although at least one recent scholar has studied the magazine within the context of Christianity and imperialism[1], the only work to address the magazine itself is a popular – though helpful – survey of the magazine's history written by a former editor of *Life and Work* in 1979.[2] What follows is an attempt to provide a fuller understanding of the magazine in relation to Established evangelicalism.

Life and Work Magazine promoted a robust evangelical agenda for the Church of Scotland between 1879 and 1900. The guiding sub-committee from Charteris' Life and Work Committee, the editors of the magazine, and the majority of individual contributors all sought to imbue the Established Church with sound biblical and Reformed theological foundations, spiritual vitality, and energy for missions and social work. During a time of continued growth and renewed opposition, the Auld Kirk evangelicals associated with *Life and Work* defended the principles of the national church whilst seeking to make it a force for mission.

"A Suggestion of Great Importance": A Survey of *Life and Work*

The interest of the Life and Work Committee in starting a publication predated the first edition by at least three years. The Committee Report from 1876 noted that "various returns contain a suggestion of great importance—the publication of a parochial magazine."[3] Regarding a query on the support for missions abroad, the Committee of 1878 suggested a greater "use of the press."[4] The General Assembly of 1878 approved the measure and in November of that year the Committee "circulated a specimen number" of a parochial magazine and began official publication in the New Year.[5]

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[1] Esther Breitenbach, *Empire and Society: The Impact of Foreign Missions at Home, c. 1790 to c. 1914* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009).

[2] R.D. Kernohan, *Scotland's Life and Work* (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1979).

[3] "Report of the Committee on Christian Life & Work to the General Assembly of Scotland, Given In by Rev. John M'Murtrie, One of the Vice-Conveners, In the Absence on the Continent, from Illness, of Rev. Professor Charteris, D.D., Convener (May 1876)," in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland for the Year 1876* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1876), 467. These records henceforward cited: Charteris, LWC [date], [page]., 1876, 467.

[4] LWC, 1878, 425-426.

The aim of the magazine was to utilize modern communication technology to enliven and encourage the Church of Scotland in her spiritual life and religious activism. The introductory notice in the January 1879 issue claimed that "The Christian Church has probably never made full use of the mighty powers of the Press; certainly the Church of Scotland never has."[6] In response, the "Scottish Parish Magazine" of the Life and Work Committee would "represent the influence of Christian life in all the manifold forms of human activity" and "promote pure and undefiled religion in our beloved land."[7] In December 1879, the editor (Charteris) reminded his readership that, after a successful first year, the mission would continue to be "quickening the Church, and spreading among the people a truer appreciation of Christian work."[8] In the magazine's third year, the Committee reassured the General Assembly that "they have in view to help the spiritual life of their readers, to confirm faith, to form character, and make the Scriptures more attractive and better understood."[9]

Life and Work had three editors during the time in question. The founding editor was A.H. Charteris, who after a year decided to make John McMurtrie his successor. McMurtrie was born in Ayr in 1831 and educated at Edinburgh University. Ordained to New Kilpatrick in 1858, he was translated to St. Bernard's in Edinburgh's Stockbridge neighborhood in 1866. There, as we have seen in the previous chapter, he welcomed Dwight Moody to preach from his pulpit during he and Ira Sankey's popular Scottish campaign in 1873-74. He resigned from his parochial duties in 1885 when he was made convener for the Church's Foreign Mission scheme, but continued to edit *Life and Work* until 1898. He would go on to become the Moderator of the General Assembly in 1904, and died in 1912.[10]

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[5] LWC, 1879, 466
[6] A.H. Charteris, "Introductory Notice," *LW*, January 1879, 1.
[7] Ibid.
[8] A.H. Charteris, Untitled Introductory Note, *LW*, December 1879, 177.
[9] LWC, 1881, 465-466.

In his "Valedictory" of December 1898, McMurtrie announced his retirement as editor after a tenure of nearly two decades. "I am confident," he concluded, "that the prosperity of the Magazine will be more than maintained under the able management of my friend and successor, the Rev. Archibald Fleming."[11] Fleming, minister of the Tron, Edinburgh, edited the magazine from 1898 to 1902. A native of Perth, Fleming was educated at Edinburgh University during Charteris' professorship. He eventually succeeded Donald MacLeod as minister of St. Columba's, a Church of Scotland congregation in London's Chelsea district.[12] All three editors – Charteris, McMurtrie, and Fleming – contributed significantly to the content of the magazine.

From 1879 to 1891, *Life and Work* was a monthly magazine of sixteen pages, including title page and illustrations. In 1892, four pages were added to lengthen each month's issue to twenty pages.[13] Along with the monthly national magazine, the sub-committee in charge of the venture encouraged the publication and distribution of local supplements to add parish-specific content. Through such participatory journalism, they aimed to engender congregational unity and disseminate information within individual parishes. By reprinting excerpts of those supplements in the regular magazine, they hoped for similar results on a national level. Intended for wide distribution, each monthly issue cost only between one and one-and-a-half pence, depending on the inclusion of a supplement.[14]

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[10] *FES,* I:92.

[11] John McMurtrie, "Valedictory," *LW*, December 1898, 1.

[12] *FES,* VII:470.

[13] LWC, 1892, 554.

As *Life and Work* expanded, other supplements were made available to reach specific demographics within the Church. A Gaelic Supplement and a Supplement for Soldiers and Sailors were added in 1880.[15] Guild Supplements were added for the Young Men's Guild in 1887 and the Women's Guild in 1891.[16] Perhaps unsurprisingly, from 1892 the editor of the Women's Guild Supplement was Charteris' wife, Katie.[17] Finally, *Life and Work* supplements were also popular among the Church of Scotland's colonial churches and missionary stations, including Buenos Aires, Darjeeling, Alexandria, Madras, Blantyre, British Guiana, Kalimpong, Domasi, Ceylon, Jamaica, and Nova Scotia.

The content of *Life and Work* was similar in many ways to *Good Words* under MacLeod's editorship.[18] It included "sermons, essays, tales, Christian biographies, poems, and narratives of research of travel in Bible lands."[19] The sermons covered a range of Christian topics and provided insight into the theological and social priorities of the era in the Church of Scotland.[20] The essays included pieces such as "The Finance of Young Men" by a Country Minister, which offered advice on savings and insurance. The tales included serialized adventures like R.M. Ballantyne's "Philosopher Jack; a Tale from the Southern Seas." A whole page was often directed at a younger audience, such as the "Children's Page" series which ran from 1879.[21] The poetry ranged from forgettable sentimental pieces to enduring hymnody such as George Matheson's "O Love That Wilt Not Let Me Go," published in January 1882.[22] During McMurtrie's editorship, *Life and Work* also included a significant amount of missionary literature.

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[14] Kernohan, *Life and Work*, 6.

[15] LWC, 1880, 465.

[16] LWC, 1887, 417; 1891, 511.

[17] LWC, 1892, 552.

[18] Kernohan, *Life and Work*, 6; 17. Kernohan surmises that there "may have been" an element of "direct inspiration." While the Life and Work Committee Reports and Magazine never indicate as much, Charteris was a friend and colleague of Norman MacLeod and the periodicals did share a number of contributors, including Mrs. Craik, A.K.H. Boyd, and John Ross MacDuff.

[19] LWC, 1881, 366-367.

[20] This had bearing on both the ministry and the laity, as sermons occupied a "central place in British life" throughout the nineteenth century. See Keith Francis, "Sermons: Themes and Developments," in *Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon: 1689-1901*, eds. Keith Francis and William Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 34.

The artwork was exemplary, due at least in part to the personal connections of the editorial subcommittee. One of the members of the subcommittee was Charteris' protégé, Thomas Nicol of Tolbooth Parish, Edinburgh. The prominent Edinburgh artist Sir George Reid of the Royal Scottish Academy – later an elder at the Tolbooth – began assisting the magazine from 1881.[23] Some of his colleagues in the RSA joined him, and by 1890-1891, the list of artists for *Life and Work* included luminaries such as William McTaggart, John MacWhirter, and J.H. Lorimer.[24] In sum, the content of the magazine between 1879 and 1900 was of a very high quality and appealed to both the evangelical and aesthetic tastes of the day.

Throughout the years in question, *Life and Work* also promoted and extended the program of parochial democratization laid out by Charteris and his fellow Committee members in the early 1870s. The magazine encouraged increased lay participation among the individual men and women and hoped to inspire a spirit of both neighborly and national camaraderie in every single parish of the Church of

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[21] *Anon*, "The Finance of Young Men"; R.M. Ballantyne, "Philosopher Jack"; W.H. Gray, "The Little Maid—A Good Example," *LW*, 1879, 13-15; 5-8; 16.

[22] George Matheson, "O Love That Wilt Not Let Me Go," *LW*, 1882, 7.

[23] LWC, 1881: 366-367. He was noted as an elder in *LW* 1892, 13.

[24] LWC, 1890, 712-713; 1891, 509-510.

Scotland. In an article from 1884, for example, Charteris called for more Church recognition of lay preaching by divinity students along with other lay-teachers for the sake of "its greater and more healthy development."[25] By the end of the period – in February 1900 – the magazine continued to promote laicization with an article appealing for "the employment of qualified Lay Workers" due to a shortage of divinity students.[26]

A related aspect was a dual emphasis on local and national Church life. The Committee hoped that "through a local church magazine a better knowledge of 'the things of others' may be diffused than was possible in the old days. Without some such agency there is no small danger of the disintegration of the Church into a species of congregationalism."[27] On the ten-year anniversary of the magazine, "the Conductors" trusted that "God is using them in some measure for his glory" insomuch as they had "linked together scattered members of the Church at home and abroad."[28] As the periodical of the Life and Work Committee, *Life and Work* made laicization and cohesion priorities in terms of mission and content.

The circulation and distribution data from the years in question evidence an increase in both popularity and parochial and supplemental distribution. The average circulation for 1879 was about 70,000, and the magazine reached 620 parishes, including 60 local supplements.[29] After six successful years, the Committee reported that "during the two months of the present year the long-coveted figure of 100,000 monthly sale has been passed," reaching an estimated 1,000 parishes and with around 300 local supplements.[30] Around 1897, the parishes reached and supplements printed began to stabilize around 1,000 and 410, respectively, but the overall circulation continued to increase. The average circulation between 1889 and 1893 was 100,998.[31] By 1900, the readership of *Life and Work* was growing yearly with an average circulation of about 109,000.[32]

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[25] A.H. Charteris, "Lay Workers, and Their Training," *LW*, May 1884, 65-66.
[26] Anon., "The Need of Lay Workers," *LW*, February 1900, 29.
[27] LWC, 1879, 470.
[28] McMurtrie, "Our Second Decade," *LW*, January 1889, 1.
[29] LWC, 1879, 469.

The end of the century serves as a useful chronological end point for the present study, primarily due to the merger in 1900 of *Life and Work* with the *Mission Record*. The Church of Scotland's two magazines had coexisted peacefully for twenty-two years. An 1885 article on the "Rapid Rise in the Circulation of the Periodicals of the Church" explicitly declaimed any competition.[33] Nevertheless, Fleming and the *Life and Work* subcommittee were less than enthusiastic when the merger was announced. They were nervous that amalgamation with the less popular *Mission Record* would lead to a loss in circulation, advertising, and eventually income. This, they feared, would curtail the magazine's work and endanger some of its prized features, such as the local supplements.[34] By July of 1900, however, they were resigned to the future experiment and assured their readers that they would do everything possible to guarantee its success.[35]

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[30] LWC, 1885, 395.
[31] LWC, 1893, 515-516.
[32] LWC, 1900, 655.
[33] Anon., "Rapid Rise in the Circulation of the Periodicals of the Church," *LW*, 1885, 30-31.
[34] LWC, 1900, 660-664.
[35] Archibald Fleming, "Amalgamation of 'Life and Work' and Mission Record'," *LW*, 1900, 125. The merger of the magazines in 1900 was indeed successful. The "new" *Life and Work* – nearly twelve decades later – remains the primary publication of the Church of Scotland.

Theology and the Bible in *Life and Work*

The theological and biblical convictions of ministers and laypeople from the Church of Scotland were expressed in the pages of *Life and Work Magazine* primarily through sermons and devotional writings. The theology reflected a steady distancing from what Charteris considered the "ruthless and hard" elements of the Westminster Confession of Faith, while maintaining the touchstones of evangelical belief through mutually supporting emphases on individual spiritual experience, the death and resurrection of Jesus, and the conservative and regular reading of Scripture.

As previously noted, the wider context for the theological development in the Church of Scotland between 1879 and 1900 was the shift away from the logical rigor of Westminster towards a system open to the moral concerns of a more humanitarian era, as well as the contributions of modern science, philosophy, and biblical scholarship. A near contemporary described the movement as one of "dogmatic reconstruction" and attributed the trends associated with it to the influence of the prominent Churchman and Divinity Professor Robert Flint of Edinburgh University, whose teaching and writing de-emphasized election and reprobation.[36] At one point in 1886, the editor McMurtrie actually critiqued a more conservative evangelical periodical in *Life and Work* for failing to be "more sympathetic with divergence from established belief and customary modes of thought."[37]

Due to this wider context – as with *Good Words* – progressive theological thinkers were occasionally present in the pages of *Life and Work*. An 1884 piece on "Faith in Jesus Christ" by the Scoto-Catholic A. Wallace Williamson of St.

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[36] J.R. Fleming, *A History of the Church in Scotland, 1875-1929* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1933), 226ff.

[37] John McMurtrie, "Some Periodicals," *LW*, 1886, 124.

Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, opened with a Coleridge quotation and went on to focus heavily on the person of Christ as an object of faith, over and against Reformed doctrinal orthodoxy. He then articulated a doctrine of sanctification in a way that was reminiscent of John Henry Newman on development: "The ideal of the Christian life may change from age to age, for it is only slowly and through many failures that we are leading up to that perfection of life which Christ pointed out."[38] In the June edition of 1898, another prominent Scoto-Catholic, J. Cameron Lees, minister of St Giles, offered a modern view of Christian belief, stating, "The religion of Christ consists not in a vast system of doctrine, but in a few simple truths which are our life."[39]

Yet such voices were a minority. While the writers in *Life and Work* were influenced by different theological perspectives, their theology was more distinguished by features of contemporary evangelical thought. One recent scholar has isolated four "streams" – main, left, right, and radical – and two "currents" within nineteenth-century British evangelical theology. The mainstream included Chalmers and was "theological[ly] serious without any need to be particularly original, and tended to develop its best thought in questions of social engagement and apologetic response."[40] The left wing included men like McLeod Campbell and prized the "free-thought and authenticity to self that Romanticism offered."[41] The two "currents" were revivalism and holiness teaching.[42] The evangelicalism of the

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[38] A. Wallace Williamson, "Faith in Jesus Christ," *LW*, 1884, 19-20.
[39] J. Cameron Lees, "Hereditary Piety," *LW*, 1898, 101-103.
[40] Stephen R. Holmes, "British (and European) Evangelical Theologies," in *The Cambridge Companion to Evangelical Theology*, eds. Timothy Larsen and Daniel J. Treier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 248.
[41] Ibid., 245; 248.
[42] Ibid., 249-250. Holiness teaching is considered in depth below.

Church of Scotland during the final decades of the century was a theological blend of the mainstream and left wing, tinged deeply with hues of both associated currents. It focused overwhelmingly on the experience of faith and the importance of the cross of Christ.

It was Romantic primarily in the elevation of individual spiritual experience over cognitive assent. The currents flowing out of the revivalist and "higher life" movements resulted in "the soft-peddling of theological complexity" in favor of appeals to mystery and emotional warmth.[43] From early in the magazine's existence, this prioritization of feeling over belief appeared commonly in *Life and Work*. In July of 1880, J. Stewart Wilson, minister of New Abbey, exhorted: "Let the fire of Christian life be lit on the altar of your own hearts, and let it burn brightly there."[44] Cornelius Giffen, minister of St Mary's, Edinburgh, later reminded his readers that "the intellectual difficulties of revelation are rarely long perplexing to a heart that is busy in the work of the spiritual life."[45] In a piece on redemption from 1881, Charteris wrote that "when we avoid what is too high for us, and let our minds dwell on the fact of redeeming love; when we by faith 'behold the Lamb of God;' our hearts expand and are filled with peace."[46] Finally, John Alison, minister of Newington, claimed: "The very fact that God leaves anything obscure is a reason for concluding that it is of secondary importance to us."[47] Rather than searching into doctrine with scholastic precision in order to take sides, the late nineteenth-century evangelicals in the Church of Scotland preferred to appeal to mystery on contested issues and emotionally internalize what they held to be the basic truths of the gospel.[48]

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[43] Martin Spence, "Unraveling Scottish Evangelicalism (Part Two)," *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology* 31, no. 2 (Autumn 2013): 181.
[44] J. Stewart Wilson, Untitled Sermon, *LW*, 1880, 98.
[45] Cornelius Giffen, Untitled Sermon, *LW*, 1880, 178.
[46] A.H. Charteris, "Redemption," *LW*, 1881, 98-99.
[47] John Alison, "Christ's Humiliation," *LW*, 1881, 177-178.

The major doctrinal emphasis throughout all twenty-two years of theological and devotional writing in *Life and Work Magazine* was Christ's atoning death on the cross. The crucifixion was the epicenter in the economy of salvation: it defined Christianity, converted the lost, and gave staying power to the saved on their spiritual pilgrimage. First, the cross was fundamental to true Christian belief. J. Stewart Miller's sermon from 1884 on "The Wages of Sin" stated: "The story of man in this world is the story of God's salvation."[49] Donald MacLeod of St. Columba's, London claimed in 1886: "This is the very pith and marrow of the Gospel—that we who 'were enemies are now reconciled by the death of the Son,' that we who 'were far off are now made nigh by the blood of Christ.'"[50] "If any truth in God's universe…is to be a Gospel for man," wrote John Rudge Wilson, minister of Wilton, in 1897, "it must be truth which embraces pardon. And this is the Gospel of the Cross."[51]

The cross was also the "power to save" for all people of all ages. It was the highlight of the conversion appeals in *Life and Work*. In 1886, the Mission Weeks pioneer George Wilson told inquiring readers that "by looking to the Cross you will be delivered from sin and death."[52] Charteris' successor as convener of the Life and Work Committee, James Robertson of Whittinghame in East Lothian, wrote a series of "Pages of Practical Help for Young Communicants" starting in February of 1887. The end of the first piece exhorted his youthful audience to pray a prayer of salvation so as to “remember the Cross of Christ.”[53] In 1899, A.T. Donald of Mertoun affirmed, “We preach Christ crucified. For the weary and sin-laden there is forgiveness and rest at the awful Cross that speaks of death and life.”[54]

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[48] Fleming, *History*, 234.
[49] J. Stewart Miller, "The Wages of Sin," *LW*, 1884, 2-3.
[50] Donald MacLeod, "The Christian's Armour," *LW*, 1886, 117.
[51] John Rudge Wilson, "The Gospel of the Resurrection in its Relation to Holy Communion," *LW*, 1897, 61-63.
[52] George Wilson, "Direct Words: Sin and Death," *LW*, 1886, 36-37.

Finally, the cross provided a foundation for spiritual endurance and sanctification. In a sermon on sin from 1881, Henry Cowan of New Greyfriars, Edinburgh, described the sanctifying power of the cross. “We remember that He who agonized for us on the Cross agonizes in us still by His Holy Spirit,” he wrote, “combating within us, if we will only let Him, our inborn sinfulness, continuing in all of us who do not perversely resist His grace.”[55] In 1890, the young Lauchlan MacLean Watt published a poem entitled “Lux Mundi.” It read:

> O Christ before Thy glorious Cross
> The glories of the world are dead;
> And all earth’s golden crowns are dross
> Before the thorns that gird Thy head.[56]

The cross not only saved individuals from the curse of sin upon conversion, but also shamed the “glories of the world” which tempted mature believers.

In keeping with the breadth of evangelical thought accepted by Charteris and McMurtrie, articles in *Life and Work* sometimes focused on prospective elements of atonement and largely preached a soft soteriological universalism contrary to the dictums of the Westminster Confession. First, a number of sermons and devotional pieces featured emphases on prospective atonement – the benefits (love, life, union) of God to which man is saved in Christ, rather than the detriments (wrath, death, separation) from which he is saved.[57] In July 1884, Bruce Begg, minister of Abbotshall, described the atonement as "the crowning exhibition of divine love—the reconciliation between God and a sinning world, the source of a new and better life for humanity."[58] In 1894 J. Elder Cumming of Sandyford, Glasgow claimed unequivocally: "He died because he loved us, and He died to procure our love."[59]

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[53] James Robertson, “Pages of Practical Help for Young Communicants,” *LW*, 1887, 22-23.
[54] A.T. Donald, “At God’s Right Hand,” *LW*, 1899, 162.
[55] Henry Cowan, “Sin,” *LW*, 1881, 81-83.
[56] J. Lauchlan MacLean Watt, “Lux Mundi,” *LW*, 1890, 94. While the author of the poem is listed as “J. Lauchlan MacLean Watt,” it seems unlikely that it was someone other than Lauchlan MacLeod Watt – future minister of St. Stephens, Edinburgh and Glasgow Cathedral – prior to his licensing in 1896. See *FES,* I:116-117.

There were also pieces that questioned the Reformed doctrine of limited atonement. In 1879, George Matheson wrote a prayer that included: "O Son of man! I can understand why it is Thou takest away the sins of the world… Out of Thine infinite purity springs Thine infinite tenderness for the impure."[60] In 1881, Cumming contended that a person could be condemned only for his or her own "rebellion against God." "You will be condemned," he wrote, "not because you were left out of the Plan of Redemption, but because you would not accept of Redemption when it was freely offered you!"[61] In 1900, John Colvin of Kirkmabreck claimed: "Christ has been set forth as the propitiation for the sins of the world."[62] Most of the sermons and devotional writings in *Life and Work* set aside limited atonement. They were full, rather, with free offers of salvation.

The veneration of Scripture was another hallmark of *Life and Work Magazine* between 1879 and 1900. In 1879 the magazine included a series of "Bible Thoughts for the Sabbaths of the Month," which included direct quotation from Scripture alongside excerpts from sermons by famous evangelicals like William Wilberforce,

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[57] Cf. Chapter Three.
[58] Bruce B. Begg, "Preparation for First Communion," *LW*, 1884, 99-100.
[59] J. Elder Cumming, "Our Sunday Firesides," *LW*, 1894, 82.
[60] George Matheson, "Meditations," *LW*, 1879, 182.
[61] J. Elder Cumming, "The Eternal Purpose," *LW*, 1881, 50.
[62] John Colvin, "The Shadow of the Rock," *LW*, 1900, 181-182.

Thomas Chalmers, and John Newton.[63] Between 1882 and 1900, the magazine had a monthly section entitled "Searching the Scriptures," which listed a series of Bible questions to stimulate personal reading that would be answered in the next month's edition.[64]

The sermons, devotional writings, and other contributed pieces confirmed this commitment to the centrality of Scripture. A sermon by the Andrew Gray of Dalkeith from 1879 implored: "Accept the Bible, honestly accept the Bible, study it deeply and sympathetically, receiving the truth in the love of it, as seed in the good soil of honest hearts." "All else," he continued, "that goes on to constitute life, salvation, perfection, or true blessedness to a man follows in its track."[65] In 1881, William Robertson of New Greyfriars, Edinburgh extolled a recently deceased parish missionary who, "above all…was intimately acquainted with the Word of God."[66] In 1896 an anonymous female author ("A Minister's Wife") proffered that "to live a strong Christian life one must have prolonged seasons of communion with God in loving study of His Word as well as in prayer."[67] Finally, a 1900 advert for the Women's Bible Study Association informed the readers of *Life and Work* that "the object of the Association 'is the definite, devotional, and systematic study of the Scriptures,' that fount of all wisdom and knowledge."[68] The Committee's desire to "make the Scriptures more attractive and better understood" gave the magazine a highly Biblicist tone between 1879 and 1900.

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[63] Anon., "Bible Thoughts for the Sabbaths of the Month," *LW*, 1879, 12; 28.
[64] John McMurtrie, "Searching the Scriptures," *LW*, 1882, 16.
[65] Andrew Gray, Untitled Sermon, *LW*, 1879, 98.
[66] William Robertson, "A Model Missionary," *LW*, 1881, 13-14.
[67] Anon., "A Profitable Sunday," *LW*, 1896, 14-15.
[68] Anon., "Women's Bible Study Association," *LW*, 1900, 183.

Founded as it was by Charteris – the vocal opponent of much of the higher criticism – *Life and Work* was also punctuated by the defense of traditional views of the Scriptures. George Wilson argued in an 1892 sermon that "they are a revelation by God, and as such they are authoritative, infallible, and final."[69] Regarding archaeological evidence that seemed to vindicate Old Testament history, R. Jamieson of St Paul's, Glasgow boasted: "It is marvelous to find to what a large extent the wisdom and goodness of God have furnished materials to overthrow the Babel of 'Higher Criticism.'"[70] James MacGregor of St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, argued in 1881 that – despite the "intellectual arsenals of Germany" – the Bible "has a stronger hold upon the world of to-day than it ever had before."[71] In a sermon on "Peter's Denial" from 1895, Thomas Barty of Kirkcolm, wrote: "Some modern critics use extraordinary liberties with the New Testament, for which I find myself incapable of finding any rational justification, and unable to regard with any degree of patience."[72] Finally, the author of a review of W.L. Baxter of Cameron's 1895 book *Sanctuary and Sacrifice: A Reply to Wellhausen* took the side of Baxter against what the author portrayed as Wellhausen's "theorizing" and "imagination."[73] In enjoining devotion to the Bible, the authors and editors of *Life and Work* promoted conservative exegetical and hermeneutical approaches.

Perhaps somewhat paradoxically, it was a confident and traditional doctrine of Scripture that led evangelicals in the Church of Scotland like Charteris, McMurtrie, and Wilson to set aside certain key doctrines of the Westminster

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[69] George Wilson, "The Word of God," *LW*, 1892, 121-123.
[70] R. Jamieson, "Recent Oriental Exploration," *LW*, 1880, 87-89.
[71] James MacGregor, "The Word of God," *LW*, 1881, 18.
[72] Thomas Barty, "Peter's Denial," *LW*, 1895, 202-202.
[73] Anon., "Books Recommended," *LW*, 1896, 97. A similar review from 1897 labeled Albrecht Ritschl's theology a "mutilated gospel" (226).

Confession. Unlike the progressive Churchmen such as Tulloch and Caird, however, who amended their inherited Calvinist creed with contemporary liberal theologies, the evangelicals looked to the Bible. In the Bible, they believed that they had a source of authority that allowed for variant views on issues like predestination and creation, yet upheld what they saw as the essentials of Reformed theology. In an 1881 piece, Charteris critiqued an element of conservative confessional soteriology because "there is no authority for this in Scripture."[74] Yet he went on to affirm a classically evangelical view of the centrality of the atonement on the same principles: "The Christian theology that has another centre than the 'Lamb as it was slain' cannot have a long life upon the earth; for it is not the theology of the Bible."[75]

Awakening and Consecration: Revivalism and Holiness in the Church of Scotland

The awakening movement in Scotland inspired by the American evangelists Charles G. Finney and Dwight L. Moody between the late 1850s and mid 1870s continued to influence the Church of Scotland up to the end of the century. The revivalist Mission Weeks movement gathered strength through the leadership of George Wilson and others, and great emphasis was laid both there and elsewhere upon a personal conversion experience. Around the middle of the period, ministers like Wilson and Cumming also began to attend and organize conferences promoting the Keswick or holiness movement. At those events, the emphasis on spiritual vitality was supplemented by new ideas regarding personal consecration, victory over sin, and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. All of these topics received attention in *Life and*

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[74] A.H. Charteris, "Redemption," *LW*, 1881, 97-98.
[75] Ibid., 99.

Work. An analysis of the twenty-two-year run of the magazine suggests that by 1900 the Church of Scotland's evangelicals had effectively enhanced their revival methods and incorporated aspects of the holiness movement.

The Mission Weeks were promoted and described in the pages of *Life and Work* starting in the publication's second month, February 1879.[76] McMurtrie noted in the issue of December 1885 that the next year would feature a series of sermons by Wilson to provide a version of a Mission Week for the readership.[77] Key events in the movement's evolution received treatment in the magazine before and after Charteris' tenure as convener of the Life and Work Committee ended in 1894. As noted in Chapter Five, the Mission Weeks were given renewed energy in 1888 when funds were donated to free up ministers for evangelistic service.[78] By 1893, John Lamond's article on "Our Mission Weeks" reported that "the Mission Week is now a recognized feature of Church activity."[79]

Life and Work continued to promote Mission Weeks after Charteris' retirement in 1894. The issues of January 1896 and January 1897 included intimations of upcoming services.[80] Later in 1897 the new convener, William Robertson, wrote a piece announcing the "important and significant step taken by the General Assembly in the appointment of Jas. E. Houston, B.D., minister of Cambuslang, to act as the Church's Mission Preacher for a period of six months."[81] Robertson again informed the magazine's readership in July 1899 that Houston had received so many applications for Mission Week preaching during his tenure that not all of them could be filled. As a result, two ministers – David Francis and Ninian Hill – were appointed missioners for 1899.[82] By the turn of the century, the Mission Weeks remained so popular that the Church's governing body saw fit to increase personnel in order to meet capacity. The weeklong, itinerant revivals of the Life and Work Committee had become even more institutionalized within the Church of Scotland.

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[76] Anon., "The Glasgow Mission Week," *LW*, 1879, 25-26.
[77] Anon., Untitled Editorial Note, *LW*, 1885, 177.
[78] Anon., "Missioners," *LW*, 1888, 112.
[79] John Lamond, "Our Mission Weeks," *LW*, 1893, 75. Cf. Charteris' almost identical statement from the Committee Report of 1893 in Chapter Five.
[80] Anon., "Special Services," *LW*, 1896, 13-14; Anon., "Evangelistic," LW, 1897, 16-17.
[81] William Robertson, "Appointment of a Mission Preacher," *LW*, 1897, 140.

Much of the writing in *Life and Work* emphasized the importance of conversion. In the contributions of George Wilson, for example, an appeal to conversion was hardly ever absent. In a Children's Page sermon from 1883, he concluded: "Now, as Jesus calls you, you must answer and come to Him, and accept Him as your loving Saviour, your faithful Guide, your tender Master."[83] In one of his Mission Week sermons from an 1886 series entitled "Direct Words," Wilson advised that, "If, broken-hearted over sin, you are crying, 'What must I do?' the Gospel answers, 'Nothing, it is all done.' Your salvation is an accomplished fact, accomplished by Christ." Wilson continued, "Seeing Him, accepting Him, confessing Him as He is—your Saviour, will be the healing of your broken heart and peace of your soul."[84] In a similar series from 1892 he encouraged his readers to be "humbly certain of our conversion unto God, and our acceptance and possession of God's great gift."[85] For Wilson, conversion was the *sine qua non* of an awakened and active spiritual life.

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[82] William Robertson, "Mission Weeks," *LW*, 1899, 124.
[83] Anon., "Children's Page," *LW*, 1883, 16.
[84] George Wilson, "Direct Words: Where Art Thou?" *LW*, 1886, 21.
[85] George Wilson, "Short Studies in the Spiritual Life: The Origin of the Spiritual Life," *LW*, 1892, 1-2.

Other *Life and Work* authors highlighted the importance of conversion, as well. In his review in 1881 of the new Revised Version of the New Testament, Charteris observed that the Revised Version presented conversion as a more "distinct epoch" in the Christian life, and as such "confers no small boon on the English reader."[86] William Bruce of Banff discussed the different aspects of conversion in an 1882 sermon. He wrote: "We must turn from sin; that is repentance: we must turn to God; that is conversion. They are but two sides of one gracious experience."[87] Ten years later, Lamond wrote a glowing obituary notice of the English preacher Charles Haddon Spurgeon. He took special care to note that Spurgeon "dwelt on the old doctrines of conversion, regeneration, and justification with a marked tenacity."[88]

While conversion remained central in nineteenth-century British evangelicalism, there was a growing emphasis on the doctrine of sanctification from about 1870. The experience of a "higher life" in Christ and the ability of the sanctified Christian to separate from the world became distinctive features of late-Victorian evangelicalism. Following conversion, the true Christian needed be filled with the Holy Spirit – and thus be made holy.

The holiness movement "deeply influenced" British evangelicalism from the 1870s and drew its distinctive ethos from a number of traditions.[89] It bore the marks of classical Methodism with its emphasis on living a sinless Christian life, and it borrowed from Quaker ideas regarding "full surrender," "baptism by the Holy Spirit," and finding "rest" in God. Nineteenth-century influences included the

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[86] A.H. Charteris, "The Revised New Testament: The Good It Does," *LW*, 1881, 171-172.
[87] William S. Bruce, "Conversion," *LW*, 1882, 18-19.
[88] John Lamond, "Charles Haddon Spurgeon: In Memoriam," *LW*, 1892, 47.
[89] David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (London: Routledge, 1989), 151. Stephen Holmes also argues that it holiness became a "central – perhaps for a time *the* central tradition – within British evangelicalism." See "Evangelical Theologies," 249-250.

(Plymouth) Brethren conception of "entire consecration," which was later promoted alongside the importance of the Holy Spirit for living the Christian life by the Anglican William Pennefather at his Mildmay Conferences, beginning in 1863. The networks of revivalism associated with Moody also channeled spiritual excitement and "prepared the way for the holiness movement."[90]

An American husband-and-wife evangelistic team, William and Hannah Pearsall Smith, promoted the "higher life" teachings from the early 1870s and were invited to England in 1874. In 1875 they were asked to hold meetings in the Lake District town of Keswick by the local Anglican priest, T.D. Herford-Battersby. Due to rumors of William Smith's marital infidelity, the Americans bowed out and the meetings and Keswick "came under the control of Anglican and Reformed evangelicals."[91] The distinctive teaching of Keswick holiness was that every individual believer should seek a post-conversion spiritual baptism. This experience would not enable the Christian to live sinlessly, but rather to remain in a state of spiritual consecration that "counteracted" his or her sinful nature.[92]

Along with such historical precedents, the cultural influence of Romanticism on the holiness movement was potent. First, the stress laid on immediacy over gradualism with regard to sanctification and the Christian life mirrored the rejection of an Enlightenment view of methodical progress in favor of organic development. Second, the movement was located in a region associated with the poetry of Coleridge and Wordsworth.[93] A final example of Romantic influence was the emphasis given to “a complete yielding of self to the Holy Spirit.”[94] According to Martin Spence, this “provided a framework in which the assertions about the individual’s capacity to partake of the divine could be realized. This was the routinization of romanticism.”[95] In sum, the holiness movement in Britain was rooted in contemporary evangelical and quietest thought and flourished during an era in which immediate experience, sublime aesthetics, and spirituality appealed to cultural tastes.

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[90] Ibid.,159-1; Charles Price and Ian Randall, *Transforming Keswick: The Keswick Convention Past, Present & Future* (Carlisle: OM Publishing/Paternoster, 200), 21.

[91] William Kostlevy, "Keswick," in *Historical Dictionary of the Holiness Movement*, ed. William Kostlevy (Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2009), 171-172.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 167ff.; Holmes, *Evangelical Theologies*, 244-245; 249-250.

A significant number of evangelicals in the Church of Scotland came to adopt the Keswick spirituality as their own. The pages of *Life and Work* provide evidence of this gradual embrace. A few early sermons and devotional pieces included language similar to holiness teaching (i.e. “purify and cleanse you from every sin,”[96] “to give up ourselves in loving self-surrender”[97]). Yet the first explicit treatment of sanctification in the magazine held to a traditional understanding. According to T.B.W. Niven, “To be sanctified is just to be made good: gradually to become the sort of people that we all feel instinctively are living very near God, who are like Christ, like God Himself, becoming fit to go to heaven.”[98] Thomas Nicol of the Tolbooth addressed the holiness movement directly in a sermon from December 1883 entitled, “Can We Perfectly Keep the Commandments?” First, he critiqued what he considered an aberration – perfectionism: “We cannot keep the commandments unto sinlessness."[99] Yet as he continued, his critique was tempered with affirmation:

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[94] William A. Dyrness, “Evangelical Theology and Culture,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Evangelical Theology*, eds. Timothy Larsen and Daniel J. Treier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 148.
[95] Martin Spence, *Heaven on Earth: Reimagining Time and Eternity in Nineteenth Century British Evangelicalism* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2015), 252.
[96] J. Elder Cumming, Untitled Sermon, *LW*, 1879, 18.
[97] W.H. Gray, “The First Commandment,” *LW*, 1883, 17-18.
[98] T.B.W. Niven, “Sanctification,” *LW*, 1882, 65-67.

> Deliverance is sought in the present day in the views of those Christians whose watchwords are 'holiness by faith' and 'the higher Christian life.' Some of their teaching is 'perfection' under another name, or slightly modified. It is sometimes mystical and unpractical, and it is questionable whether they do not often leave unduly out of view the moral and practical sides of Christian life. But the spirit animating the movement is healthy and elevated. Its promoters rightly lay emphasis upon the power of self-consecration and of faith for the attainment of holy life.[100]

Over the first several years of the 1880s, Nicol's opinion on the positive elements in Keswick teaching began to outweigh the gradualist view of sanctification taken by Niven.

From the mid-1880s on up until the turn of the century, ministers and lay-people of the Church of Scotland attended the original Keswick Convention in England and attempted to duplicate it by organizing annual holiness conferences in Scotland. First, several ministers and elders traveled south to participate in the annual gathering at Keswick. The main figure from the Church of Scotland to attend the convention and promote the teaching was J. Elder Cumming.[101] Cumming was born in Greenock in 1830 and educated at Glasgow University. He was ordained to Perth and ministered there and at Newington, Edinburgh, before succeeding John Ross MacDuff as minister of Sandyford parish church, Glasgow in 1871. During his Glasgow ministry he published two books on the work of the Holy Spirit.[102]

In the February 1891 edition of *Life and Work*, Cumming responded to a request that he address the misconceptions of Keswick. The article opened: "The teaching given at the Keswick Convention is the ordinary evangelical teaching on the subject of Holiness which has been taught in the Church of Christ from Apostolic times down to the present day."[103] He continued to describe the distinctive features of the Keswick teaching: "the bounden duty of every child of God to be fully surrendered to Him in all things known, and to be a holy person and live a holy life."[104] This life was possible only insomuch as "God undertakes to provide sufficient grace for every willing child of His to live a life that shall be pleasing unto Him; not indeed sinlessly, but as a saint of God."[105] The speakers at the convention therefore preached "not from any theoretical or intellectual standpoint, but from personal experience of what may be called the unsurrendered and surrendered Christian life."[106]

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[99] Thomas Nicol, "Can We Perfectly Keep the Commandments?" *LW*, 1883, 177.
[100] Ibid, 178.
[101] Price and Randall, *Transforming Keswick*, 43.
[102] *FES,* III: 469. The books were *Through the Eternal Spirit: A Bible Study of the Holy Ghost* (1891) and *After the Spirit, being further Papers on The Eternal Spirit, His Person and Work* (1900).

Cumming was not alone in his embrace of the Keswick movement. James Bell Henderson of Borgue reported on the Keswick Convention of 1893 in a similar manner, defining what true Keswick teaching included against biased assumptions. He also mentioned the presence at the Convention of two other Church of Scotland ministers: Cumming and George Wilson. According to Henderson, Wilson spoke from the stage during the Friday afternoon meeting "as to the keeping power of Jesus."[107] Regarding the 1897 Convention, W.S. Crockett of Tweedsmuir informed the *Life and Work* readership that "from Scotland a large contingent had crossed the Border, those known to be connected with our own beloved Church to the number of thirty-five."[108] Eleven of them even stayed in a "Scottish Clergy House" with J.R.

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[103] J. Elder Cumming, "The Keswick Convention and Keswick Teaching," *LW*, 1891, 25.

[104] Ibid., 26.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Ibid., 25.

[107] James Bell Henderson, "The Keswick Convention of 1893," *LW*, 1893, 178-179.

[108] W.S. Crockett, "At the 'Keswick' of 1897," *LW*, 1897, 169.

MacPherson of Kinnaird.[109] George MacKenzie of Ettrick provided a similar account of the Keswick Convention of 1899.[110] Finally, an anonymous writer confirmed that "a large number of the ministers and divinity students of the Church of Scotland" gathered at the Keswick Convention of 1900.[111] Nearly ten years after Cumming's first report, the teaching was the same: "Special stress is laid on the work of the Holy Spirit in regenerating the human heart and sustaining day by day the renewed and holy life."[112]

The holiness teaching of Keswick not only drew Church of Scotland ministers and lay-people to drink from the source; it also resulted in the reshaping of Mission Weeks and the proliferation of other indigenous Keswick-style meetings in Scotland. First, the Mission Weeks movement began to include holiness teaching alongside the revivalist evangelism that defined it. In 1886, Wilson's "Direct Words" sermon on "Rest Unto Your Souls" emphasized the importance of surrender and consecration.[113] In August of 1889, Houston the missioner and William Hutchison of Coats led a Mission Fortnight that was "well-attended" and "held for the deepening of the spiritual life."[114] Topics of Mission Week preaching from Dundee in October of 1889 included "Consecration," "The Filling of the Spirit," and "Waiting upon God."[115] In 1892, Hutchison preached with "burning earnestness" at a rural Mission Week "on the baptism of the Holy Spirit."[116] Between 1886 and 1892, the themes and language of Keswick holiness appeared in connection to Mission Weeks with increasing regularity.

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[109] Crockett, "At the 'Keswick' of 1897," *LW*, 1897, 169.
[110] George MacKenzie, "The Keswick Convention," *LW*, 1899, 199-200.
[111] Anon., "Notes in Passing," *LW*, 1900, 174.
[112] Ibid.
[113] George Wilson, "Direct Words: Rest Unto Your Souls," *LW*, 1886, 106-107.
[114] Anon., Untitled Notice, *LW*, 1889, 155.
[115] Anon., Marginal Note on Mission Weeks, *LW*, 1889, 190.
[116] James Bell Henderson, "A 'Mission Week' in a Country Parish," *LW*, 1892, 26-27.

In 1893 the connection between the evangelistic movement in the Church and the "higher life" teaching became established with the foundation of an annual Mission Week Conference in the Midlothian village of Craiglockhart. The goal of the inaugural meeting was "to wait upon God for the gift of His Holy Spirit…that He may use us to guide, strengthen, and encourage one another in His service."[117] According to W. Henry Rankine, the 1894 meeting at Craiglockhart – which focused on the topic of "The Holy Spirit in the Work of the Ministry" – resulted in a "fresh consecration of ourselves to His service."[118] At the 1896 conference, Wilson spoke on the Spirit as "God's gift to the Church," and, "The closing half-hour was given to the thought of Christian Liberty from sin in its every form, 'to serve God in holiness and righteousness before Him all the days of our lives.'"[119] The report from 1899 was entitled "A Quiet Resting-Place" and declared: "If the world is getting more worldly, the Church is growing more holy and separate from the world. The conception of Christian character is rising, and Christian life is more strongly flowing out into Christian work."[120] Through the Craiglockhart Conference, George Wilson – who had attended at least one Keswick Convention in 1893 – and his colleagues in leadership encouraged the mission preachers to seek the spiritual power of holiness as they organized and executed the routine revival work of the Mission Weeks.

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[117] R. Stevenson, "Workers in Council at Craiglockhart," *LW*, 1894, 15-16.

[118] W. Henry Rankine, "The Craiglockhart Conference, 8th-10th October, 1894," *LW*, 1894, 215.

[119] Anon., "Craiglockhart Conference," *LW*, 1896, 212.

[120] Anon., "A Quiet Resting Place," *LW*, 1899, 227.

A second major impact of holiness teaching that is reflected in the pages of *Life and Work* was the organization of numerous nondenominational conferences throughout Scotland. These gatherings also drew attendance from the ministers and people of the Church of Scotland.[121] Some of these conferences even predated the *Life and Work* reports on Keswick (1891). A convention "for the deepening of the spiritual life" began meeting yearly in Glasgow in 1882. In 1886, MacPherson of Kinnaird recalled that "it was the first Glasgow Convention of 1882 that brought this special teaching into any prominence among us."[122] He rejected accusations of perfectionist teaching and reported that "in the thankfulness that is due to God, would we note the fact that, so far as the ministers are concerned, our own Church has been so largely marked among the Presbyterian Churches for this blessing."[123]

Between 1889 and 1891, *Life and Work* reported that Scottish holiness conventions had begun in Peebles, Larkhall, Dumfries, and Dundee.[124] In 1892 "A Member of the Woman's Guild" informed the readership about the first annual Bridge of Allan Convention outside of Stirling between 13 and 20 June. "The fact pressed home" from the pulpit was "that the majority of Christians know little of victory over sin; the reasons for its being so are pointed out and dwelt on, and then Christians are urged to take a definite step of faith, surrendering all to God."[125] Announcements and descriptions of holiness meetings continued to appear in *Life and Work* as the decade progressed.

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[121] See Price and Randall, *Transforming Keswick*, 56-57.
[122] J.R.M., "The Deepening of the Spiritual Life: Fifth Glasgow Convention, 1886," *LW*, 1886, 29.
[123] Ibid., 29-30.
[124] *LW*, 1889, 28-29, 135, 167, 187; 1890, 32, 80; 1891, 174.
[125] Anon., "The Bridge of Allan Convention," *LW*, 1892, 153-154.

The spiritual temperature of the Church of Scotland rose between 1879 and 1900 through the continued work of Mission Week evangelization and development of native annual meetings to replicate Keswick teaching in a Scottish context. The evangelicals in the Church of Scotland found the holiness movement compelling for a number of reasons. First, it was an outgrowth of the revival movement that they sought to cultivate through conversionist preaching and Mission Weeks. Ministers like Wilson and MacPherson promoted both movements as a means to benefit the spiritual life of the Church at large. Second, the Romanticism of the movement appealed to the cultural tastes of men and women in the Church of Scotland. In his Keswick report from 1897, Crockett wrote:

> A diviner minstrelsy had laid hold of the district. The Lake Singers were for the time forgotten. The realm of Grace superseded that of Nature. Yet Nature, revealing itself in such majestic beauty—the same beauty which had fired the soul of Southey, and Coleridge, and Wordsworth—lent some of its inspiration for voicing the glories of that higher and unseen kingdom which all felt to be so very near. One's spiritual vision saw so many impressive symbolisms in those storied scenes.[126]

A third and related reason that the Established evangelicals welcomed the holiness movement was that it encouraged the theological prioritization of experience over doctrine that they had come to embrace.[127] An article from 1894 on "Consecration" declared that "we are passing in Scotland out of a period in which dogmas and logic were made much of, into a time in which stress is laid on the spiritual life. This is advance."[128]

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[126] W.S. Crockett, "At the 'Keswick' of 1897," *LW*, 1897, 168.
[127] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 178.
[128] Anon., Notice on "Consecration" from the Supplements, *LW*, 1894, 178.

Christian Work: Missionary and Social Activism

The theological convictions and spiritual excitement of the Church of Scotland evangelicals found active expression through the support of foreign missions and the amelioration of social ills at home. Abroad, the missionary field expanded to Sub-Saharan Africa and East Asia. At home, temperance enthusiasm spread throughout the Church. The overall impetus of the Church's social engagement slowly began to change from saving individual souls to promoting social renewal as the new century approached. Contemporaneously, the number of women in the Church who desired to serve in official capacities increased. All of this was catalogued in *Life and Work*.

Between 1879 and 1900, the foreign missionary work of the Church of Scotland steadily progressed. The magazine published an array of articles promoting and reflecting upon that growth. It joined the *Mission Record* as another source of "missionary intelligence," which was "an integral part of the contract between missionary agent and sponsoring society or church."[129] The articles included sermons, missionary biographies, and magazine sections dedicated to topics such as "Missionary Titbits" and "Books on Missionaries."[130] In 1885 and 1891 there were competitions to submit missionary hymns and biographies with the winners announced in subsequent editions.[131] The work of the Young Men's Guild missionary, J.A. Graham in Nepal, featured prominently.[132]

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[129] Breitenbach, *Empire and Society*, 91. Breitenbach goes so far as to consider *Life and Work* a "missionary periodical" (93-94).

[130] The typical missionary sermon published in the magazine aligned with what Jessica A. Sheetz-Nguyen has labeled "imperial missionary sermons" – they "generally focused on a request for prayers, missionaries, or financial support." See "'Go ye therefore and teach all nations.' Evangelical and Mission Sermons: The Imperial Period," in *Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon: 1689-1901*, eds. Keith A. Francis and William Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 550-551. Charteris' missionary biography of Alphonse Lacroix ("Alphonse Lacroix—An Indian Missionary") from November of 1879 was typical of the genre (*LW*, 1879, 170-172). "Titbits" and "Books" appeared in March 1896 and February 1897, respectively (*LW*, 1896, 57; 1897, 39).

The longtime editor John McMurtrie was a committed advocate of the Church's missionary agenda. His dual role as *Life and Work* editor and convener of the Foreign Mission Committee enabled him to champion the work of the General Assembly's mission scheme regularly and often. In an 1881 sermon, he connected the biblical theme of the Kingdom of God to the mission movement:

> We are once more in the middle—perhaps only in the beginning (God grant it!)—of a Missionary Revival so great, that already there dawns dimly on the horizon of Christian hope the fair vision of the World whose kingdom is become the Kingdom of Christ.[133]

His General Assembly committee work allowed him to inform the readership about broader events within the global movement. In 1888, he attended the London Missionary Conference, where he was encouraged by the prospect of reaching "the whole heathen world before this century closes."[134] The American missionary statesmen, Arthur T. Pierson and A.J. Gordon, were also at the London conference and accepted the Church of Scotland's invitation to help promote mission work north of the Tweed.[135] Pierson returned to Scotland in 1890 and delivered another appeal for missions before the General Assembly.[136] McMurtrie's status and connections insured that the men and women of the Church of Scotland were well-informed about the global expansion of the "Kingdom of Christ."

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[131] John McMurtrie, "Our Mission Hymns," *LW*, 1885, 5-6; McMurtrie, "Biography of a Missionary: 'Life and Work' Competition in 1891," *LW*, 1891, 15.

[132] I.e. Anon., "The First Foreign Missionary of the Young Men's Guild," *LW*, 1889, 16.

[133] John McMurtie, "Christ Our King," *LW*, 1881, 161-163.

[134] John McMurtrie, "The Great Missionary Conference," *LW*, 1888, 127-128.

[135] Anon., Supplement Notice on Pierson and Gordon's Visit, *LW*, 1888, 144.

[136] Duncan Campbell, "The General Assembly of 1890," *LW*, 1890, 101-103.

The two primary categories of missionary information in *Life and Work* were reports on missionary field work and updates and appeals regarding home support for missions. The first category included descriptions of both established and emerging mission stations. The established stations were those described in Chapter Two regarding post-Disruption recovery. These included Madras, Calcutta, Darjeeling, the Punjab, and the various locales throughout the Middle East with Church of Scotland missionaries to the Jewish communities. New stations were established in Blantyre, Nyasaland and Ichang, China in the late 1870s.[137] The field reports included a range of topics from native revivals in the Punjab and increasing conversions among Jewish groups to imperial politics in Nyasaland.[138]

The second category of information on the work abroad was more prominent. Like other missionary periodicals, *Life and Work* focused on the "fundraising efforts and financial accounting" of the Church's mission work, as well as on the recruitment of missionaries.[139] The pages of the magazine testified to problems facing the Church of Scotland's foreign missions, as well as possible solutions to those challenges. An anonymous author wrote a piece titled "Mission Papers" in 1881 in which they – upon learning of the most recent General Assembly report – bemoaned "our want of zeal and earnestness in Foreign Missions."[140] Articles of this nature were common. In 1882, Christopher Nicolson Johnston (the future Lord Sands) complained from a layman's perspective about the lack of financial support.[141] Such authors often explicitly rebuked the Church of Scotland readership for acting sinfully in withholding their funds and volunteers. In "Indifference to Missions the Church's Sin" from 1889, Henry Rice of Madras insisted that "the church or congregation that does not cultivate the missionary spirit, and take part in the extension of Christ's kingdom on earth, will soon be more or less marked by symptoms of spiritual deadness and decay."[142]

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[137] Elizabeth G.K. Hewat, *Vision and Achievement: 1796-1956, A History of the Foreign Missions of the Churches United in the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1960), 222-228; 271-274.

[138] The February of 1888 included a "Sermon by the Rev. Nathu Mal, Sialkot, India; Preached in Hindustani with a Preface by the Editor" as well as accompanying converts won "from the lower castes," *LW*, 1888, 22-23; Anon., General Assembly Notes, 1893: 132; John McMurtrie, "The Church of Scotland's Reply to the Portuguese Invasion of Nysassaland [sic]," 1889, 79.

[139] Breitenbach, *Empire and Society*, 64.

[140] Anon. ("Hopeful"), "Mission Papers," *LW*, 1881, 123-124.

By the end of the period, however, a number of measures to arouse increased support bore fruit. A notice from January 1887 encouraged the practice of holding regular "Mission Sundays" to promote the work abroad. On these occasions, "The ministers very generally exchange pulpits, and frequently they are aided by deputies from the Mission Committees, or by missionaries from abroad who may be home on furlough."[143] Reports from the General Assemblies of 1887 and 1890 both noted an increase of income.[144] A piece on "Congregational Support for Foreign Missions" from 1893 mentioned a "decided growth to record" in terms of numbers of congregations donating £100 or more to mission efforts.[145] In 1896, McMurtrie launched a Foreign Missionary Advance movement that encouraged churches to increase collections by arranging quarterly parochial visits from designated local distributors of missionary news.[146]

Another factor in the growth of missionary support was the spiritual atmosphere of the Church. In his 1891 Keswick article, Cumming reported that "a spontaneous and somewhat unexpected development of interest in mission work has taken place at the meetings."[147] This trend marked the holiness meetings in Scotland, as well. In 1892, six Church of Scotland missionaries attended the Bridge of Allan Conference to participate in a final missions service.[148] In his 1893 article on "The Spiritual Life and Missions," George Wilson wrote: "When the children of God are by His grace and Holy Spirit wholly consecrated and yielded unto Him, by the very law of their new and full life they become missionaries. The simply cannot help it."[149]

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[141] Christopher N. Johnston, "The Unpopularity of Missions," *LW*, 1882, 44-46.
[142] Henry Rice, "Indifference to Missions the Church's Sin," *LW*, 1889, 46-47.
[143] Anon., "Notes from the Supplements," *LW*, 1887, 6-7.
[144] Anon., "General Assembly of 1887," *LW*, 1887, 97-98; Duncan Campbell, "The General Assembly of 1890," *LW*, 1890, 101-103.
[145] Anon., Note on "Congregational Support of Foreign Missions," *LW*, 1893, 115.
[146] John McMurtrie, "The Foreign Missionary Advance," *LW*, 1896, 132-133.

Through increased fundraising and the channeling of spiritual movements into action, the support for foreign missions within the Church of Scotland gradually increased. By 1900, the Committee was clear of debt.[150] An article from the same year on a "Missionary Awakening" noted: "A recent gathering at Edinburgh of as many as possible of the young men and women preparing for the Foreign Mission service of the Church of Scotland was so successful as to encourage the hope that recent dearth of missionaries is passing away."[151] Indeed, between 1890 and 1900 the number of Church of Scotland overseas missionaries increased from 65 to 115.[152]

The temperance movement within the Church of Scotland also featured prominently in *Life and Work* between 1879 and 1900. The abuse of alcohol – or "intemperance" – was a major social blight during the nineteenth century. It was primarily adult males from the working class who became addicted to strong drink.

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[147] J. Elder Cumming, "The Keswick Convention and Keswick Teaching," *LW*, 1891, 26.
[148] Anon., "The Bridge of Allan Convention," *LW*, 1892, 153-154.
[149] George Wilson, "Short Studies in the Spiritual Life: The Spiritual Life and Missions," *LW*, 1893, 196.
[150] Anon., "Foreign Mission Notes," *LW*, 1900, 99.
[151] Anon., "Missionary Awakening," *LW*, 1900, 74.
[152] Breitenbach, *Mission and Empire*, 58.

In turn, women and children suffered abuse, hunger, and poverty as the men spent what little they earned at the public houses. The temperance movement sought to address the causes and effects of this evident social malady. In many ways, temperance was the native counterpart to foreign missions. The goals of both were to spread Christianity and elevate societies. Evangelicals in the Church envisioned themselves on the front line against both heathenism and alcoholism. Sobriety, like education in India, was a preliminary measure to prepare people to hear and receive the gospel, as well as an end in itself. While temperance was promoted in the *Mission Record* in the era considered in Chapter Two (1843-1860), it was not until the later decades of the century that it truly became a priority.

The Scottish temperance movement began in the 1820s as a non-religious means of limiting the destructive effects of alcohol abuse and promoting family and community cohesion. Due to its non-religious associations, the Scottish Presbyterian clergy were initially skeptical about the early temperance movement. However, in time the proponents of temperance managed "to persuade churchmen that temperance, although capable of use for secular ends, sought to facilitate the work of evangelization."[153] The Church of Scotland's General Assembly Committee on Intemperance was founded in 1848. Enthusiasm increased after 1880 due to the influence of the gospel temperance movement – which blended elements of revivalism into its calls for temperance reform – and a growing number of educational and lecture groups targeting the rising generations. While the Church of

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[153] N.D. Denny, "Temperance and the Scottish Churches, 1870-1914," *RSCHS* 23 (1988): 219-223.

Scotland did not garner as much temperance support as the other Presbyterian churches, by 1903 nearly a third of the Church's ministers were abstainers.[154]

Life and Work provides evidence of this growth in temperance fervor. In 1879, George Wilson, convener of the General Assembly's Committee on Intemperance, remarked:

> Our hope lies in the fact that the Church is awakening to realize her true place in this movement, and she is putting forth her great power with energy and success. In the Church of Scotland this awakening is unmistakable. The question of temperance is now before the Church courts with a frequency and fullness of discussion unknown in times past. A Temperance Society is now a very popular agency in the parochial machinery of both our city and country parishes.[155]

The February edition from 1885 included an entire section of "Temperance Notes."[156] The following month's issue explained that *Life and Work*'s stance was "simply that of the Church of Scotland itself, which forbids drunkenness, and does not enjoin total abstinence, but cordially recognizes it as a means of counterworking the great sin of Intemperance."[157] However, "Those who seek to promote Temperance in any wise are invited to tell the result here to their brethren, and especially the method by which, under God, any success has been attained."[158] Many took the editors up on the offer.

Life and Work was concerned about alcohol abuse for both social and spiritual reasons. In 1887, Henry Duncan, minister of Crichton, claimed that hard liquor was "responsible for by far the largest proportion of our crime, our pauperism, our lunacy, and our profligacy," as well as a "persistent hindrance to the cause of Christ."[159] In 1889 he wrote of how "the minds of men are largely being directed to those social questions which deal with the physical, moral, and spiritual welfare of the people," temperance chief among them.[160] In the late-1890s, the spiritually-charged gospel temperance movement began to attract greater interest. In 1898, there was a Gospel Temperance Meeting every Saturday in the West of Scotland parish of Coats.[161] Crockett and Nicol organized a "Gospel Temperance Mission Week" at New Craighall in January 1899.[162] The organizers of a Temperance Conference held in Edinburgh on 8 February 1900 resolved to increase local mobilization and the regularity of Gospel Temperance Mission Weeks.[163] The same group appealed for subscriptions in September to support a temperance evangelist.[164] The substantial growth of the temperance movement in the Church of Scotland between 1879 and 1900 reflected the moral, social, and spiritual priorities of the evangelicals in the pulpits and the pews.[165]

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[154] Denny, "Temperance and the Scottish Churches," 224-231; Andrew T.N. Muirhead, *Reformation, Dissent and Diversity: The Story of Scotland's Churches, 1560-1960* (London: Bloomsbury/T. & T. Clark, 2015), 99-102.

[155] George Wilson, "Temperance," *LW*, 1879, 45.

[156] Anon., "Temperance Notes," *LW*, 1885, 30.

[157] Ibid., *LW*, 1885, 45.

[158] Ibid.

Another notable aspect of *Life and Work* before the turn of the century was the diverse ways in which commentators from within the Church approached major social issues such as widespread poverty and pockets of extreme urban deprivation. As was noted in Chapter Five, Charteris preferred a conservative model of poor relief based on parish-centered remedial measures.[166] Many of the authors addressing social problems shared his traditional approaches. In an 1879 article, an anonymous district nurse expressed the typical middle-class evangelical attribution of poverty to the bad habits of the poor. While visiting a dwelling in Newington, Edinburgh, she found "so much dirt and foul air, such ignoring God's first and simplest laws of physical health, that it was not strange His pure laws of moral life should be ignored also."[167] In 1883, James Coullie, minister of Pencaitland, argued that "society has been constructed by God on the principle of subordination and not of equality."[168] An anonymous "Working Man" in 1888 raged against socialism as a cure for social ills and suggested instead a brutal policy towards the poor: "To cure poverty, we must starve out the vagrant class [through poor houses and sending vagrant children abroad], relieve for a time the virtuous poor, and take the drunkard from his cups."[169]

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[159] Henry Duncan, "Temperance: An Appeal," *LW*, 1887, 182-183.
[160] Henry Duncan, "The Temperance Question," *LW*, 1889, 84-85.
[161] Anon., Note on "Gospel Temperance Meetings" in the Supplements, *LW*, 1898, 56.
[162] Anon., "From the Supplements," *LW*, 1899, 16-17.
[163] Anon., Notice regarding "Temperance Conference," *LW*, 1900, 49.
[164] Anon., Notice regarding a "Temperance Evangelist," *LW*, 1900, 174.
[165] Callum Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland Since 1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 102-105.
[166] Charteris did, however, admire the Salvation Army's William and Catherine Booth's system of social Christianity. He wrote a review of William Booth's *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (1890) in which he affirmed the "General's" efforts "to save the souls and bodies of men" by

Yet a minority of authors in *Life and Work* promoted a different way forward. Around 1880, the collective ideas of the Labour movement began to appeal to more Christians as a means of understanding and addressing social and economic inequality. In the place of "policies of competitive individualism," the new movement of Christian social engagement stressed social improvement through collective action.[170] Two prominent Church of Scotland champions of the "social gospel" wrote about their ideas in *Life and Work*. In 1885, Donald MacLeod – the younger brother and biographer of Norman MacLeod of the Barony – articulated a social theology of the Kingdom of God as an alternative to what he perceived as an individualist emphasis on evangelization. He concluded: "The universality of the

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mobilizing a massive lay force ("General Booth's New Book, 'In Darkest England': A Plan and Proposal to Undertake for all the Unemployed Poor," *LW*, 1890, 188-191).

[167] Anon., "Our District Nurse (Newington Parish, Edinburgh," *LW*, 1879, 90-91

[168] James Coullie, "The Fifth Commandment," *LW*, 1883, 81-82.

[169] Anon., "Christianity and Socialism: The Cure for Poverty," *LW*, 1888, 52-54.

[170] Brown, *Religion and Society*, 133-136.

kingdom is involved in the fact of its spirituality, for it must embrace within its array of victories all those influences whereby the wellbeing of mankind is attained, and a perfect social state is reached."[171] In 1899, A. Wallace Williamson gladly confirmed: "Now the view of the Church's duty has widened to embrace every department of human life. She is not only a preacher of personal salvation but an apostle of social redemption."[172] Following the turn of the century, the ideas expressed by MacLeod and Williamson were more widely accepted. In 1901 David Watson founded the Scottish Christian Social Union, and three years later the General Assembly appointed a Committee on Social Work.

A final and related focus of the magazine was the more prominent role of women in the Church of Scotland. During his brief editorship, Charteris wasted no time in publishing an article on "The Ministry of Women in the Church" and continued to promote women's Christian activism well into the 1890s.[173] The progress of the Woman's Guild and Order of Deaconesses garnered exposure and support in *Life and Work* from the beginning. In March of 1884, he wrote an article entitled "Women's Work: And Its Possible Organization – A Woman's Guild."[174] When the General Assembly approved the formation of the Guild in 1886, McMurtrie discussed the benefits of "the work of Christian women in our congregations and parishes" in light of the pressing social needs.[175] The Women's Guild Supplement followed soon thereafter and publicized the work of the female members of the Church. In "An Address to the Woman's Guild" published in 1894,

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[171] Donald MacLeod, "Thy Kingdom Come," *LW*, 1885, 85-87.
[172] A. Wallace Williamson, "The Church and Social Questions," *LW*, 1899, 228-229.
[173] Robert Milne, "The Ministry of Women in the Church," *LW*, 1879, 28-30.
[174] A.H. Charteris, "Woman's Work: And It's Possible Organization. A Woman's Guild," *LW*, 1884, 33-35.
[175] John McMurtrie, "The Church of Scotland's Woman's Guild," *LW*, 1886, 97-99.

J.F.W. Grant of Edinburgh told his audience that he considered "this modern, though Scriptural movement" to be "the highest wave of that mighty tidal movement for woman's emancipation and equal rights."[176]

In 1887 Charteris similarly proclaimed: "We are prepared to show against all comers that the ministry of women was accepted, regulated and organized under various names as part of the ordinary agencies in the Church of apostolic times; and that the female deaconate is the highest order or rank in such ordinary organization."[177] William Robertson's article of 1889 on "The Church of Scotland's First Deaconesses" discussed the setting apart of Lady Grisell Baillie, Helen Davidson, and Agnes Maxwell.[178] A notice by Katie Charteris in 1891 commemorated the life of a recently deceased deaconess trainee from Inverness who had worked in the Pleasance Mission.[179] Finally, Charteris wrote an article on the deaconess movement in 1896 in which he described what had been achieved and expressed the hopes for future growth.[180] Tied as it was to Archibald and Katie Charteris, *Life and Work Magazine* functioned critically as a platform for the Life and Work Committee's various efforts to increase female participation and organization within the Church of Scotland.

Disestablishment, Missions, and the Self-consciousness of Recovery

Through *Life and Work Magazine*, the leaders of the Church of Scotland shaped their Church's institutional priorities and reflected on her recovery and growth in the decades after the Disruption. The evangelical leaders of the Church in particular asserted repeatedly that she must be national and missional in order adequately and actively to serve the people of Scotland. First, they insisted that their Church had a national mission. Between 1882 and 1896 the threat that Parliament would disestablish the Church was a real one. Throughout this period, *Life and Work* asserted its allegiance to the Establishment principle and became a forum of Church Defense.

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[176] J.F.W. Grant, "An Address to the Woman's Guild," *LW*, 1894, 116-117.

[177] A.H. Charteris, "A Deaconess Institution in the Church of Scotland," *LW*, 1887, 100-102.

[178] William Robertson, "The Church of Scotland's First Deaconesses," *LW*, 1889, 21-23.

[179] Catherine Morice Anderson (Katie) Charteris, "A Deaconess House Student," *LW*, 1891, 46.

[180] A.H. Charteris, "Deaconesses," *LW*, 1896, 27-29.

This trend emerged in both the Committee Reports and the magazine itself. In their first report from 1879, Charteris and his committee planned "to assail no other Church, nor even to be controversialists in behalf of our own, but to speak of the things that are Christ's."[181] They expected a majority of readers to be members or adherents to the National Church, but welcomed support from within other churches. As the disestablishment crisis grew, however, they became more willing to "be controversialists" for the Kirk. In 1886, the Committee noted a desire to give "considerably greater prominence to information bearing on the National Church."[182] A note to readers in December 1889 declared: "The Magazine is not denominational. But we are proud to bear aloft on the title-page the commendation of the Parish Magazine of the Church of Scotland to the people of Scotland."[183] The very next year a similar notice corrected that they were in fact denominational – proudly so – but not "sectarian."[184] As the most critical years of the disestablishment campaign approached, the magazine no longer downplayed its Establishment commitments.

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[181] LWC 1879, 471-472.

[182] LWC 1886, 442.

[183] Anon., "To Our Readers," *LW*, 1889, 177.

[184] Anon., "Is 'Life and Work' a Church of Scotland Magazine?" *LW*, 1890, 32.

By 1890 *Life and Work* had been marshalled into the efforts of Church defense. Another note to readers from December 1890 explained:

> It is likely to be a memorable year in the history of National Religion in Scotland, and the Parish Magazine must speak, without bitterness but without hesitation, on this question of the day. We believe such a procedure commends itself to the Church of Scotland generally. It also meets with the approval of many readers who belong to other Communions: they have no dislike, but the contrary, to the old flag which we are proud to bear aloft, and they expect it to float out from the standard when the wind blows strong.[185]

The notice went on to call attention to a series on "this Question" by eminent Churchmen, which would begin in 1891.[186] The Committee Report for 1892 also promoted discussion of the Church Question in *Life and Work*. "The time is critical," they wrote, "and the future of national religion is at stake."[187] In 1893 the committee justified the increase in Church defense material by averring that the "spiritual life and Christian work in Scotland were seriously threatened by the agitation of Disestablishment."[188] By 1895 the threat was largely neutralized by the fall of Lord Rosebery's Liberal Government and the formation of a Conservative Government under the high church Anglican, Lord Salisbury, yet the magazine continued to promote Church defense until 1899.[189] By 1900 the magazine started by Charteris before the controversy began had weathered the storm and – in the process – become the primary voice of the Established Church.

Second, *Life and Work* highlighted the reciprocity between evangelical zeal at home and evangelical work abroad. In 1887 H.W. Smith wrote: "Christian Missions are an essential condition of the Church's health, of the Church's final victory. But the Christian Missions abroad are closely bound up in the Christian Missions at home."[190] Charteris echoed this sentiment in 1892: "Foreign Missions are the chief means of benefitting the Church at home."[191]

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[185] Anon., "To Our Readers," *LW*, 1890, 186.
[186] Anon., "To Our Readers," *LW*, 1890, 186.
[187] LWC 1892, 554.
[188] LWC 1893, 517.
[189] LWC 1899, 611.

In 1893, McMurtrie wrote an article comparing and contrasting Church of Scotland's foreign mission work to that of J. Hudson Taylor's China Inland Mission. Hudson was an advocate of the faith principle in mission, the idea that God would provide his missionaries with the support they needed from private hands without direct solicitation. McMurtrie noted the appeal of the faith principle in missions, but denied that it would be effective for the Church of Scotland. "Ours is the mission of a Church," he wrote, "This means that it is a mission first of all to the Church itself—to awaken it; to convert its vast crowd of communicants to the faith that evangelism is the Church's first duty; and to change them from a crowd into an army."[192] He later added a radical caveat: "Always, and especially now, the church that is not missionary must die."[193]

The upsurge in missionary support toward the end of the 1890s was seen as proof of the Church's corporate vitality. In his 1898 "The People's Verdict," Charteris reflected on the good news that £29,252 had been raised by the "Foreign Mission Advance" advertised by McMurtrie in 1896. As mentioned in the Introduction, Charteris concluded that "the heart of the Church is sound. The people want to have a strong Mission, worthy of the name and ability of the National Church of Scotland."[194] Under the leadership of Established evangelicals, *Life and*

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[190] W.H. Smith, "Victory by Endurance and Victory by Advance," *LW*, 1887, 158-159.
[191] A.H. Charteris, "Foreign Missions: A Sermon," *LW*, 1892, 206.
[192] John McMurtrie, "The China Inland Mission and the Church of Scotland's Foreign Mission," *LW*, 1893, 181-183.
[193] Ibid.
[194] A.H. Charteris, "The People's Verdict," *LW*, 1898, 43.

Work Magazine promoted an awakened spiritual life that would ideally overflow into active missionary support in some capacity – whether volunteering to be a nurse in Blantyre of setting aside funds each month for a teacher in Calcutta. This was both an end in itself and a means of strengthening the institutional Church.

Finally, *Life and Work* provided a venue for ministers to assess the Church of Scotland's faring after the Disruption and beyond. In 1898, Charteris wrote:

> It is natural for us to say that history has justified those who remained in the Church in 1843: that the Church has maintained and vindicated the principles by which she stood. In many respects, this is true. God has helped us and strengthened us. He raised up men to be repairers of the breaches, restorers of paths to dwell in.[195]

His one major critique (and personal regret) was the failure of reunion efforts with the other Presbyterian churches.[196] In the same issue, Theodore Marshall, Convener of the Home Mission Committee, attributed the Church's post-Disruption recovery to the work of endowment, discussed previously in Chapter Two. He was proud that the Church had made "its ministrations sufficient for the population which had even then…vastly outgrown the provision which existed for supplying their religious wants."[197] In a Church defense article from 1891, J. Stewart Wilson considered the Church's developments since 1865. During this "period of awakening and progress in everything," he noted that membership rose 47%, 300 parishes had been erected and endowed, and that four times as much money was given annually to foreign missions.[198]

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[195] A.H. Charteris, "Great Opportunities Gone By," *LW*, 1898, 71-73.
[196] Ibid.
[197] Theodore Marshall, "Four Hundred New Parishes," *LW*, 1898, 77-78.
[198] J. Stewart Wilson, "Taking Stock: What Have the Last Twenty-Five Years Produced?" *LW*, 1891, 150-151.

Conclusion

Throughout the twenty-two years considered, the general consensus among Church of Scotland contributors to *Life and Work* was that their efforts to reconstruct and defend the national religious establishment were an overall success. The magazine begun by Charteris in 1879 continued his project of evangelical democratization and became the true voice of the Established Church. The editors promoted greater lay involvement through various national organizations such as the Guilds. They also facilitated clerical democratization by publishing the work of ministers who differed theologically and represented the regional concerns of the national Church. The lay readership was likewise a diverse group of men, women, and children – a reflection of the increasingly literate populace and expanding market for religious literature.

Critical to the Church's success were the evangelicals in the Establishment who continued to emphasize the central importance of Christ's death on the cross as taught in Scripture. The heartfelt experiences of conversion and consecration gave them cause and confidence to spread the good news as they knew it to those who did not, both at home and abroad. Theirs was a missionary faith; and as long as they were a part of it, their church would be a missionary Church. This energy for missions, combined with commitment to the Establishment, was the major contribution of evangelicals like Charteris, Wilson, McMurtrie, and Cumming, and *Life and Work Magazine* was their preferred medium of communicating those priorities to the Church.

CONCLUSION

Five days after the great Disruption event of 18 May 1843, when a substantial proportion of the commissioners of the General Assembly solemnly departed from the Church of Scotland, William Muir of St. Stephen's wrote to his future wife, Anne Dirom, about the event. "I do not lose hope for our recovering the Church's efficiency," he confessed, "yet, still the blow is great…."[1] The great blow to the Church of Scotland was not only the departure of a third of her ministry and half of her members, but that many of those departing were – like their leader, Thomas Chalmers – ardent and socially active evangelicals. They believed in the saving work of Christ crucified, the authority and daily applicability of the Christian Scriptures, and the necessity of evangelistic and philanthropic outreach to convert the lost, awaken the lapsed, improve the condition of the poor, and preserve and elevate the whole social order. Nevertheless, despite the devastating blow of the Disruption, the Established Church experienced an extraordinary recovery in its membership, home and overseas missions, and social engagement. It did not become a mere "remnant" of a Church, as many of the outgoing ministers had expected. On the contrary, it recovered its status as Scotland's national Church. As we have seen, by 1891 the Church of Scotland held the majority (53%) of Presbyterian churchgoers in Scotland.[2]

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[1] William Muir, "Extracts from Journal Letters Addressed to Anne Dirom, now Mrs. Muir," MUI2, New College Library Special Collections, Edinburgh University (accessed September-November 2015): Letter from 23 May 1843.

[2] Callum G. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland Since 1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 45-47.

This thesis has argued that such evangelicals as Muir, Norman MacLeod, and A.H. Charteris played a key role in that recovery of the Established Church of Scotland during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The evangelical movement within the Church of Scotland that had come to exercise such influence during the 1820s and 1830s did not collapse when Chalmers and his Evangelical Party left to form the Free Church. Rather, the evangelicals who remained in the Auld Kirk – like the leaders of the Middle Party – continued to exercise a profound influence within the Established Church up to the beginning of the twentieth century. As reports in the *Mission Record* demonstrated, the Church's missionary institutions revived and expanded between 1843 and 1860.

Further, this thesis has argued that a major reason for its success was that the evangelicalism in the post-Disruption Church of Scotland broadened to adapt to the times. Norman MacLeod of the Barony, Glasgow, was a prime example of a liberal evangelical in the Church who questioned the dogmatic import of the Westminster Confession while still practicing and promoting a vital, biblical, and mission-oriented faith. Through his nondenominational periodical, *Good Words*, MacLeod attempted to convey his broad evangelical vision for the Church of Scotland to the expanding British reading public. In the process, friction with more conservative evangelicals such as the *Record*'s Thomas Alexander forced him to critically reflect on his calling to sacralize the secular and to develop more sophisticated journalistic approaches.

This thesis has also argued that the evangelical lay activism organized by A.H. Charteris and the Life and Work Committee of the Church of Scotland succeeded in channeling the excitement generated by the Moody and Sankey revival into practical missionary efforts at home and abroad. Charteris' project of evangelical democratization resulted in the formation of various societies that gave the Established Church increased cohesion and influence. One such society, the Order of Deaconesses, enabled women to become more involved in Church life and presaged the greater ecclesiastical gender equality of the next century. Through *Life and Work* Magazine, Charteris, John McMurtrie, and likeminded evangelical leaders kept the expanding reading public abreast of the latest developments in the Church's foreign missions, evangelistic movements, and Church defense.

The two major themes developed in this thesis have been evangelical belief and practice and the recovery of the Church of Scotland as a national religious establishment. In a number of significant ways, very little changed between the Disruption and the end of the century. First, evangelicals emphasized the need for a heartfelt, personal faith. From the beginning, men like William Muir and James Wylie encouraged their parishioners to know God's love in Christ at a personal level. Fifty years later, George Wilson continued to preach an experiential gospel – more akin to affectionate relationship than cold subservience. Second, evangelicals preached to convert. Baptism was not enough to save one's soul. She or he must be "born again" through a personal experience of God's forgiveness in Christ. James Craik's cholera sermon of 1849, Norman MacLeod's admonition in "Moments of Life" from the February 1862 edition of *Good Words*, and A.T. Donald's 1899 piece entitled "From God's Right Hand" in *Life and Work* all sought to convict individuals of sin and point to Christ. Salvation, once received, was new life.

Third, the remaining evangelicals in the Church of Scotland viewed the Bible as both the ultimate authority and the foundation of a rich devotional life. John Ross

MacDuff, Norman MacLeod, and Charteris all disclaimed the validity of new historical criticisms of the Bible. For the Church evangelicals, the Bible was God's special revelation; as such, it was impregnable. It was also a means for bringing God's grace into the life of every believer. *Good Words* and *Life and Work* included daily reading guides at various points as a means of encouraging readers to treasure, memorize, and meditate on Holy Writ. While some more progressive Christians were questioning the applicability of an ancient book in modern life, the evangelicals in the Church of Scotland continued to affirm the Reformation tenet of *sola Scriptura*.

Fourth, the cross of Christ was the epicenter of evangelical teaching and preaching. While the nature and the extent of the atonement were contentious, the "fact of an atonement," as Norman MacLeod put it, was central. In his 1882 hymn "O Love That Wilt Not Let Me Go" from *Life and Work*, the liberal evangelical George Matheson expressed this emphasis lyrically:

> O Cross that liftest up my head,
> I dare not ask to fly from thee;
> I lay in dust life's glory dead,
> And from the ground there blossoms red
> Life that shall endless be.[3]

The cross was the key to salvation and eternal life. According to both Muir and Charteris, it also distinguished the teaching of the Bible.

Fifth, the Established evangelicals were critically aware of the relationship between a vibrant religious life in Scotland and robust foreign missions overseas. James Craik expressed the importance of this reciprocity by calling on anyone "animated by the real and active spirit of the Gospel" to "be instruments in bringing the truth to many," in his 1855 sermon in the *Edinburgh Christian Magazine*.[4] Alexander Brunton expressed similar sentiments in his earlier commissioning address from 1845. In the later decades of the century, John McMurtrie continually revisited the idea. Sixth, revival movements infused new energy into Auld Kirk evangelicalism. The convener of the Endowment Scheme, James Robertson, spoke approvingly of the transatlantic revival movement that affected Scotland between 1858 and 1862. Norman MacLeod also considered revival a boon to the Church, despite occasional behavioral excesses, such as those experienced in parts of Northern Ireland and Scotland in the 1859 revival. Charteris gave his assistance to Moody and Sankey in the revival campaign of 1873-74 in Scotland, in order to encourage Church of Scotland involvement in their movement. Finally, McMurtrie and Wilson integrated revivalism into the work of the Life and Work Committee through the Mission Weeks movement.

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[3] George Matheson, "O Love That Wilt Not Let Me Go," *LW*, 1882, 7.

Seventh and finally, the Auld Kirk evangelicals maintained international connections within the greater world of Protestant evangelicalism. They were not isolated, but rather a self-conscious part of a much larger movement dating back to the transatlantic awakenings of the eighteenth century. This was evident through Norman MacLeod's early leadership role within the Evangelical Alliance in the mid-1840s. It was perhaps most obvious during the Moody and Sankey campaign. Later, this connectedness manifested itself through interactions with men like the American missionary statesman A.T. Pierson, who spoke at the General Assembly on missions in 1890.

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[4] See Chapter One. James Craik, Sermon from *The Edinburgh Christian Magazine*, Oct. 1855, 198.

While the Church of Scotland evangelicals exhibited these seven traits in the post-Disruption era, there were also, as we have seen, two major changes in their beliefs and practice. First, there was a theological development away from close adherence to the Westminster Confession of Faith to a greater breadth of belief on such issues as atonement and election. Initially, conservative evangelicals like William Muir and James Craik held fast to the subordinate theological standard of their Church. Over time, however, the theology of atonement developed by John McLeod Campbell and disseminated throughout the Church by such men as his cousin, Norman MacLeod, replaced what Charteris considered the "harsh and ruthless" elements of scholastic Calvinism with a more humane doctrine of the cross. The Established evangelicals from the 1860s to the turn of the century were still Calvinists; but often liberal Calvinists who accepted universal atonement and increasingly subordinated divine justice to paternal love in their understanding of Christ's saving work.

The second major change in Church of Scotland evangelicalism was the rise of the holiness or Keswick teaching regarding sanctification. Early advocates of sanctification encouraged believers to pursue a life of gradual change into Christlikeness by mortifying sin and embracing godliness. As Chapter One described, this was often conveyed through the language of submission and lordship. In the final two decades of the century, however, men like George Wilson and J. Elder Cumming spread new ideas within the Church of Scotland concerning what became known as the "higher" Christian life. Complete sanctification, the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, consecration, and other similar words and phrases conveyed the holiness movement's emphasis on immediacy and purity. While they decried perfectionism, the Scottish advocates of holiness teaching maintained that victory over sin was attainable for every Christian man and woman who underwent a post-conversion experience of spiritual baptism.

This thesis has also argued that the cultural movement known as Romanticism influenced both the de-confessionalization within the Church of Scotland and the shift from sanctification to consecration. In both cases, the locus of human action moved from the head to the heart. In the case of doctrine, Norman MacLeod's Romanticism – evidenced by his literary tastes and idealization of the Highland manse – influenced his private and public faith. With regard to holiness, the picturesque setting of the Keswick meetings encouraged Romantic affiliations. In both cases, feeling predominated over cognitive assent and intuition over logic. Evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland between 1843 and 1900 thus became increasingly Romantic. Yet the influence of Romanticism must not be overdrawn. As we have seen in the cases of Muir and Charteris, not all leading Church of Scotland figures rejected Enlightenment rationalism.

This thesis has also shown how their commitment to the revival of the established national Church served to motivate post-Disruption evangelicals who remained within the Church of Scotland. By remaining within the Church of Scotland in 1843, the Middle Party contributed to the preservation of the Church as a national institution and produced an impressive number of leaders – including nine moderators – who shepherded the Church through its recovery. William Muir's decision to remain within the established Church was influenced by his steadfast conviction that a national religious establishment strengthened the fabric of Scottish society. The Six Schemes of the Church were led during the difficult post-Disruption years by evangelical conveners who ensured that their respective committees contributed to the Church's renewed home and overseas mission. As Simpson of Kirknewton emphasized during his leadership of the Home Mission Committee, the national Church sought nothing less than to embody the Kingdom of God in Scotland.

Norman MacLeod not only promoted the Church's renewed overseas missions through his convenorship of the Foreign Mission Committee, but also became the public face of the national Church of Scotland. His editorship of the popular periodical *Good Words* and his renown as a preacher – including the respect of Queen Victoria – brought him a reputation unknown in the Established Church since the time of Thomas Chalmers. A.H. Charteris also led the national Church's institutional expansion and innovation. The magazine, *Life and Work,* that Charteris founded in 1879 helped to defend the Church during the disestablishment agitation. In sum, the Established evangelicals from 1843 to 1900 were committed to the idea that the Church of Scotland should – and could – provide for the religious wants of every member of the growing population.

In this context of Church recovery and national religion, two themes predominated: the parish ideal and the role of the laity. Thomas Chalmers' vision of a national territorial parish system for the Church of Scotland survived his departure in 1843 and guided such architects of Church recovery as James Robertson of the Endowment Scheme and A. L. Simpson of the Home Mission. Norman MacLeod revived Chalmers' urban parish system in Glasgow. Charteris likewise approached his work with the Tolbooth Parish in Edinburgh from a similar territorial framework.

Along with the parish ideal, the emphasis on lay participation played a significant role in the recovery and revival of the Establishment. Following the Disruption, the men and women in the pews took increased responsibility for the future of their Church. Chapter Two described the proliferation of lay societies that worked to raise funds and promote Church missions, such as education in the Highlands and Islands and female education in India. Chapters Five and Six argued that Charteris and the Life and Work Committee harnessed the power of lay activism through the creation of the Young Men's Guild, Woman's Guild, and Order of Deaconesses. The democratization of evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland between 1843 and 1900 – particularly in the later decades – provided the national Church with an army of volunteers and missionaries to support the work of parish ministry, urban outreach, and foreign missions.

While the Established evangelicals contributed greatly to the recovery of the Church of Scotland, they were not without faults or weaknesses. For all their moral strength, they were also complicit in perpetuating anti-Catholicism at home and British Colonialism abroad. For example, while the schools established by the Scots missionaries in India laid the foundations for a post-colonial education system, they nevertheless sought to westernize the young Indian elite to suit the social and economic agenda of the British Empire. Alongside that, their Hinduism was often treated by the Scottish evangelicals as nothing more than a backwards superstition, rather than a robust and ancient world religion. The evangelical soteriological emphasis on personal salvation also informed an individualist ideology of social welfare that delayed systemic reforms to alleviate urban poverty in Scotland. More progressive ministers and Church leaders like Robert Flint and Donald MacLeod –

not the evangelicals – led the charge in developing a critical, modern social theology in the later decades of the nineteenth century.

The Established evangelicals were also not particularly original systematic theologians, and their emphasis on personal salvation and lengthy biblical preaching hindered the development of an anchored ecclesiology in an era of social and ideological drift. While Muir, MacLeod, and Charteris were all intelligent men, their contributions to nineteenth-century Scottish Christian thought were mostly reactionary, adaptive, or derivative. The substantive, innovative theology of Victorian Scotland was largely written by creative liberals like John Tulloch, Flint, and John Caird. In terms of ecclesiology, the Church of Scotland evangelicals' focus on personal piety and the centrality of Scripture outweighed the desire for ancient, corporate rootedness and dynamic, sensory worship that gave strength to the contemporaneous high church movements in England and Scotland. Unlike the Anglo-Catholics, for example, the evangelicals privileged the Nicene language of Christ's work "for us and for our salvation" over the "one holy catholic and apostolic church." While a number of the evangelicals were open to liturgical reform, the sermon remained central to evangelical worship and drove some – particularly the middle and upper classes – to attend services in churches with a greater and more aesthetically rich variety of sights, sounds, and smells. In sum, the evangelicals lacked the theological and social vision of the Church of Scotland's liberal wing and the ecclesiological and liturgical appeal of the high church movement.

Evangelicalism after 1843, as the thesis has shown, remained a coherent and dynamic movement in the Established Church of Scotland up to the turn of the twentieth century. At both the local and national levels, the pastoral work and ecclesiastical leadership of key evangelical figures, and especially their effective use of the popular press, contributed to the gradual recovery of numbers of adherents, the institutional revival, and the national leadership of the Auld Kirk. Certain chapters have highlighted the ways in which the Romantic cultural mood infused the theology and devotion of the Established evangelicals with dogmatic breadth and spiritual sublimity. Others have emphasized the manner in which the evangelical commitment to home and foreign missions, devoted parish ministry, and lay participation strengthened the national Church, during both the initial era of recovery from the Disruption and amid later threats to the very existence of the Establishment. In doing so, this thesis provides an original, critical, and modern treatment of evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland between 1843 and 1900. It also provides a complement to existing studies of contemporary Scottish evangelicalism in its various unestablished and non-Presbyterian contexts.

Finally, it is hoped that the thesis will prove valuable for future scholarship. Two key areas needing further research might be briefly highlighted. First, more work is needed to situate nineteenth-century Scottish evangelicalism in its transatlantic and global contexts. Pan-Presbyterianism, ecumenism, and the impact of global missions are all promising fields of study. Second, the impact of Keswick teaching on late-nineteenth-century Scottish evangelicalism beyond the Church of Scotland has thus far been underappreciated and received little in the way of critical assessment. How broadly disseminated and widely practiced were the ideas and methods of the holiness movement in Scotland? This question deserves serious attention.

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