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Religion and the development of an urban society:
Glasgow 1780-1914.

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Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Glasgow
August 1981

Volume One

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Abbreviations

E.C.S.P.G.	Established Church of Scotland Presbytery of Glasgow
E.U.	Evangelical Union (Church)
F.C.P.G.	Free Church Presbytery of Glasgow
G.S.B.	Glasgow School Board
G.S.S.U.	Glasgow Sabbath School Union
G.T.C.	Glasgow Town Council
G.U.A.	Glasgow University Archive
G.U.E.A.	Glasgow United Evangelistic Association
G.U.L.	Glasgow University Library
G.U.T.C.	Glasgow United Trades Council
N.L.S.	National Library of Scotland
O.S.I.	Old Scots Independents
<u>P.G.A.C.S.</u>	<u>Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland</u>
<u>P.G.A.F.C.</u>	<u>Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church</u>
<u>P.G.A.U.F.C.</u>	<u>Proceedings of the General Assembly of the United Free Church</u>
<u>PF</u>	<u>Parliamentary Papers</u>
<u>P.S.U.P.C.</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church</u>
R.C.	Roman Catholic (Church)
Ref. Presb.	Reformed Presbyterian (Church)
<u>R.S.C.H.S.</u>	<u>Records of the Scottish Church History Society</u>
S.C.S.U.	Scottish Christian Social Union
S.C.W.T.	Scottish Council for Women's Trades
S.E.D.	Scotch (Scottish) Education Department
S.P.G.H.	Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home
S.R.A.	Strathclyde Regional Archive
S.R.O.	Scottish Record Office
S.T.L.	Scottish Temperance League
U.F.	United Free (Church)
U.F.C.P.G.	United Free Church Presbytery of Glasgow
U.P.	United Presbyterian (Church)
U.P.C.P.G.	United Presbyterian Church Presbytery of Glasgow

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Religion and the development of an urban society:
Glasgow 1780-1914.

Summary

Historians' investigations of the social history of religion in modern industrial society have tended to view religion pragmatically: religion as a church or as the churches, as a factor in education, social movements and local government, and as a means for expressing social divisions. Sociologists have tended to dominate in the construction of "overviews" of the social history of religion. This study seeks to contribute to the historiography of modern religion and, in particular, secularisation.

The sociological tradition in the study of modern religion has emphasised the interaction between industrialisation and secularisation. Secularisation has been seen variously as a contributory cause and as an effect of "modernisation", as an inevitable consequence of the development of modern western society, and as a latent influence transmitted by "carriers" in Christian society. The present study tries to reduce secularisation to a workable historical concept. It is defined as a decline in the social significance of religion, as an historical process (as distinct from an "influence") and as a measurable phenomenon. Changes in the social significance of religion in one large industrial city, Glasgow, are measured from the commencement of the Industrial Revolution until the outbreak of the First World War. Various means of measurement are used: changes in church typology, quantitative evidence of religious adherence, recognition of and submission to religious imperatives of behaviour, and religious influence in "secular" organisations, social policy and popular philosophy. The investigation points to the relative importance of each indicator in the measurement of secularisation.

The study describes the adaptation of religion to modern urban society in terms of the development of evangelicalism. Evangelicalism is viewed as a framework of response to urbanisation, providing a (changing) ethical and behavioural code for the new urban middle classes and, most importantly, the

basis for the evolution of urban social policy. As the cities grew in importance within the country at large, these provisions attained a significance beyond the confines of urban society itself. The framework was pioneered by the evangelical Protestants; in response, the church structure changed to allow them freedom from ecclesiastical restrictions. However, the framework - though not the entire social theology of evangelicalism - was adopted by all the major and most of the minor churches. In this way, evangelism became ubiquitous within nineteenth-century urban religion.

The study identifies evangelical social policy as being of great importance to the overall investigation. Evangelical social policy placed emphasis on the identification of obstacles to the salvation of the individual, and on the development of agencies to overcome these obstacles. The problems identified included insufficient religious resources (leading to church extension) and inappropriate agencies (the charity schools giving way to the Sunday and mission schools). As a result of the continuous process of evangelical innovation and some ecclesiastical opposition to it, there emerged a tradition of mounting evangelical agencies in religious voluntary organisations; for example, temperance and teetotal societies, city missions and evangelistic associations. However, evangelical social theology also called upon public authorities to assist, where appropriate, in the removal of obstacles to salvation. The municipal authorities were persuaded by evangelicals to commence civic improvements - such as improving water supplies, disseminating sanitary advice and undertaking slum-clearance. By the mid-nineteenth century, evangelicals had become self-confident about their role in social reform. With changing leisure habits and the dissemination of Darwinist and secularist ideas in the early 1870s, evangelicals considered that renewed emphasis should be placed on the "religious" means of social reform. As a result, evangelicalism changed to a form which laid stress on religious revivalism and total abstinence from alcohol as means to convert the individual. The evangelical social theology was thereby weakened. With the wider acceptance of those counter-religious ideas, the greater availability of "secular" leisure, and the rise of the labour movement and collectivist social reform between 1890 and 1914, the evangelical

framework disintegrated. Church growth fell sharply, and lay assistance in and membership of religious voluntary organisations entered a period of uninterrupted decline. A small group of clergy and laity sought to sustain the social significance of religion through this crisis by combining evangelical enthusiasm with non-political Christian-socialist action in social-policy formation. However, this movement never enjoyed great active support, and the evangelical tradition of influential social action decayed.

In meeting the challenge of social change, the evangelicals viewed their task as being essentially one of action. Virtually abandoning theological debate, they sought to adjust religious agencies to the organisational needs of the industrial city. In this venture, they were remarkably successful. Evidence given in the study shows that religious adherence continued to grow until the 1880s and that religious influence in public administration was maintained until the 1890s. The crisis for religion did not develop from changing social structure nor from industrialisation, but from the secularisation of social prophecy. Therefore, it is argued that secularisation was not a concomitant of industrial urbanisation.

In studying religion in modern society, the thesis proposes that investigation should be undertaken of the different means by which the social significance of religion can be expressed. Separate studies of church typology, quantitative data and religious influence in various social movements and government are insufficient to an understanding of overall religious change. Although the relative importance of each aspect may vary according to historical context, it is tentatively suggested that the changing role of organised religion in social prophecy and all that implies may be a vital aspect of secularisation.

Chapter 1

Introduction

"The growth of cities ... has been the main cause of the decline of ecclesiastical power; and the fact that, until the eighteenth century, Scotland had nothing worthy of being called a city, is one of many circumstances which explain the prevalence of Scotch superstition, and the inordinate influence of the Scotch clergy." Henry Buckle¹

One of the most noted features of industrial societies has been the decline of religious observance and of religious influence in civil affairs. The decline has been most noticeable in the cities of the advanced industrial nations. Whilst the decline of religious influence has been fairly general, the pattern of decline has not been uniform in all industrial nations nor in all cities. Secularisation has taken different forms, and has occurred at different stages of social and economic development. Class, ethnic and cultural factors have affected the course of religious decline, and have produced inter alia different denominational experiences of falling adherence. Despite such differences, and despite periodic religious revivals, the development of urban and industrial societies has seriously disturbed the operation of organised religion and, in most cases, has led to declining church adherence and religious influence in society at large.

The nature of secularisation is as yet far from clearly understood. The exact meaning and utility of the term "secularisation"

is itself open to question, and this will be considered later.² The study of declining religious influence in British industrial society has proceeded in a variety of ways, examining, for example, levels of church adherence, changes in denominational arrangements, and the decline of religious authority at an ideological level. One of the most fruitful types of investigation has been the local study, in which the influence of religion in the social life, popular culture and government of a city or district has illuminated the complexity of religion as a social phenomenon.³ Such studies tend to cover only a small time-span and, as a result, rarely provide a perspective of religious development over a substantial period of social and economic change. Studies that examine a longer span of time tend also to cover a larger geographical area, such as England, Scotland or Great Britain, and, perforce, cannot describe the range and complexity of religious influence in social life.⁴ The study of special themes and institutions yields valuable information, but this provides only sectorial impressions of religious influence: for example, studies of churches, education and religious voluntary organisations.⁵ The method of investigation can affect quite seriously both the definition and perceived pattern of secularisation. No single approach is entirely satisfactory.

The present study combines some aspects of the approaches described in the preceding paragraph in an investigation of the nature and timing of secularisation in the city of Glasgow between 1780 and 1914. To this end, examination is made of the effect of urban development on religious thought and institutions, of the changing nature of the relationships between religious and non-religious institutions, and of the comparative impact of religious and non-religious thought on popular ideology and social policy.

Although the object of study is Glasgow, the progress of the city's civil life is seen in the context of Scottish and, where applicable, British development.

(a) Glasgow and Scotland as area of study.

Glasgow has certain features making it particularly suitable for the present investigation. In the first place, the city is located in a country with distinctive and indigenous civil institutions: notably the churches, the educational system and the legal system. Although there were strong political and economic connections with the rest of Britain after the Act of Union of 1707, the Scottish religious structure retained an independence of development not found in Ireland, Wales or the regions of England. Scotland developed a unique religious complexion after the Reformation of the sixteenth century, creating a religious system that has been, in the main, self-contained and self-perpetuating within a larger nation state. Even when large-scale immigration from Ireland in the nineteenth century created a significant Roman Catholic community in Scotland, the Roman Catholic Church in the country was not incorporated in the Church's hierarchy in England and Wales.⁶ Although the country's religious character requires careful description, its independent development into the industrial period within a relatively small geographical area provides a convenient unit for studying the national as well as local responses of the churches to urbanisation.

A second advantageous feature was the enlarged role of religion in social development in Scotland in comparison to England

and many other western nations. After 1707, Scotland's religious system existed in a country where political power was centralised outwith its borders in a distant capital - London. The focus of governmental and legislative power was so far removed in geographical terms, and subject to powerful alien religious forces (Anglicanism and the various elements of English nonconformism), that the political pretensions of Scottish religious organisations were played out largely in a dimension devoid of effective national legislative influence. The Scottish religious system, and attendant agencies such as the education and poor-relief systems, survived largely unscathed the political unification of the British mainland in the early eighteenth century. As Scottish national identity was deprived of a political focus, and as presbyterianism was an important element in that identity, compensatory national foci were cultivated by the churches on their own and, to a great extent, the nation's behalf. The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the established presbyterian church of the country, and the equivalent assemblies of the nineteenth-century dissenting presbyterian churches, became national institutions whose importance in debating and arriving at consensuses on political and social issues transcended mere religious controversy. At another level, the burgh - a Scottish institution with a mediaeval pedigree - became an important unit of government and a focus for the quasi-political pretensions of religious organisations. The Established Church was an official adviser to the burghs on social and religious matters, and provided administrative assistance in certain capacities. In return, the burghs owned and managed many of the state churches within their bounds.⁷ More generally, the democratic or ostensibly democratic hierarchy of governmental courts within the presbyterian

churches gave a major degree of devolved authority to local church courts, permitting the burgh to become a focus for ecclesiastical attempts to influence and regulate social life. Whilst the influence of the Scottish churches on the Westminster parliament was relatively weak, the national church assemblies were of great importance to public and voluntary organisations as venues where social-policy matters could be considered. Similarly, the burgh, encompassed by convenient units of ecclesiastical government (the presbytery and the archbishopric), became of increasing importance throughout the urban development of Glasgow as the unit in which religious policies on social reform were implemented. The advantage to the present study is that issues of controversy and social-policy implementation tended to be focused in the city and the national assemblies of the churches.

Glasgow has one further advantage for the purposes of the present study. That city was of central importance to the economic development of Scotland after 1700. Until the Act of Union of 1707, Scotland had been a backward economy compared to most countries in western Europe. There were few towns of any substantial size - the largest being Edinburgh - and over half of the nation's population lived in a kin-based, clan society in the Highlands and Islands of the Scottish north and north-west. The Union created the opportunity for Scottish trade with British colonies, and Glasgow and other towns on the river Clyde developed as ports for the importation of tobacco, sugar and other goods from the New World. By the 1780s, this mainly entrepot trade was overtaken by the importation of American cotton, and cotton factories developed in various parts of central Scotland with Glasgow as the main commercial and manufacturing centre. Thereafter, Glasgow led the self-sustained growth of the

Scottish economy to which a wide variety of industries contributed. After 1850, there was a rapid development of heavy industry - especially engineering and shipbuilding - centred on the upper reaches of the Clyde at Glasgow but encouraging extractive and other industries throughout central Scotland. Between 1875 and 1914, "a period of cumulative and self-reinforcing growth"⁸ turned Glasgow into the second city of the British Empire in terms of population and economic importance. After the First World War, accumulating economic problems - especially the collapse of world trade in the 1930s and the declining British share of world shipbuilding after 1945 - led to a prolonged decline in the heavy industrial base of the city's, and much of Scotland's, economy. Throughout the economic development of Scotland after 1750, Glasgow was the symbol of industrialisation and of the social changes consequent upon it. In 1707, the city's population stood at under 13,000. By 1821, it overtook Edinburgh in size, and by 1911 Glasgow's population of one million exceeded the aggregate population of the next five largest cities (Edinburgh and Leith, Dundee, Aberdeen, Paisley and Greenock).⁹ Consequently, the city of Glasgow is crucial to studying the impact of urbanisation on the Scottish religious system. In few other countries did any one city affect so greatly the outlook and distribution of resources of "national" churches. In the Scottish churches as in other spheres of civil life, Glasgow became synonymous with industrialisation and urbanisation. Ecclesiastical responses to the development of Scottish urban society were increasingly drawn from Glasgow's experience as the industrial revolution proceeded. In the city of Glasgow, therefore, the progress of religious development and secularisation can be illuminated not only by local reactions but

also by the national responses to the growth of a city that so acutely affected the social and economic life of the country.

(b) The social significance of religion.

The social significance of religion¹⁰ may be broken down into four areas: (i) religious belief, (ii) submission to religious imperatives of social and economic behaviour, (iii) religious organisation and (iv) religious influence on non-religious institutions. This section shows how these areas may be used in describing the nature of secularisation.

(i) Arguably, religious belief has little or no social significance unless it is manifest in the other three areas. Nonetheless, belief is an ostensible reason for the formation of churches and for the application of religious tenets to the formulation of civil laws and moral values. Religious belief must be considered as the base of religious activity. However, the extent and intensity of belief is virtually unquantifiable. Even if empirical data (such as public opinion surveys) were available to the historian of nineteenth-century Britain, such information would be of dubious value. In any event, questions relating to the nature of belief, or of religion, are not of concern here. For the purposes of the present study, it is assumed that religious belief has only potential social significance, and that that potential is only realised in the other spheres discussed below. However, belief is not regarded as the sole or dominant factor affecting the social significance of religion as a whole. It is accepted that certain variables beyond personal

belief affect people's religious activities, and that the propensity to adopt religious beliefs is affected by economic and social factors and by exposure to religious or counter-religious world views.¹¹

(ii) The potential social significance of religion derived from belief, if realised, is most immediately apparent in submission to religious imperatives of economic and social behaviour. In this sphere, it is possible to reach some conclusions about the overall importance of religion in social life. In large part, the submission to religious imperatives becomes manifest in religious organisation and religious influence on non-religious institutions. But whilst this sphere may overlap with spheres (iii) and (iv), it is worthwhile to retain it. The measurement of the social significance of religion in the sphere of religious organisation implies quantification of church members and church goers, and thus the estimation of formal religious adherence in the population at large. Similarly, the measurement of the social significance of religion in affecting non-religious institutions implies an (albeit qualitative) assessment of the pragmatic influence of the churches, or of religious doctrines or imperatives, on specific institutions (such as government, the law and the educational system). In a more general sense, submission to religious imperatives of social and economic behaviour can be used as a measurement of religion in popular ideology. Such submission could pertain independent of religious belief, religious organisation or religious influence on civil institutions. For example, the majority of the industrial working classes of nineteenth-century Britain did not attend church and many did not

profess religious belief. Nonetheless, their lives were affected by religion in a number of ways. Children in schools would find that the bible was the principal reading text. The Sabbath was a non-working day, and certain pastimes were prohibited on that day in various parts of the country. For many non-church goers, social custom dictated the necessity for baptism, religious marriage and burial in consecrated ground. More broadly, religion was a part, and an important part, of the dominant ideology of Victorian Britain, providing a world view that impinged on church goers and non-church goers alike. The churches, operating through civil institutions influenced by them, had far-reaching pretensions to influence social affairs. Religious criteria were widely applied to the conduct of private life, encouraging such things as temperance in (or total abstinence from) the consumption of alcoholic beverages, thrift and hard work. Even if these religious imperatives were widely broken, they were recognised to be three of a large number of imperatives derived from the prevailing world view. The non-acceptance by major sections of society of religious elements of the world view did not mean that the world view was not accepted as a whole. Religion dominated as a structure of interpretive thought, and religious imperatives provided the structure of idealised behaviour. Consequently, a factor in the declining social significance of religion is the readjustment or replacement of the religious world view. This becomes relevant in the later period of the present study.

(iii) Participation in the activities of churches and religious voluntary organisations is the most important source of quantitative data on the social significance of religion. Declining church

adherence is often referred to as evidence of secularisation. Statistics on church attendance, church membership and membership of religious voluntary organisations are presented in this study. However, such information must not be seen in isolation. The emptying of churches is not the only form that secularisation has taken; the social significance of religion can decline whilst church going increases.¹² Furthermore, participation in organised religious activities may decline without affecting other features of religion's social significance. Popular dissatisfaction with the churches must be distinguished from dissatisfaction with religion, although there is clearly an interaction between them. Conversely, the churches' influence on social affairs in Victorian Britain was clearly vulnerable to political or ideological change. In such circumstances, religious influence in spheres (ii) and (iv) could decline as a competing world view emerged to leave untouched the social significance of religion as registered in sphere (iii). Other permutations are possible. The point to make here is that church adherence is only one variable contributing to the social significance of religion.

Sociologists of religion have developed systems of classification of religious groups in order to describe religious change. Although the systems and the classifications vary in detail, there is a broad acceptance of the following three-fold typology: the church (in its universal form claiming monopolistic control of church membership and far-reaching control of many civil institutions, and in its less powerful ecclesia mode exerting control over society in alliance with social and political elites); the denomination (socially integrative, but operating in a competing market with other denominations and, possibly, other non-religious activities); and the sect (socially exclusive,

withdrawing religious influence from "secular" society).¹³ Along with this typology, three main forms of change in religious organisation have been adduced: ecumenism (the unification of churches towards the universal church type); denominationalism (the multiplication of churches competing for adherents); and sectarianism (the **formation** of introspective religious groups).¹⁴ To illustrate briefly the typology and associated forms of change, the Roman Catholic Church in pre-Reformation England may be regarded as having been a close approximation to a universal church. In the sixteenth century, the Church of England started to develop as an ecclesia type whilst dissenting Protestant sects emerged. From the late seventeenth century, the ecclesia character of the Anglican Church suffered gradual erosion as religious voluntarism encouraged existing and new sects to expand. By 1830, sectarianism had given way to denominationalism as the Methodists, Congregationalists and others developed as socially-integrative and competing denominations. At the same time, the Church of England retained many of the characteristics of the church type (established status, and theological and ritualistic continuity with its monopolistic past) but de facto had become one of a number of denominations competing for adherents.¹⁵ Nonetheless, the Church of England continued to retain ecclesia characteristics into the twentieth century despite the initiation of negotiations for ecumenic union with a number of denominations.

There is a tendency for this form of analysis to become a mechanistic model of ecclesiastical change. Nevertheless, it does serve as a useful tool in comparing the develop-

ment of different religious groups and religious development in different countries. For this reason, this approach will be used later in relation to the development of the Scottish ecclesiastical structure.¹⁶ It is worth noting here that this approach should not be limited to churches, denominations and sects, but should be applied also to religious voluntary organisations whose rapid growth in Britain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries can be seen as a concomitant of religious pluralism or denominationalism. A major part of this study is concerned with the growth of religious voluntary organisations as a response to urbanisation, and the crisis that affected them in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries will be interpreted as an important feature of the declining social significance of religion.

(iv) The last area is that of religious influence on non-religious institutions. There are great difficulties involved in isolating the different mechanisms by which religious and other influences were exerted in urban society. This is not just because of the multiplicity of institutions to be considered. Influence can work in various ways. Firstly, it can operate by the overt application of pressure by one organisation on another. This frequently requires the presence in the second organisation of members sympathetic to the views and aims of the first. Secondly, influence can be exerted by cross-membership of organisations. In Victorian Britain, religious influence was not only in the form of formal petitions or memorials between organisations. Equally important was the religious disposition of members of non-religious organisations.

Adherence to a church, and observance of certain religious practices, was vital for membership of many public and voluntary institutions. For influential figures in the Scottish presbyterian churches, who had pretensions to regulate everything from the education system to the railway timetable, having church members in high places was essential. The present study examines such influence on a number of organisations - notably the town council and school board of Glasgow. This will show the areas of social and political affairs where there was "a religious interest", and give some impression of the success achieved in pressing religious policies. The obverse is the degree to which ecclesiastical matters became of concern to non-religious institutions. In an age of denominational rivalry, outside institutions were liable to reciprocate ecclesiastical interference. Disputation between "secular" organisations on religious matters provides some comment on the nature of "religious" society. In terms of this sphere of the social significance of religion, secularisation will take the form of a withdrawal of religious influence on non-religious institutions. Urbanisation inspired by industrialisation obviously disrupted the pattern of religious influence on institutions of social welfare (for instance, the parish-school system, the poor law and the judicial power of church courts) that had been developed in and for an agrarian society. However, this study considers whether religious influence was displaced by the development of an industrial society alone, or whether the emergence of an alternative "world view" (as discussed in (ii) above) was the crucial turning point in secularisation.

- (c) The churches and urbanisation in Glasgow: introductory comments.

The starting point for this study is 1780. No particular significance is attached to that year, but it comes at an important point in the economic and social development of Glasgow and of Scotland. Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations had been published four years before, marking an important stage in the progress of economic theory. Despite that book's influence on later generations of British and foreign entrepreneurs, it neither fomented the economic changes of the eighteenth century nor radically altered their speed or course; the book merely gave theoretical explanation and justification to economic changes already under way. Previous generations of Scottish historians attached symbolic importance to the founding of the Carron iron works in Falkirk in 1759,¹⁷ but neither that foundry nor the iron industry was of fundamental importance to the course that industrial revolution was taking in Scotland in the second half of the eighteenth century; iron was the industry of the nineteenth century. More significant for the initial stages of Scottish industrialisation, and for its social consequences, was the dramatic rise of the cotton industry in Glasgow and the west of Scotland in the 1780s.¹⁸ It was to the social changes caused principally by the opening of cotton factories in that decade that Glasgow churchmen responded. The expansion of population and the geographical expansion of the city at that time created a need for more churches. The employment of children in the rising industries created a need for not only more educational facilities but for

facilities adapted to the work patterns demanded by industrial capitalism. The poor relief system, administered jointly by the town council and the Established Church of Scotland, became strained by the influx of people from the countryside and from Ireland who sought work. It was not only the churches that reacted to changing circumstances in the 1780s. The town council, responding to requests from clergymen and incredulous inhabitants, took action in relation to smoke pollution, lawlessness, child vagrancy and the deteriorating condition of the city's streets. The civil and ecclesiastical establishments of the city recognised that the changes of the 1780s were important. Although they may not have appreciated the long-term implications, that decade marks the start of a continuous development in establishment responses to urban and industrial growth.

Whilst the creation of a new economic order in the late eighteenth century elicited from the churches specifically urban solutions to new social needs, religious thought and organisation drew on a long heritage. Glasgow's population was expanding rapidly and its economic and social life changing dramatically within a country where the majority of the population lived in rural areas and derived their livelihood from the land. Civil and ecclesiastical institutions were based on an agrarian and not an industrial society. Insofar that the national churches were closely tied to agricultural society for income, political support and for the majority of their adherents, the churches in Glasgow had to institute change whilst adhering to the traditions of Scottish ecclesiastical practice. Problems arose, for instance, when the erection of new city churches seemed likely to subvert the ecclesiastical patronage of the landed gentry. In the same way, innovations

in divine service (such as the introduction of hymns, organs and altered communion arrangements) were matters of some controversy. The greatest changes were possible, and apparent, in the periphery functions that had been traditionally undertaken by the churches, and in the creation of new functions. It was already well established in eighteenth-century Scotland that the Established Church had certain social-service functions and duties: largely of educating children and caring for social casualties. However, the social-service role of the church had evolved in an agrarian society in which social and economic change was slow and imperceptible. Urbanisation presented a challenge of unusual magnitude, and one to which the churches had to respond - as near as possible - along lines of ecclesiastical practice evolved since the Reformation.

The interventionist role of the churches in social affairs was well established by the eighteenth century. The problems posed by urban growth merely created a greater necessity for social action and administration - whether by town councils, churches or other institutions. The churches, in maintaining to be institutions of the people, were forced to increase their interventionist role with an urgency not felt by other organisations. The churches were unique for the extent and intensity of their community functions, and were correspondingly sensitive to circumstances that might undermine their position. The growth of cities created immediate problems of insufficient resources to minister to the needs of the people. The social problems thrown up by urbanisation - problems such as poverty, bad housing, illiteracy and irreligion - affected the churches' work, impinged on their declared and accepted social

responsibilities, and threatened their authority amongst the people. Consequently, the churches became the leading instigators of social action in the industrial city of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

(d) Evangelicalism as a framework of response to urbanisation.

One strand of religious thought and action acted as a "leading sector" in the ecclesiastical community's response to urbanisation. Evangelicalism, created as a movement out of faction fighting in the Established Church of Scotland in the second half of the eighteenth century, emerged in the nineteenth century as a diffuse yet powerful force that transcended denominational divisions. Its denunciation of secular "reason" in favour of spiritual salvation and evangelism made it popular with those social groups and clergymen who were forced to, or wished to, combat the apparent moral and spiritual decay induced by urbanisation. It provided the theological justification for the apparatus of evangelism: mission halls, Sunday schools, mutual improvement societies and the like. Evangelicalism was not merely a religious movement. It became the foundation of religiously-motivated social action in Glasgow and most British cities in the nineteenth century.- a ruling ethos affecting all civil institutions to greater or lesser extents. It was not a static movement nor a static theology. Profound changes occurred between 1780 and 1914, and different branches emerged as the techniques of social and religious action changed. Its most important theological doctrines were those of universal

atonement and universal salvation - the idea that Christ's death atoned for the sins of all people and that every person could attain "salvation" (and admission to heaven) by his or her own efforts on earth.¹⁹ The evangelical movement, consequently, was concerned to permit individuals to seek and attain salvation. To this end, the movement's progress in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was dominated by the pragmatic identification of social and economic constraints on people's ability or willingness to seek salvation. Throughout the period, new constraints were being identified and remedial social action instigated. The identified constraints included, in rough chronological order, illiteracy (inability to read the bible), shortage of church accommodation (inability to worship, receive communion and clerical instruction), drunkenness, poverty (amongst other things, preventing people from attending church because of unsuitable clothes) and overcrowded houses (causing moral depravity). As new constraints were recognised, so the evangelical movement became more diverse and subject to internal strains. Evangelicalism became a framework for responses to the development of an urban society, with the movement developing as a milieu in which ideas for the improvement of society could be discussed. In Glasgow as in many cities in Britain and in the United States, evangelicalism was central to the processes by which religious thought and organisation adapted to urban society.

The main strength of evangelicalism was that it inspired action. It had the ability to counteract the problems of organisation, finance and manpower that the churches faced with the growth of urban society. In Glasgow, as in most industrial cities of the nineteenth century, population growth was mainly

sustained by migration from rural areas - in Glasgow's case from counties in west central Scotland, the Highlands and Islands of north and north-west Scotland, and from Ireland. Although many migrants had had links with organised religion in their places of origin, there was a strong tendency for them to forego links with city churches. In rural areas in the eighteenth century, organised religion was part of the social fabric. Even for those who neglected religious ordinances, the churches were instruments of civil and social authority. Additionally, there was a recognition that even if some country people were dilatory in attending church, they had nonetheless a residual respect for religion. In such circumstances where the local church was the fulcrum of agricultural communities, evangelicalism was considered less vital or appropriate as a response to irreligion. By contrast, the churches in the expanding industrial communities were much less a part of the social fabric. The non-church goers in towns, whilst not necessarily less numerous per capita than in country areas, were a more anonymous group. The rapidity of population growth and social change in cities in the late eighteenth century created or intensified a situation in which the churches' residual influence amongst the non-church goers deteriorated swiftly. Consequently, evangelism became particularly associated with urban areas because irreligion was manifest in the diminished authority of the churches amongst the non-church going, and not because irreligion was necessarily worse in terms of church adherence. In this sense, evangelicalism sought to create as well as satisfy the religious demands of the urban population. Furthermore, rather than seeking to increase the level of church going, the most immediate aim of

the evangelical movement was the expansion of the religious constituency from which church recruitment could be undertaken.²⁰ The use of aggressive techniques of house-to-house and street evangelism, Sunday schools and mission halls should be seen in this light. As the cities grew in the nineteenth century, and as the identified constraints on salvation became more numerous and sub-divided, so evangelical organisations became increasingly refined into age-specific, family-role-specific and social-class-specific types. The essence of the evangelical response to urbanisation was the creation and continual renewal of organisations geared to extending the churches' "outreach" amongst the alienated groups of non-church goers.

One of the strengths of the evangelical movement was its inter-denominational character. However, this was also a point of weakness. As evangelicals identified new constraints on salvation, each church had to consider the doctrinal implications of implementing the appropriate remedies. Different conclusions were often reached by churches or sections of churches, leading to divisions in evangelical ranks and to secessions from churches. In this way, the evangelical response to urbanisation may have assisted in the denominationalisation of nineteenth-century Protestantism. Similarly, the decline of evangelicalism may have been associated with the advance of ecumenism. Conversely, denominationalisation may have encouraged the development of different branches of evangelicalism. The exact nature of the interaction between the growth of evangelicalism and religious pluralism is not entirely clear. Principally, the importance of the developing industrial class structure in Britain around 1800 on the process of

denominationalism is as yet not fully understood.²¹

The development of religious voluntary organisations is one of the most important features of organised religion in modern urban society. It has been suggested that there may be common social and economic contexts for all voluntary organisations. Consequently, religious and non-religious voluntary organisations may find stages of social development in which they are faced with common opportunities and problems, and may compete for the attention and participation of the population.²² Similarly, it is suggested here that because the first major sector of voluntary organisation - the religious sector - was created by the evangelical movement, and because the organisations in that sector were directly or indirectly concerned with the treatment of social problems, evangelicalism encouraged the voluntary and ad hoc approach to social and civil administration. Furthermore, it is suggested that this linkage may have been independent of the influence of the doctrine, notion or spirit of laissez faire, or opposition to state intervention, in economic and social affairs. In part, this may account for the development of ad hoc social action by the state (for example school boards, quasi-official distress and sanitary committees in which evangelicals were prominent) and for the progression to municipal socialism - developments particularly associated with cities like Birmingham in the 1870s and Glasgow in the 1840s and 1890s where evangelical Liberals were powerful.

In addition, the influence of evangelicalism within the ecclesiastical system extended beyond the "evangelical churches" as they are conventionally identified. All the

Protestant churches in Britain and the United States developed elements of the evangelical movement in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. Whether or not every Protestant church was formally associated with the movement, and whether or not every Protestant church accepted the doctrine of universal atonement, evangelical forms of response to urban growth were almost universally adopted in the community of Protestant churches. Implicitly or explicitly, sooner or later, all the reformed churches resorted to the evangelical approach to urban operation; this was particularly apparent in the widespread use of religious voluntary organisations. Furthermore, the evangelical framework of response to urbanisation - though not necessarily every element of it - was adopted by many non-Protestant churches. This is most noticeable in Glasgow as in many other large cities with the Roman Catholic Church. The pastoral organisation of the Catholic Church adapted to urban society in much the same way as the Protestant churches: by the identification of constraints (such as intemperance) on religiosity and the creation of counteracting voluntary and other agencies (such as the League of the Cross). The operational agencies and "practical" or "social" theology of churches with diverse theological, sociological and ethnic characteristics experienced common problems in the urban context. With the same or similar circumstances, churches tended to gravitate towards a common social theology and common modes of operation. And the pioneers in the continuous development of that social theology and operational agencies were the evangelicals of the Protestant churches.

Evangelicalism as a framework of response to urbanisation

was essentially a system for adapting the operational modes of organised religion to changed and changing social circumstances. Through the adoption of the doctrine of universal atonement, evangelicals sought to perpetuate religious influence in society and not to alter radically popular perceptions of the Christian world view. As already discussed, the question whether secularisation was advanced principally by the failure of the (evangelical) organisational response to urbanisation or by the independent collapse of the world view that evangelicals sought to maintain is central to this study.

(e) Conclusion.

This study is somewhat broad in its approach. The relationship between the development of an industrial society and organised religion is complex. The social significance of religion is manifest in a variety of forms and this study investigates some of these. Whilst it is hoped that the study retains an homogeneity, it is not asserted that the study is "complete". Certain aspects relevant to the social role of religion have been omitted. A study of women in religious organisations and biographical analyses providing data on the religious affiliations of members of public institutions, labour organisations and commercial companies would have enhanced certain parts of the investigation. A more problematic omission is a reassessment of the approach implied by the term "the social significance of religion". Reference is made to the possibility of examining the economic significance of religion in terms of ecclesiastical links with agriculture,

commerce and manufacturing.²³

As well as the thematic breadth of the study, the time period examined is longer than is usual in this kind of exercise. Whilst this may lead to a lack of empirical detail in certain areas, the intention has been to investigate selected features of religion in Glasgow between 1780 and 1914 to show the principal trends of change. In certain respects, the investigation combines the survey and case-study approaches. By examining one urban society over a long period, the trends or kinds of trends that affected organised religion in Britain during the course of industrialisation are drawn out.

Although the area of investigation is a city, the study is not intended to be solely a contribution to urban history. Urban-rural dichotomies in respect of economic, social and religious developments are mentioned at various points, but the effects of urbanisation were apparent beyond the boundaries of towns and cities. National institutions - such as social welfare, education and the churches - changed primarily in response to urban needs, and those changes affected rural as well as urban areas. The trends of modern social development may have originated in towns, but they did not remain peculiar to them. Furthermore, inasmuch that more than half of the total population of Britain lived in towns by 1851,²⁴ British society had become predominantly urban. The study of urban history in nineteenth-century Britain is merely an approach to the study of the social history of the country as a whole. Equally, the attempt to meet the want of a "real study of the [religious] situation" in an important period of the social history of Glasgow²⁵ does not limit the value

of any conclusions drawn to that city alone.

Finally, the study of Scotland does not preclude a wider application of conclusions. As a result of past errors, it has now become customary in recent historiography to emphasise the differences rather than the similarities between Scottish and English development in the modern period. In particular, there has been a tendency to stress the distinctive character of certain institutions of Scottish "civil society"²⁶: notably the church, law and education. Whilst taking account of "the religious peculiarities of Scotland",²⁷ this study points to the strands of religious development common to many parts of Britain and the English-speaking world. Modern Scottish religious and social history is not regarded here as an aberration.

Notes to chapter 1.

1. H T Buckle (ed. F J Hanham), On Scotland and the Scotch Intellect (1970, Chicago and London), p 51.
2. See below pp 238-241.
3. See for example S Yeo, Religion and Voluntary Organisations in Crisis (1976, London), A A MacLaren, Religion and Social Class: The Disruption Years in Aberdeen (1974, London and Boston), E R Wickham, Church and People in an Industrial City (1969, London), and J Obelkevich, Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey 1825-1875 (1976, Oxford).
4. See for example K S Inglis, Churches and the Working Class in Victorian England (1963, London and Toronto), and A D Gilbert, Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change 1740-1914 (1976, London and New York).
5. See for example A L Drummond and J Bulloch, The Scottish Church 1688-1843 (1973, Edinburgh); idem, The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843-1874 (1975, Edinburgh); idem, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland 1874-1900 (1978, Edinburgh); B Harrison, Drink and the Victorians: the temperance question in England 1815-1872 (1971, London); and T W Laqueur, Religion and Respectability: Sunday schools and working-class culture in England 1780-1850 (1976, New Haven and London).
6. See below pp 91-103.
7. See below pp 260-289, and vol. II chap. 13 & appendix II.
8. S G Checkland, The Unas Tree: Glasgow 1875-1975: A study in growth and contraction (1976, Glasgow)

9. G MacGregor, The History of Glasgow (1881, Glasgow), p 291;
S G E Lythe and J Butt, An Economic History of Scotland
1100-1939 (1975, Glasgow and London), p 245.
10. This phrase has been popularised by Bryan Wilson in his
definition of secularisation; B Wilson, Religion in Secular
Society (1969, Harmondsworth), p 14.
11. No precise distinction is intended between "religious" and
"non-religious". Religion-nonreligion is regarded as a
continuum. Thus, "religious" and "non-religious" are
opposites in degree and not in terms of absolutes.
12. Bryan Wilson has stressed this point in relation to the
United States of America; B Wilson, on. cit., pp 112, 138.
13. Variations on this typology are discussed in R Towler,
Homo Religiosus: Sociological problems in the study of
religion (1974, London), pp 108-127.
14. Wilson, on. cit., p 11.
15. Gilbert, on. cit., pp 138-143; K A Thompson, Bureaucracy
and Church Reform: The organizational response of the
Church of England to social change 1800-1965 (1970,
Oxford), pp 212-220.
16. See below pp 138-150.
17. A J Campbell, Two Centuries of the Church of Scotland
1707-1929 (1930, Paisley), p 143.
18. A Slaven, The Development of the West of Scotland 1750-1960
(1975, London and Boston), pp 86-95.
19. This is, of course, in direct contrast to the doctrine of
predestination that is characteristic of Calvinism. How
these two doctrines relate to the Scottish religious
character is discussed below pp 118-132.

20. The concept of religious constituencies is part of the model of church growth put forward in R Currie, et al., Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of church growth in the British Isles since 1700 (1977, Oxford).
21. See below pp 241-289.
22. "... there may be a common situation or context for voluntary and other organisations in different phases of capitalist development, rather than a series of discrete situations for different subject-areas for organisation such as religion, production, sport, education, welfare or politics." Yeo, op. cit., p 1.
23. See below pp 282-4.
24. S G Checkland, The Rise of Industrial Society in England 1815-1885 (1971, London), p 33.
25. S G Checkland, The Upas Tree ... (1976, Glasgow), p 21.
26. (K Burgess), "Workshop of the world: client capitalism at its zenith, 1830-1870," in T Dickson (ed.), Scottish Capitalism: Class, State and Nation from before the Union to the present (1980, London), p 211.
27. M Hechter, Internal Colonialism: the Celtic fringe in British national development, 1536-1966 (1975, London and Henley), p 172.

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Part I

Secularisation: the Scottish context
and some theoretical
perspectives.

In the three chapters that follow, a number of approaches to the question of secularisation in Scotland are presented. Chapter 2 describes the ecclesiastical structure of Scotland, with sections on each of the major churches, and concludes with a consideration of the sociological typology of religious groupings and associated forms of religious change. Chapter 3 presents quantitative data on religious adherence. Chapter 4 investigates secularisation in certain social contexts, and considers the general effects of social change on the social significance of religion.

Chapter 2

The denominational structure in Scotland.

"We find that wherever a great piece of work is being done a Scot is at the back of it, and whenever there is an ecclesiastical dispute a Scot is at the bottom of it."

An American delegate to the General Assembly
of the Church of Scotland, 1928¹

(a) Introduction: the legacy of the early modern period.

For at least four centuries, both the religious character and church structure of Scotland have been radically different from the patterns observable in England, Wales and most of northern Europe. Most characteristic of religion in Scotland has been the strength of presbyterianism. Whilst elements of the Scots' religious disposition may be traced to mediaeval origins,² it was at the Reformation of the 1560s that the country's religious complexion was created. The theologians of the Scottish reformed church drew heavily on the ideas of John Calvin,³ and his work at Geneva was perhaps the closest anticipation of the presbyterian system of church government and social polity that was eventually established

in Scotland. There was strong political, ecclesiastical and popular support for presbyterianism in late sixteenth-century Scotland. But there were serious threats to the form of church government and to the Reformation during the next two hundred years. Roman Catholicism was almost extinguished in the country, but a large number of the gentry were supporters of episcopacy on the Anglican model. Foreign interest, together with the adherence to the Catholic Church of certain members of the Stuart royal line (Queen Mary, James VII and the Old and Young Pretenders), and the episcopal leanings of the others (James VI, Charles I and Charles II), fomented and exploited the religious divisions in Scotland. Presbyterianism had to contend with hostile intervention from England, France and Spain and the sustained hostility of the Scottish monarchs. These circumstances had a pronounced effect on the religious history of Scotland until the eighteenth century. Ecclesiastical developments in the modern period drew heavily on this background of religious strife.

There are two main features of the Scottish church between 1560 and the middle of the eighteenth century: the frequency of changes in ecclesiastical government, and the virtual absence of religious dissent. Between 1560 and 1690, there were five changes in the form of ecclesiastical government. The Church of Scotland, recognised at the Reformation as the "Church by law established", was episcopal between 1560 and 1592, 1610 and 1640, and 1661 and 1690, and presbyterian between 1592 and 1610, 1640 and 1661, and from 1690 to the present day.⁴ The Stuart monarchs had strong episcopal leanings, and it was due to their efforts that

that episcopal government was continually re-introduced until the deposition of James VII and the end of the male line of Stuart monarchs in 1689. There were undoubtedly strong feelings in favour of presbyterianism amongst many of the population, but it is a mistake to suppose that the feelings were universal. Geographical variations were evident with the south of Scotland being generally more presbyterian than the north. Social differences were also evident with the landed gentry tending to be more episcopal than the lower orders. However, the strife caused by changes in the form of church government did not prevent the fairly continuous development of presbyterianism. Presbyterian forms of church government at parish level and presbyterian social polity were retained in many areas even during periods of episcopacy.

Equally, it was never practicable to expurgate episcopacy during periods of presbyterian rule. Episcopacy could exist within the presbyterian system as long as it did not impinge on the political power of the presbyterian establishment. In large measure, this explains the virtual absence of dissenting denominations or sects before the end of the seventeenth century. When in "opposition", neither episcopalians nor presbyterians sought to create nonconformist groups. There was a change in the late seventeenth century. Small presbyterian sects appeared although their status was ambiguous, maintaining some allegiance to the presbyterian Church of Scotland. In the 1680s, a sect of hardline presbyterians known as the Cameronians emerged to violently oppose the attempts of Charles II and James VII to impose episcopacy or Roman Catholicism on Scotland. With the 1690

settlement in favour of presbyterianism, the episcopal elements in the Church of Scotland gradually drew away and formed a Scottish Episcopal Church. Even this process was gradual and difficult to follow. Until the middle decades of the eighteenth century, dissent from the Church of Scotland was small and fairly insignificant. When secessions occurred from the Established Church, dissenting groups both before and after 1750 often retained ties with the state church. Throughout much of the history of the reformed church in Scotland, dissent was contained within the Established Church, and, as will be discussed shortly, that feature extended into the late modern period.

The development of religious pluralism in Scotland only became a discernible feature in the eighteenth century. It was only towards the end of that century that the numbers adhering to dissenting groups became at all significant. With the single exception of the Episcopal Church, the seceding dissenting groups, which made up the bulk of religious dissent in the country, were all presbyterian. In other words, both establishment and dissent in Scotland were overwhelmingly presbyterian. This was reflected in the continuation of the ad hoc nature of some dissent: in the maintenance by some dissenting groups of links with the state church. Presbyterians of all denominations had a natural affinity. Their disagreements on ecclesiastical and theological issues were almost insignificant in comparison to the wide gulf between the Anglican and Nonconformist churches in England, and, indeed, between the English Nonconformist churches. Inter-denominational intercourse was maintained at a high if

somewhat abrasive level in Scotland, and this must be borne in mind when considering the divisions in the presbyterian community of churches.

The Scottish churches have been divided into two groups in the following sections: the presbyterian and the non-presbyterian churches. In other chapters, the presbyterian churches have been divided into the established and dissenting churches. The former division has been employed in this section to conform with the recruitment patterns : the presbyterian churches recruiting largely from the indigenous population, and the non-presbyterian churches recruiting largely from the immigrant population.

(b) The presbyterian churches.

(i) The Established Church of Scotland.

"The Church of Scotland to most readers today is one denomination among others. Yet the name expresses an idea, born before denominations were thought of, which has always had a fascination for the Scottish mind, and still has a powerful appeal."

J H S Burleigh, 1960⁵

All the dissenting presbyterian churches in Scotland originated from divisions in and secessions from the Church of Scotland.⁶ Whilst the Revolution Settlement of 1690 secured presbyterianism as the ecclesiastical government of that Church, it was primarily links with the new British

state after 1707 that gave rise to disagreements over church policy and eventually led to the formation of dissenting churches. Similarly, it was the gradual severing of those ties with the state that allowed the presbyterian dissenters to drift back into the National (as the disestablished state denomination was known) Church after 1900. The role of the state in religious affairs was only one of the issues at stake in the creation of dissent. There were pressing problems of how the churches should respond to industrialisation and social change, and these issues exacerbated religious tensions after 1780. However, the institutions of dissent were being formed before 1780 and they provided the framework on which Victorian dissent was to build.

The presbyterian church, and the Church of Scotland as an example of it, is organised as a democratic hierarchy. Government is a series of church courts organised territorially. Each court at any one level (or geographical area) appoints representatives to sit on the court above it. The congregation of each parish elects (in theory) a kirk session of lay elders; until the second half of the twentieth century, they were all men. In practice, the kirk sessions normally became self-perpetuating. The kirk session acts as the congregational court in matters relating to discipline and religious provision in the parish. The minister of the congregation is elected (again in theory) by the adherents or communicants sitting as the congregational board, and sits as the moderator (alternatively preses or chairman) of the kirk session. The kirk sessions within a district (which varied in size from a large city to a whole county depending on the number of parishes and population)

send their ministers and chosen elders to sit on the presbytery. In turn, groups of presbyteries send nominees to sit on synods, and synods send nominees to the national court, the General Assembly. Ministers and lay elders sit in roughly equal numbers on the presbyteries, synods and general assembly. The presbytery handles the vast bulk of church matters arising "within the bounds" - supervising the appointment of ministers, the provision of communion and matters of local church policy. The synod acts as the first court of appeal in cases of dispute in the presbytery, and ensures that presbyteries conduct their business properly. The synod has been the least important church court, handling relatively little business.⁷ The general assembly is the supreme court, meeting annually (normally in May) in full session and annually in the form of a small commission (often in autumn). The general assembly of the Church of Scotland first met in 1560 and survived during periods of episcopal rule. In 1592, in the so-called "Charter of Presbytery", James VI gave the assembly the right to meet annually in the presence of the monarch or his or her commissioner.⁸ This system has pertained almost continuously to the present day. Unlike in the Church of England, the monarch is in no wise the head of the Church of Scotland. The only headship recognised by the presbyterian church is that of Jesus Christ. As a result, there arose the notion in Scotland of the "Twa Kingdoms" - that of the monarch and that of the Church.⁹

The ownership of individual churches fell to the Crown, private individuals, groups of individuals, universities and town councils. Burgh councils held a virtual monopoly of

church ownership in the towns until the late eighteenth century. The ownership of the church gave the right of patronage - the right to select the minister. Patronage was particularly associated with episcopacy as it gave the landed gentry the means to control the Church of Scotland. Patronage was abolished with the victory of presbyterianism in 1690, but was reintroduced in 1712 by an act of the Westminster parliament against the wishes of the majority in the Church. The restoration of patronage did not lead immediately to the widespread exercise of the rights pertaining to it. There was strong opposition in many congregations to the heritors, as the private owners of patronage were known, exercising their main right to select the minister. As the eighteenth century progressed, the numbers of heritors exercising their rights increased, creating a gradual increase in the numbers of congregations seceding from the Established Church. In mid century, the Crown held the patronage of at least one-third of all the parish churches in Scotland,¹⁰ but this proportion seems to have dropped during the next eighty years. In 1840, when patronage was one of a number of issues that divided the Church, one opponent of the practice calculated that individuals held more than half the churches in Scotland. His calculations are shown in table 2.1.

In the eighteenth century, the two main dissenting denominations to appear both resulted from disputes over patronage in the Established Church: the Secession Church (formed in 1733) and the Relief Church (formed in 1761). At the time of these secessions, the Church of Scotland was

Table 2.1 Bridges' data on the ownership of patronage in the Church of Scotland in 1840.

Patronage in the hands of individuals ¹	582
the Crown	274
town councils	62
heritors ¹	13
universities and	
societies	6
kirk sessions	2
heads of families ¹	2
congregation ²	1
disputed	<u>1</u>
Total	<u>943</u>

Source: J Bridges, Patronage in the Church of Scotland of Scotland considered (1840, Edinburgh), p 42.

- Notes :
1. Bridges has distinguished between the ownership of churches by individuals , groups of individuals ("heritors" in the table), and heads of families. The distinctions are largely arbitrary.
 2. It is unlikely that in only one parish of 943 the congregation had the right to select the minister. Bridges was an opponent of patronage and may have been exaggerating in order to reinforce his argument about the undemocratic nature of government in the Church.

not particularly affected by the loss of large numbers of adherents. Not more than eleven ministers in total left the Established Church on these two occasions. At the time, it seemed that the division within the Church over the patronage issue was far more likely to be of significance. From about 1750, the Church was divided into two factions - the Moderates and the Evangelicals.¹¹ Although these groups had much longer intellectual origins, they first appeared as parties in the Church in the 1750s. The Moderates, whilst not denying the importance of faith in presbyterian thought, sought to meet the challenge to religion posed by advances in science and philosophy. They were most concerned to evolve a rational foundation for religious belief and practice to counter the challenge of the Enlightenment. They tried to assimilate the ideas of the Enlightenment into ecclesiastical thought in order to end heresy hunting and to give practical guidance on the improvement of Scottish society. They also sought to end the long arguments over patronage by getting it fully accepted in the Church. More generally, the Moderates wished to increase the Church's links with the state. In this respect, the Moderates became the government party in the late eighteenth-century Church, representing the landed gentry who held a large proportion of patronage. The Moderates held control of the General Assembly from the 1750s until 1833, reaching a high point of influence in 1784 in persuading the assembly to drop its ritual appeal to the Crown to end patronage.¹² But Moderatism as an ecclesiastical creed meant more than just support of patronage. Moderates claimed that they had a

more tolerant outlook and sought to calm the excesses of Calvinistic enthusiasm. Whilst on the one hand Moderates adopted a humanistic and rational outlook, and sought thereby to maintain the intellectual traditions of the Church (as well as keep intellectuals in the Church¹³), they were also:

"... preoccupied with refinement and good manners, so that their Sunday services were 'short, formal, bland, and pointless' and their moralistic preaching 'might tickle the ear, but had no sting for the conscience'."¹⁴

In short, the Moderates had a more hedonistic outlook on life than the Evangelicals, including as permissible pastimes theatre-going, dancing, drinking (often to excess) and the playing of cards and other games.¹⁵

It was against this rather new and widespread religious attitude that the Evangelicals, and the presbyterian dissenters, reacted strongly. Whilst the Evangelical party was not the whole of the evangelical movement in Scotland, there was an important interaction between the two. There were many changes in the evangelical movement over the period 1780 to 1914, and at various times there were groups struggling for supremacy. Nevertheless, there was a continuity to the movement, claiming to look to the Reformation as its main source of inspiration. The basis of evangelicalism was a stress on faith in leading men to salvation. To a great degree, this conflicted with the doctrine of predestination that had been central to the creed of the original reformers in Scotland. Indeed, at least one of the dissenting presbyterian churches of the nineteenth century arose out of this

specific conflict.¹⁶ The conflict between universal salvation (that Christ died for all, and that everyone can be "saved" by their own actions) and predestination (the salvation of the Elect, and the inadmissibility to heaven of the non-elect irrespective of "good works") attracted on evangelicals the odium of the Moderates. The doctrinal problem was not one that was faced squarely by Scottish presbyterians. For all the sustained preaching of predestination, the evangelicals, by their unwritten philosophy and by their actions, were opening up the possibility of universal salvation to those living "irreligious" lives. This whole question is dealt with in more detail later,¹⁷ but it is important to note here that there was a contradiction and one that was circumvented by whatever means to create a strongly Calvinistic section of the Scottish evangelical movement.

The practical circumvention, according to Evangelicals, had been achieved by the original Scottish reformers. The building of churches in every parish, the provision of enough church accommodation for all the population (which remained a central part of presbyterian policy until well into the nineteenth century), the preaching of the Gospel in the vernacular, the provision of the bible in the vernacular, and the attempt to ensure that every man, woman and child could read the bible had constituted what has been called "the social gospel of Calvinism".¹⁸ The Church, with the aid of state legislation, sought to erect a school in every parish, and commanded the heritors to pay for it and for the salaries of the teachers. These policies had been put

forward and consistently supported by the puritan evangelicals in the hope of permitting "the unabated avowal of the primitive Faith".¹⁹ It was because of the dominance of these evangelical policies in the Church of Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries - even during the periods of episcopal rule - that Scotland developed an elementary education system far in advance of the greater part of Europe. In Scotland, the evangelicals achieved at an early date what the English puritan evangelicals never achieved - an institutional framework of evangelicalism.

Whilst the institutions arising out of evangelical policies remained during the seventeenth century, the periods of episcopal rule drove many of the ardent puritan evangelicals into secret worship in conventicles on Scottish hillsides.²⁰ With the Revolution Settlement of 1690, the extreme presbyterians were generally tolerated. A new and more recognisable evangelicalism emerged from their puritan tradition - an evangelicalism that was most noticeable in the form of religious revivalism. In seventeenth and eighteenth-century Scotland, communion (or the giving of the sacraments) was generally held once a year in summer when the inhabitants of several parishes gathered at one church to be led in several days' prayer, worship and communion. The numbers involved could be quite large, and services would frequently be held in open fields. The parish minister, aided by visiting clergymen, would stand under an awning known as a "tent" and conduct the worship from there. At some annual communions, symptoms of religious revivalism would appear. Communion at Shotts between Glasgow and Edinburgh

in 1630 produced revivalist feelings. A number of small prayer societies were formed to continue the work of conversion. The formation of ad hoc religious societies was not welcomed by the Established Church, and the general assembly sought as early as 1640 to restrict the activities of the prayer groups.²¹ The societies continued, however, some becoming related to the conventicle groups during periods of episcopal rule. With the restoration of presbyterianism in the Established Church in 1690, many puritan presbyterians remained dissatisfied with the religious tenor of the Church. As a consequence, there were numerous prayer societies scattered throughout the Scottish lowlands during the first three decades of the eighteenth century. This ad hoc form of dissent continued until 1733 when many prayer societies became congregations of the new Secession Church.²²

The revivalist issue arose again in the Church of Scotland in the mid-eighteenth century after a large revivalist communion in 1742 at Cambuslang near Glasgow. Evangelical ministers from the Established Church joined the English preacher George Whitefield in assisting the parish minister.²³ This was the first major religious revival in Scotland in modern times, and resulted in great controversy in the Church. Moderates deprecated Evangelical participation in the affair. Some criticised the revival on the ground that it disrupted work,²⁴ but the more general criticism that it subverted the rationalist ideas of Moderatism created a basis for party division in the Church. However, not all evangelicals were supporters of revivalism. There was prolonged debate

in Scottish evangelical circles as to the necessity or wisdom of encouraging revivalism. In large part, there was an instinctive antipathy aroused amongst puritans to hysteria of the kind that occurred at Canbuslang. The debate became more serious in the mid-Victorian period when religious revivalism became an important feature of urban religion.

The revivalist issue was not the main cause of the Moderate-Evangelical split in the Church. More important was the patronage issue. Disquiet with the patronage system was mounting in the mid-eighteenth century. Between 1740 and 1750, there were an estimated fifty disputed settlements of ministers.²⁵ In such cases, the patron of a church would impose his own selection for a vacant charge on the congregation who would use various means, both legal and illegal, to prevent the settlement to be carried out. With the creation of two dissenting churches that were totally opposed to patronage, many congregations in dispute with patrons over the choice of clergy left the Church of Scotland. In this way, the ranks of presbyterian dissent gradually increased during the second half of the eighteenth century.

Whilst a large number of evangelicals left the Church over this issue, many more remained within it. The Moderate party controlled the general assembly until 1833, but were gradually losing ground during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Evangelicals were growing in number in the cities where new schemes were urgently required to provide more church accommodation

and to counter the increase in irreligion amongst the new industrial working classes.²⁶ In Glasgow, for instance, the Moderate party were relatively strong in the Established Church in 1780, but by 1815 were severely weakened by the growing adherence to evangelical principles on the part of Church members and by the town council's policy of replacing deceased and retiring clergy in the council's churches with young Evangelicals. Although town councils were self-perpetuating,²⁷ it is clear that there was a strengthening of support for Evangelicalism after 1780. By 1815, there was a band of leading Evangelical clergy installed in the Council churches of Glasgow - one of them being Thomas Chalmers, the leading evangelical divine of the first half of the nineteenth century. As well as the Evangelical takeover of existing city churches, the foundation of new churches necessitated by population increase in urban areas increased the number of Evangelical clergy and laity within the national Church. In country parishes, the power of the Moderate party remained strong, but the redistribution of Church resources in favour of the new industrial towns gradually diminished its authority until the Evangelical party won control of the general assembly in 1834.

During the reign of Moderatism, scant attention had been paid to the needs of the rising cities: the want of churches and the want of sufficient religious education. The Evangelicals introduced a long programme for reform. A key part of the programme was a request to the government for money to build churches in the working-class areas of the cities - a scheme similar to the "Million" fund given to

the Church of England. The government rejected the application, giving rise to increased hostility between the Moderate and Evangelical factions. The crucial issue, however, was still patronage. One of the first measures to be passed by the Evangelical general assembly of 1834 was the Veto Act. This measure permitted congregations that disapproved of a presentee for a ministerial charge to veto the patron's choice. The Act stated that:

"... it is a fundamental law of this Church that no pastor shall be intruded on any congregation contrary to the will of the people."²⁸

From this statement, the Evangelicals in the Established Church acquired a new name - the "non-intrusionists". Between 1834 and 1843, the Evangelicals' struggle to implement their policies against the opposition of the politically powerful Moderates became known as the "non-intrusion controversy" and the "ten years' conflict". The Moderates' counterattack was fierce and uncompromising, with the backing of virtually all the landed gentry of Scotland. Public meetings and lectures were held throughout the country, and defence organisations were formed on both sides. Despite Evangelical control of the general assembly, and despite some progress in certain areas of Evangelical concern (such as church extension and the formation of Sunday schools), the faction fighting was so intense that there was a general neglect of pastoral activities between 1834 and 1843. One minister deeply involved in educational reform could find "no time

nor heart" to follow the affairs of the social-reform community.²⁹ The struggle was a long and complicated affair.³⁰ The end came in 1843 when the Evangelicals lost control of the general assembly. On 18 May, Thomas Chalmers and another leading Evangelical minister led 193 commissioners or members of the assembly - 123 ministers and 70 elders - out of the assembly, marched to a public hall and founded the Free Church of Scotland. It claimed to be the true presbyterian church, but, though clearly stating itself to be against patronage, it did not oppose the principle of an Established Church. The bulk but by no means all of the Evangelicals could no longer work with the Moderates in the same church, and left to carry on their work unfettered by the "lukewarm" attitudes that were again dominant in the Church of Scotland.

The Disruption, as the secession was called, was a severe blow to the state Church. In some areas, there was a very high rate of secession. In the city of Aberdeen, all fifteen ministers seceded. In Glasgow, the numbers of clergy and laity seceding were also very large, creating severe problems for the Established Church. The Evangelicals, by their very nature, tended to be the most active members of the Church - not only in carrying out the duties of the ministry or the eldership, but also in the organisation of voluntary schemes such as Sunday and day schools. The lay Evangelicals also tended to be the wealthiest and most generous patrons of church and voluntary activities, and their loss to the Church was quite serious in financial terms. However, not all Evangelicals left the Church.

Some felt that it was more important to maintain a united Church than to seek ecclesiastical freedom in which to undertake Evangelical schemes. In purely numerical terms, the Church recovered very quickly, probably attaining its pre-Disruption level of church members some time in the mid 1850s. Nonetheless, the Church lost its most vigorous Evangelicals in 1843 and was slow to adopt evangelical policies and agencies. The Sunday-school and temperance movements, for instance, did not receive the complete support of the Established Church until the 1870s and 1880s. In this way, the initiative in Scottish presbyterian and evangelical developments passed to the presbyterian dissenters who, after 1843, outnumbered Established churchmen.

Apart from some minor secessions and amalgamations, the Church of Scotland was not subjected to any radical change in its denominational strength during the rest of the nineteenth century. However, there were some major developments within the Church. As early as 1850, some of the stricter Calvinist rules of faith were being challenged in higher academic circles within the Church. This took place mainly as a result of the ideas in liberal theology that were emerging from the German Protestant churches. Later, Darwin's ideas posed a serious challenge which liberal theology tried to meet. Around 1880, there emerged in the Church of Scotland what became known as the Broad Church School of thought. The broad churchmen sought to build on the old and somewhat discredited tradition of Moderatism. Specifically, they wished to

assimilate new ideas in science and philosophy whilst incorporating the social concern and some of the ideas that had emerged from the evangelical movement; to construct a working compromise between evangelical action and rationality. This school gradually won ground within the Church during the 1890s and 1900s, and influenced a new generation of clergy to rework the evangelical framework of response to the social problems of modern urban and industrial society.³¹

After the Disruption, the problems of patronage were not immediately settled. Between 1843 and 1869, there were sixty-one cases of disputed settlement of ministers,³² and it was clear that resentment with the practice was not confined to those who were overtly Evangelical in sentiment. In 1866, the general assembly appointed a committee on the subject, and in 1869 the assembly asked parliament to abolish the system. When the sympathetic Conservative government came to power in 1874, the 1712 Act was finally reversed; henceforth, "the right of electing and appointing ministers is vested in the congregation".³³

By this time, however, the issue of church government had moved onto the the question of disestablishment as promoted by members of the United Presbyterian Church (which developed from the Secession and Relief churches) and, gradually, of the Free Church. When the Free Church was formed in 1843, Thomas Chalmers had indicated that he and his Free Church colleagues were not in favour of disestablishment.³⁴ By the last quarter

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of the nineteenth century, however, the Free Church had existed as a dissenting denomination for a considerable period, and it was drawn inexorably towards the disestablishment position. Consequently, pressure was building up on the Established Church for it to take some steps towards its own disestablishment.

Disestablishment was a complicated matter in Scotland, affecting the whole basis of presbyterian belief. There was no single basis of establishment in law; there was a series of items upon which church establishment rested. As a result, disestablishment was protracted and occurred pragmatically. The first area to be tackled was doctrine. Until the late nineteenth century, all the presbyterian churches based their doctrine and forms of church government on the Westminster Confession of Faith of 1644. This document was held to be derived from Scripture and to be "the perfect compend of Scripture doctrine".³⁵ Not only did the Confession accept that the bible was the word of God, but it stated that the civil magistrate (ie. the state) was bound to the Church and the Church to it. From this, the Established Church drew its authority to seek aid and support from the state. In order to formally propose disestablishment, all the presbyterian churches had to accept that the Confession was in error or at least capable of modification. To do this implied inter alia that the Confession, if it was derived from Scripture, was wrong in its assertion that the bible was the word of God. For the dissenters, even those in favour of disestablishment, it was unthinkable before

the late nineteenth century to radically alter the link with the Confession.

One of the ideas of liberal theology that slowly gained ground in the third quarter of the century was that the bible may not be literally the word of God but that it may contain the word of God. Once accepted, this permitted a readjustment of the degree to which the Westminster Confession formed the basis of presbyterianism. It was the United Presbyterian Church that acted first. In 1879, its ruling synod passed a Declaratory Act which modified the Church's attitude towards Confession. In 1892, the Free Church took the same step, though some congregations objected and formed a breakaway Free Presbyterian Church adhering strictly to the Confession. For the Church of Scotland to modify its link with the Confession, or with some parts of it, implied that the section relating to the role of the civil magistrate was at fault: modification implied de facto acceptance of the non-Scriptural basis of establishment. It was thus amongst those in the Church of Scotland who had in their minds the eventual reunion of the Scottish reformed church that support for change grew. In 1904, the Established Church gained parliamentary sanction to amend the formula under which ministers and office-bearers subscribed to the Confession. The new formula was introduced in 1910 and the way was opened for disestablishment.³⁶

Consequently, disestablishment became inextricably connected with the reunion of Scottish presbyterianism. Discussions with the United Free Church of Scotland (which

was formed in 1900 by the union of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches) started in 1909, and a fuller Declaratory Act was drawn up by the Established Church in consultation with the dissenters. The articles for a new constitution of the Church of Scotland were agreed by both churches in 1919, and were agreed to by parliament in 1921. By 1925, the ownership of the properties of the Church of Scotland - church buildings, manse and other buildings - was transferred to a central board of trustees. This removed a longstanding problem in disestablishment about congregational rights versus the rights of property. With the enactment of the Church's Declaratory Act in 1926, the last obstacles to reunion were removed. In October 1929, the United Free Church, containing most of the presbyterian dissenters in the country, was absorbed by the Church of Scotland. It was henceforth known as the "National Church of Scotland".³⁷

By the second quarter of the twentieth century, the Church of Scotland had regained its position as the dominant presbyterian church in Scotland. Some very small presbyterian dissenting churches remained, but most of them had dwindling memberships. The Church of Scotland had returned, in effect, to the position of the early eighteenth century in that it virtually monopolised the provision of presbyterian religious agencies in the country. Although disestablished, it retained, and still retains, an unofficial "established" status. The monarch still sends a commissioner to be present at the annual meeting of the general assembly, and, on occasion, the monarch has attended in person. Nonetheless, the growth of non-

presbyterian dissent in the nineteenth century, and the changes in the social significance of organised religion generally, had radically changed the Church's position since 1700.

(ii) The United Presbyterian Church (1847-1900) and its antecedents.

"... [If] there's saxteen explanations ... that's a blessing, for if there had just been twa explanations, the kirk might hae split on them."

J M Barrie³⁸

The United Presbyterian (U.P.) Church came into being in 1847 on the union of the United Secession Church and the Relief Church. Both constituent churches originated from eighteenth-century secessions from the Established Church of Scotland caused by disenchantment with the patronage system. The restoration of patronage in 1712 did not result in any immediate splits in the Church of Scotland, largely because of the overwhelming opposition to the practice in the general assembly of the time. It was only as more and more patrons started to exercise their powers in the selection of ministers that outright dissent developed. In 1733, the Secession Church was formed after four ministers were expelled from the Established Church for openly denouncing the patronage system.³⁹ In 1752, a minister in Fife on the east coast of Scotland was deposed for failing to attend the induction (settlement) of a minister who had been selected by patrons. In 1761, after waiting in vain for reinstatement, he and

two other former clergy of the Established Church formed the Relief Church "for the relief of Christians oppressed in their Christian privileges".⁴⁰ The development of presbyterian dissent in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Scotland was largely due to the growth of these two churches as denominational alternatives to the Church of Scotland.

The early growth of the Secession and Relief Churches relied heavily on continuing opposition to patronage. Their expansion was not due to conflicts at national level in the Church of Scotland, but to conflicts arising out of patron-versus-congregation confrontations over the choice of ministers. Thus, recruitment to late eighteenth-century dissent was most often in the form of entire, or sections of, congregations in parish churches with ministerial vacancies. Once the unity of an Established Church congregation was destroyed, however, it was difficult to replace with dissenting unity. All the dissenting denominations of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries suffered from splits and secessions. Divisiveness was endemic, partly because of social and economic instability, and partly because of uncertainty over the extent to which dissent should subscribe to the principle of an established church. This issue emerged in various guises throughout the period from 1730 to 1929, but at no time did it affect the structure of dissent more than between 1740 and 1810.

In the Secession Church, there were many divisions, but they were largely self-contained and did not involve

defections to other denominations. Conflicts were aggravated by hostility towards the attempted centralisation of policy-making, and the rigid enforcement of church regulations. Whilst the Church of Scotland, and especially the Moderate faction, tried to avoid controversial issues and confrontations, the Seceders were determined to legitimise their Church by establishing the principles of their faith and governing their Church by strict adherence to those principles. In 1747, the Seceders were split in two over the question whether the burgess oath in use in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Perth inferred an allegiance to the Established Church and inferred acceptance of the civil magistrate's (the state's) involvement in religious affairs.⁴¹ Someone chosen to be a burgess could not, in theory, avoid the duty, and failure to accept office and take the oath was liable to a fine.⁴² That part of the Secession Church willing to accept the oath became known as the Burghers, and that part unwilling as the Antiburghers. The two constituted separate denominations, but continued to be known collectively as the Secession Church. The Burghers and Antiburghers split again in 1799 and 1806 respectively into separate churches known as the New Lights and Auld Lights (New and Old Lights), thus creating four Secession churches.⁴³ The Burgher and Antiburgher New Lights could not accept that the state had a right to interfere in religious affairs, and they modified their adherence to the Westminster Confession of Faith accordingly. The Burgher and Antiburgher Auld Lights maintained their belief in the state connection, and

both eventually and separately reunited with the Established Church. The New Lights were the more evangelical, and believed that they were perpetuating the true intentions of the original Scottish reformers.⁴⁴ Only the burgess oath kept the two New Licht churches apart, and this issue was resolved in the early nineteenth century. In 1819, Glasgow town council abolished the oath,⁴⁵ and the other towns with offending oaths apparently followed suit. As a result, the New Lights of Burgher and Antiburgher Churches united in 1820 to form the United Secession Church.

The divisions raging in the Secession Church led the organisers of the Relief Church to take a different attitude to church government. John Ramsay, a member of the landed gentry and a staunch supporter - and, probably, heritor - of the Church of Scotland, remarked in about 1800:

"From a desire to avoid those rocks and quicksands on which their rivals the Seceders had wellnigh split, they [the leaders of the Relief Church] reduced the jurisdiction of their Church courts almost to nothing, lest it should hamper or trench upon the divine right of the people to choose their pastors."⁴⁶

The problems afflicting the Secession Church, Ramsay also observed, increased the attractiveness of the Relief Church to would-be dissenters:

"For a while the Presbytery of Relief seemed to carry all before it. The Secession being somewhat out of fashion, every violent settlement or breach between a minister and his congregation produced one of their meeting houses ..."⁴⁷

The Relief Church was very loosely organised, and the congregations retained almost complete independence of government. For this reason, joining the Relief Church became the first recourse for many dissatisfied congregations of the Established Church. The Relief was much more closely allied to the Established Church than the Secession, and, indeed, many congregations joined the Relief Church as a temporary protest over a disputed settlement, rejoining the Church of Scotland once it had been satisfactorily resolved or once passions had cooled. In 1761, for instance, there was a dispute over who held the patronage of the City Churches⁴⁸ of Glasgow - the town council or the kirk sessions of each church. By an Act of the Established Church general assembly of 1731, the patronage had been vested in the town council and kirk sessions jointly.⁴⁹ However, when the Wynd Church in Glasgow required a new minister in 1761, the council and kirk session could not reach an agreed selection. The town council won its case in court (the Court of Teinds⁵⁰), and the elders of the Wynd Church resigned and formed a congregation adhering to the Relief Church. Most of the congregation joined them, but some, not wishing to go so far as to secede, spent a year trying to erect a chapel-of-ease (a church financed out of voluntary contributions and without full parish status) attached to the Church of Scotland. However, the minority group were evidently unable to raise sufficient money for the project and rejoined the rest of the congregation in the Relief Church in 1766.⁵¹ Then, in 1774, the majority of the Relief congregation returned to the Church of

Scotland, taking its recently-built church with it.

The remnant of the congregation remaining in the Relief Church were forced to build another church.⁵²

The Relief Church's status as a convenient middle ground between establishment and outright dissent was derived largely from its congregational leanings. As a result of the dispute in the Wynd Church, David Dale, the founder of the New Lanark cotton mills and father-in-law of Robert Owen, left the church and built a chapel called the "Meeting-house of the Free Presbyterian Society" that was recognised as a Relief Church.⁵³ Two years later, Dale left the Relief Church and built another chapel connected with the newly formed Old Scots Independents.⁵⁴ This is just one example of how the Relief Church could serve as a "staging post" for congregations in search of a denomination. The Relief Church was considered to be closely allied to the Evangelical party in the Church of Scotland. The Relief attracted many of the rising merchants and industrial entrepreneurs of an evangelical disposition.⁵⁵ Membership of the Relief Church did not confer the social and political ostracism that attached to membership of the Secession Church in the late eighteenth century. For example, the preses (chairman) of the Relief congregation arising out of the dispute in the Wynd Church was a bailie (magistrate) on Glasgow town council, and he and his congregation managed to secure the temporary use of the Crown-owned Barony Church near Glasgow for their early meetings.⁵⁶ There was thus the curious situation of a town-council bailie, who had taken the burgess oath implying loyalty to

the Established Church, presiding over a congregation of dissenters that met, albeit temporarily, in an Established church. In Scottish terms, the Relief Church was "mildly" dissenting in a gradation of presbyterian dissent in which the Secession Church was near the extreme. Nonetheless, the Relief Church had a corporate identity, and had a supreme court - the Presbytery of Relief.⁵⁷ The Church was not merely a collection of congregations despite its relaxed form of government.

Economic and social change was central to the growth of the Relief and Secession churches in the late eighteenth century. Most significant was the way in which each denomination developed out of different aspects of that change. In rural parishes, congregation-heritor disputes over patronage were the means of expression for peasant-landlord conflict, and in many places the establishment of Secession congregations represented the institutionalisation of that conflict. In towns, where patronage could be held by the Crown, universities, town councils or, in the case of smaller communities, by landed gentry, the formation of Relief congregations tended to be the expression of dissatisfaction by the burgess or middle classes over the failure of the gentry-dominated Moderate regime to provide sufficient church accommodation. In both town and country, class antagonism was apparent in the patronage issue. Thomas Gillespie, the founding minister of the Relief Church, expressed this view when he wrote in the mid-eighteenth century that "patrons, heritors, town-councillors [sic], tutors, factors⁵⁸, presbyteries ... [and those] whose

station or office afford them weight or influence in the matter of settlement of ministers" were "agents of Satan".⁵⁹ The Secession Church was most strong in rural areas, and the bulk of its adherents came from the peasant classes. John Ramsay observed that "few of their adherents were persons of figure or education, [although] numbers of them were substantial burghers or farmers ..."⁶⁰ He was quite clear in his own mind that the Secession Church was the vehicle of class antagonism in agricultural communities:

"Not many years ago, in walking upon the highroad, every bonnet and hat was lifted to the gentry whom the people met. It was an unmeaning expression of respect. The first who would not bow the knee to Baal were the Antiburghers when going to church on Sunday. No such thing now takes place, Sunday or Saturday, among our rustics, even when they are acquainted with gentlemen. It is connected with the spirit of the times."⁶¹

The attitude and quality of the Secession clergy reflected, according to Ramsay, the nature of rural dissent:

"Furious zeal for their peculiar crotchets stood in place of a clerical spirit and clerical endowments. Indeed their very cant and rusticity seemed to endear them to their people the prayers and sermons of those half-educated men proved more acceptable to the depraved tastes of their audience, than the discourse of a Barrow and a Tillotson had been to learned, pious, intelligent hearers."⁶²

The early Seceding clergy, described by Thomas Carlyle as "hoary old men",⁶³ were indeed not well educated by Scot-

tish clerical standards. By 1800, the Burgher clergy did not have one doctor of divinity amongst their number; one of their ministers commented: "their ministers have been too poor to purchase the title, and too illiterate to deserve it".⁶⁴ As the dissenting community grew in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the quality of the clergy changed. By 1810, Ramsay discerned a great improvement in the oratorical standards of the Seceding clergy from the "absurdities and indecency" of the founding fathers of dissent.⁶⁵ The growth of the Secession Church in the towns after 1800 diluted the "rusticity", as Ramsay would put it, and led to the values of predominantly middle-class urban dissent being imposed on the Church as a whole.

Although the Relief Church had congregations in rural areas, it had been, from its inception, especially strong in the towns of central Scotland. In large part, the development of the Relief Church reflected the rise of the urban middle classes. The growth of trade and industry in the second half of the eighteenth century created a large group of middle classes, many of whom were attracted to evangelical religion. They became unhappy with the gentry-backed Moderate control of the Church of Scotland as, in general terms, Moderate policies were not related to either the pretensions of the urban bourgeoisie or the needs of the urban communities. In particular, the Moderate-controlled general assembly continually obstructed the erection of new churches in the cities, and with the growth of urban population a severe shortage of church accommodation

developed. Into this impasse the Relief Church stepped. In the cities, the Relief Church became erroneously known as providing "relief from want of church accommodation". But as a denomination, though not generally, as a source of finance, this was one of its principle attractions. Middle-class evangelicals turned to the Relief instead of the Secession because it allowed congregational independence, and because it allowed the development of an evangelical social theology applicable to the social problems that industrialisation created. The dispute in the Wynd Church in Glasgow, cited above, was one instance where disaffected members of a city congregation turned to the Relief and not to the Secession. In another case from the same period, the magistrates and town council of Jedburgh in the Scottish borders (close to England in the south of the country) seceded from the Established Church and joined a Relief congregation.⁶⁶ The Relief Church attracted some of the most wealthy members of the rising middle classes, some of whom, like David Dale, were crucial in providing the money with which to build churches. Joining the Relief Church in the towns did not lead to the loss of social respectability that joining the Secession Church in rural areas did, but, in many cases, merely allowed middle-class evangelicals to participate in religious worship when nearby Established churches were full.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Relief Church became gradually more isolated from the Church of Scotland, and was drawn closer to the Secession Church. By the 1810s, both denominations of dissenters were

experiencing their greatest expansion in urban areas of central Scotland, and the city congregations came to dominate the denominations. In the early nineteenth century, urban dissent was mostly composed of the lower middle class - shopkeepers, tradesmen and artisans.⁶⁷ By 1847, when the Relief and Secession churches united to form the United Presbyterian Church, most of the congregations were in towns. The U.P. Church was particularly strong in Glasgow.⁶⁸ Throughout the nineteenth century, the wealth of presbyterian dissent grew as its urban members rose in the social scale, and in the U.P. Church the Glasgow congregations subsidised the operations of congregations in the rest of Scotland. After 1800, the urban areas were central to the continued growth of presbyterian dissent.

The close relations between the Relief and Established churches between 1761 and 1800 were not only indicative of how much all dissenting presbyterian churches relied on secessions from the Church of Scotland for recruitment, but also of the very slight differences in polity between the presbyterian churches. In contrast to England and Wales, the main dissenting denominations in Scotland shared the same basic doctrines and theology as the Established Church. However, there were factors that aggravated the links between them. Most noteworthy was the anti-sedition campaign waged by the Moderates in conjunction with the national government in the 1790s and 1800s. The dissenters, and especially the Seceders, and some of the Evangelicals in the Church of Scotland were suspected of having links with the correspondence societies and with radical politics

generally. In 1799, the general assembly of the Established Church passed an act forbidding the interchange of clergy between dissenting and Church of Scotland pulpits.⁶⁹ Later, when the Moderate-Evangelical conflict in the Church of Scotland reached a peak during the Ten Years' Conflict of 1834-43, many dissenters supported the Evangelical faction though some supported the Moderates. Theologically, the dissenters had a close affinity with the Evangelical party, sharing interests in missionary and philanthropic ventures. But the Evangelical party's demand for state aid in the erection of new churches was anathema to most dissenters who objected to taxpayers' money being spent on giving preferential treatment to the Established Church. Consequently, a large split emerged in the dissenting evangelical fraternity in the late 1830s and early 1840s. The situation was largely resolved in 1843 when the Evangelicals seceded from the state church. Whatever its stated policy on establishment was, the Free Church was de facto a dissenting denomination like the Relief and Secession churches. Whilst some members of the pre-1843 dissenting churches had supported the Moderate faction in the non-intrusion controversy, they were drawn henceforth into closer alliance with the evangelical Free Church than with the Moderate rump in the Church of Scotland.

The fragmented nature of presbyterian dissent in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries obscured the fundamental unity in terms of theological belief and shared forms of church government. The various elements of the Secession and Relief churches employed the same system of

church government as the Established Church. Doctrinal differences emanated from subtle nuances in the interpretation of basic presbyterian beliefs; this was particularly the case in respect of the state's role in religious affairs. However, the divisions between the various elements of dissent were real enough. The feuding was protracted and vociferous. In the view of John Ramsay, the schismatics "had an unhappy talent at splitting hairs, and of taking offence at persons and things without a cause".⁷⁰ The emergence of presbyterian dissent in Scotland was rapid. It created an unstable denominational structure in which the Established Church lost adherents and in which dissenting groups suffered from internal wrangles and splits. The period of instability was largely passed by the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and, while the Church of Scotland faced the prospect of major Moderate-Evangelical division, dissent was rationalising its denominational arrangements. The Auld Lights, very few in number, joined the Free Church.⁷¹ The doctrines of the New Light gained ascendancy amongst most of the dissenting presbyterians,⁷² drawing them together in what was known as "voluntarism" or complete rejection of a state church and state interference in religion. In 1847, the Relief and United Secession churches (the latter containing the Burgher and Antiburgher New Lights) amalgamated to form the U.P. Church - one of three main churches in Victorian Scotland.

The formation of the U.P. Church was the first major evidence of reunification in the Scottish reformed church. It cannot be regarded, however, as the first ecumenic

response to secularisation. The union came at a point of supreme self-confidence in the dissenting presbyterian churches. The Disruption of 1843 had taken place amongst intense public interest, and was warmly greeted by the older dissenting groups. Partly as a consequence of the formation of the Free Church in that year, the evangelical movement was finding new directions and enthusiasm for treating socio-religious problems of the large industrial cities. Indeed, the formation of the Free Church played an instrumental part in the formation of the U.P. Church four years' later. The union of 1847 was not easy to achieve, for, in terms of doctrine and church government, the Relief Church was lax and undemanding whilst the Secession Church was strict and severe.⁷³ But the creation of the Free Church had radically altered the denominational structure and the whole tempo of religious life in Scotland. Separately, the Relief and Secession churches in Scotland as a whole were less than a quarter the size of the pre-Disruption Established Church. In the cities, however, the situation was different. In Glasgow until 1843, the Relief and Secession churches together were in fact larger than the Established Church. With the formation of the Free Church in 1843, the Relief and Secession churches were no longer two minority churches that were overshadowed by the Church of Scotland; nor were they the greater part of dissent. Remaining as separate churches meant that both were overshadowed by two churches at national level - one of them, the Free Church, now constituting the largest dissenting church. Union between Relief and Secession, creating about

518 congregations by 1850, enabled them to exist as a church on a par with the Free Church,⁷⁴ and in Glasgow created a situation in which the Established, Free and U.P. churches were roughly equal in size in terms of numbers of congregations and church attenders. Furthermore, the Disruption meant that presbyterian dissent was no longer a minority religious group. Dissenters then outnumbered adherents to the Established Church, and the dissenting churches had political as well as ecclesiastical opportunities to explore. For eighteenth-century dissent to survive the arrival of the Free Church, it had to meet the demands of the nineteenth-century ecclesiastical system. The formation of the U.P. Church in 1847 gave its constituent groups the first possibilities to exert powerful political influence. Already in 1845, the existence of the Free Church had been the key factor in causing parliament to decide that the Church of Scotland should lose control of the poor-relief system. Other prizes now loomed for the U.P. voluntaries: notably, the creation of a non-sectarian national education system.⁷⁵ From the middle of the nineteenth century, the ecclesiastical structure of Scotland was no longer dominated by one church, but by three churches - two of them dissenting - of fairly similar proportions and influence.

For some twentieth-century ecclesiastical historians who subscribe to ecumenic views, like J H S Burleigh, the formation of the U.P. Church was the first symptom of a spirit of reconciliation and reunion in the Scottish reformed church.⁷⁶ To some, like Drummond and Bulloch, the dissenters - whatever they did amongst themselves - were

disturbing and evil influences in the body of presbyterianism.⁷⁷ To others, like Campbell and Fleming, the union of 1847 was vital for the dissenters to maintain an influential position in Scottish religious life.⁷⁸ Despite the fact that the formation of the Free and U.P. churches occurred in the space of four years, there has been a tendency on the part of Scottish ecclesiastical historians, in recounting the separate origins of the two churches, to underestimate the effect of the secession of 1843 on the union of 1847. The change in the denominational structure in 1843 created inter-church rivalry with political as well as religious influence at stake. The union of 1847 merely reorganised the old dissenters into a "viable" and "competitive" church of similar though not equal proportions to the other two. Certainly, it is difficult to agree with Burleigh that the formation of the U.P. Church was a significant sign of ecumenism in the presbyterian churches when the Disruption had occurred four years' earlier.

With dissenters in the majority amongst presbyterians,⁷⁹ there was a move - perhaps inevitably - towards uniting the Free and U.P. churches into a single and very powerful denomination. However, it took until 1900, when circumstances were becoming, for various reasons, less advantageous for dissent, to achieve this amalgamation. Efforts to achieve church reunion started in the 1860s as a result of initiatives in that direction that had been undertaken by the presbyterian churches of England and Australia. The weaker position of presbyterianism in the rest of the British Empire led to co-operative moves to rationalise

church and mission work.⁸⁰ However, the pressure for union was much stronger in countries where presbyterians were in the minority and where they were thin on the ground. There were economies of scale to be readily achieved by union overseas.⁸¹ In Scotland, the social, political and religious conditions were too good for dissent in the mid-Victorian period for there to be a willingness to compromise over matters of doctrine and achieve union. In 1863, the U.P. and Free churches started to consider union. Severe disagreement in the Free Church forced the negotiations to be broken off in 1873. At that time, the numerical and political position of all three major presbyterian churches was in good order. Church membership and the development of religious voluntary organisations were showing no signs of stagnancy or decline, and religious influence in public affairs (especially social reform and education) was still strong. By the 1890s, however, the situation had radically changed. The churches, and particularly the evangelical dissenters, were starting to perceive a change in public attitudes to organised religion and to religious influence in civil life. Church membership, and more especially the membership of religious voluntary organisations, showed indications of declining growth. More generally, the evangelical framework of response to industrial society was being questioned by the leaders of the social-reform establishment. Demographic factors were having an adverse effect on the churches. The urban middle classes were moving out of the inner suburbs and city centres in the 1890s. The churches followed them,

spending - somewhat recklessly - large sums of money to build new churches in the outer suburbs. As a result, many congregations became deeply in debt. The confluence of these factors created an urgent need for some rationalisation of the number of congregations at local level, and for some response to the apparent decline of evangelicalism. In 1897, discussions started again between the Free and U.P. churches, and three years' later they united to form the United Free (U.F.) Church.

The fact that it was the two main dissenting presbyterian churches that amalgamated first was not as significant as the fact that it was the two evangelical churches. Evangelicalism, as promoted and co-ordinated but by no means monopolised by the Free and U.P. churches, dominated the social theology of the Protestant churches in Victorian Scotland. The union of 1900, it is argued here, should be seen in the context of a worsening situation for evangelicalism (and all that implied) and not necessarily for dissent qua dissent.

(iii) The Free Church (1843-1900) and the United Free Church (1900-1929).

"Shakespeare wrote a comedy of 'Much Ado about Nothing.' The Scottish nation made a fantastic tragedy on the same subject.... How many of them [bells] might rest silent in the steeple, how many of these ugly churches might be demolished and turned once more into useful building material, if people who think almost exactly the same thoughts about religion would condescend to worship God under the same roof!" R L Stevenson⁸²

The Disruption of 18 May 1843 created a large and influential denomination almost literally overnight. Ministers and some of their congregations - in some instances entire congregations - did not return to worship in their accustomed Established churches the following Sunday. Instead, they made makeshift arrangements to conduct divine service in Freemasons' halls, private houses, farmyards and graveyards.⁸³ The Relief and Secession churches had grown from small beginnings, but the Free Church was, from its inception, a denomination of great wealth, evangelical energy and theological learning. Coming at the end of the non-intrusion controversy, the Disruption was the most widely reported and debated ecclesiastical event in modern Scottish history - an event that split not only congregations but also families.⁸⁴

Unlike the old dissenters who did not wish nor try to challenge the Church of Scotland as the established church, the Free Kirk claimed to be the one and only true presbyterian church upholding the spirit of the original reformers. They did not object to an established church on principle, only to an Erastian one. Thus, the Free churchmen created a denominational organisation that mirrored as completely as possible the organisation of the Church of Scotland. The Free Church had four levels of church courts, headed by a general assembly with committees on diverse matters, in emulation of the Established Church. Within a week of the Disruption, the Free Kirk opened its first divinity college in Edinburgh and later opened two others in Aberdeen and Glasgow.⁸⁵ A central administration with

powers more extensive than that of the Established Church was set up in Edinburgh. The administration managed the Church's various funds, including those for education and home and foreign missions. The most important financial operation of the Church was the Sustenation Fund into which all congregations had to pay and out of which all ministers' stipends were paid.⁸⁶ At congregational level, Free churches were erected in many areas on a one-to-one basis with existing Established churches; in most cases, the seceding congregations adopted the same name for their church building, adding the prefix "Free".⁸⁷ Furthermore, Free churches were often built directly adjacent to the Established church from which the seceders had come. Even the General Assembly of the Free Church was held near to the meeting of the Church of Scotland general assembly in Edinburgh, so that, as Robert Louis Stevenson observed, "the Parliaments of the Established and Free Churches ... can hear each other singing psalms across the street".⁸⁸

In physical terms, then, the Free Church adopted a posture of antagonistic display towards the church it had left. This attitude was apparent in many aspects of Free Church policy. The Church embarked, albeit reluctantly at first,⁸⁹ on a massive education programme involving the building of five hundred schools - almost one for every Free Church congregation.⁹⁰ This seriously eroded the virtual monopoly of elementary education held by the Church of Scotland since the Reformation. In addition, the evangelical zeal of the Free Kirk led it into multitudinous missionary schemes amongst the populations of Africa, Asia, Canada,

Australia, New Zealand and Scottish urban slums. The Evangelical party that seceded in 1843, by its very nature, took the most energetic workers from the Established Church, and gave the impression during the mid-Victorian period that the Free Church was the most dynamic church in Scotland.

The extent of the 1843 secession varied in different parts of the country. The Free Church was strong in two contrasting areas: the urban districts of the central lowlands and the sparsely-populated Highlands and Islands. Even within the lowlands, urban centres showed a higher proportion seceding than the rural areas. In a survey of seceding clergy conducted shortly after the Disruption, it was found that 454 ministers out of 1,195 (or 37.9%) joined the Free Church from the Established Church.⁹¹ In the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, which incorporated urban and rural parishes, 89 out of 215 (or 41.4%) ministers seceded. Within that area, only 21.7% seceded in the predominantly-rural Presbytery of Dumbarton, but 53.4% seceded in the largely-urban Presbytery of Glasgow. The Glasgow Presbytery contained a number of rural parishes where the proportion seceding was relatively low. In the city of Glasgow and its industrial suburbs of Calton, Maryhill, Partick, Govan, Barony and Gorbals (all of which were eventually absorbed by Glasgow), 25 out of 40 (or 62.5%) of Established clergy joined the Free Church.⁹² In the city of Aberdeen in the north east of Scotland, the figure reached 100% as all fifteen clergy seceded.⁹³ It is difficult to estimate so exactly the pattern of secession by Established Church adherents, but, generally speaking, it reflected the secession

pattern amongst the clergy. In churches where the minister seceded, the bulk of the congregation tended to go with him. One estimate is that 38% of the members of the Established Church left in 1843.⁹⁴ Congregations with Evangelical ministers, and districts where evangelicalism was strong, tended to have a higher secession rate. Although the figures are not available, it is clear that the secession was largest in urban areas. In cities such as Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen, it seems likely that well over half of ministers and adherents left the Church of Scotland. In purely numerical terms, the Free Church was an instant success.

The creation of the Free Church was not altogether a speculative venture. The seceders were aware that they might lose social respectability,⁹⁵ and the seceding clergy were only too well aware of the financial sacrifice they were making by giving up endowed charges: "ministers in one day signing away more than £100,000 a-year".⁹⁶ The Evangelical clergy who left the Established Church did so without having alternative churches to worship in, without the certainty that any of their congregations would follow them, and without the "Christian liberality" of their potential seceding congregations being tested. However, the Disruption was not entered into blindly. Extensive planning and soliciting of financial support was undertaken in the years preceding it,⁹⁷ and the leaders of the Evangelical party were confident of securing the support of many middle-class adherents in the cities. It was clear very quickly that the secession leaders had anticipated

correctly, for the response to the various financial appeals made by the Free Church was overwhelming. By 1845, five hundred Free churches were opened, and by 1848 a further two hundred.⁹⁸ In addition, schools and manse were built, and the Sustenation Fund grew to £61,000 in the first year. In the year 1843-4, £227,000 was raised for building operations and a total of £363,000 for all purposes.⁹⁹ Throughout its existence, the Free Church remained concerned about its financial state, conscious of the sacrifice made by the seceding clergy. Success was judged year-by-year on the size of donations to the Church's central funds; those congregations failing to meet their target in annual contributions suffered the ignominy of their disgrace being publicised in the general assembly and elsewhere. Right from the start, financial discipline was strict in the Free Church. This was as much a reflection of the number and status of businessmen in the Church as of the need to keep the Church in good financial order. Money and its efficient use secured respectability for the Free Church, and ensured that any return to the Established Church was not going to be necessary on grounds of poverty.

Whilst still in the Established Church, the non-intrusionists appeared, on the surface, to have little in common with dissent. Thomas Chalmers, the most prominent Scottish minister in the nineteenth century and the mastermind of the Disruption, said in 1843 for the benefit of the other dissenters: "We are not Voluntaries."¹⁰⁰ Nonetheless, the Free Church was drawn inexorably into the

community of evangelical dissenting churches. Robert Buchanan, the most prominent Free Church minister in Glasgow, was aware that by the very act of secession the Free Church was joining the ranks of presbyterian dissent: "... the thought of a Voluntary Church was to him as darkness; but the pillar of fire would be there, and he would go as led."¹⁰¹ The Free Church was committed to the same evangelical schemes of social reform (foreign and home missions, Sunday schools and the like) as the presbyterian dissenters of the U.P. and other evangelical churches, and Free churchmen found a natural affinity with them. The Free Church and other presbyterian dissenters had a common disposition for the Calvinist heritage of the Scottish reformed church, although the Free Church was split in the 1860s and 1870s by the growth of a more liberal attitude to evangelical principles. Common ground was shared in support for Sabbatarianism and, from the 1850s, for total abstinence from alcohol. Between 1863 and 1873, as we have seen, the U.P. and Free churches contemplated union, but enough of the first generation of Free Kirk anti-voluntaries survived to make it impossible. In the 1870s, the debate on the position of the Church of Scotland was moved by the U.P. Church away from consolidating dissent to effecting disestablishment, and this alienated the Free Church. By the 1890s, however, circumstances had changed. The opponents of voluntarism in the Free Church had mostly died, there was an ecumenic movement alive in all three large presbyterian churches, and some congregations were financially insolvent. In

1894 and 1895, unofficial meetings were held amongst the proponents of church union in the three churches. Their main task was not so much negotiating terms for union as persuading their own denominations to accept the terms that could be formulated. The supporters of anti-disestablishmentarianism were too strong in the Church of Scotland, and that church dropped out of the discussions. In 1900, the Free and U.P. churches united to form the United Free (U.F.) Church. This was seen by some as supporting the case for and cause of disestablishment.¹⁰² Certainly, the union was indicative of the Free Church's move towards supporting that cause, and in the early twentieth century the U.F. Church presented a formidable challenge to the Church of Scotland.

At its foundation in 1900, the U.F. Church became the largest denomination in Scotland. It had 492,964 communicants compared to the 474,929 of the Church of Scotland.¹⁰³ By 1928, the year before their union, the U.F. Church had 538,192 compared to 541,489 in the Church of Scotland. Over the period from 1900 to 1928, this represented a growth rate of 9.17% for the U.F. and 14.01% for the Church of Scotland. This relative decline in the growth rate of the United Free Church was a symptom of a serious crisis in evangelicalism. There were, as a result, great pressures to complete the union of the major elements of Scottish presbyterianism. The Free Church component dominated the committees, general assembly and other courts of the U.F. Church, but the latter adopted the U.P. Church attitude towards the disestablish-

ment question. With the gradual disestablishment of the Church of Scotland in the 1910s and 1920s, reunion became a real possibility. In 1929, the United Free Church was absorbed in the Church of Scotland, and presbyterian dissent was virtually extinguished in Scotland.

This ecumenic process - the unions of 1900 and 1929 - was relatively painless. All the components were presbyterian and shared the same basic religious beliefs and forms of church government. A small number of congregations objected to these moves. Most of them were located in the Highlands and Islands where isolation from the rest of Scotland and unique social and economic circumstances created different criteria for denominational arrangements. These minor churches are still in existence. Two of them have the bulk of their congregations situated in the rural Highlands and Islands: The Free Presbyterian Church which withdrew from the Free Church in 1892 after the passing of the Declaratory Act had some 9,500 adherents in 1893 and about 5,000 in 1970. The Free Church, known derisively as the "Wee Frees", is composed of those congregations who refused to join the United Free Church in 1900. It numbered 4,000 communicants in that year and 5,726 in 1970. One other denomination that emerged - largely in the lowlands - was the United Free Church Continuing (the word "Continuing" was later dropped), made up of those congregations who refused to join the Church of Scotland in 1929. It numbered 13,791 communicants in that year and 17,248 in 1970.¹⁰⁴

Apart from these small churches and a few other

remnants of the older dissenting churches (which are considered in the next section), Scottish presbyterianism has been united in one denomination - the Church of Scotland - since 1929. Although the absorption of the various dissenting elements was fairly easily accomplished by world ecumenic standards, the discerning observer can still see some of the old divisions beneath the facade of the united Church of Scotland. Some of the old U.P. congregations, having graduated through the United Free Church, still uphold the virtue of decentralised church government that was characteristic of the Relief Church. For example, some of these congregations, but rarely any others, refuse to send their records to central storage in Edinburgh.¹⁰⁵ The divisions ran deep in Scottish presbyterianism, but they were more the result of social and economic circumstances than of fundamental doctrinal disagreements. When those circumstances altered and became unfavourable to a denominational structure that was based on competition, the ecumenic solution was fairly swiftly and successfully invoked. Church reunion as a response to "secularising" influences was relatively easy and pronounced in Scotland in comparison to countries like England where ecumenism has been inhibited by more fundamental doctrinal differences between churches.

(iv) The minor presbyterian churches.

"It would be well if there were no more than two [churches]; but the sects in Scotland form a large family of sisters, and the chalk lines are thickly drawn, and run through the midst of many private homes." R L Stevenson¹⁰⁶

Most of the small presbyterian churches of the period between 1780 and 1914 were the products of the late eighteenth-century controversy over patronage and congregational independence. This is also true of the Scottish Baptist and Congregational churches which are considered in the next section. There are two notable exceptions. Firstly, the Reformed Presbyterian Church, known originally as the Cameronians, developed from the groups that fought the episcopal intrusions of Charles II and James VII in the 1680s.¹⁰⁷ They started as conventicle groups upholding the Covenanting¹⁰⁸ principles which they felt had been betrayed by the episcopal- and, later, the presbyterian-ruled Established Church. The Cameronians were very small in number with only 5,866 communicants in 1856.¹⁰⁹ In 1876, the majority joined the Free Church though they maintained a separate synod.¹¹⁰ A portion of the Church continued with 1,197 communicants in 1879 and 548 in 1970.¹¹¹ The Reformed Presbyterian Church was quite strong in Glasgow in comparison to the rest of Scotland. Their first minister in the city was appointed in 1733, and their first meeting house was erected in Calton to the immediate east of the city in 1756.¹¹² By 1858, they had two churches in the city, one of which - Great Hamilton Street - had probably

the largest congregation of any Reformed Presbyterian church in Scotland.¹¹³ The congregation carried out extensive mission work in the working-class east end of Glasgow, and was firmly in the Calvinist evangelical tradition. The congregational missionary, for instance, combined his work amongst the poor with undergoing teacher-training at the Free Church college in Glasgow.¹¹⁴

Secondly, the Evangelical Union (E.U. or Morisonian) Church was formed in 1843 on the same day as the Disruption, though with much less publicity. James Morison was ejected from the United Secession Church for holding the doctrine of Universal Atonement and explicitly denying the doctrine of Election. He put into words what other presbyterian evangelicals were trying to achieve in practice by missionary work at home and abroad.¹¹⁵ The E.U. had an influence on Scottish social reform - in particular, on the total abstinence movement - far greater than its size would have suggested. It had four congregations in Glasgow by 1850 and ten in Glasgow and Govan (a suburb of Glasgow) by 1892.¹¹⁶ The E.U. was especially active in mission and temperance ventures in the city. Although emanating from and staying in the presbyterian tradition, the E.U. had strong links with congregational independency. Indeed, the E.U. at its inception was not intended to be a denomination or sect but merely a loose association of congregations.¹¹⁷ However, it quickly assumed the organisations of presbyterianism with a central administration and divinity hall. Some ministers and divinity students joined it from the Congregational Church,¹¹⁸

and in 1896 it united with the Congregational Union of Scotland. The Morisonian congregations maintained a strong presbyterian element in that Union, having kirk sessions and elders but, like the Relief Church, opposing the abuse of power by church courts.¹¹⁹ They continued to be a readily identifiable section of the Congregational Church, keeping the words "Evangelical Union" (or the initials) in the names of individual congregations.

The other presbyterian sects were very small, and most were continuations of the fragments of the Secession Church. The only church of the old Seceders to survive beyond the mid-nineteenth century was the Original Secession Church which came from the Auld Licht Antiburghers who refused to join the Free Church in 1852. It had 3,100 communicants in 1871, 3,424 in 1911 and 1,813 in 1953. Amongst the non-Seceders, the Glasites were formed in 1730 in total rejection of the Covenant and Westminster Confession of Faith.¹²⁰ They were opposed to a state church, and followed the New Testament in rejecting a professional ministry. They were vegetarians, and held "Love Feasts" as adjuncts to religious worship.¹²¹ Their first church in Glasgow was formed about 1760, and by 1858 it had only 42 members and 200 worshippers.¹²² They continued as a small congregation in Glasgow down to the 1970s.¹²³

The Old Scots Independents originated in 1768 in a small secession from the Church of Scotland. The Old Scots Independents (O.S.I.) were congregationalists of the presbyterian tradition, disputing the power of the civil magistrate over the churches. Their first Glasgow

congregation was started by David Dale in 1768, but it suffered continuously from secessions to the Glasites, the Baptists and Congregationalists. In 1786, the congregation numbered 45, and after rising to 115 in 1800 and 230 in 1824 it declined thereafter. A new church built in 1836 was eventually let as a storehouse,¹²⁴ but the O.S.I. continued to worship in Glasgow until the mid-twentieth century.¹²⁵

There were a number of other tiny presbyterian groups represented in Glasgow, such as the Bereans who believed strictly in predestination. There were also a number of isolated congregations without denominational affiliations; they were mostly strict presbyterians.¹²⁶ They were never strong individually nor collectively, and were eclipsed in the later nineteenth century by largely-imported sects from America and England. It was only in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that the small presbyterian sects achieved any measure of success in Glasgow, due largely to the shortage of church accommodation and the controversies over patronage. They sprang up during a period when dissenting was popular, but they could not compete for adherents as the major dissenting churches grew in size, became organised, united and socially respectable. Such was the popularity of dissent in this period that membership of the smaller churches did not necessarily lead to social or political exclusion; David Dale became a town councillor in Glasgow, and a Berean minister became a magistrate in the Corbals (a Glasgow suburb).¹²⁷ But their doctrines were too narrow to attract mass membership.

(v) The Baptist and Congregationalist churches.

"[I] would willingly wade to the knees in blood, to overturn the establishment of the Kirk of Scotland."

Alleged statement by Robert Haldane¹²⁸

These two Scottish denominations derived from presbyterianism. They were not formed as extensions of the English Baptist and Congregationalist churches.¹²⁹ In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a number of permanent but more often temporary English immigrants (notably the Congregationalist and Baptist armies of Oliver Cromwell) did intrude a minor English influence.¹³⁰ However, the withdrawal of the Commonwealth troops in 1660 virtually destroyed the intrusion. In the early eighteenth century, the Glasites (some known as Sandemanians) revived congregationalism from new and presbyterian roots. The Old Scots Independents and the Bereans added to the meagre strength of congregationalism in the late eighteenth century. In 1778, a congregation of Scots Baptists was formed in Glasgow from a breach in the O.S.I., but it was no more than yet another of the interminable splits amongst that group of churches.¹³¹

The modern Baptist and Congregationalist churches in Scotland emanated from the so-called "evangelical revival" promoted by the Haldane brothers in the late 1790s. James and Robert Haldane, natives of Stirlingshire in central Scotland, formed a number of organisations that encouraged the establishment of foreign missions, Sunday and day schools, and tabernacles.

The movement had slender associations with radical politics during the time of the French Revolution and Napoleon, and came under close scrutiny from both religious and secular authorities - the two normally working in conjunction. The movement was initially congregationalist in character, and was particularly strong in Glasgow after the opening of a tabernacle there in 1799.¹³² The Haldanes attracted evangelicals from other presbyterian churches, including the Established and Secession churches, and for this reason fomented stern opposition from existing denominations. In 1808, the movement was split over the question of infant baptism, and James Haldane led some of the congregations he had helped to found into a Scottish Baptist Church.

The Congregationalists grew steadily and the Baptists sporadically in the same sorts of areas: in the cities, Orkney and Shetland (island groups off the north-east coast of Scotland) and in fishing communities. Greville Ewing and Ralph Wardlaw emerged as the leaders of the Congregational Church after Haldane's defection, and both moved to Glasgow in the 1810s to find great support amongst the lower middle class and great scope for missionary work amongst the inhabitants of the city's slums. In 1812, the Congregational Union of Scotland was formed, giving the dispersed congregations some denominational unity.

The Scotch Baptist Union was formed in 1835, superseded in 1843 by the Baptist Union of Scotland. By

the latter date, about ninety of the weaker congregations had affiliated, but the larger ones held aloof from this denomination building. The Union was reconstituted in 1869. By that date, many congregations had become extinct and only fifty-one with some 3,500 members joined.¹³³

The fluctuating fortunes of the Baptists were unusual among the major denominations of the nineteenth century. Religious revivals raised hopes of founding new congregations, churches were built, and then the congregations dissolved within a few years for lack of support. In Glasgow between 1841 and 1901, six Baptist churches were dissolved or united with others, and in the century as a whole the figure was eight; of these, four collapsed within seven years of their foundation.¹³⁴ The Baptists were strongly evangelical, organising Sunday schools, mission stations and total abstinence societies. Though generally maintaining a low profile in public affairs, they associated with the Congregationalists in such concerns as securing places on the publicly-elected school boards of the late nineteenth century,

The Baptists and Congregationalists were late denominational developments in Scottish religious history, and like the Relief and Secession churches they were simultaneously evangelical and presbyterian in character.¹³⁵ Apart from their congregations in (usually) depressed fishing communities, growth for the Baptists and Congregationalists occurred mainly in the cities where they actively assisted in the development

of evangelical responses to urbanisation. In this respect, they worked closely with other evangelical presbyterians in various religious voluntary organisations, and some of their clergy and laity were prominent in a number of fields of social reform.

(c) The non-presbyterian churches.

The changes in the structure of presbyterianism were caused in the main by developments indigenous to Scotland. In contrast, the size, geographical distribution and social composition of the non-presbyterian churches in Scotland were contingent in the main upon immigration. In 1790, adherents of non-presbyterian churches (as defined in this chapter) amounted to less than 5 per cent of the total Scottish population. By 1914, the figure had risen to about 15 per cent.¹³⁶ Immigration, predominantly from Ireland and the rest largely from England, and natural increase amongst the immigrant population accounted for practically the entire growth of non-presbyterian churches in the intervening years. The vast majority of immigrants were poor, forced to move from their homelands by economic necessity. Attracted by the employment prospects created by the rise of capitalist manufacturing industry, most migrants joined the lower end of the urban working classes of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee and other industrial

and mining communities. The churches that sought to minister to the immigrants' spiritual needs had grave problems to face. Despite the theological gulf between them and the presbyterian churches, the incoming denominations evolved objectives and agencies remarkably similar to those of the presbyterian churches.

(i) The Roman Catholic Church.

"... the more zealous sectaries ... believed that low wages and general misery were caused either by King William of Orange or by the Pope of Rome." Thomas Johnston¹³⁷

After 1780, and possibly from an earlier date, Roman Catholics formed the largest group of non-presbyterians in Scotland. The proportion of Catholics¹³⁸ to total population in Scotland rose substantially from 1.30 per cent in 1755 to 9.98 per cent in 1900; by 1955, they accounted for an estimated 15 per cent of Scotland's adult population.¹³⁹ In Glasgow, the rise was even greater. In 1778, Catholics represented less than 0.05 per cent of the city's population. By 1808, the figure had risen to 2.48 per cent, and by 1955 26.54 per cent of the city's adult population were Catholic.¹⁴⁰ These figures highlight the success of anti-Catholic agitation from the Reformation to the late eighteenth century. Equally, they indicate the strength of the growth in Catholic population in Glasgow after the late eighteenth century. The growth in Catholic population in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

was not only large, but showed changes in geographical location and social composition - from the isolated peasant communities of northern Scotland to the urban working-class communities of the central belt. The main problem for the Roman Catholic Church was keeping pace with those changes.

The Roman Catholic Church in Scotland was virtually destroyed at the Reformation of the sixteenth century. However, pockets of Roman Catholicism survived in the Highlands and Islands - mostly in close-knit and isolated communities such as the island of Barra - and in Edinburgh where a number of wealthy Catholics resided.¹⁴¹ Presbyterian vigilance concerning Catholic and episcopal intrusions in Scotland grew rather than diminished after the Reformation. Despite a brief respite during the reign of James VII, there was little prospect of Catholic communities - let alone the Catholic Church - taking up residence in the cities and parishes of central Scotland. Mob rule was reinforced by penal laws that were confirmed in 1697 when William III failed to extend his policy of religious toleration to his northern kingdom.¹⁴² The Catholicism of James VII and his heirs, the Old and Young Pretenders, heightened anti-Catholic feelings during the first half of the eighteenth century as successive Jacobite rebellions threatened to bring marauding Highland clansmen into the towns and parishes of lowland Scotland. For ten days in December and January 1745-6, Glasgow was occupied by Prince Charles Edward Stuart,

the Young Pretender, and his army of some 8,000 men. The presbyterian clergy fled the city, but enraged citizens prevented the town council and magistrates from leaving. The city was obliged to clothe, feed and arm the Jacobites at a cost of £14,000.¹⁴³ Although the government reimbursed £10,000, and although the occupation of the city was relatively uneventful, the visitation helped to sustain anti-Catholic feeling in Glasgow when it was dissipating in England and, possibly, in other parts of Scotland. The Relief Act removing the penal laws on Catholics in England and Wales was passed in 1778, but the government had to drop a similar measure for Scotland in 1779 because of rioting in Glasgow. A Protestant mob engulfed a small back-room off the High Street where twenty poor Highlanders, probably constituting the bulk of the city's Catholic population, were meeting in prayer. As a result, the celebration of mass in the city had to be suspended until 1782.¹⁴⁴

The situation for Catholics was slightly easier in Edinburgh some forty miles to the east of Glasgow. A Scottish bishop, Bishop Hay, was consecrated in secret in 1769, and he opened a Highland chapel in the capital in 1783.¹⁴⁵ Until 1780, Glasgow did not require a resident priest as there were seldom more than six Catholic families living in or around the city. Bishop Hay and a colleague from Edinburgh, together with a priest from Perthshire, made occasional journeys to Glasgow to celebrate mass in the private houses of a few

wealthy Catholics.¹⁴⁶ After 1780, the city's Catholic population started to grow as a direct result of industrialisation. In 1779, the first cotton mill was opened in the city, and the labour force was chiefly composed of Gaelic-speaking Catholics from the Highlands. More cotton factories opened and more Highlanders were brought to the city as cheap labour. Cotton manufacturers, including David Dale, undertook the direct recruitment of Highland communities, and "to such as were Roman Catholics, security was promised in the exercise of their religion."¹⁴⁷ In 1792, the first resident priest in Glasgow since the Reformation arrived from Glengarry in the western Highlands to attend to the spiritual needs of the Highlanders employed at the Monteith cotton-spinning factory in the city's east end. Cotton-mill owners helped him to find a suitable place for a chapel - a disused tennis court. Although the mill owners were Protestant, they hoped that the priest would maintain sobriety and an industrious attitude among the labour force.¹⁴⁸ During the 1790s, there was growing public sympathy for Catholics as a result of the troubles created for the Roman Catholic Church by the French revolution. Consequently, the British government, wishing to secure Scottish Catholics for military service in the Revolutionary Wars, passed a Relief Act for Scotland finally ending the penal laws against Catholics.

The number of Catholics entering Glasgow from the Highlands was soon overtaken by the influx of increasing

numbers of Irish Catholics. In the late eighteenth century, many Irish had started to come over the Irish Sea as migrant workers. Their main kind of employment in Scotland was harvesting, especially in the Lothians around Edinburgh.¹⁴⁹ During the Napoleonic Wars, the numbers coming to Scotland increased, and many came to stay permanently. In the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s, steamboat travel made the journey from Ireland cheaper and more accessible to the poorer Irish peasantry. Large numbers became navvies on railway construction, but the majority took up permanent residence in the industrial communities of Britain: Glasgow, Liverpool and their environs.¹⁵⁰ In Glasgow, the Irish Catholics joined the Highland Catholics in the cotton industries, settling first in Calton in the east end of the city where a chapel was erected in 1797.¹⁵¹ By the 1810s, Irish Catholics were inhabiting houses in the growing industrial suburbs on all sides of the city. In 1820, the City Chamberlain estimated that there were 15,000 Irish in the city. By 1841, there were about 44,000 Irish-born residents in the city, constituting about 5 per cent of the population; of these, probably two-thirds were Catholic.¹⁵² The potato famine of 1845 greatly increased the flow of immigrants from Ireland. By 1850, 7 per cent of the Scottish population were Irish-born. This figure continued to rise until 1881, and then fell back to 4 per cent in 1891.¹⁵³ By 1900, the significance of Irish immigration had declined; in 1908, less than one thousand Irish entered Scotland.¹⁵⁴ However, the Catholic population of Scotland

continued to rise by natural increase. Between 1902 and 1970, the estimated Catholic population of Scotland rose nearly 60 per cent.¹⁵⁵

The Catholic Church in Scotland, and especially in Glasgow, faced two major problems: the rapidity at which the Catholic population grew, and the general poverty of Catholic families. The organisation of the Church was not sufficiently developed to deal with these problems during the early stages of industrialisation in Glasgow and the west of Scotland. There was no church hierarchy in Scotland between the Reformation and 1878. Protestant feeling and political opposition made it impossible to appoint Scottish Catholic bishops. The Church in Scotland had the status of a mission from the Holy See. The Church's affairs in the country were supervised by Vicars-Apostolic. In 1727, Scotland was divided into two Vicariates - Highland and Lowland. In 1827, to take account of Irish immigration to the Lowlands, Scotland was divided into three Vicariates - Highland, Western and Eastern. As a result of this reorganisation, Glasgow received its first resident bishop since the Reformation. He was not known as "the Bishop of Glasgow" as no formal hierarchy existed. Instead, he, like other Scottish bishops, was appointed to a basically fictitious see. Thus, Andrew Scott was consecrated in 1828 as Bishop of Eritrea in Asia Minor but served in Glasgow.¹⁵⁶ Consequently, efforts were being made to institute a hierarchy complete but in name. Nonetheless, the continued Protestant antipathy to Catholicism held

back the reconstruction of the Catholic Church's hierarchy in Scotland. Together with the relative poverty of the Catholic population of Scotland, this weakened the Church's ability to respond to urban growth.

The 1793 Relief Act, followed by the admission of Catholics to Glasgow town council in 1801 and the national Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, removed various constraints on the private and public lives of Catholics.¹⁵⁷ The Calton chapel in Glasgow, opened in 1797, quickly became too small for the growing number of Irish Catholics in the city. A large chapel, later called St Andrews Cathedral, was opened (after being ransacked by Protestant mobs and rebuilt) in the city centre.¹⁵⁸ It was designed to serve all Catholics in the city, but even when opened in the mid-1810s it was too small. Shortage of churches, and the money with which to build them, seriously affected the operation of the Church in Scotland. As early as 1800, the Vicars-Apostolic reported to Rome that the estimated 30,000 Catholics in Scotland were served by only forty priests and twelve chapels.¹⁵⁹ The situation in Glasgow was perhaps worst of all. A second chapel was not opened until 1844. However, the the pressure of immigration as a result of the Irish famine necessitated a swift chapel-building programme in the late 1840s. By 1850, there were eight chapels in the city, and twenty-four by 1900 served by seventy-three clergy.¹⁶⁰ The poverty of the city's Catholics severely restricted the number and size of chapels that

could be built. Consequently, there was an emphasis throughout the nineteenth century on providing as many priests as possible. Catholic priests were probably the worst-paid clergy in Glasgow, having an average annual stipend of only £40 in the 1830s compared to the £425 then paid to the ministers of the council-owned churches of the Church of Scotland.¹⁶¹ In a situation where funds were short, the Catholic Church found it more cost effective to employ clergy than to build churches. In the later nineteenth century, when the Catholic Church in Scotland was becoming better organised and somewhat wealthier, this policy was accelerated rather than curtailed. In the Archdiocese of Glasgow, for example, there were 40 missions (chapels) and 74 priests in 1878, and by 1902 there were 82 missions and 234 priests.¹⁶² The unusual extensiveness of the religious services provided by the Catholic Church (such as the holding of mass throughout the week and the virtually constant availability of priests to hear confessions) made it a more labour-intensive denomination than almost any other.

In addition to facing the hostility of the presbyterian establishment and Protestants generally, the Catholic community in Glasgow suffered from internal divisions. Perhaps the most noticeable division, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century, was that between Highlanders and Irish. In the 1820s, by which time the Irish were in the majority in the city's Catholic community, almost all the priests

were Scots brought to the city along with migrants from the north and north-west of Scotland. The Scottish priests opposed the formation in 1823 of the Irish-dominated Glasgow Catholic Association as part of Daniel O'Connell's emancipation campaign. At a stormy meeting in the Gorbals Chapel in 1828, Irish Catholics accused the priests of showing favouritism towards native-born Scots Catholics.¹⁶³ The Catholic Church in Glasgow became more caught up in the problems arising from this ethnic division when the Church's hierarchy was restored in England but not in Scotland. During the second quarter of the century, an increasing number of Irish priests were drafted into the city and its environs. However, the bishops who served in the Western Vicariate were exclusively of Scottish birth, and few positions of clerical authority were given to Irish-born priests. As a result, twenty-two Irish priests in the Vicariate petitioned the Holy See in 1864 for the re-establishment of the Scottish hierarchy with the appointment of some Irish bishops secured.¹⁶⁴ The appointment of an Irish coadjutor to the Glasgow diocese in 1865 did not quell the feelings of the Irish priests.¹⁶⁵ In 1851, the Glasgow Free Press had been started as the journal of Irish Catholics. It took a keen interest in Irish politics, taking a broadly nationalist line. It was opposed from 1855 by a journal promoted by Scottish-born Catholic priests, but this latter publication ceased in 1857 due to small circulation. The Free Press continued as a paper

hostile to the Scottish bishops and to those priests who adopted a quietist attitude to Irish affairs. The paper slated the Scottish priests for obstructing the appointment of Irish clergy and administrators in the Western Vicariate. The affair became so enflamed that the Vatican sent Archbishop Manning from England to investigate the affairs of the Church in the west of Scotland. In the short term, the outcome was that the authority of the Scottish tradition was reasserted in Glasgow. The Vicars-Apostolic of all three Scottish Vicariates denounced the Free Press in 1868 and the paper was forced to close.¹⁶⁶ The appointment of priests to positions in Glasgow continued to favour those of Scottish birth; in 1867, there was reportedly only one Irish-born priest in the city.¹⁶⁷ However, a "neutral" bishop was appointed to the Glasgow diocese. Charles Eyre came from English Catholic stock, and, though being appointed to placate Irish feelings, he helped to maintain the "Scottish" influence in the Church in the west of Scotland.¹⁶⁸ Nonetheless, Irish priests could not be kept out completely. As a result, the agitation for Irish Home Rule increased tension in the Church in Glasgow in the 1870s and 1880s. Irish priests and laity came under attack from the Bishop for standing in municipal and school board elections as Home Rule candidates.¹⁶⁹ Despite the clear opposition of Eyre to nationalist agitation by priests, the Church continued to be the object of hostility for militant Protestants.

In the mid nineteenth century, there had been strong opposition to the growth of the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland. The proposal to make government grants to the Irish Catholic college at Maynooth, and the prospect of restoration of the hierarchy in Scotland following the restoration in England, were met with fierce hostility by the presbyterian churches in Glasgow.¹⁷⁰ However, the attitude of the presbyterian churches and the civil establishment towards the Catholic Church started to diverge soon after from the Scottish Protestant tradition. In 1860 for instance, the Glasgow courts of the presbyterian churches largely ignored requests from militant Protestant organisations to celebrate the tercentenary of the Scottish Reformation in 1860.¹⁷¹ In the late 1860s and 1870s, anti-Catholic agitation in Scotland developed more particularly as opposition to Irish nationalism. The growth of the Orange Order in Glasgow at that time was one reflection of this trend. In this context, the opposition of Charles Eyre and the "Scottish" bishops to the Home Rule movement gave the Catholic Church a certain degree of respectability. Indeed, it became apparent to many in the presbyterian churches that the unofficial hierarchy of the Scottish Catholic Church was the strongest means of defence against the spread of Irish nationalism and civil disaffection amongst the priesthood and laity of the Scottish Catholic community. Consequently, the Scottish hierarchy was restored in 1878. The Archdiocese of Glasgow was formed with Eyre as Archbishop; it covered

Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, Dumbartonshire and the northern part of Ayrshire.¹⁷² Whilst the restoration attracted opposition from Protestants, it was politically acceptable as well as ecclesiastically justified.

After 1878, priests of Irish extraction became gradually more numerous in the Scottish Church and were able to achieve promotion within the various archdioceses. The Catholic population of the country, and especially of Glasgow, was predominantly Irish in character by the 1820s. Irish culture did not survive well in Scotland. Irish gaelic and distinctively-Irish games did not flourish in Scottish cities. Nonetheless, political and family connections with Ireland have been retained until the present day. Furthermore, the Irish Catholic community in Scotland have developed new foci for their cultural and political identity. Glasgow Celtic football club was formed in the 1880s to counter the Protestant dominance in most of the other senior clubs in the city. A so-called "Catholic mafia" is alleged to control the Labour Party in Glasgow and the west of Scotland.¹⁷³ Perhaps the most important focal point for the Catholic sub-culture in Scotland lies in the separate Catholic schools - the first in the world to be completely incorporated in the state system of education whilst retaining a Catholic curriculum and recruiting almost exclusively Catholic children.

Despite the Catholic-Protestant division that still remains in Scotland, that division developed during the nineteenth century within broadly common cultural and

work patterns. Possibly because of the strong grip that Scottish-born priests had on the Church until late in the century, distinctively-Irish culture did not become strong in Scotland. The Church's prime efforts were directed to the adaptation to urban operation. In this respect, the Catholic Church in Glasgow responded to problems affecting church work in ways similar to the presbyterian churches. Indeed, the presbyterian influence may have gone deeper than that. Cardinal Wiseman commented in 1864 that the internal problems in the Scottish Catholic Church - especially the open hostility between Irish-born priests and laity on the one hand and the Scottish-born bishops on the other - resulted from presbyterian attitudes to church government:

"There is no doubt that the dominant Presbyterianism of the country has had its influence also on Catholics ... [who] show little liking for episcopal rule."¹⁷⁴

However, such an influence was not central to the Catholic Church's adoption of the evangelical framework of response to urbanisation. The presbyterian churches' pioneering work in developing distinctively-urban agencies certainly provided a series of examples to follow. But in matters of detail, the agencies developed by the Catholic Church were doctrinally suited to Catholicism. Nonetheless, the Protestant and Catholic churches in Glasgow shared a common experience of urbanisation and developed very similar responses.

(ii) The Episcopal Church

"Dr. Johnson gave a shilling extraordinary to the clerk [of the Episcopal Church in Montrose], saying, 'He belongs to an honest church.' I put him in mind, that episcopals were but dissenters here; they were only tolerated. 'Sir, (said he,) we are here, as Christians in Turkey.'"

James Boswell¹⁷⁵

One historian of the Episcopal Church in Scotland noted that "the average idea of Scottish Episcopacy might be summed up as: 1688 And All That."¹⁷⁶ The Scottish Episcopal Church as a distinct entity came into being as a result of the Revolution Settlement of 1688-90. However, the Established Church of Scotland had been episcopal for long periods in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In that sense, the Church had a continuity of development stretching back some considerable time. The Church qua church distinct from the Church of Scotland emerged after 1690 as episcopalians left the state church. In the nineteenth century, the development of indigenous Scottish episcopacy was overtaken by the immigration of large numbers of Irish and English episcopalians whose presence created great problems for the Church.

On the seventh of June 1689, the Scots Parliament abolished episcopacy in the Church of Scotland on the ground that it was "contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people."¹⁷⁷ Even by that date, presbyterians had undertaken the last major purge of the Established Church. Purges were normal when presbyterians

or episcopalians regained control in the state church. Between 1638 and 1660, some 210 episcopal clergy had been removed from their charges. Between the Restoration and 1684, 312 presbyterian ministers were ejected. The purge of 1689 was probably the swiftest and most extensive. In the Presbytery of Edinburgh, for example, twenty-five out of a total of twenty-six clergy were removed. Some fled, but others waited until they were deprived of office by force of arms.¹⁷⁸ The overthrow of episcopacy was most complete in the burghs which were, in general, presbyterian strongholds.¹⁷⁹ In the rural Highlands and Islands and the north-east of Scotland, support for episcopacy was stronger and it was there that presbyterian encroachments were most successfully resisted.

As a result of William III's support for presbyterianism in Scotland, episcopalians became supporters of the exiled Catholic James VII and his line - the Old and Young Pretenders. In presbyterian eyes, this confirmed that episcopacy was merely papacy in another name. The policy of religious toleration that William pursued with a fair measure of success in England and Wales had little impact in Scotland. In the north-east - in Aberdeenshire and neighbouring counties - episcopalians were relatively powerful and were able to meet virtually freely in worship. In the lowlands of the central belt, however, they were fewer in number and were persecuted as enemies of the Reformation.

Presbyterians, having regained control of the Church of Scotland and being in a commanding position in

central and southern Scotland, continued to regard the Scottish Church as unitary and universal, and devoid of dissent. Consequently, they tried to extinguish episcopacy by using church and civil courts. The Union with England in 1707 changed the situation very rapidly. In 1709, the Rev James Greenshields, an episcopalian who had taken the oath to Queen Anne thus abjuring the Jacobite succession, opened a meeting-house in Edinburgh. He was ejected from his meeting-house by the city's Dean of Guild (the enforcer of building regulations) and, after opening other premises, was instructed by the Presbytery of Edinburgh to cease worship. When he failed to do so, the magistrates arrested him at the behest of the Presbytery and imprisoned him. The supreme civil court in Scotland, the Court of Session, agreed that episcopacy was "inconsistent" under a presbyterian church, and Greenshields remained in prison. The presbyterian establishment were then taken by surprise when Greenshields appealed to the House of Lords. Appeal to a higher court than the Court of Session had not existed before 1707, and had only become possible as a result of the 1707 Union of the Parliaments. Greenshields won his case since he had taken the oath of loyalty to Queen Anne. It was thus brought to the attention of the presbyterian establishment that the Church in Scotland was no longer unitary, even in fiction, but had now to contend with dissent in a pluralistic religious structure.

The Lords' decision in the Greenshields case was reinforced in 1712 by an Act of Toleration to Scottish

episcopalians. This measure prohibited civil magistrates from compelling people to submit to the sentences of church courts and allowed properly-ordained episcopalian clergy to conduct worship provided they prayed regularly for the Queen by name and for the royal family.¹⁸⁰ However, the government's favouritism to Scottish episcopacy, and its snubbing of the presbyterian establishment (a snub that was accentuated by the passing of the Patronage Act in 1712), was short-lived. Episcopalians were implicated in the 1715 Jacobite Rising - the abortive attempt to place the Old Pretender on the throne. As a result, an act of parliament of 1719 imposed heavy penalties on non-juring episcopalian clergy. The 1745 rebellion implicated them even more. Penal laws of 1746 and 1748 inflicted transportation on episcopal clergy for repeated refusal to abjure the Stuart pretenders, declared all registrations of episcopal clergy by Scottish bishops null and void, and required all future ordinations to be conducted by English and Irish bishops. This was a crushing blow to the indigenous Scottish Episcopal Church, and one that had important long-term implications.¹⁸¹

Throughout the eighteenth century, episcopacy remained strongest in the north-east of Scotland (where most of the clergy came from and where they were trained) and in the Highlands (where the old clan chiefdoms were being transformed into massive estates ruled by episcopalian gentry). Episcopalians were undoubtedly Jacobite supporters, and the government's attempt to

destroy the episcopal hierarchy in Scotland after the 1745 rebellion was a concomitant of the military subjugation of the Highlands. Whilst episcopacy in the rest of the British Isles, in the form of the Church of England, the Church of Wales and the Church of Ireland, was both established and the religious base of the political establishment, it was in Scotland dissenting and politically disloyal. Making the Scottish Episcopal Church into a limb of the Irish and English churches was an obvious solution for the government. The Scottish presbyterian establishment, especially in the first half of the century, were quite willing to see the Scottish Episcopal Church destroyed.

The effect of the penal laws of 1719, 1746 and 1748 was to split the Episcopal Church into those who took the loyal oath and those who did not: the jurors and the non-jurors. The jurors became known in Scotland as "English Episcopalians", and their churches as "English" or "Qualified" (ie. legally registered) chapels. The non-jurors were known as "Scottish Episcopalians" and their places of worship were technically illegal; however, they met freely, as Dr. Johnson pointed out, "by tacit connivance".¹⁸² In the second half of the eighteenth century, the non-jurors were mostly located in the Highlands and the north east, and were forced to meet in conventicles or hill-side prayer groups as the presbyterians had been forced to do a century earlier. In Glasgow in the eighteenth century, episcopalianism was very weak.

Scottish episcopalians were reported to be worshipping in the city from 1715,¹⁸³ but it was not until an "English Qualified" chapel, later known as St. Andrews-by-the-Green, was built in 1750-1 that there was a significant episcopalian presence in the city.¹⁸⁴ By its attachment to the Anglican Church, St. Andrews ensured its dissociation from Jacobitism. Its membership included members of the "respectable" middle classes of Glasgow. Some were merchants who provided most of the finance for the congregation. One, Patrick Colquhoun became Lord Provost of the city.¹⁸⁵ Another, John Alston junior, was also a member of the town council and became a bailie. Both of these men were managers of St. Andrews, and it was probably through them that the congregation loaned a total of £250 to the town council in 1783 - the 5 per cent interest being distributed to the episcopalian poor.¹⁸⁶ The nine managers of St. Andrews in 1783 consisted of three merchants, a manufacturer, a tanner, a sugar boiler, a leather cutter and a Supervisor of Excise.¹⁸⁷ This was atypical of Scottish episcopacy as a whole, but was indicative of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century appeal that episcopalianism made to some members of the Scottish urban middle classes. The Scottish Episcopal Church, attached to the Church of England in everything but name, provided an English bourgeois identity. In the context of presbyterian assimilation into the "British" establishment, the English connection of the Episcopal Church permitted its

re-assimilation into the mainstream of Scottish Protestantism. As an example, John Alston became a manager of the Sunday schools started jointly by the Church of Scotland and the town council of Glasgow in 1787.¹⁸⁸ Perhaps of more significance, the general assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1782 ended its annual appeal for the repeal of the Episcopal Toleration Act of 1712. The ascendancy of Moderatism in the Established Church produced the right atmosphere for the rehabilitation of episcopacy within the milieu of the Scottish religious establishment. This was a reasonable proposition given the strong support that the Episcopal Church and the Moderate faction enjoyed from the ranks of the landed gentry.

The return of social and political respectability to the Scottish Episcopal Church could not be completed whilst the issue of the Jacobite succession remained. Two factors resolved the matter. In the first place, Charles Edward Stuart died in 1788, and the Jacobite movement lost its leader. With the prospects of a Stuart restoration reduced virtually to naught, Jacobitism became thereafter a romantic strain in Scottish, and especially Highland, fol lore: Bonnie Prince Charlie and Flora Macdonald who rowed "Over the Sea to Skye", and the toasts to the "King o'er the water".¹⁸⁹ The second factor was the emergence of episcopalian loyalty, in the form of military service, to the Hanovarian dynasty. With the prospect of war developing with revolutionary France, the

government wanted to recruit episcopalian and Roman Catholics for service in the armed forces. The penal laws against both groups were obvious impediments. The persecution of the Catholic Church in France raised British sympathy for the Catholic Church in this country - and in Scotland this meant sympathy for both the Catholic and Episcopal churches. Consequently, the government repealed the penal laws against Scots episcopalians in 1792 and those against Catholics in the following year.¹⁹⁰ A condition of the relief extended to episcopalians was that they subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles (that were passed by Convocation of the Church of England in 1563). Many of the clergy disliked this condition - especially as the seventeenth article was Calvinistic. However, in 1806 they agreed and the majority of "English Episcopal" congregations in Scotland joined the Scottish Episcopal Church.¹⁹¹ In recognition of episcopal loyalty, influential episcopalians persuaded the government to make a biennial gift or Regium Donum of £1,200 to the Scottish Episcopal Church; this gift was made between 1815 and 1856.¹⁹² The final act of political loyalty was made in 1827 when the six bishops of the Episcopal Church in Scotland were received by George IV at Holyroodhouse (the monarch's official Scottish residence) in Edinburgh.¹⁹³ To all outward appearances, the Church had regained its unity, independence and political "respectability".

However, the demise of the Jacobite cause did not heal the divisions in the Church. To the regional difference between northern ("Scottish") episcopacy and southern ("English") episcopacy were added divisions of social class and ethnic origin produced by immigration from England and Ireland in the nineteenth century. During the first half of the century, the Episcopal Church remained strongest in the north-east of Scotland; in reflection of this, all the Scottish bishops between 1800 and 1840 came from Aberdeenshire and neighbouring counties. The indigenous Scottish episcopalian tradition was strongest there, but in the lowlands of central Scotland many congregations were looking to England and the Anglican Church for cultural and religious leadership. In the mid-nineteenth century, the episcopalians in the north were desperately resisting the attempts of the southern "Anglicising" party to bring the Scottish Church into complete conformity with the Church of England.¹⁹⁴ In the mid 1840s, a furious argument took place in the correspondence column of an Edinburgh newspaper and in pamphlets after an episcopalian clergyman in Edinburgh designated himself minister of an "English Episcopal Chapel" in the city. "Scottish" episcopalians claimed that he was a schismatic preaching illegally since all clergy in Scotland had to obtain a licence from a Scottish bishop. The row between the "Anglicising" and "Scottish" parties became so vociferous that relations between the Scottish and

Anglican churches were strained. The Archbishop of Canturbury was quoted as having stated, in order to placate the "Scottish" episcopalians, that there were no English Episcopal congregations in Scotland. Nonetheless, the "Scottish" party still made "continued and violent assaults" on the Church of England.¹⁹⁵

Perhaps the greatest problem facing the Scottish Episcopal Church was the large number of immigrant Irish episcopalians. The problem was similar in kind, though not in size, to the one faced by the Catholic Church in Scotland. Catholic and episcopalian immigration from Ireland appears to have been demographically very similar. The migrants were all generally poor; they settled in the cities and industrial areas; and episcopalian and Catholic migrants appear to have moved to Scotland in roughly the same proportions throughout the century. However, the Episcopal Church did not keep pace with its growing "constituency" in Scotland as well as the Catholic Church did. In 1792, there were an estimated twelve thousand members of the Episcopal Church served by four bishops and forty priests.¹⁹⁶ Between 1792 and 1838, some new congregations of mostly poor immigrants were founded, meeting mostly in rented rooms or cottages.¹⁹⁷ In Glasgow in the early nineteenth century, there was one "Scottish" Episcopal church served in 1816 by one priest, and one "English chapel", having an aggregate attendance of about seven hundred. With the addition of a small chapel opened by the

S.P.C.K. to serve the Gaelic-speaking episcopalians from the Highlands, and a second "Scottish" church, St. Mary's Cathedral, in the middle-class west end, these were still the only chapels in the city in 1832.¹⁹⁸ It is difficult to provide an accurate estimate for the number of episcopalians in the city at this time. In 1819, the City Chamberlain calculated that there were 6,963 non-Catholic Irish, of whom the majority were probably episcopalians. By 1831, his estimate had risen to 16,221.¹⁹⁹ To accommodate this influx, a large church seating one thousand people was erected in the city's east end in 1835 to serve the episcopalian poor, and another church was erected in the west end in 1837 for "the upper classes".²⁰⁰ Despite this spurt of church-building, it was said in 1837 that the number of worshipping episcopalians in the Glasgow diocese (which included counties surrounding the city) was so small "that they could all be accommodated conveniently in a reasonably large drawing-room".²⁰¹ Yet, one priest in the city said in 1840 that there were more than ten thousand poor episcopalians in Glasgow destitute of religious provisions.²⁰² It was clear that the Episcopal Church in the city was failing to provide, and attract the bulk of episcopalians to, the churches.

Attempts were made in the 1840s to attract working-class episcopalians to mission stations, Sunday schools and day schools.²⁰³ However, the Episcopal Church in the city was slow to adopt a strategy for growth. One reason was the lack of dynamic leader-

ship. The bishop during the mid-Victorian period was non-resident, having in addition to his charge at Glasgow cathedral a congregation in Leith near Edinburgh where he lived.²⁰⁴ For most of the nineteenth century, Glasgow did not exert the pull on the Episcopal Church that it had on all the other major denominations. A newspaper commented:

"... Glasgow is the only town in Scotland where the [Episcopal] Church has not made any palpable advance ... the Church has in good measure stood still."²⁰⁵

Despite the large number of episcopalians of Irish descent who were resident in Scotland (and especially in Glasgow) by 1850, the Episcopal Church did not recruit many of them to clerical or lay posts. The Scottish-English confrontation took precedence. The Episcopal Church in Scotland resisted the adoption of an Irish outlook and Irish character much more successfully than the Catholic Church in Scotland. The lack of growth in the Episcopal Church in Glasgow in mid-century, when the growth in the episcopalian community was at its height, was largely the result of antipathy to the Irish immigrants.

In 1864, restrictions on Scottish episcopalian clergy ministering in England were removed, leading to the "practical union" of the Episcopal Church in Scotland and the Church of England.²⁰⁶ It appears to have been this development that led to the dramatic growth of the Episcopal

Church in Glasgow in the later nineteenth century.

In 1880, there were only eight churches, two mission stations and some fifteen clergy in the city. By 1900, there were twenty-four churches and missions and about twenty-nine clergy.²⁰⁷ Most of this growth took place under Bishop William Harrison (1888-1904). His appointment marked the end of the old line of bishops who were Scottish by birth, education and clerical service, and the introduction of a new missionary zeal into the Episcopal Church in the west of Scotland. During his Episcopal reign, many new mission stations were established, mostly in corrugated-iron structures which were replaced by permanent and sanctioned churches in the early twentieth century.²⁰⁸

The Episcopal Church in Scotland in the nineteenth century was composed of three incongruous elements that were historically juxtaposed politically and religiously. In the Highlands and north-east of the country, episcopacy was old and indigenous; it was a continuation of the Established Church of Scotland during its episcopal periods in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; it was anti-presbyterian and aligned with Roman Catholicism during the Jacobite period of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. That background was apparent in Edinburgh, but from the mid-nineteenth century onwards was increasingly submerged by the rise of the Anglicising party. In Glasgow, the pattern was even more mixed. Episcopacy had been virtually obliterated there at the Revolution Settlement and only

re-emerged in the mid-eighteenth century. In the following century and a half, recruitment was made among Highland migrants of Jacobite background (anti-presbyterian and pro-Catholic), English immigrants and Scottish middle-class anglophiles, and Irish immigrants (anti-Catholic and pro-Protestant). The anti-Protestant tradition remained dominant in the Church whilst the bishops remained of Scottish birth. In re-affirmation of the "Scottish" pro-Catholic tradition, the general synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church deleted the word "Protestant" from the title of the Code of Canons in 1838.²⁰⁹

It is in this context that the Scottish Episcopal Church's failure to welcome Irish episcopalians should be seen. In Ireland, and especially in Ulster where the majority of the immigrants to Scotland came from, episcopalians were aligned to the Protestant side of the Catholic-Protestant divide. "Scottish" episcopalians were on the Catholic side. This difference was the central factor determining the relations between "Scottish" and Irish episcopalians in Glasgow. The Irish episcopalian community in the city was clearly anti-Catholic in the mid and late nineteenth century. One episcopalian from Ireland, Harry Long, became notorious as an Orangeman and anti-Catholic agitator. He distributed anti-papist literature, addressed open-air meetings on Glasgow Green (a public park) and elsewhere in the working-class east end of the city, and was elected to Glasgow School Board between 1872 and

1890 on the basis of the Protestant anti-Catholic working-class vote. His band of followers were called the "Knoxites" after John Knox, the presbyterian reformer of the sixteenth century.²¹⁰ There was little in the Scottish Episcopal Church of the nineteenth century with which such people could identify.

The three-way split between native pro-Catholic Scots, anglophile Scots and immigrant English, and anti-Catholic Irish immigrants was reflected in the pattern of episcopalian church-going in Glasgow. The Scots predominated in the membership and management posts in the congregations of the Scottish Episcopal Church, many of the English maintained separate "English Episcopal" congregations, and the majority of the Irish did not associate with either. Whilst the native Catholic Church was too weak to resist the incoming Irish, the Episcopal Church was strong enough to maintain the hegemony of the "Scottish" tradition.

(iii) The Methodist Church.

"O that the mantle of a Knox or a Chalmers would descend on some of my countrymen in the Methodist ministry, and arouse them to assist, ere it be too late, in lifting up the head and reviving the energies of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Scotland!"

David Wilson, 1850²¹¹

Methodism has never been as strong in Scotland as it has been in England, Wales and Ireland. Methodist development in the late eighteenth and nine-

teenth centuries took the form of a gradual secession of adherents from the Church of England. In Wales and Ireland, the same drift of adherents from the episcopal churches (the Church of Wales and the Church of Ireland) to the Methodist Church was evident. The meagre development of Scottish Methodism was due primarily to the absence of a large and established episcopal church. In addition, the weakness of the Scottish episcopal tradition accounts for the distinctive character of Scottish Methodism. Analysis of the history of Methodism in Scotland centres on the nature of its adaptation to native religious tradition and, particularly, to presbyterianism.

The early development of the Methodist Church in Scotland was directed from England. John Wesley made attempts to establish a Methodist presence in the country around 1750, and for the next one hundred years Methodist preachers were sent to Scotland under the direction of the Church in England. The Church's initial strength in Scotland was in the north-east. The first Scottish Methodist group met in Aberdeen in 1747 under the direction of a preacher from Wrexham, and a circuit was established there two years later.²¹² Twenty years later, over 30 per cent of the Scottish membership of the Methodist Church belonged to the Aberdeen circuit. By 1815, a large network of branch circuits and societies had been established in the Spey Valley, Elgin, Huntly, Forres and surrounding areas in the north east.²¹³ Although the importance of the north east within the

Scottish Methodist Church declined in the first half of the nineteenth century, it may be significant that this early expansion took place in an area where the Episcopal Church was particularly strong.

In the nineteenth century, the Church's main development took place in the central lowlands, and its relations with presbyterianism were crucial to recruitment from the indigenous population. In Edinburgh, where the second Scottish circuit was established in 1749, John Wesley found "an open and effectual door and not many adversaries".²¹⁴ However, he felt much less satisfied with his visits to Glasgow. After failing on one occasion to stir the inhabitants by preaching, he wrote that "they hear much, know everything, and feel nothing".²¹⁵ George Whitefield had greater success, largely because he was closer to Calvinism in his outlook than Wesley. Whitefield was invited to Scotland in 1741 by the dissenting Secession Church. The Seceders stipulated that he preached exclusively to them and that he did not "countenance our persecutors" (the Church of Scotland).²¹⁶ Without committing himself, he came north and preached to the Seceders at Dunfermline in Fife. Whitefield and his hosts fell out over the question of whether presbyterianism was revealed by Scripture to be the true form of church government. The Seceders bitterly attacked him, calling him "a wild enthusiast [a derogatory term for an evangelical] who was doing the work of Satan".²¹⁷ Leaving them, Whitefield went on to Glasgow in 1742. Whilst there, he heard of the revival at the annual communion at Cambuslang and hastened to

assist the Evangelical clergy of the Church of Scotland in the control of the disturbed communicants.²¹⁸ The controversy in the Established Church that resulted from the revival created some temporary difficulties for the English preacher. He was a frequent visitor to Glasgow in the 1740s and 1750s, but his association with the Cambuslang revival led to him being banned by the magistrates from using his customary meeting place - the yard of Glasgow Cathedral (which was owned by the Crown but managed by the town council). However, his popularity had been evidently restored five years later when he was again permitted to preach in the Cathedral grounds. Indeed, by the late 1750s he was being actively encouraged by the city's presbyterian establishment. In 1757, he was requested by the magistrates to preach on behalf of the city's poor, collecting £58. In the following year, his preaching collected £60 for the city's highly respectable Highland Society.²¹⁹ At the time, these were unprecedented accolades for a non-presbyterian English preacher, and were marks of esteem never accorded by Glasgow to John Wesley.

Despite Whitefield's popularity in Cambuslang and Glasgow, and Wesley's satisfaction with Edinburgh's reception, the progress of the Methodist Church in Scotland was slow and undramatic. By 1760, there were only four preachers in the whole country. Nonetheless, a Methodist preacher in Aberdeen in the mid-nineteenth century, David Wilson, felt that Methodist development until the 1760s had been "most satisfactory wherever

it had been introduced".²²⁰ The ensuing four decades brought progress virtually to a standstill. The indigenous churches, not averse to mixing ecclesiastical rivalry and anglophobia, became alert to Wesleyan encroachments on presbyterian territory. In 1765, a prominent presbyterian minister published a pamphlet bitterly attacking Wesley.²²¹ Whether or not this was a contributory factor, the Methodists failed to capitalise on the dissenting spirit of the late eighteenth century. In 1767, the first year for which statistics are available, there were five Methodist circuits, seven preachers and 468 members in Scotland. Membership rose to 735 in 1774, but within ten years it had fallen back to 481.²²² The meagre growth in Methodist membership in Scotland was in sharp contrast to growth in the rest of the British Isles. Between 1767 and 1784, membership growth was 2.8 per cent in Scotland, 86.3 per cent in England, 95.7 per cent in Wales and 128.8 per cent in Ireland.²²³ The situation in Scotland appeared to be conducive to the development of dissent. Other broadly evangelical dissenting groups such as the Relief and Secession churches were rapidly growing in size. Yet, the Methodist Church was stagnant.

The view of the eight Methodist preachers in Scotland in 1784 was that the Church's weakness stemmed from the absence of ordained ministers who could administer the sacraments. They felt that the Scots would only respect preachers who had, at the very least, the trappings of clerical office. In short, Scottish dissenters might shun the parish church of a minister who

sat in the laird's (lord's) pocket, but they still upheld the presbyterian tradition. And that tradition dictated that the minister be a man of learning, symbolised by his clerical garb and the communion he dispensed. Consequently, the preachers asked Wesley to either remove them from Scotland or grant them the full authority of ministers of the gospel. Wesley concurred with their analysis, and a separate Methodist Church in Scotland was formed in 1785 with a group of ordained ministers. "Episcopalian though he was," commented a writer in the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine in the mid-nineteenth century, "he formed what may be designated a Scottish Presbyterian Wesleyan Methodist Church ..."²²⁴

The change seemed to bring immediate success. Membership doubled in four years, and reached 1,313 in 1793. Two years after Wesley's death in 1791, however, the reforms of 1785 were reversed. The new leaders of the Methodist Church in England abolished the distinction between ordained and unordained clergy and banned the Scottish preachers from wearing the insignia of office - the gowns and bands. Opposing the reversion to former practices, the preachers were recalled to England and replaced by others sent north to assimilate the Scottish circuits into the English Church.²²⁵ Described by David Wilson as "the fatal blow to the Methodist Church in Scotland", there was an immediate contraction in membership from over 1,300 in 1793 to 918 in 1796.²²⁶ At least one congregation seceded to the nascent Scottish Congregational Church which was emerging from the Haldane

revival of the late 1790s. The irony for the Methodist Church in Scotland was that its membership failed to grow at the very time that the evangelical movement to which the Church subscribed was leading to the rapid expansion of the Secession and Relief churches and to the formation of what were to become the Scottish Baptist and Congregational churches.

The Methodist Church in Scotland has, in relative terms, fared little better since the late eighteenth century. Membership rose to 3,786 in 1819, but it fluctuated around the 4,000 mark for the next forty years. In 1860, membership stood at 4,131, and forty years later it was only 5,022. The most appreciable growth took place in the last two decades of the century with membership reaching over 8,000 by 1900. Progress remained just as slow in the twentieth century. Membership stood at 9,651 in 1914, 11,161 in 1930, and reached its largest figure of 14,358 in 1956.²²⁷ In numerical terms, Methodism has had a very minor impact on Scottish religious life.

For most of the nineteenth century, the greatest strength of the Scottish Methodist Church lay in the Glasgow area, and particularly in the city itself. The first society in Glasgow was formed in 1765, and chapels were opened in 1779, 1786, 1813 and 1816.²²⁸ In 1819, the membership of the combined circuits of Glasgow and Airdrie (to the north-east of the city) was 1,620, representing 43 per cent of the total Scottish membership.²²⁹ An investigation by the City Chamber-

lain in 1824 showed that there were 4,600 "sittings" in Methodist chapels in Glasgow and suburbs, accounting for 8.2 per cent of total church accommodation in that area.²³⁰ The 1851 religious census recorded four Wesleyan and one Primitive Methodist chapels in the city with a combined accommodation for 2,120 "sitters", accounting for 2.1 per cent of the city's total.²³¹ Despite some difference in the area covered by these figures, it seems clear that between 1824 and 1851 there was a substantial drop in the significance of Methodist church accommodation in the city. There was some increase during the second half of the nineteenth century; by 1891, there were eight Wesleyan chapels in the city and suburbs.²³² By 1954, there were reported to be seventeen chapels in the city, but only 1,468 people attended worship on one Sunday in that year, accounting for only 1.0 per cent of all church-goers in the city.²³³ The situation in Glasgow was largely representative of the fortunes of the Church in Scotland as a whole. In 1849, the Glasgow circuit had a membership of 897, representing 21.5 per cent of the Scottish membership of the Methodist Church. In 1955, Glasgow membership stood at 4,167, or 29.1 per cent of the Scottish total.²³⁴ In Glasgow as in Scotland as a whole, the Methodist Church failed to develop sustained growth at rates similar to most other denominations.

There is no clear consensus about the reasons for the relative failure of Methodism in Scotland. In the first place, there was an absence of high growth

on the scale apparent in the English Methodist Church and in other evangelical denominations in Scotland. Evidently, there was a failure to attract new members from the constituency of Scottish evangelicals. However, there was also a failure, particularly apparent between 1820 and 1860, to grow by natural increase: in the words of David Wilson, a failure "in keeping up its ranks and energy, and by retaining its own baptised children." Wilson felt that the failure in autogenous growth was associated with the quality of social status that adult membership of the Church conferred. He noted that between 1835 and 1850 there was an "extraordinary decrease of male members, especially amongst the intelligent and useful class." He suggested that this was because the Methodist Church did not give the same degree of importance and measure of responsibility to laymen as the presbyterian churches. In particular, Methodism excluded lay members from the selection of preachers and office-bearers, and from having significant influence in the Church's national assembly, the Methodist Conference. The Conference Laws of 1835 diminished the power of laymen in the Church by limiting the right of petition and memorial to mature preachers and senior office-bearers. Wilson commented that "not a few who are now respected office-bearers and members of other churches ... were, for many years prior to 1837, useful members and ornaments of the Methodist Church, but resigned in consequence of the laws of 1835..."²³⁵ Scottish Victorian society, which placed great store by

laymen's ecclesiastical status, did not, in Wilson's view, hold in respect the lay "ornaments" of the Methodist Church.

Problems of a more temporal nature afflicted the Scottish Methodist Church between 1815 and 1850. A large number of debts were accumulated as the result of an ambitious chapel-building programme that was undertaken in the 1810s. Loans were obtained for erecting chapels in various parts of Scotland - many of the chapels having only tiny congregations. It was hoped that the Church could foster a period of rapid and revivalist growth. The revival did not occur, and Methodist circuits had to bear massive and, in many cases, crippling debts at least until 1850.²³⁶ Without doubt, these debts were a severe constraint on Methodist expansion in Scotland in the first half of the nineteenth century. However, as David Wilson pointed out, the scale of these debts was not altogether unusual. He referred to the Free and U.P. churches where congregations were forced to borrow extensively in order to get these new denominations housed. What was unusual was the Scottish Methodist Church's inability to pay off its debts; Wilson commented: "Wherever the national energy and perseverance have been enlisted and secured, pecuniary difficulties have not been allowed to stop progress."²³⁷

The protracted financial embarrassment of the Scottish Methodist Church provides an important indication of the wealth and social class of its adherents. Wilson stated that the Methodists in Aberdeen were "composed

exclusively of the working and poorer classes, without any rich member among them."²³⁸ Scottish Methodists did not match their English brethren in "liberality" to the Church, yet could in some instances maintain chapel and preacher without assistance from the national Contingent Fund.²³⁹ However, there was a general problem in that Methodists tended to be dispersed throughout Scotland. In the Shetland Islands, Methodism was and is particularly strong - so much so that there is a separate Shetland synod of the Church, distinct from the Scottish synod.²⁴⁰ With that exception, Scottish Methodism has never been as concentrated in certain communities as in the north of England and South Wales. Without that community concentration, congregations were too small to have financial stability. Ethnic divisions exacerbated such difficulties. Methodist immigrants from England and Ireland created divisions "by bringing national habits, feelings and usages into conflict at the Quarterly and Leaders' Meetings." The result was a split between indigenous Scots and English immigrants, and on many occasions it was suggested that separate English and Scottish societies should be created in Scotland on the model of the separate Episcopal churches in Scotland.²⁴¹ The failure to resolve this division may have been an important factor in the non-recruitment of the vast majority of immigrant Methodists. Many of the immigrants settled in the industrial districts of west central Scotland, and, together with the native population, created communities for which Methodism, in Wilson's view,

was "so peculiarly adapted". "Surely in such a wide field," he said, "... we might have expected vastly greater results."²⁴²

There have been a number of theories put forward to explain the failure of the Methodist Church to recruit significant numbers of native Scots. It has been suggested that Methodism's Arminianism (or attachment to Universal Salvation) was in fundamental conflict with the presbyterian doctrine of predestination.

A.A. Maclaren has argued that predestination remained the dominant feature of nineteenth-century Scottish presbyterianism, and that it militated against the development of (evangelical-inspired) philanthropic and public social services because of the absence of gain in religious terms to either the "Elect" or the "non-Elect".²⁴³ In such a situation, evangelical Arminianism in the form associated with the English Methodist Church was out of place in Scotland. However, whilst the doctrine of predestination was still apparent in nineteenth-century presbyterianism, it was not central to it in the way it had been in the seventeenth century. What was apparent in nineteenth-century Scotland - and what strikes some modern historians - was the repressive, "Hellfire-and-Damnation" tone normally associated with predestination. Ironically, this tone was most apparent in the preaching and outlook of clergy in the Free, U.P. and minor presbyterian churches - in other words, in the evangelical denominations. In the nineteenth century, the presbyterian dissenters moved a long way towards renouncing

predestination and adopting the doctrine of Universal Salvation. The Evangelical Union was the first presbyterian church to do this formally, but the Free and U.P. churches were already giving support to Arminianism by promoting missionary schemes and by evangelical preaching. Insofar as the Methodist Church received a hostile reception from eighteenth-century presbyterianism, it was on the basis of preventing secessions from the indigenous churches to the Methodists. Wilson argued convincingly in the mid-nineteenth century that the presbyterian reaction to Methodism was not on doctrinal grounds.²⁴⁴ The conflict of predestination versus Arminianism, inasmuch that it was a conflict, was not fought out between presbyterianism and Methodism but within the presbyterian churches.

A second argument, arising from the first, is that Scottish Methodism was overly influenced by native Calvinist theology and neglected to pronounce openly enough the opportunities for Salvation. A number of Methodists around the middle of the nineteenth century felt that this was a primary cause for Methodist failure in Scotland. The Methodist leader Jabez Bunting was a close friend of many leading Evangelicals who seceded to the Free Church in 1843. His son told the general assembly of the Free Church in 1845 "that between the Wesleyan Methodists and the Free Church there exists a blessed and essential unity of faith". But in reply to this, Wilson stated that Methodist preachers were failing to pronounce the doctrine of Universal

Salvation:

"How many persons (members of other Churches) have I known, who, after having attended for a time the Methodist Chapel, in the hope of having their doubts on such subjects removed, have gone away, expressing surprise and disappointment at finding no difference between the doctrines preached in their own and in the Methodist Church, the peculiar doctrines of an evangelical Arminianism having been so seldom brought forward, or even hinted at."²⁴⁵

From this neglect of Salvationist principles, and from the false assumption that the doctrine of predestination was still dominant in nineteenth-century presbyterian theology, A. A. Maclaren has suggested that Scottish Methodist preachers (amongst others) were actually preaching the doctrine of predestination.²⁴⁶ This is a misinterpretation of both Scottish Methodism and Victorian presbyterianism. A failure to emphasise, or even to indicate the opportunities of, the Atonement should not be considered as equivalent to proclaiming the doctrine of Election. Such an analysis, if applied to the High Church group in the Anglican Church for instance, would clearly be wrong. In any event, there is no evidence to suggest that Scottish Methodism had abandoned the entire doctrinal basis of the Church.

A third and more convincing line of argument would be to explain the weakness of the Scottish Methodist Church in terms of its similarity to native presbyterian evangelicalism. The Scottish dissenting denominations, such as the Free, U.P. and E.U. churches, pronounced a puritanical evangelicalism identical in all major respects

to the evangelicalism of the Methodist Church. Consequently, whilst Methodism was popular in the English, Welsh and Irish contexts, where corrupt and evangelically "lukewarm" episcopal churches dominated, the development of a native presbyterian evangelicalism in Scotland in the late eighteenth century obviated the need for and thwarted the appeal of Methodism. In addition, the Scottish presbyterian dissenting churches provided opportunities for lay involvement and the attainment of increased social status far superior to anything that the Methodist Church could offer. Whilst the development of English evangelicalism implied dissent from the Established Church and dissent from Anglican episcopacy, Scottish evangelicalism led to dissent within the greater reformed presbyterian church. As suggested at the beginning of this section, the absence of a large and established episcopal church in Scotland may have been a factor crucial to the failure of Scottish Methodism.

(iv) The minor non-presbyterian churches.

A number of other denominations and independent religious groups appeared in Glasgow during the nineteenth century. With only a few exceptions, all religious adherents in the city in 1780 were presbyterians, episcopalians, Roman Catholics or Methodists. By 1914, there were between four and eight thousand people claiming adherence to other faiths. None of these new churches was indigenous to Scotland, although some recruited among native Scots. In

general, though, these groups were composed of immigrants and their progeny. Most came to Scotland from England, Europe and Russia. Although numerically small, these peoples and their churches presented the indigenous churches, and especially the presbyterian denominations, with theological and political problems. Most importantly, the presence in the city of minor non-presbyterian churches created a challenge to the ubiquity of presbyterian social policy.

The largest group of non-presbyterians after the Catholics, the episcopalians and the Methodists was the Jews. Scottish society had had minimal contact with Jews during the mediaeval and early modern periods. The first Jew known to have resided in Scotland lived in Edinburgh in 1665. By 1820, there was a community of about one hundred Jews in the capital and a synagogue was established there in 1816. Jewish settlement in Glasgow started later than in Edinburgh, but by 1800 there were some ten families living in the west end of Glasgow.²⁴⁷ In 1831, the City Chamberlain counted 47 Jews in the city - more than half of them born in Germany and Holland and the remainder English-born. Most were self-employed hatters, furriers or jewellers.²⁴⁸ The community grew very slowly in the early Victorian period but it prospered. A commentator in 1858 recorded the presence of 26 Jewish families in the city, describing them as "moral, industrious, educated, and some of them wealthy".²⁴⁹ Their wealth was apparent in a rapid improvement in the provisions for Jewish religious worship. In the first half of the century,

religious meetings were conducted in private houses, but by 1849 a disused post office in the city centre had been acquired for worship. Nine years later, a purpose-built synagogue was erected with accommodation for 260 people.²⁵⁰

Increased Jewish immigration into Britain after 1870 as a result of Russian pogroms was reflected by a very rapid growth in the size of the Jewish population of Glasgow. By 1879, there were between 700 and 1,000 Jews in the city, and an enlarged synagogue was opened. The influx accelerated in the 1890s and two new synagogues were opened in 1898 and 1899. The Jewish community in the city retained much of its homogeneity during this expansion with the synagogues acting as focal points. However, the numbers and poverty of those who arrived in Glasgow in the last three decades of the century created a large Jewish ghetto in the Gorbals district of the city to the south of the river Clyde. This community became quite distinct from the community of wealthy Jewish families in the west end.²⁵¹ It has been conservatively estimated that the total Jewish population in Glasgow in 1900 stood at between two and three thousand; a second estimate is of 4,000 in 1897 and 6,500 in 1902; a third estimate is of 6,000 in 1906.²⁵² For the majority of the city's Jews, poverty and unemployment were experiences shared with other slum dwellers.²⁵³

The growth of the Jewish population in Glasgow in the nineteenth century did not create a situation that was peculiar to that city. The Scottish churches reacted in a similar fashion to the English response. The presbyter-

ian churches shared with the Anglican and English Nonconformist churches a concern to evangelise those whose ancestors had crucified Christ and whose religious faith continued to reject Him as the Messiah. During the early and mid Victorian periods, the British Protestant churches and ad hoc religious organisations made considerable efforts to convert Jews to Christianity. Whilst the Jewish population of this country remained low, most of the missionary work was carried out overseas, and principally in Palestine.²⁵⁴ In the last quarter of the century, however, the growth of Jewish ghettos in the east end of London, in Manchester, Glasgow and other cities led to missionary work amongst those Jews who might be alienated from their religion by the social and economic circumstances experienced in this country. Missionary work in Glasgow was assisted by the London-based Mildmay Mission to the Jews which sent two missionaries to Scotland in the late 1870s.²⁵⁵ The success of these endeavours was probably slight. In 1960, there was only a small band of Christian Jews in Scotland.²⁵⁶

The oldest of the minor non-presbyterian churches to be established in the city was the Society of Friends. A Quaker meeting-house was reputedly formed in Glasgow in 1716.²⁵⁷ Many of the Glasgow Quakers came from Baptist congregations, but the numbers remained low. The 1851 census recorded sixty attenders at morning worship in the two meeting-houses in the city.²⁵⁸

The Unitarian presence in Glasgow dated from 1791 or 1812 when a chapel was erected for that church.²⁵⁹ The Unitarian Church did not recruit well in nineteenth-

century Scotland. In Glasgow in 1851, for instance, the religious census recorded an attendance of four hundred at morning worship in the one Glasgow chapel.²⁶⁰ Nonetheless, Unitarian preachers were prominent in public life. Some became involved in working-class radicalism in Scotland.²⁶¹ Henry Crosskey, preacher at the Glasgow Unitarian Chapel in the mid-nineteenth century, moved on to Birmingham where he joined the influential group of nonconformist clergy who proclaimed the so-called "civic gospel".²⁶² His successor at the Glasgow chapel, J. P. Hopps, was unexpectedly elected to the city's school board in 1873. Standing as a candidate opposed to the spending of public money on the sectarian education of children, he sided with the Roman Catholic members of the board in trying (unsuccessfully) to obstruct the presbyterian majority from continuing the use of the catechism in public schools.²⁶³

The same situation arose with the minister of the Glasgow congregation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Mormons met for worship in the city from 1840, and had one church in 1851 with a morning attendance of 450.²⁶⁴ Their pastor, P. Hately Waddell, started his ecclesiastical career as a probationer in the Church of Scotland, leaving at the Disruption to join the Free Church.²⁶⁵ He too was elected to the Glasgow school board in 1873, and played an active part in challenging the presbyterian control of public education in the city. The election of the Unitarian and Mormon ministers was very significant.

The majority of board members in Glasgow, as in Scotland as a whole, were elected on "religious tickets". With perhaps only one thousand religious adherents between them, Hopps and Hately Waddell sought to gain the votes of those opposed to religious influence in public administration. Yet, like many on the school boards, they were clergymen. In the challenge to presbyterian control of social policy in the later nineteenth century, the public rallied behind men of the cloth. Nevertheless, because of their opposition to religious teaching in schools, Hopps and Hately Waddell were branded as "secularists" by other Protestants.²⁶⁶ The election of these two men should not be regarded as merely a weakening of presbyterian influence. Despite being clergymen, their rise to prominence in public affairs should be seen as a sign of diminishing religious influence generally.

There were a number of other minor religious groups that appeared in the city - mostly in the second half of the nineteenth century. Amongst them were the Catholic Apostolic Church (worshipping in the city before 1851), the Ecclesias of Christadelphians (city church founded in 1851), the Church of the Spiritualists' National Union (1866), the Assemblies of Christian Brethren (1877), the Salvation Army (1878), the Church of Christ (c.1900) and the Church of the Nazarene (the first congregation in the British Isles established in Glasgow in 1906).²⁶⁷ Taken individually, these groups were of minor significance, although the Salvation Army achieved an outreach and influence greater than its personnel

numbers would suggest. However, the proliferation of these non-presbyterian groups in the second half of the nineteenth century was indicative of the weakening presbyterian hold on Scottish religious life.

(d) Sociological perspectives on the Scottish church structure

A major difficulty in the analysis of religious change by the application of sociological typologies is in categorising a particular group, or, more accurately, in identifying the point at which the categorisation of a particular religious group changed. Indeed, there is a danger that attempts to resolve this difficulty may dominate the whole exercise.²⁶⁸ Nonetheless, typological analysis is valuable in establishing the nature of the denominational structure in particular contexts and in identifying the periods of change. In this section, the typology introduced in chapter 1 is applied to the Scottish church structure.

The development of the Scottish church structure is illustrated in diagram 2.1. This is replicated in diagram 2.2 in simplified form with typologies substituted for specific religious groups. The two diagrams would suggest initially a five-stage development in church structure, each stage having a different combination of church types. The five stages may be presented in the following historical progression:

Diagram 2.1 Church structure in Scotland, 1560-1970

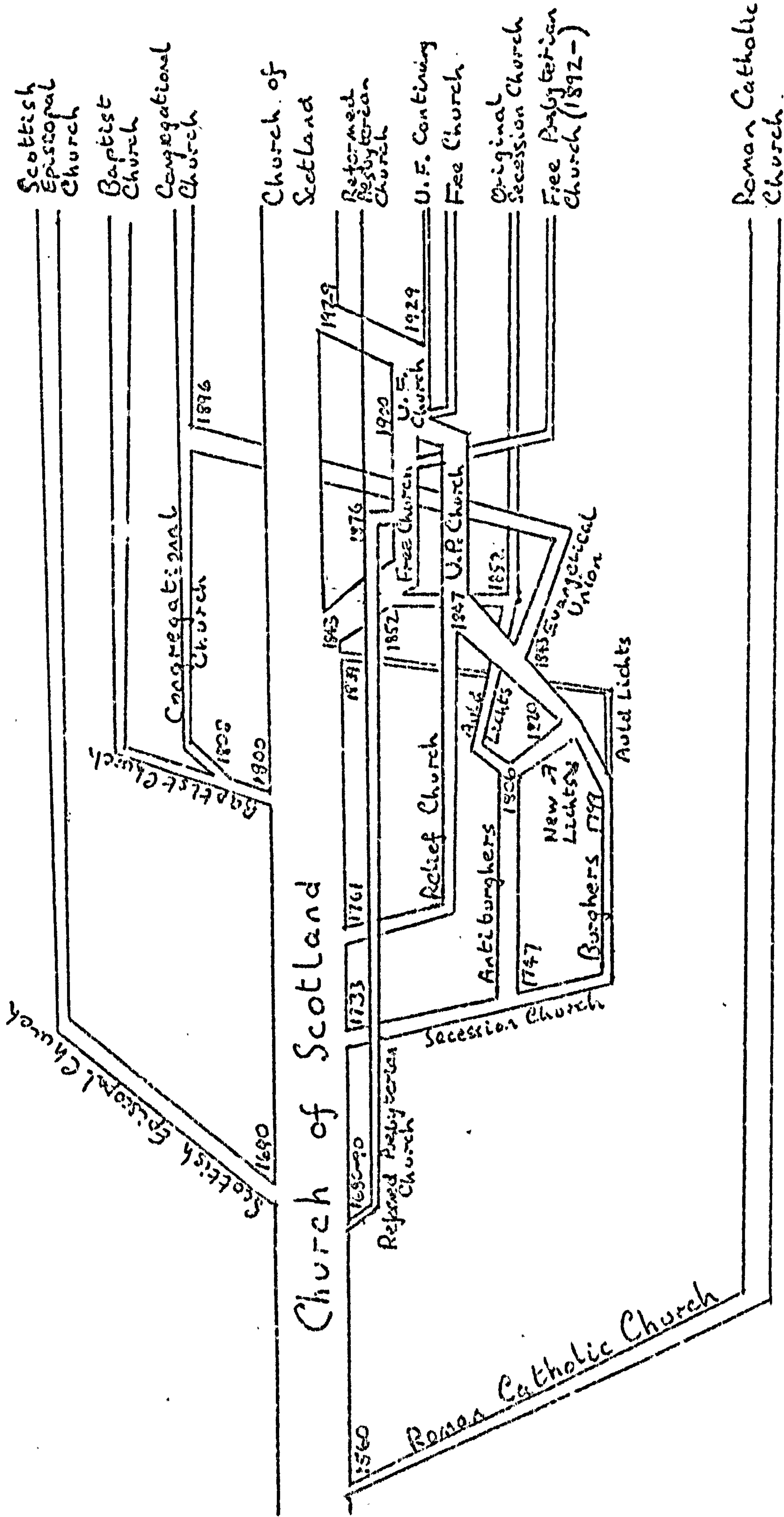
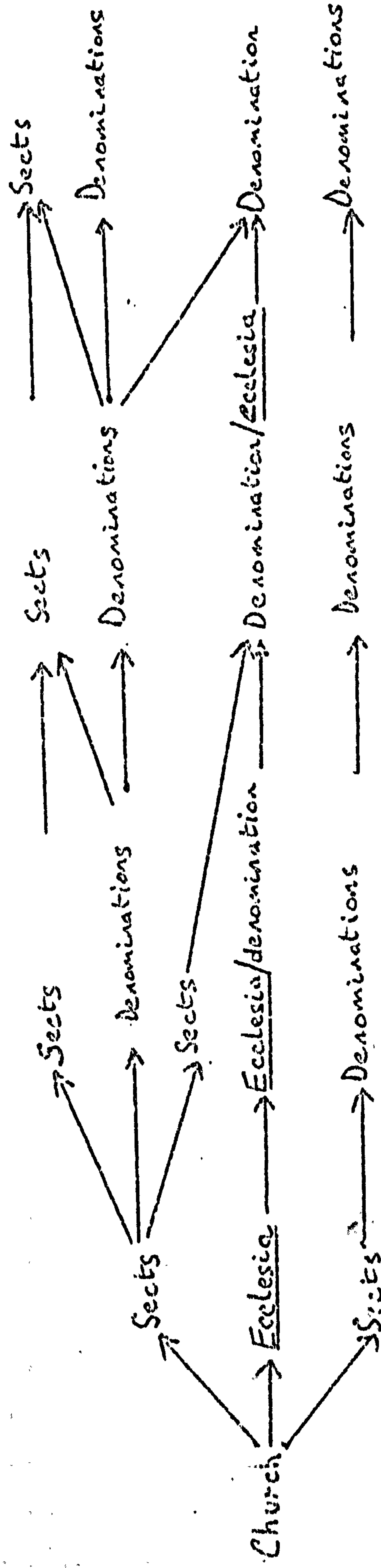


Diagram 2.2 Typological development of Scottish churches, 1560-1970



[continued from page 138]

church \longrightarrow ecclesia + sects \longrightarrow ecclesia/denomination +
denominations + sects \longrightarrow denomination/ecclesia +
denominations + sects \longrightarrow denominations + sects

The first stage represents the pre-1690 period when first the Catholic Church and then the reformed Church of Scotland exhibited characteristics close to the universal-church type. The second stage represents the period from about 1690 to about 1780 when the Established Church retained the monopolistic objectives of the universal church but had diminished prospects of success in this regard. This was indicated by the emergence of sects (such as the Scottish Episcopal Church, the Reformed Presbyterian Church, the Secession Church and the Relief Church) and by the continuation of the Catholic Church as a persecuted sect. These sects did not, in the main, seek or achieve integration with society at large. The third stage represents the period from about 1780 to 1870 when many of the sects of the preceding period emerged as socially-integrative denominations competing with each other for adherents: denominations such as the Episcopal, Secession, Relief, Baptist, Congregational, Free, U.P. and Catholic churches. Simultaneously, the emergence of a competitive denominational structure produced a diminution in the ecclesia status of the Church of Scotland, represented in the progression above by the entry "ecclesia/denomination". In the fourth period, from about 1870 to 1925, there was rationalisation in the structure of presbyterian dissent (the union of the Free and

U.P. churches in 1900, and the union of the E.U. and Congregational churches in 1896), the emergence of new, mainly imported religious groups (most of them categorised as sects) and further decline in the ecclesia status of the Established Church (indicated by the abolition of patronage and the gradual progression towards disestablishment - represented in the above progression by the entry "denomination/ecclesia"). In the fifth and last stage, covering the period from about 1925 to the present day, there was further re-organisation and attempted re-organisation in the reformed churches (indicated by the union between the Church of Scotland and the U.F. Church in 1929, and by the discussions on union involving, in various permutations, the Church of Scotland, the Methodist, Episcopal, Baptist and minor presbyterian churches). After 1929, the Church of Scotland lost most of its ecclesia status, though it retained ad hoc claims and attitudes to informal establishment status.

This five-stage development is broadly similar to the development of the church structures of England and other Protestant countries in Europe. There were important differences. In England, for instance, the Anglican Church has retained establishment status up to the present day. The period covered by each stage differed in other countries. The first stage, that of dominance by a monopolistic church type, extended further into the modern period in Scotland than it did in England. The second stage was consequently shorter in Scotland than south of the border. Furthermore, the developments of the

fourth and fifth stages advanced more rapidly in Scotland than in the rest of the British Isles. Indeed, it may be said that England has not yet reached the fifth stage. Overall, the Scottish pattern was distinct for its compression into a short timespan. To a great extent, this was the result of the Church of Scotland's ability to contain dissent in ad hoc forms. When that containment broke down, first with the formation of the Episcopal and Reformed Presbyterian churches in the late seventeenth century, then with the formation of the Secession and Relief churches in the mid-eighteenth century, and most spectacularly with the creation of the Free Church in 1843, dissent developed rapidly towards the denominational type. The "sect phase" in Scottish religious development was remarkably short. This forms a contrast to the English experience. The Church of England was never able to fully contain dissent. Sects of puritan dissenters developed from the Reformation in the sixteenth century, and developed gradually in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as denominations. In addition, there was no English equivalent to the formation of the Free Church in Scotland in 1843. By the same token, the advance of ecumenism in Scotland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was more rapid and more successful than in England. Nonetheless, the sequence of stages shown above is broadly applicable to the church structures of many European Protestant nations.

To the representation of change in the Scottish church structure can be added the predominant forms of

change:

church sectarianism } ecclesia + sects denominationalism }
ecclesia/denomination + denominations + sects
ecumenism + denominationalism } denomination/ecclesia +
denominations + sects ecumenism + sectarianism + denom-
inationalism } denominations + sects

Just as the sect stage in the pre-industrial period was short, so sectarianism was short in influence and superseded by denominationalism by the late eighteenth century. Denominationalism was very pronounced between 1780 and 1890 with presbyterian and non-presbyterian churches seeking to recruit amongst indigenous and immigrant populations and seeking influence in public affairs. Between about 1870 and 1925, the Church of Scotland was driven towards denominational status in order to allow ecumenic advance. Simultaneously, ecumenic advances were achieved by some dissenting groups. In the period since 1925, ecumenism permitted the reunification of the bulk of Scottish presbyterianism whilst some groups (such as the Free and Free Presbyterian churches) maintained separate and increasingly sectarian status within the Scottish religious structure as a whole.

The five-stage development described in the preceding paragraph can be reduced to four stages. Stages three, four and five may be re-organised as two stages, with the denominationalism that affected the Established

Church being abbreviated, and the unions within presbyterian dissent being described as part of the process that united dissent with the National Church. Similarly, the forms of change indicated above the arrows may be reduced to the main forms. The representation that emerges is as follows:

church (-1690) sectarianism → ecclesia + sects (1690-
1780) denominationalism → ecclesia/denomination +
denominations + sects (1780-1890) ecumenism →
denominations + sects (1890-)

Thus, religious change has been reduced to three main types occurring at three main and discrete periods: sectarianism 1680-1720, denominationalism 1780-1850, and ecumenism 1890-1929. The reduction is very crude. The types of churches are not entirely distinct but form a continuum, and the forms of change are not separate but overlap. Nonetheless, the abbreviated description does provide a fairly accurate reflection of the main forms of religious change, and isolates the most significant periods when those forms of change took place.

The four stages of church development can be broadly associated with different stages in social and economic development. The first stage, that of dominance by a universal-church type, may be associated with periods preceding the development of commercial capitalism. The watershed in the modernisation of Scottish society and in the advent of significant commercial enterprise

is normally dated to between 1670 and 1707, and more particularly to the period 1690 to 1707; as a result, the Revolution of 1688-90 and the Treaty of Union of 1707 have been used as convenient markers for the changes from agrarian/feudal society to commercial/capitalist society in Scotland.²⁶⁹ The decline in the universal-church status of the Church of Scotland and the development of sectarianism may be associated with this watershed at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries.²⁷⁰ Similarly, the second stage of development in the church structure may be associated with the pre-industrial period in eighteenth-century Scotland: the period of commercial development and agricultural improvement between about 1700 and 1780. The development of denominationalism can be associated with the early industrial revolution between 1780 and 1850. The third stage arising from denominationalism may be associated with the industrialisation and urbanisation of the years between 1780 and 1890. The development of ecumenism in the late nineteenth century is not so readily attached to any particular and overall change in Scottish social and economic development. However, there were significant changes taking place within industrial and urban society in Britain after about 1880 or 1890: literacy and educational opportunities widened, "secular" leisure pursuits developed rapidly, and the labour movement emerged as a much-strengthened force in industrial relations, social-policy formation and party politics. In a later chapter, these and other changes

in late-nineteenth-century British society will be presented as important factors affecting religious change.

From the four-stage development, we can take the three forms of religious change: sectarianism, denominationalism and ecumenism. At one level, it can be justly claimed that all three can be detected at the same period in religious development.²⁷¹ For instance, the period after 1890 in Scotland has been strongly characterised by ecumenism (the reunions of 1900 and 1929 for instance), but has also seen denominationalism (in the declining ecclesia status of the Church of Scotland) and sectarianism (in the formation or continuation of the Free, Free Presbyterian and U.F. churches, and the appearance of imported sects). However, in taking a longer perspective, it is apparent that different periods were characterised by main forms of change in the church structure. Broadly, sectarianism can be associated with commercial expansion and change in agricultural society, and denominationalism with industrialisation and urbanisation. Furthermore, each of these forms of change occurred in specific circumstances of social change. In Scotland in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the victory of presbyterianism within the Church of Scotland, coupled with the political unification with England in 1707, allowed some members of the landed classes to divert the exertion of their interests as a social group from the Church of Scotland to the new British state. Thus, they effectively disaffiliated from the state church and created the Scottish Episcopal

Church. In the same way, the restitution of patronage in 1712 allowed other members of the landed gentry to re-exert their influence and control within the Church of Scotland and to form the Moderate faction that dominated that Church between 1750 and 1833.²⁷² In turn, the use of the rights attached to patronage produced in the context of a changing agricultural society the emergence of peasant-dominated Secession congregations. Similarly, the advance of industrialisation and urbanisation after 1780 created urban middle classes whose interests conflicted with those of the landed gentry who controlled the state church. In relation to the middle classes seeking political recognition (principally by the winning of the parliamentary vote), denominations developed as means of providing middle-class "respectability" or legitimacy in the religious sphere. Therefore, the sectarianism of the period around 1700 and the denominationalism of the period around 1800 can be seen as the results of fundamental changes in social relationships.

In both instances, the church structure changed in response to social changes to which it was not adapted. The social changes threatened the social significance of religion inasmuch that the prevailing church structure was unsuited to altered circumstances. In other words, sectarianism and denominationalism were responses made by various social groups to changing conditions that could have led to secularisation. Those social groups, for a variety of reasons, could not or would not maintain their religious adherence within the existing church

structure.

There is an implicit assumption in much sociological analysis that such changes in church structure signify or constitute secularisation. The process of separating church from state, which is an implication or a result of sectarianism, denominationalism and ecumenism, is rightly taken to be one indication of secularisation. However, it tends to gain a greater dominance in the theory and investigation of secularisation than it warrants.²⁷³ One consequence is a tendency to assume that the social significance of religion is greatest in societies with universal churches and that it diminishes as those societies progress towards religious pluralism: sectarianism and denominationalism imply declining acceptance of a religious world view that regulates society.²⁷⁴ Nonetheless, there is a recognition of the paradox that "religiosity as such is stronger where such multiplicity of ideas prevails ..."²⁷⁵ - even if the paradox rests uncomfortably in the "institutional" approach to the study of secularisation. In the study of comparative secularisation, historical patterns of religious monopoly and pluralism differ so widely that international comparisons are difficult. It has been suggested that the degree of religious monopoly, as established for individual countries at a single point in time, should be used as a base level for study.²⁷⁶ Though this approach appears to make religious monopoly a factor exogenous to secularisation, in practice it tends to increase its importance by attributing the subsequent progress of secularisation

to the state of religious monopoly at a particular time.²⁷⁷ Instead of merely providing a unifying code, this approach perpetuates the notion of the primacy of religious pluralism in the advance of secularisation.

It is suggested in the present study that changes in church structure should not necessarily be regarded as indicators or elements of, or responses to, actual secularisation. Changes such as the sectarianism in Scotland around 1700 and the denominationalism in the same country around 1800 should be regarded as responses to threatened secularisation, and only possibly as contributory elements to secularisation. The possibility should be entertained that such changes succeeded in overcoming the threat of secularisation and in sustaining the social significance of religion. Within the framework of this type of sociological analysis, it cannot be ascertained whether the social significance of religion actually diminished because of sectarianism, denominationalism and ecumenism. Other types of approach, such as the investigation of levels of church adherence, must be introduced to establish the influence of changes in religious structure on the social significance of religion as a whole.

Notes to chapter 2.

1. Quoted in Lord Sands, "Historical origins of the religious divisions in Scotland", Records of the Scottish Church History Society (R.S.C.H.S.) iii, 1929, p 94.
2. See for instance H T Buckle (ed. H J Hanham), On Scotland and the Scotch Intellect (1970, Chicago and London), pp 17-54.
3. J H S Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland (1960, London), pp 153-177.
4. Some of the changes are not easily related to a single year. The changes could be progressive, as in the case of the re-introduction of episcopacy under James VI. and Charles I between 1610 and 1640; see Burleigh, op. cit., pp 153-257.
5. Ibid., p vi.
6. For an illustration of these developments, see diagram 2.1, page 139 below.
7. In recent years, the synods of the Church of Scotland have become even less important. Members' attendance has been poor, and the general assembly in 1978 decided to abolish synods. The Scotsman, 22 May 1978.
8. Burleigh, op. cit., p 204.
9. In large part, the system arose to defend presbyterians from episcopal monarchs.
10. Burleigh, op. cit., p 282.
11. Hereafter, the form "Evangelicals" is used when referring to members of the Evangelical faction in

the Church of Scotland. The form "evangelicals" is used when referring to supporters of evangelicalism generally.

12. Burleigh, op. cit., p 279; R Mitchison, A History of Scotland (1970, London), p 355.
13. A C Chitnis, The Scottish Enlightenment: A social history (1976, London), pp 44-5.
14. D Reeves, "The interaction of Scottish and English Evangelicals, 1790-1810", M.Litt. thesis, Glasgow University, 1973, p 12.
15. Mitchison, loc. cit.. Alexander Carlyle (died 1805), a prominent Moderate minister from Inveresk near Edinburgh, enjoyed, in his own words, "philandering with the ladies" and avoided presbyterial dinners because: "Whatever number there were in company they never allowed them more than two bottles of small Lisbon wine..."; quoted in R S Blakey, "The Scottish minister of the nineteenth century - his life, work, and relations with his people", M.Th. thesis, Glasgow University, 1972, pp 5-6.
16. See below, pp 84-5.
17. See below, pp 129-132.
18. C Harvie, Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics, 1707-1977 (1977, London), p 27.
19. J Macleod, Scottish Theology in relation to Church History since the Reformation (reprint of second edition, 1974, Edinburgh and Carlisle, Penn.), p 7.
20. Burleigh, op. cit., pp 242, 246.
21. W. MacKellvie, Annals and Statistics of the United

- Presbyterian Church (1873, Edinburgh), p 1.
22. A L Drummond and J Bulloch, The Scottish Church 1688-1843: The Age of the Moderates (1973, Edinburgh), pp 49-51.
 23. A Fawcett, The Cambuslang Revival: The Scottish Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century (1971, London).
 24. Drummond and Bulloch, op. cit., p 55.
 25. Ibid., p 57; Burleigh, op. cit., p 283.
 26. There was a strong but isolated evangelical movement in the Highlands and Islands in the eighteenth century; see J MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland, 1688-1800 (1951, Aberdeen).
 27. By a statute of 1469, the councils were self-perpetuating. After 1605, Glasgow town council was dominated by merchants with a small number of tradesmen Deacons. The merchants and craftsmen were organised in the Merchants' House and Trades' Incorporations respectively, and these institutions effectively governed the city until 1833; G S Pryde, "Burghal administration" in M R McLarty (ed.), A Source Book and History of Administrative Law in Scotland (1956, London, Edinburgh and Glasgow), p 8; D A Teviotdale, "Glasgow Parliamentary Constituency, 1832-46", B.Litt. thesis, Glasgow University, 1963, p 51.
 28. Quoted in Burleigh, op. cit., p 338.
 29. George Lewis, referred to in J Dunlop, Autobiography (privately printed, 1932, London), p 207.
 30. For modern accounts, see Drummond and Bulloch, op. cit.,

- pp 220-265, and Burleigh, op. cit., pp 334-369.
31. See below pp 487-529.
 32. Burleigh, op. cit., p 374.
 33. Quoted in ibid., p 375; see also A L Drummond and J Bulloch, The Church in Victorian Scotland, 1843-1874 (1975, Edinburgh), p 337.
 34. See below page 78.
 35. Burleigh, op. cit., p 287.
 36. Ibid., p 385.
 37. A detailed account of disestablishment and reunion is given in R Sjolinder, Presbyterian reunion in Scotland, 1907-1921: its background and development (n.d., c1962, Edinburgh).
 38. J M Barrie, The Little Minister (1908, London, Cassell's People's Library edition), p 86.
 39. A L Drummond and J Bulloch, The Scottish Church ... pp 41-4.
 40. Minutes of the Relief Presbytery, quoted in G Struthers, The History of the Rise, Progress and Principles of the Relief Church (1843, Glasgow), p 164.
 41. J O Mitchell, Old Glasgow Essays (1905, Glasgow), p 143.
 42. The "set" or "sett" (the constitution) of the Burgh of Glasgow, as defined in 1748, stipulated that councillors elected by the magistrates should take up office within three months or face a fine of £20 sterling; those elected to be provost, bailie, dean of guild, deacon-convener or treasurer were to be fined £40 for failing to assume office; G MacGregor,

- The History of Glasgow (1881, Glasgow), p 329.
43. The Auld Licht-New Licht split was mentioned in a number of the poems of Robert Burns, including "To William Simpson of Ochiltree" and "The Twa Herds: or, the Holy Tulyie"; W E Henley and T F Henderson, The Poetry of Robert Burns, 4 vols. (reprint 1970, New York), vol. 1 pp 167-175, and vol 2 pp 20-5.
44. For a theological study of Auld and New Licht, see Macleod, op. cit., pp 229-254.
45. Minutes of Glasgow town council, 11 February, 25 March, 22 April and 27 May 1819, quoted in R Renwick (ed.), Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow ... (1913, Glasgow), vol. X; J Cleland, The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow (1824, Glasgow), p 17.
46. J Ramsay, Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century (1888, Edinburgh and London), vol. II, p 32. Ramsay's italics.
47. Ibid., pp 31-2.
48. The form "City Churches" is used to denote those churches of the Established Church of Scotland that belonged to the town council (in this case, of Glasgow). The form "city churches" refers to all churches of all denominations in a city or a number of cities.
49. Drummond and Bulloch, The Scottish Church, p 40.
50. The term "teinds" was the Scots equivalent of the

ecclesiastical "tenth" - the proportion of agricultural produce given to the parish minister in rural areas as payment or part-payment of his stipend. The Court of Teinds was and is a civil court (drawn from the Court of Session) that presides in cases of ecclesiastical dispute that are governed by civil law. For example, as patronage was instituted by act of parliament, the Court of Teinds presided in disputed cases concerning ownership of the rights of patronage. See D M Walker, The Scottish Legal System: An Introduction to the Study of Scots Law (second edition, 1963, Edinburgh), p 92.

51. Struthers, op. cit., pp 219-221.
52. J L Aikman, Historical Notices of the United Presbyterian Churches in Glasgow (1875, Glasgow), pp 23-5.
53. Although it is not entirely clear, it seems unlikely that this chapel was the same as the Relief congregation formed by the other elders of the Wynd Church.
54. Struthers, op. cit., p 182; D Beaton, "The Old Scots Independents", R.S.C.H.S. vol. 3, 1929, pp 137-9.
55. See below pages 64-66.
56. Struthers, op. cit., p 220.
57. Whilst the dissenting presbyterian churches replicated the general system of church courts used by the Church of Scotland, they created the levels

of courts commensurate with their overall size.

Thus, the Relief Church had no general assembly.

58. Factors were agents who managed property.
59. T Gillespie, A Treatise on Temptation ... (1774, Edinburgh), p 145. For an account of Gillespie's career and influence on the Relief Church, see Struthers, op. cit., pp 1-102.
60. Ramsay, op. cit., p 4.
61. Ibid., p 557.
62. Ibid., p 5.
63. Quoted in D Woodside, The Soul of a Scottish Church ... (second edition, 1918, Edinburgh), frontispiece (n.p.).
64. J Peddie, A Defence of the Associate Synod ... (1800, Edinburgh), p 7.
65. Ramsay, op. cit., p 6.
66. Drummond and Bulloch, The Scottish Church ..., p 61.
67. A A MacLaren, Religion and Social Class: The Disruption years in Aberdeen (1974, London and Boston), pp 26-7; P L M Hillis, "Presbyterianism and social class in mid-nineteenth century Glasgow, a study of nine churches", Ph.D. thesis, Glasgow University, 1978, p 142 and passim.
68. See Aikman, op. cit., for a detailed account of the U.P. Church in Glasgow.
69. Burleigh, op. cit., p 363.
70. Ramsay, op. cit., p 6.
71. The Auld Licht Burghers had about forty congregations in Scotland when they rejoined the Church of Scot-

- land in 1839; see Documents pertaining to the negotiation between the General Assembly and the Associate Synod, 1834-9 (n.d., Glasgow), and Drummond and Bulloch, The Scottish Church . . ., p 151.
72. Macleod, op. cit., pp 229-238.
73. Burleigh, op. cit., p 362.
74. Ibid., p 363.
75. See below vol. II chapter 10.
76. Burleigh, op. cit., pp 362-4.
77. "The Church of Scotland remained national while the Free Church, despite its claims, ceased to be so, and the Seceders [ie. the U.P. Church] continued to be, as they always had been, sectarian." Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Victorian Scotland . . ., p 35.
78. A J Campbell, Two Centuries of the Church of Scotland, 1707-1929 (1930, Paisley), pp 220-1;
J R Fleming, A History of the Church in Scotland, 1843-1874 (1927, Edinburgh).
79. See below pp 179-197.
80. For a discussion of the effect of foreign-mission work on ecumenism, see B Wilson, Religion in Secular Society (1969, Harmondsworth), pp 170-4.
81. Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Victorian Scotland . . ., pp 316-321.
82. R L Stevenson, Edinburgh: Picturesque Notes (1879, London), p 17.
83. T Brown, Annals of the Disruption (1884, Edinburgh),

pp 108-121.

84. For a modern commentary on the Disruption, albeit with an anti-secessionist bias, see Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Victorian Scotland ..., pp 1-34.
85. Brown, op. cit., pp 328, 336.
86. Ibid., pp 291-308. The Free Church, and the United Free Church after it, made a large contribution to the development of centralisation in the administration of Scottish presbyterianism. The Free Church Assembly Hall became the assembly hall for the U.F. Church and, after 1929, for the Church of Scotland. Similarly, the present administrative headquarters of the Church of Scotland at 121 George Street, Edinburgh, were originally built for the U.F. Church in 1908-10 and taken over by the enlarged national Church in 1929. The Scotsman (Weekend supplement), 23 June 1979.
87. In Glasgow, for instance, the Tron, St. George's, St. James' and St. David's Churches of the Established Church were joined by the Free Tron, Free St. George's, Free St. James' and Free St. David's Churches.
88. He continued: "There is but a street between them in space, but a shadow between them in principle ..."
R L Stevenson, op. cit., p 16. The Free Church Assembly Hall was attached to the buildings of New College at the top of the Mound overlooking Princes Street. The College, built by 1847, was the Edinburgh centre for the training of Free Church clergy. The College and Hall were built very close to the venue

for the general assembly of the Church of Scotland at the Tolbooth Church. This is widely considered to have been deliberate. Indeed, an architect has recently observed that: "It cannot be mere accident that the entrance courtyard of the Free Church's New College building lies on the axis of the tower of the Established Church Tolbooth St. John's: a bold conjunction which is highly effective when passing through the entrance gate." J B Crossland, Victorian Edinburgh (1966, Letchworth), p 22. In most years in the second half of the nineteenth century, the general assemblies of the Free and Established churches and the Synod of the U.P. Church met in Edinburgh during the same weeks in May. The two general assemblies assumed the status of surrogate Scots parliaments, with the U.P. synod taking an inferior third place. Just as members of the House of Commons refer to the House of Lords as "another place", so the two general assemblies referred in debates to the place "over the way". D Keir (ed), The Third Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xv, Edinburgh (1966, Glasgow), p 171.

89. See below vol. II pp 67-8.
90. By 1869, the Free Church had 596 schools, two teacher-training colleges, 633 teachers and 64,115 scholars. Brown, op. cit., pp 314, 324.
91. J. McCosh, The Wheat and the Chaff gathered into Bundles ... (1843, Perth), p 108.
92. This figure excludes the (two) ecclesiastical prof-

- essors at the University of Glasgow; ibid., pp 51-5.
93. Ibid., p 82. For detailed examination of the effects of the Disruption in Aberdeen, with an analysis of the social composition of presbyterian denominations, see MacLaren, op. cit., and idem, "Presbyterianism and the working class in a mid-nineteenth century city", Scottish Historical Review vol. 46, 2, October 1967.
94. W L Mathieson, Church and Reform in Scotland: a history from 1797-1843 (1916, Glasgow), p 371. Mathieson does not state how he arrived at this figure, but it is suspiciously close to the figure of 37.9 per cent of the clergy who seceded, calculated by McCosh, op. cit.. Mathieson's figure has been used to calculate that there were 127,000 communicants in the Free Church in 1844; R Currie et al., Churches and churchgoers: Patterns of church growth in the British Isles since 1700 (1977, Oxford), pp 132, 136 (f.n. 3). Attempts at obtaining an accurate statistical picture of the Disruption are confounded by what appears to be an influx of new church-goers to Established churches after 1843; see appendix II.
95. MacLaren, Religion and Social Class . . ., pp 27, 100-16.
96. Brown, op. cit., p 97.
97. Ibid., pp 49-74; Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Victorian Scotland . . ., pp 6-8.
98. Fleming, op. cit., p 65.
99. Brown, op. cit., p 816.
100. Quoted in Campbell, op. cit., p 275. see also

G I T Machin, "The Disruption and British Politics 1834-43", S.H.R., vol. 51, 1972, p 20.

101. Quoted in Brown, op. cit., p 145.
102. Burleigh, op. cit., p 399.
103. The figures in this paragraph are taken from, and the percentages derived from, Currie et al., op. cit., pp 132-4.
104. Figures in this paragraph are taken from ibid., pp 133-5, 137.
105. In the late 1970s, the closure of what used to be a Free Church congregation (between 1900-1929 a U.F. Church, and since 1929 a congregation of the Church of Scotland) in Fife on orders from 121 George Street, Edinburgh, raised local feelings that there was a continuing antipathy on the part of the Church of Scotland's "Established-Church" section towards the old dissenters. I am grateful to Mrs. E O A Checkland for this information.
106. Stevenson, op. cit., p 16.
107. Burleigh, op. cit., pp 262-3.
108. The National Covenant was drawn up in 1638 by Scottish presbyterians resisting the episcopacy and perceived "Popery" of King Charles I - particularly his attempt to impose the English Book of Common Prayer on the Scottish Church. The Covenanters were the signatories to the Covenant and other presbyterians who were willing to use force of arms to defend it and presbyterianism generally; see Burleigh, op. cit., pp 210-259.
109. Currie, et al., op. cit., p 132.

110. Fleming, op. cit., p 36.
111. Currie et al., op. cit., p 132.
112. Cleland, op. cit., p 17; idem, Annals of Glasgow, vol. 1 (1816, Glasgow), p 145.
113. J Brown, Religious denominations in Glasgow (1858, Glasgow), p 95.
114. J Paton, Missionary to the Hebrides. An Autobiography (1889, London), pp 39-40.
115. For discussions of the doctrines of the Evangelical Union, see Macleod, op. cit., pp 242-3. 296-8, and H Escott, A History of Scottish Congregationalism (1960, Glasgow), pp 116-7.
116. Evangelical Union, Jubilee Conference Memorial Volume (1892, Glasgow), p 127.
117. Escott, op. cit., p 124.
118. Ibid., p 126.
119. Ibid., p 182.
120. Currie et al., pp 132-5.
121. Drummond and Bulloch, The Scottish Church ..., pp 45-6; Brown, op. cit., pp 15-6.
122. Ibid.
123. MacGregor, op. cit., p 509; Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Victorian Scotland ..., p 52.
124. Beaton, op. cit., p 145.
125. Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Victorian Scotland ..., loc. cit..
126. Census of Great Britain 1851: Report of Religious Worship and Education, Scotland (1854, London), p 27; K McDowall, The People's History of Glasgow (1899,

Glasgow), p 12.

127. Brown, op. cit., pp 31-2.
128. Quoted in N Gray, "Greville Ewing: Architect of Scottish Congregationalism", Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1961, p 94.
129. Escott, op. cit., pp xi-xv.
130. Ibid., pp 3-13.
131. J Cleland, The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow (1824, Glasgow), p 18.
132. Ibid., p 20.
133. G Yuille (ed.), History of the Baptists in Scotland (2nd.ed. n.d., c1930, Glasgow), pp 234-9.
134. G Yuille (ed.), History of the Baptists in Scotland (1926, Glasgow), p 281.
135. However, the Baptists and Congregationalists did not adopt the same structure for their church courts, such as they existed. Like the Relief and E.U. churches, they abhorred the misuse of power by church courts.
136. See table 3.7, p 196 below.
137. T Johnston, The History of the Working Classes in Scotland (3rd. ed., 1946, Glasgow), p 336.
138. The use of "Catholics" in place of "Roman Catholics" conforms with the convention of the Roman Catholic community in Scotland (and Northern Ireland). "Roman", like "Papist", tends to be regarded as Protestant usage.
139. The figure for 1755 is derived from Alexander Webster's estimates of Catholic and Scottish populations (16,490 and 1,265,000 respectively), quoted in

Currie et al., op. cit., p 154, and in T C Smout, A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830 (1972, Fontana/Collins, Glasgow), p 241. The figure for 1900 is derived from the estimated Catholic population (446,000) and the Scottish population from the 1901 census (4,472,103), quoted in J Darragh, "The Catholic Population of Scotland since 1680", R.S.C.H.S., vol. 4, 1953, p 58 and S G E Lythe and J Butt, An Economic History of Scotland 1100-1939 (1975, Glasgow and London), p 244. The figure for 1959 is taken from J Hight, The Scottish Churches: A Review of their State 400 Years after the Reformation (1960, London), p 55.

140. The figure for 1778 is calculated from Anson's estimate of less than twenty Catholics resident in the city and suburbs in 1778 and from a magistrates' census of population for city and suburbs (42,832) in 1780; P F Anson, Underground Catholicism in Scotland, 1622-1878 (1970, Montrose), p 179; MacGregor, op. cit., p 365. The figure for 1808 is calculated from the number of Easter Communicants (1,331), which is multiplied by a factor of 1.75 to give estimated Catholic population, and an estimate of city population (93,800) derived by linear extrapolation from 1801 and 1811 censuses; Darragh, op. cit., p 50; Lythe and Butt, op. cit., p 245. The figure for 1955 is from J Hight, "The Churches", in J Cunnison and J B S Gilfillan (eds.), The Third Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. v, The City of

Glasgow (1958, Glasgow), p 726.

141. Several chapels and nunneries were founded in Edinburgh in the seventeenth century, and some wealthy Catholic gentlemen had their own Oratories. Most of these buildings were sacked at the presbyterian Restoration in 1688-90; R Chambers, Traditions of Edinburgh vol. 1 (1826, Edinburgh), pp 5-6. For further information on the Catholic Church in Scotland before 1878, see Anson, op. cit., and A Bellesheim, History of the Catholic Church in Scotland, vol iv, 1625-1878 (1898, Edinburgh and London).
142. P F Anson, The Catholic Church in Modern Scotland, 1560-1937 (1937, London), p 83.
143. MacGregor, op. cit., pp 319-327; J D Mackie, A History of Scotland (1964, Harmondsworth), p 274.
144. MacGregor, op. cit., p 364; Anson, Underground Catholicism ..., pp 178-180.
145. Ibid., pp 188, 193.
146. Ibid., p 208; J E Handley, The Irish in Scotland (1964, Glasgow), p 53.
147. The Rev. D Macfarlan, a minister in the Church of Scotland, writing in the New Statistical Account (1832-45) and quoted in C F Smith, "The Attitude of the clergy to the Industrial Revolution as Reflected in the First and Second Statistical Accounts", Ph.D. thesis, University of Glasgow, 1953, p 84.
148. Anson, op. cit., pp 208-9; Handley, loc. cit..
149. Ibid., p 2.
150. Ibid., passim; J A Jackson, The Irish in Britain

- (1963, London and Cleveland, U.S.A.), pp 111-134.
151. Anson, Underground Catholicism ..., p 230.
 152. Ibid., pp 233, 272.
 153. Jackson, op. cit., p 6.
 154. Darragh, op. cit., p 58.
 155. Calculated from figures in Currie, et al., op. cit., p 153.
 156. Anson, Underground Catholicism ..., pp 239, 241;
idem., The Catholic Church in Modern Scotland ..., p 69.
 157. Cleland, op. cit., p 17 (f.n.).
 158. Anson, Underground Catholicism ..., p 230; Cleland, Annals of Glasgow vol 1, p 148; McDowall, op. cit., p 11; Handley, op. cit., p 134.
 159. Anson, The Catholic Church in Modern Scotland ..., p 108.
 160. Handley, op. cit., p 127.
 161. Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Victorian Scotland ..., p 74; J Bell and J Paton, Glasgow: its municipal organisation and administration (1896, Glasgow), p 411.
 162. Anson, The Catholic Church in Modern Scotland ..., p 187.
 163. Anson, Underground Catholicism ..., pp 243, 258.
 164. Anson, The Catholic Church in Modern Scotland ..., p 132.
 165. Bellesheim, op. cit., p 293; Handley, op. cit., p 223.
 166. Ibid., pp 199-231.
 167. I G C Hutchison, "Politics and Society in mid-Victorian Glasgow, 1846-1886", Ph.D. thesis, University of

- Edinburgh, 1974, p 478.
168. Ibid., pp 480-1.
169. Ibid., pp 482-3; see also J McCaffrey, "The Irish Vote in Glasgow in the later nineteenth century", Innes Review, 21, 1970.
170. Handley, op. cit., pp 232-262.
171. Established Church of Scotland, Presbytery of Glasgow (E.C.S.P.G.), MS Minutes, 1 August and 5 November 1860, Scottish Record Office (S.R.O.), CH2/171/9; U.P. Church, Presbytery of Glasgow (U.P.C.P.G.), MS Minutes, 14 August and 11 September 1860, S.R.O., CH3/146/52.
172. Bellesheim, op. cit., p 416.
173. "There is considerable acceptance of the view that religion or quasi-religion divides [parliamentary] seats in parts of Scotland along Catholic-Labour and Protestant-Conservative lines." J G Kellas, The Scottish Political System (1973, Cambridge), p 112; see also ibid., pp 163-4, and idem, Modern Scotland: The Nation since 1870 (1968, London), p 71.
174. Quoted in Anson, The Catholic Church in Modern Scotland ..., p 133.
175. J Boswell, Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides ... (3rd. ed, revised, 1786), in R W Chapman (ed.), Johnson's Journey ... and Boswell's Journal ... (1970, Oxford), p 205. Boswell's italics.
176. M Lochhead, Episcopal Scotland in the Nineteenth Century (1966, London), p 11.
177. Quoted in Drummond and Bulloch, The Scottish

- Church ..., p 4.
178. Ibid., pp 5-6.
179. Ibid., pp 17-18; Burleigh, op. cit., pp 274-5.
180. Ibid., pp 275-6; D T K Drummond, Historical Sketch of Episcopacy in Scotland from 1688 to the present time (1845, Edinburgh), p 3.
181. Lochhead, op. cit., pp 20, 30-1.
182. Samuel Johnson, A Journey to the Western Isles ... (1775), in Chapman (ed.), op. cit., p 15.
183. Cleland, The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow, p 16.
184. B M Thatcher, "The Episcopal Church in Helensburgh in the mid-nineteenth century", in J Butt and J T Ward, Scottish Themes. Essays in honour of Professor S G E Lythe (1976, Edinburgh), p 102;
R Chambers and W Chambers, The Gazetteer of Scotland (1832, Edinburgh), p 473.
185. Colquhoun went to London in the late 1790s, joined William Wilberforce's evangelical Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor, drew up a scheme for soup kitchens in the capital, and published a study of crime in that city; see E P Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (1963, Harmondsworth), pp 59-61, and B Inglis, Poverty and the Industrial Revolution (1971, London), pp 93, 112.
186. Renwick, op. cit., vol. VII, minute of Glasgow town council, 4 December 1783; Thatcher, op. cit., p 119.
187. Renwick, loc. cit..

188. See below vol. II chapter 8.
189. The actor David Niven recounts an instance of lingering Jacobitism amongst soldiers of the Highland Light Infantry stationed in Malta before the Second World War: "After the port completed its circle, a toast was given to 'The King'. Many of the glasses I noticed were ostentatiously passed over the top of a glass of water on the way to the lips in a rather juvenile gesture to show that Highlanders were still drinking to the exiled Stuarts - 'the King over the water'." David Niven, The Moon's a Balloon (1972, London), p 87.
190. Only one major restriction remained; namely, that no Scots Episcopalian priest could accept a charge in the Church of England unless he was ordained by an English or Irish bishop. This regulation was eased in 1840 and removed in 1864. F Goldie, A Short History of the Episcopal Church in Scotland ... (1976, Edinburgh), pp 89-90; Lochhead, op. cit., p 36.
191. Ibid., p 37.
192. Goldie, op. cit., p 90.
193. Ibid., p 79.
194. Lochhead, op. cit., p 37.
195. D T K Drummond, op. cit., pp vi, 2; Anon, Letters on the Rev. D.T.K. Drummond's Remarks on the Archbishop of Canturbury's Letter (1845, Edinburgh), p 3.
196. Currie et al., op. cit., p 131; Lochhead, op. cit., p 36.
197. Goldie, op. cit., p 83.

198. Cleland, Annals of Glasgow vol. 1, p 148; Idem,
Queries and Answers respecting the Poor in Glasgow
(1820, Glasgow), p 8; Chambers and Chambers, op. cit.,
p 473; Goldie, op. cit., p 115.
199. Handley, op. cit., pp 54-5.
200. Lawson, History of the Scottish Episcopal Church
(1843, Glasgow), p 502.
201. Goldie, op. cit., p 88.
202. Lawson, loc. cit..
203. Goldie, op. cit., p 88; Thatcher, op. cit., pp 120,
122-3.
204. Goldie, loc. cit..
205. Quoted in Lochhead, op. cit., p 222.
206. Goldie, op. cit., pp 89-90.
207. Lochhead, op. cit., p 222; McDowall, op. cit., p 12.
208. Lochhead, op. cit., p 222; Goldie, op. cit., p 117.
209. Ibid., p 85.
210. See below vol. II pp 103-4.
211. D Wilson, Methodism in Scotland: A brief sketch of
its rise, progress and present position in that
country (1850, Aberdeen), p 31.
212. Ibid., p 7.
213. Ibid., pp 9, 13-14.
214. Ibid., p 7; Macleod, op. cit., p 215.
215. Quoted in Reeves, op. cit., p 5.
216. Ralph Erskine, quoted in J McKerrow, History of the
Secession Church (1848, Edinburgh), p 154.
217. Drummond and Bulloch, The Scottish Church ..., p 53.
218. See above pages 45-6.

219. MacGregor, op. cit., pp 331-2.
220. Wilson, op. cit., p 8.
221. Ibid., pp 8-9.
222. Ibid., attached table (n.p.). A modern compilation of membership numbers in the Scottish Methodist Church includes a figure of 1,045 for 1767. The figure is inconsistent with the scale of the Church at that time, and does not match the figures for subsequent years; Currie et al., op. cit., p 139.
223. Growth rates calculated from figures in ibid..
224. Quoted in Wilson, op. cit., p 29.
225. Ibid., pp 10-11.
226. Ibid., pp 10-11 and attached table (n.p.).
227. Figure for 1819 from ibid.; figures for years after 1820 are from Currie et al., op. cit., pp 139-144.
228. Cleland, Annals of Glasgow, vol. 1 (1816, Glasgow), p 149; idem, The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow (1824, Glasgow), p 18; J Highet, "The Churches", in Cunnison and Gilfillan (eds.), op. cit., p 718.
229. Membership figure taken from, and percentage calculated from figures in, Wilson, op. cit., p 12.
230. Cleland, op. cit., p 14.
231. Figures from and calculated from Census of Great Britain 1851: Report of Religious Worship and Education, Scotland (1854, London), p 27.
232. R Howie, The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland - facts and figures (1893, Glasgow)
233. Highet, "The Churches", in Cunnison and Gilfillan (eds.), op. cit., pp 718, 956 (appendix).
234. Figures from and calculated from ibid., Currie et al.,

- loc. cit., and Wilson, op. cit., p 12.
235. Ibid., pp 12, 14, 28.
236. W R Ward, "Scottish Methodism in the Age of Jabez Bunting", R.S.C.H.S., vol. xx (1978), part 1, pp 47-63; Wilson, op. cit., pp 15-18.
237. Ibid., p 15.
238. Ibid., p 22.
239. Ibid., p 21; Ward, op. cit., pp 54-5.
240. A L Drummond and J Bulloch, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, 1874-1900 (1978, Edinburgh), p 148.
241. Wilson, op. cit., pp 19-20; Ward, op. cit., p 59.
242. Wilson, op. cit., pp 18-19.
243. A A Maclaren, Religion and Social Class ..., pp 27-8, 41, 181-2; idem, "Introduction: An Open Society?" and "Bourgeois Ideology and Victorian Philanthropy: The Contradictions of Cholera", in A A Maclaren (ed), Social Class in Scotland: Past and Present (n.d., but 1976, Edinburgh), pp 3-5, 42-3, 49.
244. Wilson, op. cit., pp 22-4.
245. Wilson quoting and discussing Bunting in ibid., pp 25-6.
246. "It is important to remember that Calvin's doctrine of predestination was not confined to the Scottish Presbyterians, ... but was shared to varying degrees by the Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, and certain smaller bodies." MacLaren, "Bourgeois Ideology and Victorian Philanthropy ..." in MacLaren (ed.), op. cit., p 42. MacLaren's italics.
247. S Daiches, "The Jew in Scotland", R.S.C.H.S., vol. iii, 1929, pp 197-205.

248. A Levy, The Origins of Glasgow Jewry 1812-1895 (1949, Glasgow), pp 12-18.
249. Brown, op. cit., pp 4, 7.
250. Levy, op. cit..
251. Ibid., pp 46-9; Daiches, op. cit., p 207; V D Lipman, Social History of the Jews in England 1850-1950 (1954, London), pp 66-7.
252. The three sets of estimates are from, in order, Hight, "The Churches", in Cunnison and Gilfillan (eds), op. cit., p 744; Lipman, op. cit., p 102; L P Gartner, The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870-1914 (1960, London), p 60.
253. One Jewish historian has stated that 600 Jews in Glasgow, or ten per cent of the city's Jewish population, were hawking and travelling in 1906; ibid..
254. See for example Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland, 2 vols. (1848, Edinburgh). Between 1860 and 1863 inclusive, collections in the Glasgow Presbytery of the Church of Scotland yielded £7,321 for all missionary and educational funds of the general assembly; of this total, £911 was collected for the Jewish missionary fund. This was a considerable amount, bearing in mind the number and extent of enterprises relating to missionary and educational work both at home and in the empire. E.C.S.P.G., MS Minutes, 2 May 1860, 1 January 1861, 7 May 1862, and 6 May 1863, S.R.O., CH2/171/9.
255. J Wilkinson, God Answers Prayer ... (n.d., c1902-3, London), p 85.

256. J Highet, The Scottish Churches ... (1960, London), p 50.
257. J Cleland, The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow (1824, Glasgow), p 6.
258. Census of Great Britain 1851: Report of Religious Worship and Education, Scotland (1854, London), p 27; In 1858, the Glasgow Quaker congregation was reputedly the largest of that denomination in Scotland, having a membership of 50 to 60 people; Brown, op. cit., pp 74, 80.
259. Cleland, op. cit., p 20
260. Census of Great Britain 1851 ..., loc. cit..
261. A MacWhirter, "Unitarianism in Scotland", R.S.C.H.S., vol. xiii, 1959; Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Victorian Scotland ..., p 42.
262. E P Hennock, Fit and Proper Persons: Ideal and Reality in Nineteenth century Urban Government (1973, London), pp 96-7. See also R V Holt, The Unitarian Contribution to Social Progress in England (1938, London).
263. See below vol. II pp 109-110.
264. Census of Great Britain 1851 ..., loc. cit..
265. McCosh, op. cit., p 117.
266. See below vol. II pp 103, 109-110.
267. Highet, "The Churches", in Cunnison and Gilfillan (eds.), op. cit., pp 719-721.
268. For example, Thompson and Gilbert disagree whether the Church of England after 1830 was predominantly of the ecclesia or denominational type; K A Thompson, Bureaucracy and Church Reform: The organizational response of the Church of England to Social Change

- 1800-1965 (1970, Oxford), pp 212-237; A D Gilbert, Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change 1740-1914 (1976, London and New York), pp 138-143.
269. See T C Smout, op. cit., pp 195-198; B Lenman, An Economic History of Modern Scotland 1660-1976 (1977, London), pp 44-52; R Mitchison, op. cit., pp 291-302; T Dickson (ed.), Scottish Capitalism: Class, State and Nation from before the Union to the Present (1980, London), pp 78-130.
270. The earlier appearance of these religious trends in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England may be associated with the earlier and more gradual development of "modernisation" and commercial capitalism there.
271. " ... if we take secularization as the experience of Christianity in these two countries [the U.S.A. and Great Britain], ecumenicalism, denominationalism and sectarianism are the responses ..." B Wilson, op. cit., p 11.
272. For aspects of these processes, see Smout, op. cit., p 216; and T Dickson (ed.), op. cit., p 87.
273. See for instance the emphasis given to it in the introduction to the study of secularisation in B R Scharf, The Sociological Study of Religion (1970, London), pp 35-6.
274. B Wilson, op. cit., pp 51-2; R Towler, Homo Religiosus: Sociological Problems in the Study of Religion (1974, London), pp 135-8.

275. B Wilson, op. cit., p 44.
276. David Martin proposes categorisations of countries according to "whether or not the religion concerned is Catholic, whether or not there is a monopoly of religion, and whether or not the 'frame' of a society is set up through conflict against external or internal oppressors." D Martin, A General Theory of Secularization (1978, Oxford), p 17.
277. Martin states that the categories "procede in terms of the state of religion when the 'frame' was initially set up." (His italics.) "The categories I present simply refer to the degree of monopoly present when a given society achieved its modern form." The point at which a society achieves its "modern form" is not self-evident, and its selection has important implications on the developments in religious organisation that are included in or excluded from the study. Martin, op. cit., p 18.

Chapter 3

Secularisation and religious adherence

"I entirely agree with those who deny that, in matters pertaining to religion, statistics are either the best or the final criterion ... On the other hand, it is indisputable that figures are unimpeachable witnesses to vigour, progress and interest."

R Mudie-Smith¹

(a) Introduction.

The number of church members and church goers per capita of population is an important indicator of the social significance of religion. However, there may be a tendency to regard statistics of religious adherence as the primary or best indicators. This should be resisted, for it leads inter alia to over-concentration on those periods for which statistics are available, and to neglect of considerations about the non-quantifiable but nonetheless measurable aspects of religion's social significance. It may also encourage comparisons of church going in different historical and religious contexts which do not take sufficient account of the varying social and ecclesiastical importance, or imperatives, of church attendance. There are further problems associated with constructing models to explain patterns of church growth and decline.²

Church adherence should be regarded as a contributory factor to the social significance of religion, and not necessarily as "the best or the final criterion".

This chapter is concerned principally with three statistical exercises. Firstly, the pluralisation of the denominational structure is examined quantitatively in elaboration of the developments described in the previous chapter. Secondly, the level of church going in Glasgow is compared with other parts of Scotland and with England and Wales. Thirdly, the patterns of church growth in Scotland and Glasgow are compared over time to population growth.

(b) Religious adherence by denomination in Glasgow and Scotland.

Extant statistics of Scottish denominational adherence provide an insecure basis for reliable comparisons between churches and over time. In particular, the discontinuities in and varying reliability of statistics of church membership and church adherence makes it difficult to produce time series extending before about 1880. In addition, some denominations, most notably the Roman Catholic Church, did not collect (or, at least, did not make public) figures for membership or communicants. In order to illustrate the denominationalisation of the Scottish church structure, a variety of statistics relating to numbers of church buildings, church "sittings", church attenders and church members are produced and reproduced here.

Developments in the church structure of Glasgow between 1700 and 1950 are best illustrated in table 3.1. At the time of the Union between Scotland and England, all the churches in the city belonged to the Established Church of Scotland. In theory, this was the situation throughout Scotland, for at that time dissenters were not recognised as seceders from the state church. As discussed in chapter 2, dissent at that time took the form of dissension and disagreement within the Church of Scotland. Nonetheless, embryonic dissenting churches were apparent; the Cameronians, the episcopalians and the Catholics were already constituted as separate though persecuted sects. As the eighteenth century progressed, the secessions from the Established Church and the importation of new churches from England permitted the growth in Glasgow of both presbyterian and non-presbyterian dissent. By 1821, over twenty years before the Disruption, the Established Church provided only some 37 per cent of the city's churches. With the creation of the Free Church in 1843, presbyterian dissent was within seven or eight years providing 63 per cent of the city's churches with the state church providing a mere fifth of the total. The second half of the nineteenth century saw slight increases in the proportions of churches provided by the Established Church and by non-presbyterian dissent. The Catholic and Episcopal churches, in particular, undertook increased church building after 1880. With the union of the Free and U.P. churches in 1900, a number of congregations were amalgamated and church

buildings excess to requirements disposed of. With the union of the United Free and Established churches in 1929, presbyterian dissent in the city, as elsewhere in Scotland (excluding the Highlands and Islands) was reduced to a very small rump.

The same developments can be seen in table 3.2. The table combines statistics for the number of "sittings" available in the city's churches in 1824 and 1851 with church attendance figures taken at the official religious census of 1851 and at a private census of 1954 organised by Dr. John Highet, lecturer in sociology at the University of Glasgow. Church sittings provide a reasonably-accurate indication of the strength of denominations, as seen by the close correlation between sittings and attendances for 1851.³ The table clearly illustrates the three different patterns of development for the three church groupings. The Established Church's monopolistic position was already greatly weakened by 1824, and that Church continued in relative decline until the middle of the century. However, the declining fortunes of presbyterian dissent, leading eventually to the reunion of 1929, gave rise to a sharp shift of adherents from dissent to the Church of Scotland. Independently, non-presbyterian dissent continued to grow throughout the period. In particular, the Roman Catholic Church grew spectacularly in the second half of the nineteenth century as a consequence of Irish immigration. Thereafter, the Catholic population of Glasgow continued to grow by natural increase. By 1955, the adult Catholic population of the city was

Table 3.I Church buildings in Glasgow, 1708-1954.

Date	City ^I Population	Churches of the Established Church of Scotland		Churches of presbyterian dissent		Churches of non- presbyterian dissent		Total churches
		Number	% of total churches	Number	% of total churches	Number	% of total churches	
1708	12,000	6	100	0	0	0	0	6
1740	17,000	7	64	2	18	2	18	11
1763	28,300	9	56	5	31	2	13	16
1780	42,800	12	48	10	40	3	12	25
1801	77,000	15	43	16	46	4	11	35
1821	147,000	18	37	24	49	7	14	49
1851	363,000	25	20	78	63	21	17	124
1891	766,000	83	23	189	53	87	24	359
1954	1,032,000 ²	217	49	75	17	155	35	447

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Sources and Notes are given on the following page.

Table 3.1 (continued)

Sources Population figures for 1708 to 1780 are from censuses by Glasgow magistrates, quoted in G MacGregor, History of Glasgow (1881, Glasgow), pp 291, 315, 365; population figures for 1801 to 1954 are from or derived from Registrar General's censuses, quoted in B R Mitchell and P Deane, Abstract of British Historical Statistics (1962, Cambridge), pp 24-5. Data on the number of churches obtained from J Cleland, Annals of Glasgow vol. 1 (1816, Glasgow); idem, The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow (1824, Glasgow); G MacGregor, op. cit.; Census of Great Britain 1851: Report of Religious Worship and Education, Scotland (1854, London), p 27; R Howie, The Churches and Churchless in Scotland (1893, Glasgow); and J Highet, "The Churches", in J Cunnison and J B S Gilfillan (eds.), The Third Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. V, The City of Glasgow (1958, Glasgow), p 726.

- Notes
1. Figures for 1708 to 1780 refer to population of "Glasgow and suburbs", for 1801 onwards to Glasgow Parliamentary or Municipal Burgh and environs subsequently included in Glasgow by 1918. Figures for churches refer to "Glasgow and suburbs" for 1708 to 1821, to Glasgow Parliamentary Burgh for 1851, and to Glasgow, Partick, Govan, Kinning Park, Barony and Cathcart for 1891. Dr. Highet did not specify exactly what area his figures covered, but he implied strongly that the area was the City of Glasgow.
 2. This figure was calculated by linear extrapolation from the figures for 1951 (1,090,000) and 1961 (898,000).

Table 3.2 Church going and church accommodation in
Glasgow 1824-1954: percentage distribution
between Church of Scotland, presbyterian
dissent and non-presbyterian dissent

	1824	1851	1954
	Sittings ¹	Sittings	Attendance ²
	%	%	Attendance ³
	%	%	%
Church of Scotland	42	23	20
Presbyterian dissent	40	58	57
Non-presbyterian dissent	15	18	22
Unidentified	4	2	1
	<u>101</u>	<u>101</u>	<u>100</u>

Sources J Cleland, The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow (1824, Glasgow), pp 12-23; Census of Great Britain 1851: Report of Religious Worship and Education, Scotland (1854, London), p 27; J Hight, "The Churches", in J Cunnison and J B S Gilfillan (eds.), The Third Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. V, The City of Glasgow (1958, Glasgow), pp 728-734, 956-7.

- Notes
1. Cleland's survey purported to cover all churches and places of worship in the city and suburbs; the named churches being Church of Scotland, the Burghers and Antiburghers (the Secession Church), the Relief, Episcopal, Roman Catholic, Reformed Presbyterian, Independent, Methodist and Unitarian churches.
 2. The figures include attendances at morning, afternoon and evening worship on the day of the census, 30 March 1851.
 3. The data used for this column comes from the

Table 3.2 (continued)

first of Dr. Highet's nine censuses, that held on Sunday 25 April 1954. Only eight denominations were included; viz. the Church of Scotland, Baptist Union, Congregational Union, Free, Methodist, United Free, Episcopal and Roman Catholic churches. As a result, the minor sects and denominations have been largely omitted, thus slightly under-estimating the proportion of church-goers at non-presbyterian churches.

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estimated at 193,000, or about 26 per cent of the total adult population of the city.⁴ Such was the growth of non-presbyterian dissent in Glasgow after 1850, and especially after 1900, that by the middle of the twentieth century presbyterianism was clearly a minority church grouping in the city.

Table 3.3 provides a precise breakdown of church attendance by denomination in Scotland and Glasgow at the 1851 religious census.⁵ It can be seen very clearly that the Established Church was considerably weaker in Glasgow than in Scotland as a whole. Both the Free and U.P. churches had more attendances in the city than the Established Church; this was a reversal of the national situation. The United Presbyterian Church's strength in the city is particularly striking: it was the largest single denomination in the city in terms of attendances, whilst only third in the country as a whole. Equally striking is the strength of the non-presbyterian churches in the city. Of the 80,000 people recorded as attending worship at Catholic churches in Scotland, 23,000 of them attended in Glasgow. More generally, it is evident that practically all the minor denominations had higher proportions of total attendances in the city than in Scotland as a whole.

It is useful at this point to consider the broad similarity between the church structures of Scotland and England. Table 3.4 provides a basis for comparison by equating the Established Church of Scotland with the

Anglican Church, presbyterian dissent with English nonconformity, and non-presbyterian dissent with the English Roman Catholic and "sectarian" churches. There are obvious inconsistencies in this exercise. The nonconformists included groups with widely differing doctrines compared to the relative unanimity of Scottish presbyterian dissent. Indeed, Scottish presbyterian dissent had much more in common with the Church of Scotland than English nonconformity had with the Church of England. Furthermore, Scottish non-presbyterian dissent included the Episcopal Church which in England was the established religion of the country. Nonetheless, the comparisons have some broad validity. In terms of inter-denominational rivalry, local and national politics, and social segregation by church adherence, the comparison is most useful. For instance, presbyterian dissent sought to curtail the privileged position of the Established Church of Scotland in much the same way as the nonconformists sought to curtail the power of the Anglican Church. Both presbyterian dissent and nonconformity represented the rising urban middle classes whilst the two state churches depended for their support and political strength on the landed gentry and the rural parishes. Lastly, non-presbyterian dissent in Scotland was made up largely of Catholics, as with the third religious grouping in England.

It emerges from table 3.4 that the Established Church of Scotland was very much weaker in Glasgow and Scotland than the Established Church of England was south

Table 3.3 Church attendances in Glasgow and
Scotland, 30 March 1851

Church	Glasgow		Scotland	
	Attend- ances	% of total attend- ances	Attend- ances	% of total attend- ances
Church of Scotland	29,588	20.11	566,409	32.32
Presbyterian dissent	83,137	56.52	1,026,320	58.56
Free Ch.	32,273	21.94	555,702	31.71
U.P. Ch.	33,342	22.67	336,412	19.19
Ref. Presb.	3,216	2.19	18,379	1.05
Orig. Sec.	1,725	1.17	13,915	0.79
Relief Ch.	-	-	745	0.04
Congreg.	7,002	4.76	68,531	3.91
Baptists	2,523	1.72	20,958	1.2
Glassites	156	0.11	1,083	0.06
E.U.	2,900	1.97	10,570	0.60
Campbellites	-	-	25	(0.001)
Non-presbyt- erian dissent	32,562	22.14	151,987	8.67
Roman Cath.	23,400	15.91	79,723	4.55
Episc. Ch. ²	4,731	3.22	43,904	2.50
Methodists	2,215	1.51	21,675	1.24
Quakers	98	0.07	338	0.02
Unitarians	400	0.27	1,848	0.11
Moravians	-	-	71	(0.004)
New Church	243	0.17	398	0.02
Cath. Apost.	175	0.12	588	0.03
Mormons	1,300	0.88	3,407	0.19
Jews	-	-	35	(0.002)
Unidentified	1,816	1.23	7,970	0.45
Totals	147,103	100.00	1,752,686	100.00

Source and Notes are given on the following page.

Table 3.3 (continued)

Source Figures for attendances are from and calculated from Census of Great Britain 1851: Report of Religious Worship and Education, Scotland (1854, London)

- Notes 1. "Attendances" are the aggregates of morning, afternoon and evening attenders. The importance of afternoon and evening worship varied considerably between denominations and between different parts of the country, and for this reason total attendances have been presented here. See Appendix I.
2. The figures for "Methodists" include Original Connexion, Primitive Methodists, Independent Methodists and Wesleyan Reformers.

Table 3.4 Proportionate attendances by religious groupings in Glasgow, Scotland and England, 30 March 1851

	Glasgow ¹	Scotland ¹	England ^{1,2}	
	%	%	%	
Church of Scotland	20	32	47	Church of England
Presbyterian dissent	57	59	47	Nonconformists
Non-presbyterian dissent	22	9	6	Roman Catholic and sectarian
Unidentified	1	(0.45)		
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	

Sources Figures for Glasgow and Scotland are "rounded-up" figures from table 3.3. Figures for England derive from the religious census for England and Wales, with calculations and tabulation by W S F Pickering, "The 1851 religious census - a useless experiment?", British Journal of Sociology, vol. xviii (1967), no. 4, p 392, table 1.

Notes 1. All figures refer to aggregates of morning, afternoon and evening attendances. All figures derive from actually recorded attendances and not adjusted attendances.

2. The classification of English non-Anglican churches into "Nonconformists", "Roman Catholic" and "Sectarian" was made by Dr. Pickering. For the purposes of this table, the last two have been grouped together.

[continued from page 187]

of the border. Concomitantly, presbyterian dissent was stronger in Scotland than the nonconformists were in England. This explains inter alia why disestablishment went further in Scotland than it did in England. Non-presbyterian dissent in Scotland was of similar strength proportionately to the strength of the Roman Catholic and "Sectarian" churches in England. Catholics accounted for 4.55 per cent of attendances in Scotland compared to approximately 4 per cent in England. The Scottish Episcopal Church added a further 2.50 per cent to non-presbyterian dissent, accounting in large measure for the 3 per cent extra attendances in this grouping over its English equivalent.

At the 1851 religious census, the three main presbyterian denominations the Established, Free and U.P. churches - accounted for 64.7 per cent of church attendances in Glasgow and 83.2 per cent of all attendances in Scotland.⁶ It is difficult to provide an accurate quantitative comparison of the development of these churches over time. Although other religious censuses were conducted in the second half of the nineteenth century, they were suspect in terms of accuracy and were not comparable with each other or with the 1851 census. Most of these were private censuses undertaken by local newspapers known for their ecclesiastical partisanship.⁷ There were various compilations of church statistics in the nineteenth century, but they are not comparable.⁸ The most accurate denominational time series are the churches' own statistics. A selection of these are provided in table 3.5. Unfortunately, various factors make comparison between denominations difficult, but the four columns (for the Established, Free, U.P. and U.F. churches) show the comparative rate of growth of the churches.⁹ The largest series of church-adherence statistics for Glasgow is reproduced in table 3.6. Comparing this with table 3.3, it would seem that the relative strength of the Church of Scotland in the city improved between 1851 and 1899 at the expense of the Free and U.P. churches. Whereas in 1851 the U.P. Church had the largest number of attendances

(33,342) with the Free Church second(32,273) and the Established Church third (29,588), in 1891 the Established Church claimed 56,386 communicants in the city, the Free Church 39,672 and the U.P. Church 38,989. However, the data in tables 3.3 and 3.6 are not directly comparable - the former being attendance figures and the latter membership figures. Nonetheless, the relative growth of the Established Church over the Free and U.P. churches during this period is borne out by other statistics, and these are presented in section (d) below.

Obtaining information about the numerical strengths of non-presbyterian churches is even more difficult. The most reliable estimates are presented in table 3.7. The figures are not comparable between denominations, but they show the growth in importance of these minor churches during the period of Scottish industrialisation. At the end of the eighteenth century, the non-presbyterian churches were very weak in Scotland. In the main, their adherents were situated in the north of the country; probably little in excess of one per cent of the population of the Scottish central lowlands (the belt of land between Glasgow and Edinburgh) adhered to the churches of non-presbyterian dissent. The substantial growth by 1914 in the proportion of the Scottish population adhering to churches in this grouping was due to the development of non-presbyterian dissent in the industrial areas of the central belt, and especially in Glasgow.

Table 3.5 Communicants and membership of the major presbyterian churches in Scotland, 1840-1970.

Date	Church of Scotland ¹	Free Church ⁵	Members/adherents	U.P.C. ⁶	U.F.C. ⁷
	Communicants' roll	Communicants	Communicants	Communicants	Communicants
1840	367,000 ²	-	-	-	-
1844	252,000 ³	nk	nk	-	-
1856	nk	188,707	nk	142,956	-
1868	422,357 ⁴	nk	249,351	159,457	-
1873	460,464	226,000	258,996	164,279	-
1881	528,475	248,200	312,160	174,557	-
1891	599,531	271,981	337,331	185,298	-
1899	656,112	296,085	407,626	199,098	-
1900	661,629	4,008	nk	-	492,964
1914	718,719	508,653	nk	-	512,003
1928	759,625	541,489	nk	-	538,192
1929	1,284,449	nk	nk	-	13,791
1956	1,319,574	914,031 ⁸	nk	-	24,783
1970	1,154,211	5,726	nk	-	17,248

Source and Notes are given on the following page.

Table 3.5 (continued)

Source R Currie et al., Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700 (1977, Oxford), pp 132-5.

- Notes
1. Church of Scotland data is derived from the Yearbook of the Church of Scotland unless otherwise stated.
 2. Estimate assuming that Established Church communicants numbered less than 14 per cent of total population.
 3. Assumes 38 per cent of communicants left Established Church (same proportion as that of clergy) in 1843. Assumes that Free and Established churches accounted for 14 % of the population.
 4. Derived from Church of Scotland Assembly Papers.
 5. Free Church data are derived from a number of sources; see Currie et al., op. cit., pp 136-7, footnotes 6 and 8.
 6. All data are from Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church.
 7. All data are from United Free Church of Scotland: Reports to the General Assembly.
 8. Figure refers to 1957.

Table 3.6 Communicants of the major
presbyterian churches in Glasgow 1879-1899

Church ^{1,2}	1879	1891	1899
Church of Scotland	50,156	56,386	67,755
Free Church	32,095	39,672	50,956
U.P. Church	34,966	38,989	45,739 ³

Source R Howie, The Churches and Churchless in Scotland
(1893, Glasgow).

- Notes
1. Howie claimed that the statistics for the three denominations were compatible.
 2. The figures relate to Glasgow, Govan, Barony and Cathcart.
 3. Figure for 1898.

Table 3.7 Non-presbyterian dissent in Scotland, 1790
and 1914: estimates of adherence

Church	1790		1914	
	Adherents	% of total population	Adherents	% of total population
Roman Catholic ¹	50,000	3.28	546,000 ²	11.38
Episcopal ³	12,000 ⁴	0.79	146,073	3.04
Methodist ⁵	1,356 ⁶	0.09	9,651	0.20
Jewish ⁷	- ⁷	-	10,000 ⁷	0.21
Others ⁸	-	-	6,095 ⁸	0.13
Total	63,356	4.16	717,819	14.96

Scottish population 1790 : 1,525,977⁹
 1914 : 4,797,381¹⁰

Sources Estimates for adherence are from and derived from R Currie, et al., Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700 (1977, Oxford), pp 128, 131, 139, 142, 153, 154, 157. The estimate for the number of Jews is by the present author. Figures for Scottish population were calculated from figures quoted in T C Smout, History of the Scottish People 1560-1830 (1972, Fontana/Collins, Glasgow), p 241, and in S G E Lythe and J Butt, An Economic History of Scotland 1100-1939 (1975, Glasgow and London), p 244.

Notes 1. Figures are estimated Catholic population.

Table 3.7 (continued)

2. Figure relates to 1913.
3. Figures are members.
4. Figure relates to 1792.
5. Figures are members.
6. An alternative figure is 1,086, quoted by D Wilson, Methodism in Scotland ... (1850, Aberdeen), attached table, n.p..
7. Currie et al. do not produce data on the strength of the Jewish Church. In 1790, it is unlikely that the Jewish population of Scotland exceeded 200. The figure for 1914 is an estimate based on an estimate of 7,400 Jews in Scotland in 1901, quoted in V D Lipman, Social History of the Jews in England 1850-1950 (1954, London), p 103.
8. The 1914 figure is based on known adherence of 7 churches (Churches of Christ, Latter Day Saints, Moravians, New Church, Quakers and Seventh Day Adventists) in the United Kingdom at that date, and was calculated pro rata with the proportion of U.K. inhabitants living in Scotland at the time of the 1911 census (10.5 per cent). Thus, it is a highly arbitrary figure.
9. This was calculated by linear extrapolation from Alexander Webster's 1755 population estimate (1,265,000) and the 1801 census (1,608,000).
10. This was calculated by linear extrapolation from the census figures for 1911 (4,760,904) and 1921 (4,882,497).

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(c) Church-going and non-church-going.

Apart from the general problems concerning the accuracy of the 1851 religious census,¹⁰ specific problems arise when trying to use the census data to calculate the proportion of the population who attended church. Similar problems apply to the use of the data from the 1954 census of morning attenders at Glasgow churches. These problems are discussed in appendix I where certain reservations are made about the use of census material.

Table 3.8 shows the levels of church-going in Glasgow in 1851 and 1954. Between those dates, there was a substantial drop in the proportion of the population attending morning worship. Non-presbyterian dissent held its ground remarkably well, slightly increasing its proportion of population from 5.30 per cent to 5.52 per cent. This must be set against the increase in the "constituency" of non-presbyterian dissent. The Roman Catholic population of the city, in particular, grew at a rate higher than population growth. In 1831, there were an estimated 26,965 Catholics in the city (or 13.35 per cent of total city population) compared with 194,550 in 1954 (or 18.84 per cent of city population).¹¹ Church-going by presbyterian dissenters diminished between the mid-nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries as the vast majority of presbyterians in dissenting churches rejoined the Church of Scotland. Consequently, whilst the table might suggest that the Church of Scotland also held its

ground (with figures of 4.24 per cent in 1851 and 4.29 per cent in 1954), there was in fact a marked loss by the presbyterian churches of 10.91 per cent over the one hundred and three years. The drop may have been larger than the figures suggest. By the middle of the twentieth century, the significance of afternoon and evening worship had diminished substantially, and the 1954 census reflected this in covering morning attendances only. The decline in importance of afternoon and evening services was partly due to the decline in "twicing", or the habit of people attending church more than once each Sunday. Furthermore, it is likely that some who attended afternoon and evening worship in 1851 were "half-day hearers" - people who attended divine service only once on Sundays. Consequently, comparison of morning attenders in 1851 and 1954 weighs too heavily in favour of the latter year in representing the size of the church-going population. In any event, the level of church-going fell appreciably between the two dates, and the presbyterian churches fared worse: their Sunday-morning worshippers represented 15.92 per cent of the population in 1851 and only 5.01 per cent in 1954.

It has been asserted that the level of church adherence in Scotland has been substantially higher than in England during the third quarter of the twentieth century.¹² However, the difference between the two countries in terms of active church-going was not so noticeable in 1851. Table 3.9 shows that church-going in Scotland was only two to eight decimal points greater than in England and Wales. However, Scottish census

Table 3.8 Church-going in Glasgow, 1851 and 1954

Church group	Church attendances as % of total city population				1954 ²
	1851 ¹			Total 1+2+3	
	1 Morning	2 Afternoon	3 Evening		
Church of Scotland	4.24	4.45	0.30	8.99	4.29
Presbyterian dissent	11.68	11.65	1.93	25.26	0.72
Non-presbyterian dissent	5.30	2.57	2.15	10.02	5.52
Unidentified churches	0.17	0.19	0.19	0.55	—
Totals	21.39	18.86	4.57	44.82	10.53

Glasgow population 1851 : 329,097³
 1954 : 1,032,400⁴

Sources Calculated from data in Census of Great Britain 1851: Report of Religious Worship and Education, Scotland (1854, London), p 27; J Highet, in J Cunnison and J B S Gilfillan (eds.), The Third Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. 5, The City of Glasgow (1958, Glasgow), p 956; 1851 population figure quoted in ibid., p 863; 1954 population figure calculated from data in S G E Lythe and J Butt, An Economic History of Scotland 1100-1939 (1975, Glasgow and London), p 245.

Notes 1. Figures relate to Glasgow Parliamentary Burgh.
 2. Census of 25 April. See note 3, table 3.2, pp 184-5 above.
 3. Figure for Parliamentary Burgh.
 4. This figure calculated by linear extrapolation from figures for Municipal Burgh in 1951 (1,090,000) and 1961 (898,000).

Table 3.9 Church-going in Scotland, England and Wales, and selected areas, 30 March 1851.

Area	Population	Attendances at morning worship		Attendances at morning, afternoon and evening worship	
		Number	Attendances as % of total population	Number	Attendances as % of total population
Scotland	2,888,742	943,951	32.68	1,752,688	60.67
England & Wales	17,927,609	4,428,338	24.70	10,419,390	58.12
Glasgow	329,097	70,381	21.39	147,503	44.82
Edinburgh & Leith	191,221	48,886	25.57	107,432	56.18
Dundee	78,931	19,692	24.95	47,354	59.99
Greenock	36,689	10,307	28.09	24,955	68.02
Argyllshire	89,298	13,101	14.67	23,183	25.96
Caithness	38,709	8,530	22.03	22,014	56.87
Berwickshire	36,297	15,922	43.87	22,616	62.31
Tower Hamlets	539,111	82,522	15.31	158,953	29.48
Liverpool	375,955	98,218	26.12	169,859	45.18
Manchester	303,382	61,167	20.16	102,053	33.64
Birmingham	232,841	43,544	18.70	83,985	36.07

Table 3.9 (continued)

Area	Population	Attendances at morning worship		Attendances at morning, afternoon and evening worship	
		Number	Attendances as % of total population	Number	Attendances as % of total population
Leeds	172,270	39,392	22.87	81,604	47.37
Sheffield	135,310	20,300	15.00	43,421	32.09
Newcastle	87,784	18,710	21.31	35,080	39.96
Swansea	31,461	6,835	21.73	10,293	32.72
Staffordshire	608,716	129,062	21.20	296,347	48.68
Devonshire	567,098	164,263	28.97	399,559	70.46
Hertfordshire	167,298	51,143	30.57	121,846	72.83
Cumberland	195,492	37,337	19.1	72,872	37.28

Sources Census of Great Britain, 1851: Report of Religious Worship and Education, Scotland (1854. London).
 Census of Great Britain, 1851: Religious Worship, England and Wales, Parliamentary Papers, 1852-3,
 vol. 89, Tables C and F, pp cxxvi-cclxx. W S F Pickering, "The 1851 religious census - a useless
 experiment?", British Journal of Sociology, vol. xviii, 4 (1967), p 392.

[continued from page 199]

returns were more incomplete than the returns for England and Wales, implying that the extent of church-going in Scotland was underestimated.¹³ Certain geographical variations in the proportion of census returns made may also affect comparison of church-going in different parts of Scotland.¹⁴ Nonetheless, variations in levels of church-going were quite pronounced, as table 3.9 shows. Church-going was appreciably lower in the major Scottish cities than in Scotland as a whole. Glasgow's turnout was the lowest of the cities. This was widely attributed to the shortage of church accommodation in the city.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the cities did not record the worst levels of church-going. Argyllshire achieved the exceptionally low figure of 14.67 per cent church-going for morning worship - less than half the Scottish average. On the other hand, some counties had very high rates of church-going. Berwickshire in the south-east of the country had morning attendances totalling 43.87 per cent of population. One striking feature of the figures in the table is the high level of church-going in heavily-industrial Greenock on the lower Clyde compared to some predominantly rural counties.

For the purposes of comparison, table 3.9 includes attendance figures for a number of English cities and counties. The returns for English cities showed a greater variance in the level of church-going than the returns for Scottish cities. In general, the English cities had lower church-going levels than the national average. One interesting

feature to emerge from the table is the low level of afternoon and evening attendances in English urban areas, and the high level in English counties, in comparison to Scottish cities and counties.¹⁶ In all the Scottish cities for which figures are cited, the aggregate of afternoon and evening attendances exceeded morning attendances. In the Scottish counties, with the exception of Caithness, morning attendances exceeded the aggregate of afternoon and evening attendances. The position in England was reversed. Morning attendances were higher than afternoon plus evening attendances in all the cities, with the exception of Leeds and Sheffield, and vice versa in all the counties with the exception of Cumberland. It is unlikely that there was any single reason for these differences. The fact that "half-day hearing" was considered a religious offence in the dissenting presbyterian denominations undoubtedly contributed to the high turnouts at afternoon and evening services in Scottish cities and the Free Church stronghold of Caithness. The high turnouts at afternoon and evening worship in English rural areas may have been the result of insufficient church accommodation amongst strongly church-going communities. Whatever importance should be attached to these factors, and whatever other factors are involved, it is clear that the proportion of church attendances to population was higher, in general, in Scottish cities than in English cities. Furthermore, the level of attendances to population in Glasgow - whilst low in comparison to other major cities in Scotland - was

about average for cities of comparable size in England.

Even allowing for factors such as "twicing", the evidence of the 1851 religious census suggests that the level of church-going was higher in Scotland than in England. However, the difference was too slight as to suggest that English society was in some manner "less religious" and "more secular" than Scottish society. It is apparent that there were significant differences in the extent and arrangement of church-going on Sundays throughout Great Britain. There were differences between town and country, between city and city, and between county and county. Even within a region there could be major differences. Sunday-morning church attendance in Liverpool involved 26 per cent of the population - one of the highest urban figures in the country. Thirty miles away in Manchester, a city of almost equal size, the figure was only 20 per cent. Glasgow's morning attenders accounted for 21 per cent of the population - the lowest figure for a large city in Scotland. Twenty-five miles down the Clyde at Greenock, a town with a similar industrial base to its economy, morning attendance represented 29 per cent of the population. With such large variations in levels of church-going within regions, the overall difference between England and Scotland seems quite minor. The fact that the denominational structure of Scotland was dominated by presbyterianism does not appear to have deflected the extent of church-going there from the British average. Local circumstances appear to have been of greater significance. Even so,

when all is said and done in respect of these statistics, few meaningful conclusions emerge about the religious state of different parts of the country. From stating that church-going was higher in Liverpool than in Manchester, and higher in Greenock than in Glasgow, it does not necessarily follow that the social significance of religion was less in Manchester than in Liverpool, and less in Glasgow than in Greenock. There were a variety of only partially-quantifiable factors at work affecting levels of church-going: shortage of churches and church pews in a locality, the location of churches, the prices charged for church pews, the social exclusivity of congregations, and the cost and availability of Sunday transport, to name but some. In a society in which population was expanding rapidly, and in which religious organisations sought with varying degrees of success to keep pace with social change, church attendance cannot be regarded as an independent and accurate indicator of the social significance of religion.

(d) The pattern of religious adherence, 1800-1970.

Figures are used in this section to illustrate the changing levels of religious adherence in Scotland and Glasgow between 1800 and 1970. Of particular concern is the timing of the decline in religious adherence. With the exception of Sunday-school statistics, all the Scottish data employed relate to the presbyterian denominations. This is made necessary by the lack of

reliable membership or participant data, with which to construct time series for most other denominations - most notably for the Roman Catholic Church. In any event, the fortunes of the major presbyterian churches are the main concern of the overall study.

The growth in membership of the Scottish presbyterian churches between 1800 and 1970 is compared with population growth in table 3.10. The material shows that the percentage decennial growth rate for church membership was in double figures throughout the nineteenth century and that it then dropped dramatically from the first decade of the twentieth century. The most spectacular growth occurred between 1840 and 1860 at the time when evangelical dissent became better organised and enlarged in the form of the newly-created Free and U.P. churches. Recruitment to the presbyterian churches at that time was at a rate significantly higher than population growth. Between 1860 and 1880, church growth remained relatively strong, though slightly lower than during the middle decades of the century, and only slightly above the rate of population growth. Between 1880 and 1900, the decline in church growth started to become evident. Although the growth rate hovered around the 10.5 per cent mark, the level of church recruitment fell below the level of population growth between 1890 and 1900 for the first time since the 1830s. This situation became intensified in the first decade of the twentieth century with a growth rate almost halved in ten years. This must be seen partly as a result of declining popul-

Table 3.10 Church and population growth in Scotland 1800-1970

Date	Presbyterian churches ¹ in Scotland		Scottish ² population		Church growth above or below population growth %
	Membership (thousands)	Decennial growth %	Population (thousands)	Decennial growth %	
1800	313		1,608		
1810	346	10.54	1,806	12.31	- 1.77
1820	398	15.03	2,092	15.84	- 0.81
1830	450	13.07	2,364	15.06	- 1.99
1840	503	11.78	2,620	10.83	+ 0.95
1850	603	19.88	2,889	10.27	+ 9.61
1860	723	19.90	3,062	5.99	+13.91
1870	822	13.69	3,360	9.73	+ 3.96
1880	949	15.45	3,736	11.19	+ 4.26
1890	1,053	10.96	4,026	7.76	+ 3.20
1900	1,164	10.54	4,472	11.08	- 0.54
1910	1,232	5.84	4,761	6.46	- 0.62
1920	1,281	3.98	4,882	2.54	+ 1.44
1930	1,299	1.41	4,843	-0.80	+ 2.21
1940	1,311	0.92	5,022 ³	3.7	- 2.78
1950	1,304	- 0.53	5,096	1.47	- 2.00
1960	1,332	2.15	5,179	1.63	+ 0.52
1970	1,179	-11.49	5,228	0.95	-12.44

Sources Figures for church membership are from R Currie et al., Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of church growth in the British Isles since 1700 (1977, Oxford), p 25.

Figures for Scottish population are from S G E Lythe and J Butt, An Economic History of Scotland 1100-1939 (1975, Glasgow and London), p 244.

Notes 1. The denominations included are the Church of Scotland, the Free, U.P., U.F., Reformed Presbyterian and Original Secession Churches. Membership is here defined as communicants'

Table 3.10 (continued)

roll. Membership estimates included in the quoted figures are as follows: Church of Scotland 1800-60, the U.P. Church and its antecedents 1800-60, and the Reformed Presbyterian and Original Secessions Churches for most of the period. The remainder of the data used are taken from known communicant numbers. See Currie, et al., op. cit., page 26, note 4. Because of the total reliance on estimates for 1800-40, and the heavy reliance on estimates for 1850-60, the table is least reliable for the first sixty years of the period. If anything, the figures for 1800-40 may underestimate the membership of Scottish presbyterian churches. This is partly because of the fragmented condition of the Secession Church. The figures for 1850-60 are more reliable estimates and probably give a fair account of the growth in church membership at that time.

2. The population figures refer to 1801, 1811, 1821, etc.. The decennial growth rates for population refer to 1801-11, 1811-21, etc.. This provides sufficient accuracy for the purposes to which the table is put in the text.
3. The figure for 1941 was calculated by linear extrapolation from the mid-year estimate for 1939 (5,006,689) and the 1951 census figure (5,096,415).

Table 3.11 Sunday-school and population growth in Glasgow
1831-1916: decennial figures.

Date	Scholars at Glasgow ¹ Sunday schools		Glasgow ⁶ population		Sunday-school growth above or below population growth %
	Roll	Decennial growth %	Population (thousands)	Decennial growth %	
1831	9,789 ²		212		
1841	23,830 ²	143.44 ²	287	35.38	+108.06 ²
1851	38,704	62.42	363	26.48	+ 35.94
1861	58,021	49.91	443	22.04	+ 27.87
1871	68,897	18.74 ³	568	28.22	- 9.48 ³
1881	87,683	27.56	673	18.49	+ 9.07
1891	108,205	23.40	766	13.82	+ 9.58
1901	115,254 ⁴	6.51	904	18.02	- 11.51
1911	110,472	- 4.15	954	5.53	- 9.68
1916	97,702	-23.12 ⁵	994 ⁷	8.39 ⁸	- 31.51

Sources Figures for scholars enrolled at Glasgow Sunday schools are from Glasgow Sabbath School Union, Annual Reports 1841, 1842, 1853, 1862, 1872, 1882, 1892; Scottish National Sabbath School Union, Annual Reports 1902, 1912, 1917. Figures for Glasgow population are from and derived from B R Mitchell and P Deane, Abstract of British Historical Statistics (1962, Cambridge), pp 24-5.

Notes 1. The figures include all the scholars enrolled at Sunday schools in Glasgow and suburbs, with only a very small number of excluded schools (notably some attached to the Evangelical Union). The figures also include some schools outwith Glasgow and suburbs - notably some in Rutherglen and Cambuslang. However, over 95 per cent of the enrolled scholars attended Sunday schools located within the area encompassed by the population figures.

Table 3.11 (continued)

2. The 1831 figure was derived by linear extrapolation from the figures for 1829 (8,768) and 1837 (12,852). There was undoubtedly a very rapid growth in the Sunday-school movement in the city in the 1830s, but the figures are exaggerated by affiliation of already operating schools to the Glasgow Sabbath School Union.
3. Whilst there was a drop in the growth of enrolment during the 1860s, the level of enrolment in 1871 was particularly low. The decennial growth rate of 18.74 per cent for 1861-71 may be compared to the rate of 25.30 per cent for 1860-70.
4. In 1899, the Glasgow Sabbath School Union became the main component of the Scottish National Sabbath School Union. The enrolment figures continued to be collected in the same manner and referred to the same areas as formerly.
5. This figure is decennial equivalent. The true rate of growth for 1911-16 was -11.56 per cent.
6. Population figures refer to Glasgow and environs of Glasgow later incorporated in the city. Such environs include Partick, Hillhead, Govan, Calton and Kinning Park which were all separate from Glasgow in 1831 and all part of it by 1916.
7. This figure was calculated by linear extrapolation from the census figures for 1911 and 1921 (1,034,000).
8. This figure refers to decennial growth in population between 1911 and 1921.

Table 3.12 Sunday-school and population growth in Scotland
1851-1970: decennial figures.

Date	Scholars at Scottish ¹ Sunday schools		Scottish population		Sunday-school growth above or below population growth %
	Roll	Decennial growth %	Population (thousands)	Decennial growth %	
1851	240,745 ²		2,889		
1861	299,776 ³	24.52	3,062	5.99	+18.53
1871	356,255 ³	18.84	3,360	9.73	+ 9.11
1881	429,811	20.65	3,736	11.19	+ 9.46
1891	487,365	13.39	4,026	7.76	+ 5.63
1901	467,479	- 4.08	4,472	11.08	-15.16
1911	466,896	- 0.12	4,761	6.46	- 6.58
1921	392,405	-15.95	4,882	2.54	-18.49
1931	376,760	- 3.99	4,843	- 0.8	- 3.19
1941	237,999	-36.83	5,022 ⁷	3.7	-40.53
1951	300,008	26.05	5,096	1.47	+24.58
1961	288,560 ⁴	- 3.82	5,179	1.63	- 5.45
1970	225,746 ⁵	-24.19 ⁶	5,223 ⁸	0.95 ⁹	-25.14

Sources Figures for Scottish Sunday-school roll are taken from and derived from R Currie et al., Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700 (1977, Oxford), pp 169-70, 172-4; and Census of Great Britain 1851: Report of Religious Worship and Education, Scotland (1854, London), p 37. Figures for Scottish population are from and derived from B R Mitchell and P Deane, Abstract of British Historical Statistics (1962, Cambridge), p 6; and B R Mitchell and H G Jones, Second Abstract of British Historical Statistics (1971, Cambridge), p 3.

Notes 1. The figures relate to Sunday-school pupils enrolled at Sunday schools attached to the Church of Scotland, the Free Church (1851-91), U.P. Church (1851-91) and U.F. Church (1901-70). The component figures on which the

totals in this column are based relate to the rolls recorded by each denomination except where indicated below.

2. Only the Free Church recorded a figure (99,090) for this year. It was 8.5 per cent greater than the figure (91,328) for scholars enrolled at Free Church Sunday schools recorded at the 1851 religious census. Figures for the other churches were calculated by taking 108.5 per cent of the 1851 census returns. Thus, the Church of Scotland census return of 76,233 enrolled scholars produced a figure of 82,713, and the U.P. Church census return of 54,324 produced a figure of 58,942.
3. The Free Church figure for 1861 (109,113) is an estimate provided by Currie et al., p 172. The Church of Scotland figures for 1861 (119,028) and 1871 (155,343) are estimates calculated by linear extrapolation from the 1851 estimate (see note 2 above) and the 1881 actual figure (191,657).
4. The Church of Scotland figure (281,561) was derived by linear extrapolation from the figures for 1959 (297,192) and 1962 (273,746).
5. The U.F. Church figure (4,873) is an estimate calculated on the basis that the negative growth in the U.F. Church roll of Sunday-school pupils was from 1967 (when the roll stood at 5,538) until 1970 at the same rate as the decline in the Church of Scotland roll between the same dates (i.e. at -12 per cent).
6. This figure is decennial equivalent. The true rate of growth from 1961-70 was -21.77 per cent.
7. This figure was calculated by linear extrapolation from the 1939 mid-year estimate and the 1951 census return.
8. This figure was calculated by linear extrapolation from the figures for 1961 and 1971 (5,228,000).
9. This figure relates to decennial growth 1961-71.

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ation growth, but by no means entirely. This down-turn in the rate of church growth after 1880, and especially after 1900, is a theme to which we shall return shortly.

For the remainder of the twentieth century, church recruitment may have been affected by the vicissitudes of two world wars. Certainly, there were short-term changes during the course of the wars. Church of Scotland enrolled communicants actually increased in number on the outbreak of war in 1914 - at a time when there had been a slight downward trend. During the war, both the Church of Scotland and the U.F. Church appear to have kept on their communicants' rolls those soldiers who were stationed overseas. However, the number of active communicants in the Church of Scotland fell substantially - from 508,653 in 1914 to a low of 455,224 in 1918. During the Second World War, the Church of Scotland seems to have changed its practice and dropped some or all of serving soldiers from the roll of communicants. After both wars, there were swift recoveries of enrolled and active communicants, with the Church of Scotland regaining its 1914 level of active communicants by 1920 and its 1939 level by 1946.¹⁷ With such apparently rapid return to status quo ante bellum, the decennial growth rates shown in the table may be taken as omitting short-term effects of war though reflecting whatever long-term effects "total war" had on church recruitment. Taken as a series, the figures for 1900 to 1940 show an accelerating decline in the rate of

church growth. Nonetheless, with low rates of population growth in the 1920s and 1930s, church recruitment compared quite well. In the 1940s, church membership went into an absolute decline that was dramatically reversed by 2.15 per cent growth in the 1950s. The year-by-year statistics of enrolled communicants show that there was continuous growth in the Church of Scotland between 1948 and 1956 - a period noted for the evangelical campaigns of the "Christian Commandoes" and the Scottish revivalist meetings of Billy Graham.¹⁸ After holding ground between 1958 and 1960, the number of enrolled communicants in the Church of Scotland went into serious and uninterrupted decline up to 1970. There is every reason to believe that the decline has continued up to the present day.

The same general pattern of growth and decline in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries can be seen from statistics of Sunday-school enrolment. Tables 3.11 and 3.12 provide data on Sunday-school enrolment in Glasgow and Scotland respectively. Sunday-school statistics generally, and ones referring to small areas such as Glasgow in particular, are more responsive indicators of church activity than statistics of church adherence. Consequently, Sunday-school growth rates tend to be more accentuated, as these tables show. The decennial growth rates for Sunday-school enrolment in Glasgow were very high between 1830 and 1860, greatly exceeding the rate of population growth. Taking into account note 3 in table 3.11, the growth rate remained fairly high up until 1890, staying above the rate of population growth for most of that period. After 1891, however, there was a dramatic change.

Growth rates had fallen by nearly three-quarters by 1901 and absolute decline in membership started in the first decade of the new century. The decline, aggravated by war, became worse between 1911 and 1916.

The same pattern of development emerges from the Scottish national statistics of Sunday-school enrolment in table 3.12. These show that apart from a surge of growth in the 1940s (which the year-by-year figures indicate occurred between 1944 and 1956¹⁹), the number of Sunday-school scholars declined throughout the first seventy years of the twentieth century.

Diagram 3.1 combines the data for church adherence and Sunday-school enrolment in comparison to population growth. It can be seen that all three time series indicate growth rates above the rate of population growth until 1890. Certainly, there was a progressive decline in the rates from 1860 onwards, but a marked decline occurs between 1890 and the outbreak of the First World War. The rates for church and Sunday-school growth appear to rise and fall out of step thereafter. However, the statistics point to a serious change in the pattern of religious development in Glasgow and Scotland around 1900.

The change in growth rates at that time seems to have affected all presbyterian denominations, but not equally. Table 3.13 shows the decennial growth rates for membership of the Church of Scotland and the major evangelical dissenting denominations between 1860 and 1970. The Free and U.P. churches experienced very rapid growth in the mid-Victorian period (between the 1840s and 1860s),

Table 3.13 Presbyterian Church growth in Scotland 1860-1970

Date	Church of Scotland		Free Church + U.P. Church (1860-1899) United Free Church (1900-1929)	
	Membership ¹	Decennial growth %	Membership ⁶	Decennial growth %
1860	365,571 ²		348,451	
1870	431,550 ³	18.05	381,210	9.40
1880	524,245 ⁴	21.48	418,192	9.70
1890	593,393	13.19	454,584	8.70
1900	661,629	11.5	492,964	9.32 ⁷
1910	714,039	7.92	506,693	2.69
1920	739,251	3.53	529,680	4.54
1930	1,271,095	1.48 ⁵		
1940	1,278,297	0.57		
1950	1,271,247	- 0.55		
1960	1,301,280	2.36		
1970	1,154,211	-11.30		

Source Figures are from and derived from R Currie et al.,
Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in
the British Isles since 1700 (1977, Oxford), pp 132-135.

Notes 1. Figures are for communicants' roll.

2. This figure was calculated by linear extrapolation from
estimates for 1844 (252,000) and 1868 (422,357).

3. This figure was calculated by linear extrapolation from
an estimate for 1868 (422,357) and the figure for 1871
(436,147).

4. This figure was calculated by linear extrapolation from
the figures for 1878 (515,786) and 1881 (528,475).

5. This figure represents the decennial growth from the aggregate membership of the Church of Scotland and the U.F. Church in 1920 (1,268,931) to the aggregate membership of the Church of Scotland and the U.F. Church Continuing (whose membership stood at 16,571) in 1930 (1,287,672).
6. Figures refer to communicants of the three denominations. The component figures used for the table for 1860-90 are as follows:

Year	Free Church Membership	U.P. Church Membership
1860	197,482	150,969
1870	219,419	161,791
1880	244,800	173,392
1890	269,764	184,820

The figures for Free Church membership in 1860, 1870 and 1880 were calculated by linear extrapolation as follows: 1860 and 1870 from estimates for 1856 (188,707) and 1873 (226,000); 1880 from estimates for 1878 (238,000) and 1881 (248,200).

7. This figure represents the decennial growth from the aggregate membership of the Free Church and the U.P. Church in 1890 to the aggregate membership of the U.F. Church and Free Church (whose membership stood at 4,008) in 1900.

Diagram 3.1 Church and Sunday-school growth rates above or below population growth in Glasgow and Scotland, 1830-1970 (see tables 3.10, 3.11 and 3.12)

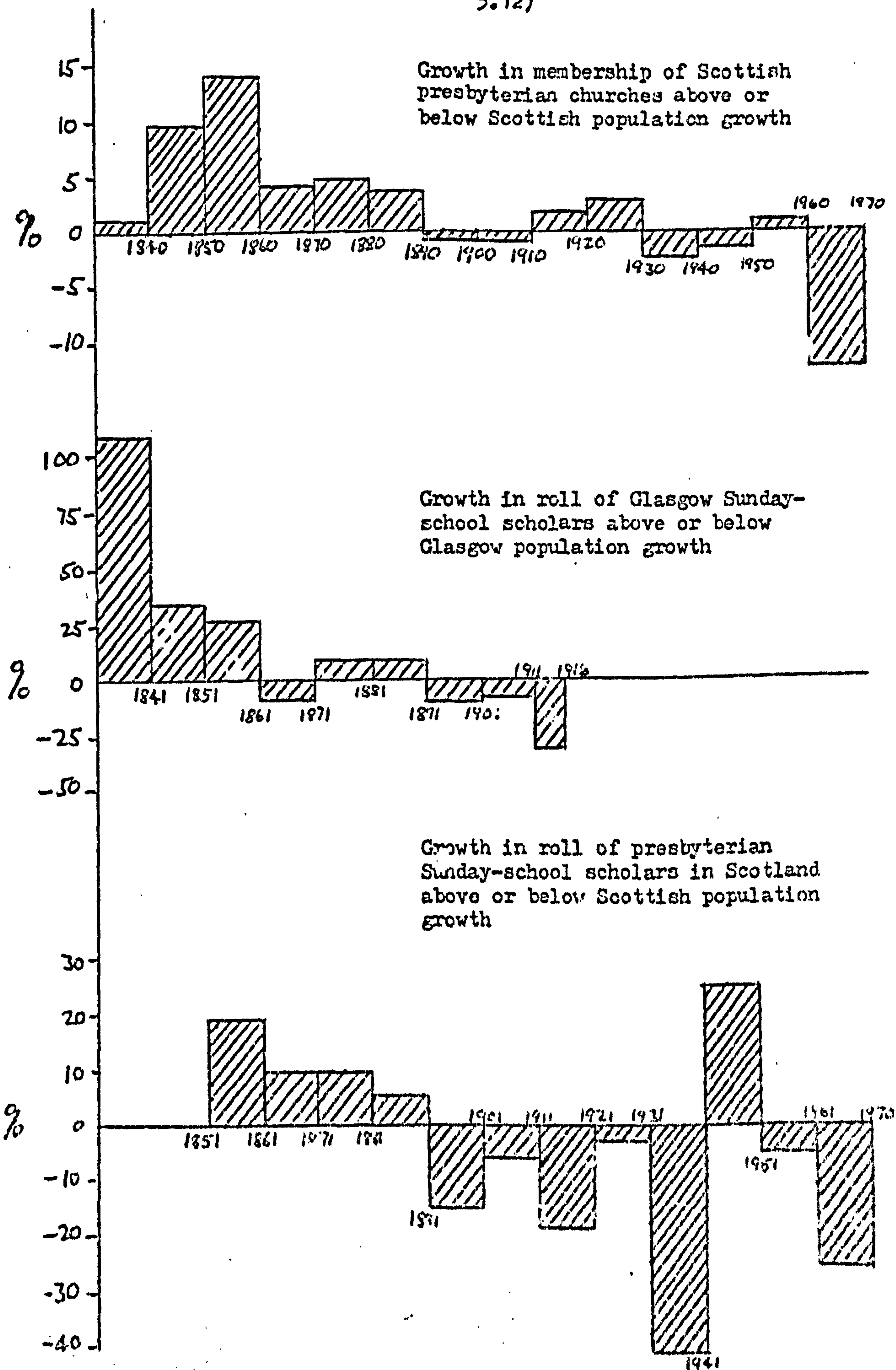


Table 3.14 Sunday-school growth in Scotland by denomination
1860-1970

Date	Church of Scotland		Free Church + U.P. Church (1860-1899) United Free Church (1900-1929)	
	Roll	Decennial growth %	Roll ³	Decennial growth %
1860	-		177,034	
1870	-		199,504	12.69
1880	187,418		239,652	20.12
1890	217,207	15.89	269,176	12.32
1900	222,944	2.64	235,724	-11.72 ⁴
1910	234,980	5.4	240,619	2.08
1920	193,616	-17.60	197,602	-17.88
1930	355,018	- 7.62 ²		
1940	244,494	-31.13		
1950	281,108	14.98		
1960	289,377 ¹	2.94		
1970	220,873	-23.67		

Source Figures for Sunday-school rolls are from and derived from R Currie et al., Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700 (1977, Oxford), pp 169-173.

- Notes
1. This figure was calculated by linear extrapolation from the figures for 1959 (297,192) and 1962 (273,746).
 2. This figure represents the decennial growth rate from the aggregate roll of the U.F. Church and the Church of Scotland in 1920 (391,218) to the aggregate roll of the Church of Scotland and the U.F. Church Continuing (whose roll stood at 6,379) in 1930 (361,397).
 3. The component figures for 1860 to 1890 are as follows:

Date	Free Church roll	U.P. Church roll
1860	108,539	68,495
1870	117,064	82,440
1880	155,212	84,440
1890	166,166	103,010

The figure for Free Church Sunday-school roll in 1860 was calculated by linear extrapolation from the figure for 1852 (103,945) and an estimate for 1861 (109,113).

4. This figure represents the decennial growth rate from the aggregate Sunday-school roll of the Free Church and the U.P. Church in 1890 to the aggregate roll of the U.F. Church and the Free Church (whose roll was estimated at 1,909) in 1900 (237,633). The Free Church estimate for 1900 represents 0.81 per cent of the U.F. Church roll at that date. This was calculated on the basis that in 1900 the Free Church roll of communicants (4,008) represented 0.81 per cent of the U.F. Church roll of communicants, and that the proportion of enrolled Sunday-school scholars to enrolled communicants was the same in both churches.

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but, as the figures show, the combined growth rate for these denominations steadied around 9 per cent per decade between 1870 and 1900. By contrast, the Church of Scotland had, in all probability, a comparatively low growth rate during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. In 1843, the Established Church lost around one third of its clergy and members to the Free Church. However, by the 1860s at least, the Church of Scotland's growth rate was almost double that of the two dissenting presbyterian denominations, and, though it was falling, it remained higher than the rates of those other churches until the end of the century. In the first decade of the twentieth century, the growth rate of the United Free Church - the successor of the Free and U.P. churches - plummeted by two-thirds whilst that of the Established Church fell about one-sixth. This suggests that a serious crisis befell the evangelical dissenting churches. By 1920, however, the United Free Church's growth rate had recovered by over half to 4.53 per cent per decade whilst the Church of Scotland's fell by over half to 3.53 per cent. As already noted, the Church of Scotland's membership growth was declining for the remainder of the period up to 1970 with the exception of the 1950s.

Sunday-school growth rates for the same denominations are shown in table 3.14. It can be seen that the evangelical dissenters had larger numbers of Sunday-school scholars per numbers of communicants than the

Church of Scotland. The Established Church was very slow in giving encouragement to the Sunday-school movement - in part because of the movement's association with the dissenters. Consequently, the Established Church did not have a general assembly committee on Sunday schools until the 1870s and no official statistics were collected until then.²⁰ In the dissenting churches, there was great enthusiasm for the Sunday-school movement, and the numbers of scholars enrolled in schools connected with these churches grew rapidly between 1860 and 1890 - at rates exceeding the rates of growth for church membership. It should be noted particularly that there was very high growth in the 1870s when the voluntary youth organisations conducted by evangelicals enjoyed renewed popularity after the Moody-Sankey revival of 1873-4.²¹ However, there was an abrupt change in fortune for the Sunday-school movement in the 1890s. Sunday-school growth in the Church of Scotland fell from 15.89 per cent in the 1880s to 2.64 per cent in the 1890s. The change was even more dramatic in the dissenting Sunday schools. Growth fell from +12.32 per cent in the 1880s to -11.72 per cent in the 1890s. It might be speculated that this drop of 23 per cent in the growth rate for Free and U.P. church Sunday schools in the 1890s may have contributed to the drop in recruitment to church membership of these churches in the following decade. In any event, Sunday-school growth never fully recovered. Despite growth rates of 5.4 per cent in the Established Church and 2.08 per cent in the United Free Church in the 1900s,

the membership of presbyterian Sunday schools went into decline thereafter with only brief recoveries in the 1940s and 1950s.

The evidence of tables 3.13 and 3.14 suggests a major crisis for evangelical presbyterianism between 1890 and the outbreak of the First World War. Declining growth rates for Sunday-school and communicants' rolls were evident in the Church of Scotland as well, although the declines started later and were not as severe. The same timing and pattern of declining growth rates was apparent in Protestant churches in England and Wales. Table 3.15 provides the growth rates for church membership and Sunday-school rolls for the Church of England and the Wesleyan Methodist Church between 1870 and 1930. Although Methodist church membership continued to increase at a reasonable level until the 1910s, the other figures show declining decennial growth rates. The Sunday-school figures for the Methodist Church indicate a particularly serious deceleration in growth after 1890. The extent of the decline in Easter Day communicants in the Church of England may exaggerate the situation in comparison to other denominations because of the use of participant and not membership data. Nonetheless, the general downturn in church growth is evident.²²

Table 3.16 presents another perspective on the same topic. The numbers of church adherents and Sunday-school scholars are presented as proportions of total population. After a continuing rise in the level of religious adherence for the major part of the nineteenth

Table 3.15 Church and Sunday-school growth in the Church of England and the Wesleyan Methodist Church 1870-1930.

Year	C h u r c h o f E n g l a n d				W e s l e y a n M e t h o d i s t C h u r c h			
	Easter Day communicants No.	Decennial growth %	Sunday-school No. (thous.)	Decennial growth %	Church members No.	Decennial growth %	Sunday-school roll No.	Decennial growth %
1870	-	-	-	-	320,685		622,589	
1880	-	-	-	-	345,332	7.69	787,143	26.43
1890	1,472,333 ¹		2,155 ²		387,847	12.31	932,888	18.52
1900	1,902,000	29.18	2,302	7.58 ³	410,384	5.81	967,046	3.66
1910	2,212,000	16.3	2,437	5.86	439,230	7.03	980,165	1.36
1920	2,171,619	- 1.83	2,010	-17.52	413,206	-5.92	849,861	-13.29
1930	2,261,857	4.16	1,802	-10.35	445,735	7.87	763,075	-10.21

Source Figures for church membership and Sunday-school rolls are from and derived from R Currie et al., Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles Since 1700 (1977, Oxford), pp 128-9, 141-3, 167-8, 184-6.

- Notes
1. This figure was calculated by linear extrapolation from the figures for 1885 (1,384,000) and 1891 (1,490,000).
 2. This figure relates to 1891.
 3. This figure represents estimated decennial growth 1890-1900, extrapolated from the actual growth of 6.82 per cent for 1891-1900.

Table 3.16 Religious adherence in Glasgow, Scotland and Great Britain, 1801-1961, as proportions of total population.

Year	Glasgow			Scotland			Great Britain		
	2	1	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Population (thousands)	Enrolled school scholars as % of total population	Enrolled Sunday-school scholars as % of total population	Population (thousands)	Enrolled school scholars as % of total population	Enrolled communicants as % of total population	Population (thousands)	Membership of major Protestant churches (thous.)	Church members as % of total population
1801	-	-	-	1,608	-	19.47	10,501	1,101	10.48
1811	-	-	-	1,806	-	19.16	11,970	1,257	10.50
1821	-	-	-	2,092	-	19.02	14,092	1,457	10.34
1831	212	-	4.62	2,364	-	19.04	16,261	1,708	10.50
1841	287	-	8.30	2,620	-	19.2	18,534	2,159	11.65
1851	363	10.66	10.66	2,889	8.33	20.87	20,817	2,577	12.28
1861	443	13.1	13.1	3,062	9.79	23.61	23,128	2,937	12.7
1871	568	12.13 ²	12.13 ²	3,360	10.60	24.46	26,072	3,318	12.73
1881	673	13.03	13.03	3,736	11.50	25.40	29,710	3,746	12.61
1891	766	14.13	14.13	4,026	12.11	26.15	33,029	4,302	13.02
1901	904	12.75	12.75	4,472	10.45	26.03	40,000	5,056	12.64
1911	954	11.58	11.58	4,761	9.81	25.88	40,831	5,670	13.89
1921	-	-	-	4,832	8.04	26.24	42,769	5,654	13.22
1931	-	-	-	4,843	7.78	26.82	44,795	5,829	13.01
1951	-	-	-	5,096	5.89	25.59	48,854	5,077	10.39

Table 3.16 (continued)

I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1961	-	-	5,179	5.57	25.72	51,284	5,334	10.40

Sources

The data on which columns 3,5 and 6 are based were taken from tables 3.II, 3.I2 and 3.I0 respectively. The data in column 8 are from R Currie, et al., Churches and churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700 (1977, Oxford), p 25. Figures in columns 2,4 and 7 are from B R Mitchell and P Deane, Abstract of British Historical Statistics (1962, Cambridge), pp 24-5, and B R Mitchell and H G Jones, Second Abstract of British Historical Statistics (1971, Cambridge), p 3.

Notes

1. Figures refer to city plus suburbs later incorporated in the city.
2. The figure for 1870 is unusually and unrepresentatively low. See note 3, table 3.II.
3. The Sunday schools included in the column were attached to presbyterian denominations, as stated in note I, table 3.I2.
4. The data for communicants relate to presbyterian churches; see note I, table 3.I0. The data on which the shown figures are based relate to one year before that stated in column I above. This provides sufficient accuracy for the purposes to which the table is put in the text.
5. The figures relate to all the major Protestant denominations in Scotland, England and Wales; see Currie, et al., pp 25-7. The figures relate to one year before that stated in column I.

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century, levels of adherence reached a high "plateau" between 1880 and 1910. Sunday-school enrolment was already falling off by the First World War and continued to do so for the remainder of the period covered by the table. On the other hand, church membership as a proportion of population remained on a high plateau for much longer - until at least 1930 in the case of British Protestant churches as a whole, and until 1960 in the case of the Scottish presbyterian churches. Whilst it is clear that the Sunday-school movement experienced a major reverse between 1890 and 1914, it is less clear from the quantitative evidence that the constancy in the proportion of church members to population between 1890 and the mid-twentieth century reflected a "crisis" for the British churches. The decline in church growth around 1880-1900, however, does indicate change. The difficulty for the historian is whether the constancy in religious adherence thereafter reflects "secularisation", or whether it was the product of a noted twentieth-century habit of maintaining formal links with churches (through the communicants' rolls, for instance) whilst foregoing regular attendance at Sunday worship. For instance, column 6 of table 3.16 shows that the ratio of presbyterian church members to Scottish population was higher in 1951 than in 1851; table 3.8 shows that presbyterian church-going in Glasgow was lower in 1954 than in 1851. On the one hand, this suggests that active participation

in religious worship declined between the mid-nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries. On the other hand, it suggests that formal religious adherence had grown. At the very least, there had been a shift in the balance of ways in which the social significance of religion was expressed. Clearly, these statistics do not, on their own, adequately describe the entire nature and effects of secularisation.

(e) Conclusion.

The evidence presented here supports the proposition that religious adherence in nineteenth-century Britain was not directly and immediately worsened by the onset of industrialisation and urbanisation. The denominationalisation of the Scottish religious structure in early and mid century - leading to the creation of dissenting presbyterian churches in particular - seems to have reflected, or interacted with, increasing religious adherence. As the rate of church growth slowed down in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, denominationalisation continued only insofar as "imported" sects appeared in Glasgow and Scotland. In the main, declining growth amongst the presbyterian churches occurred simultaneously with the advent of ecumenism, and may have encouraged the unions of 1900 and 1929.

Church-going has been shown to have been lower in urban areas than in country areas in 1851.

Attendance per capita in Glasgow was amongst the lowest for any area of Scotland, but was nonetheless about average for British cities. There does not appear to be any direct relationship between the size of a city and the level of church-going by its inhabitants. Largely unquantifiable circumstances may have affected the situation in different localities.

The time series on religious adherence do not provide conclusive evidence of the declining social significance of religion in Britain after 1800. However, a number of precise statements can be made. The level of church-going was clearly higher in Glasgow in 1851 than in 1954. The Sunday-school movement in Scotland and Glasgow reached a peak in the last two decades of the nineteenth century and declined thereafter. Growth rates for church membership fell to near or below the rate of population growth after 1890. During the initial period of decline, between 1890 and 1910, the Sunday-school and communicants' rolls of the evangelical presbyterian dissenters were more affected than those of the Church of Scotland. However, the proportion of the population formally attached to churches remained roughly constant for many decades after 1890.

This chapter has dealt with the general trends in religious adherence during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.²³ From the quantitative material, it is difficult to deduce any firm and reasonably instructive conclusions about secularisation. Whilst religious practice (in the form of attendance at Sunday worship)

may have declined between the mid-nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries, profession of denominational attachment varied little between 1890 and the Second World War. Indeed, taking Scottish presbyterian church membership as evidence for the social significance of religion, it would seem that secularisation did not take place at any time between 1800 and 1960. Clearly, there is a severe limit to the capacity for extrapolating evidence of secularisation from religious statistics. But the utility of such material, as has been shown, lies in the identification of periods of religious change: the growth in religious adherence between 1800 and 1880, and the stagnancy and decline from 1880 onwards. For the present, it is worth noting in relation to two of the periods of change in the Scottish religious structure - denominationalisation 1780-1850 and ecumenism 1890-1929 - that were identified in the previous chapter,²⁴ that there is quantitative evidence of secularisation in relation to the second but not the first.

Notes to chapter 3.

1. R Mudie-Smith (ed.), The Religious Life of London (1904, London), pp 6-7.
2. See R Currie et al., Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700 (1977, Oxford), and the present author's review of it in The Sociological Review, vol. 27, no. 1, February 1979, pp 193-4.
3. The greatest inaccuracy arises from the custom of accommodating standing worshippers in Catholic churches - a practice particularly prevalent in Glasgow in the early- and mid-nineteenth century when there was a severe shortage of Catholic churches in the city. This is borne out by the 1851 census of religious worship, where it is recorded that the Catholic Church was the only denomination in Glasgow to have the number of its morning attenders (12,000) exceed the number of sittings (10,914).
Census of Great Britain 1851: Report of Religious Worship and Education, Scotland (1854, London), p 27.
I am grateful to Dr. John McCaffrey for advice on this point.
4. J Hight, "The Churches", in J Cunnison and J B S Gilfillan (eds.), The Third Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. 5, The City of Glasgow (1958, Glasgow), pp 726-7.
5. The accuracy of the 1851 religious census, and particularly the separately-organised Scottish

census, has been the subject of some debate. The Scottish census was especially vulnerable to error and manipulation. Nonetheless, it is the only official, national and non-denominational census of its kind that is available to the historian. For discussion of the shortcomings of Scottish, and English and Welsh censuses, see K S Inglis, "Patterns of religious worship in 1851", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, xi, April 1960; D M Thompson, "The 1851 Religious Census: problems and possibilities", Victorian Studies, vol. 11 (1967), no. 1; D J Withrington, "The 1851 Census of Religious Worship and Education: with a note on church accommodation in mid-nineteenth-century Scotland", R.S.C.H.S., vol. 18, no. 2 (1974); W S F Pickering, "The 1851 religious census - a useless experiment?" British Journal of Sociology, xviii, (1967) no. 4; and O Chadwick, The Victorian Church, part I (1966, London), pp 363-369.

6. See table 3.3, page 188 above.
7. The Glasgow newspaper, the North British Daily Mail - which was biased towards the evangelical churches and especially the Free Church - took a regular interest in statistics of denominational strength. In addition to collecting and quoting statistics published by the churches, the paper conducted its own census of church adherence in Glasgow in 1876.
8. An attempt was made recently to use some of these

statistics in the construction of a time series:
see I G C Hutchison, "Politics and Society in
mid-Victorian Glasgow, 1846-1886", Ph.D. thesis,
University of Edinburgh, 1975, table 2.1, p 58.
This table provided data for membership of the Est-
ablished, Free and U.P. churches in Glasgow at six
dates between 1868 and 1891 using four different
sources. Various anomalies appeared. For example,
the table suggests a 13 per cent reduction in the
membership of the U.P. Church, and the dissolution
of six U.P. and eleven Free Church congregations
between 1876 and 1879. It also suggests the
dissolution of twenty-five Established Church,
twenty-two Free Church and nineteen U.P. Church
congregations between 1886 and 1891. There is no
evidence whatsoever for such losses. Indeed, there
is well-documented evidence of continuous growth
in the number of congregations and in the number of
adherents of all three churches in Glasgow in the
second half of the nineteenth century. See, for
instance, J L Aikman, Historical Notices of the
United Presbyterian Churches in Glasgow (1875,
Glasgow), and R Small, Congregations of the United
Presbyterian Church from 1753 to 1900, 2 vols (1904,
Edinburgh).

9. See chapter 3, section (d) below.
10. See note 5, pages 232-3.
11. Figure for Catholic population in 1831 calculated by
James Cleland, Glasgow City Chamberlain, and quoted

in J Handley, The Irish in Scotland (1964, Glasgow), p 55. Figure for Catholic population in 1954 in J Highet, "The Churches", in Cunnison and Gilfillan (eds.), op. cit., p 721. An alternative and higher estimate is given by Handley for 1951, when he calculates that there were 250,000 Catholics (or 23 per cent of city population) in Glasgow; Handley, op. cit., p 349. City population figures are 202,000 for 1831, from B R Mitchell and P Deane, Abstract of British Historical Statistics (1962, Cambridge), p 24; and 1,032,400 for 1954, taken from table 3.8, page 200.

12. J Highet, The Scottish Churches: A review of their state 400 years after the Reformation (1960, London), pp 56-64; J G Kellas, Modern Scotland: The Nation since 1870 (1968, London), pp 51-2.

13. Sample percentages of non-returns are as follows:

Scotland	14 per cent
Church of Scotland	23.6 do.
Free Church	7 do.
U.P. Church	8 do.
Baptists	16 do.
Congregationalists	12.5 do.
Episcopal Church	18 do.
Roman Catholic Church	11 do.

England

Church of England	7 per cent
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D J Withrington, op. cit., p 134; O. Chadwick, op. cit., p 364.

14. These seem due, in part at least, to different

denominational return rates (see note 13 above) and to the differing strength of denominations in different parts of the country. Dr. Withrington's analysis of non-returns on numbers of sittings, which shows that census figures for some areas (such as Perthshire and Aberdeen city) were seriously below the real figures, may have implications on the reliability of attendance figures; Withrington, op. cit., pp 143-8.

15. See below pp 411-415.
16. The percentage of population attending afternoon and evening services can be calculated from table 3.9 by subtracting the figures under "Attendances as % of total population" in the "Attendances at morning worship" columns from the figures under "Attendances as % of total population" in the "Attendances at morning, afternoon and evening worship" columns.
17. R. Currie et al., op. cit., pp 133-4.
18. See J Hight, The Scottish Churches . . . (1960, London), pp 70-146; and J Hight, "The Churches" in Gurnison and Gilfillan (eds.), op. cit., pp 723-742.
19. R Currie et al., op. cit., p 170.
20. See below vol. II chapter 3.
21. See below chapter 6 and vol. II chapters 8 and 11.
22. Data for other denominations in England and Wales, contained in R Currie et al., op. cit., pp 128-237, show the same basic trends.

23. For further analysis of British religious statistics, see Currie et al., op. cit.; A Gilbert, Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change 1740-1914 (1976, London and New York), pp 23-48; and R Currie and A Gilbert, "Religion", in A H Halsey (ed.), Trends in British Society since 1900 (1972, London), pp 407-450.
24. See above page 145.

Chapter 4

Secularisation and social change

- (a) Introduction: the meaning and usefulness of the term "secularisation".

"By secularization ... is meant the process whereby religious thinking, practice and institutions lose social significance."

Bryan Wilson¹

In this chapter, secularisation is examined in relation to social context and particularly in relation to social change. Section (b) provides a brief consideration of the relationship between Protestantism and the development of capitalism. Section (c) compares the role of the churches in Scottish rural and urban contexts. The present section considers briefly the meaning and use of the term "secularisation".

The concept of secularisation has received criticism, mainly on two counts. Firstly, Martin has argued that the term emanates from a "counter-religious" ideology.² Many commentators assume that the decline of religion is a necessary concomitant of the rise of secular society. Furthermore, many Marxist historians regard the decline of religion as inevitable though

subject to acceleration or deceleration depending on the pace of economic and social change.³ In response, there have been various attempts to discard the notion that religion and secularity are inversely related. There has been a conscious move by some Christian writers to "rescue" the concept of secularisation from the clutch of atheists and secularists - in part by regarding the advent of secular society in the twentieth century as the "will of God" and a means to glorify Him.⁴ Another attempt has been to regard secularisation as exogenous to, though acting upon, organised religion.⁵ In such an approach, secularisation constitutes the cause and not the effect. Furthermore, secularisation becomes in this approach a long-term influence on the social significance of religion - an influence whose effects vary according to the specific social and economic circumstances.⁶ Secularisation is thereby reduced from the historical process of religious decline to an exogenous factor contributing to it. There is a certain amount of ambiguity in the literature on the sociology of religion as to whether secularisation is cause or effect. For the present study, it has been taken as the historical process. To do otherwise leads to the confusing measurement of secularisation as a partially-latent and partially-active force acting on organised religion separately from the decline of organised religion.⁷ In any event, Martin has qualified his original criticism of secularisation, stating that it was "intended to open a debate rather than to banish a word".⁸

A second criticism is that secularisation, or the processes identified as contributing to secularisation, constitute not the decline of religion but its transformation in specific periods of social change. Some who adhere to this criticism are those Christians who view secularisation as a problem for, but not the defeat of, religion; some go further and regard secularisation as deriving from Christianity.⁹ A "secular" variant of this general approach is the view that man has a fixed capacity or need for "faith" or "belief", and that society at large has a fixed level of "religious" expression that can, and indeed must, be channelled into a variety of pursuits. Thus, whilst traditional churches and traditional forms of religious expression (such as belief, submission to religious imperatives, church adherence and acceptance of religious influence in "secular" affairs) may decline, "secular" substitutes of the churches (such as communist parties in socialist states and fascist parties in totalitarian states) and of religious expression (such as Marxism, rationalism, secularism and modern materialism) will emerge to replace or displace them. Some aspects of this substitution process may be identified from later chapters. However, whether the overall substitution theory is valid or not, the present study defines secularisation as the declining social significance of religion as conventionally defined, and consideration of substitution in a general sense is not of concern here.

The notion that periods of social change provide the potential for secularisation is widely mooted.

For example, Marx regarded religion as a part of, and as means of legitimising, the established order. Consequently, churches may put up resistance to social change or, at the very least, will perceive that circumstances will become less conducive to the continued survival of the churches.¹⁰ For urban historians of religion, there is an assumption of an intimate connection between urbanisation and secularisation.¹¹ This connection is "often simply taken for granted".¹² Moreover, it is often accepted as a causal connection. As already stated, the possibility should not be overlooked that religion can be transformed yet sustain its social significance in periods of rapid social change (including urbanisation/industrialisation). The possibility that the causal connection could be reversed or could be more complex - that religious change could cause or interact with social change - is a theme explored in the next section.

(b) The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism.¹³

"Nothing has seemed more natural ... than to assume that there must have been a close, nexuslike affinity between Calvinism and commerce or, more broadly, between Calvinism and that expanding capitalism which has always been regarded as the peculiar economic attribute of the European bourgeoisie." S A Burrell¹⁴

At the beginning of this century, Max Weber set forth the hypothesis that the Protestant Reformation of

the sixteenth century occurred at the same time as the beginning of a revolution in the social and economic system. Weber's theory was not original. It had been widely accepted that Protestantism, and especially Calvinism, developed as the ideology of a rising middle class. This view is still widely held.

The Weberian hypothesis, as it has developed since his death, has emerged into three main forms. In the first, it is alleged that there was a causal connection between the Protestant-Calvinist ethic on the one hand and the development of commercial capitalism on the other. Protestantism was thus attributed with a mechanistic role in the creation of capitalist forms of economic organisation and in the creation of a capitalist social class in various European countries: notably, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Scotland and, to a lesser extent, England and parts of northern Germany. Secondly, there is a proposition that Protestantism is "disposed" to the "modern world", to new ideas, technology and science, that it favours free enquiry, rationality and individualism. In this way, Protestantism created the correct ideological and intellectual "atmosphere" in which capitalism could develop. A third version, modifying the first two, is that Protestantism's links with the emergence of capitalism at the time of the Reformation are unproven, but that a causal connection existed between Protestantism and the emergence of industrial capitalism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Thus, industrialisation took place as Protestant Europe became religiously pluralistic,

tolerant and partially secularised as a result of the weakening of the theocratic tendencies Protestantism had inherited from Catholicism. In short, Protestant laissez faire in the religious sphere developed alongside free trade in the economic sphere. Each of these three forms of the Weberian theory is considered briefly.

(1) The notion that Protestantism had a mechanistic role in the emergence of commercial capitalism has not received great support by empirical investigation. In even the most general terms, Protestant countries retained after the Reformation many of the social agencies of the Catholic Church, and showed little evidence of developing a theological or an operational disposition towards capitalism. In Scotland, the incompatibility that would have been expected to have arisen between Protestantism and agrarian, aristocratic or feudal society was not evident.¹⁵ The bulk of the gentry and aristocracy was in favour of the Reformation, and was specifically in favour of having a presbyterian and not an episcopalian form of church government. The evidence is equally weak for the emergence of Scottish middle class at the Reformation to challenge the established social order. The country did not have a thriving middle class of merchants; nor was there any appreciable change in the economic system or the social order in the late sixteenth century.¹⁶ Indeed, Scottish Protestantism may be seen as having opposed capitalist forms of organisation and economic activity more strenuously than Roman

Catholicism. The guild system was strengthened, not weakened, after 1560 and trading was restricted by regulations on ports and other measures.¹⁷ The only immediate economic impact of the Reformation in Scotland was the secularisation of church lands, and this had been under way for some thirty years prior to 1560 as an anti-clerical movement led by the monarchy.¹⁸ Professor Lythe has commented that Weber's hypothesis "that Calvinism can be equated with economic individualism and made for economic growth, hardly fits the facts as we know them for Calvinist Scotland." He continued:

"Neither in the local records of burghs and kirk sessions, nor in the preaching and writing of the Scottish divines, is there any consistent support for the view that the merchants of 1600 were any less free from group control than those of 1500 or that material prosperity had in any way become equated with godliness. It would, indeed, be easier to support the thesis that, by its interference, the Kirk was a hindrance rather an encouragement."¹⁹

Scottish clergymen were far from sympathetic to the growth of commercial enterprise in the two centuries following the Reformation. Robert Wodrow, a Scottish historian and puritan, noted in the early years of the eighteenth century that as a result of the 1707 Union with England "trade is put in the room of religion".²⁰

Criticisms have been made on a similar basis for other Protestant countries. The Calvinist communities in Geneva, the Netherlands and the Palatinate, as in Scotland, did little to encourage the development of new

economic organisations or an orientation towards a capitalist ethic. In some respects, Calvinism was more restrictive than Catholicism in regard to economic enterprise. In the case of Geneva, Calvin's Reformation contributed to the city's subsequent economic retardation.²¹ More generally, though, it has been pointed out that a perception of a Protestant spur to capitalist development in northern and western Europe is an illusion created by ignoring the Counter-Reformation's retardation of economic growth in southern Europe. This case is quite strong. The organisational development of capitalism, particularly in relation to commerce (for example, double-entry book-keeping and insurance), was at a higher level in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in those countries least affected by the Reformation - Italy, France and Spain - than in those countries which became predominantly Protestant. For example, Scotland was an economic backwater in comparison to Italy, France and Spain and remained so until the eighteenth century.²² In other words, the conditions for an economic and social revolution along bourgeois lines were better developed in what remained Catholic Europe than in what became Protestant Europe. Furthermore, Catholic Europe's relative economic retardation may be accounted for by its stagnancy and absolute decline rather than by Protestant Europe's sudden economic advance. The Spanish Inquisition was just one manifestation of the reaction by the Catholic Church and Catholic states to the free heretical spirit that permeated intellectual and economic life at that time. And it had

been that same spirit that had done so much to encourage economic development in southern Europe before the time of the Reformation. As Herbert Luthy has remarked:

"It is probably the most absurd failure of this whole discussion concerning the historical role of Protestantism, a discussion carried on in a sort of intellectual incest behind closed windows, that it has quite simply ignored the other side of the problem: the historical part played by the Counter Reformation, ... as if the sudden breaking of an ascendant curve of economic development did not constitute a far greater problem than its continuance."²³

The major problem facing advocates of a deterministic Protestant contribution to the development of commercial capitalism and the emergence of a capitalist class is not how the Protestant countries might have acquired the concomitants of capitalism (such as capital, technological inventiveness and trading power) but how the countries that remained Catholic lost them.

In the short-term, then, the Scottish Reformation did not create a bourgeois-dominated society with a new mode of production, nor did it threaten the established agrarian society. Moreover, Protestantism did not appear to make any fundamental change in established (Catholic) attitudes to economic activity. The principal figure in the Scottish Reformation, John Knox, denounced covetousness as severely as the Catholic Church had done hitherto, and gave little encouragement to entrepreneurial activity. The presbyterian interpretation of the "stewardship of wealth" forbade unfair profit-making at

the expense of the poor, and the reformed kirk assigned to itself the duty of punishing trespassers:

"Oppression of the poor by exactions ... and deceiving of them in buying or selling by wrong mete or measure ... do properly appertain to the Church of God, to punish the same as God's word commandeth."²⁴

In the sixteenth century, presbyterianism seemed just as indisposed towards bourgeois and capitalist development as Catholicism, if not moreso.

(ii) The second form of the Weberian hypothesis, that Protestantism was "disposed" to the development of capitalism, has been the most widely supported of the three forms. It was Weber himself who suggested that in addition to the causal connection between the advent of Protestantism and the rise of capitalism in the sixteenth century, there was an ideological property to Protestantism that gave rise to "the spirit of capitalism".

The "disposition" theory advances the notion that Protestantism had a configuration (particularly in respect of its inherent anti-theocratic qualities) such that the more Protestantism drifted away from Catholicism and episcopacy (i.e. towards puritanism) the more it was led into opposing the established aristocratic order by championing the new bourgeois mode of production. Protestantism, it has been argued, has an inherent capacity not only to thrive in a society where traditional forms of social and economic organisation were being eroded, but

also to generate such an erosion by sub-division into a system of religious pluralism. Consequently, competition developed in parallel with fractionism within the middle classes; Protestant sects such as the Baptists, Congregationalist and Quakers symbolised this process in sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century England. Throughout the process, the social and economic values of the middle classes became represented in the theological beliefs, management policies and social agencies of the puritan sects. In this way, the general freedom of religious thought that the original reformers had fought for and gained from the Catholic Church became transferred into a broader value-system that praised the general notion of "progress". Protestantism thus had the capacity to justify the exploitation of social and economic change. Therefore, the "disposition" theory can account for the absence of a Protestant-capitalist social revolution immediately consequent upon the Reformation, and can instead point to the Protestant ethic as a developmental factor in the rise of early modern capitalism.

The English experience of Protestantism was the subject of the best-known exposition of the "disposition" theory - R H Tawney's Religion and the Rise of Capitalism. He argued that economic forces in the form of commercial growth led to an ideological change within Protestantism - a change which had not been anticipated by the early reformers and one to which they would probably have been opposed. "Puritanism," wrote Tawney, "not the Tudor

secession from Rome, was the true English Reformation, and it is from its struggle against the old order that an England unmistakeably modern emerges."²⁵ Tawney showed that whilst it was the gentry that took up arms against the king in the English civil war, previous expansion of commercial wealth had made it possible for merchants to acquire land and the status of the landed classes. By this means, the gentry had become a class of entrepreneurs with the social and economic aspirations normally associated with a conventional middle class. Thus, the civil war could be regarded as an authentic class struggle of bourgeoisie versus aristocracy.

In England, therefore, puritanism reached its high point at the same time as the bourgeois challenge to the aristocracy became most acute. The fact that the challenge did not propose a fundamental shift from an economy based on agriculture to one based on commerce and manufacture was a result of the peculiar or particular nature of bourgeois development in England. Whilst criticisms have been made of Tawney's assertions in relation to the English civil war,²⁶ Burrell has demonstrated that the simultaneous revolt against Charles I in Scotland, led by the Scottish presbyterian puritans (the Covenanters), was clearly not the result of emergent middle classes challenging the aristocracy, nor the result of capitalist development.²⁷ The Scottish revolt was primarily concerned with resistance to the imposition of an episcopalian form of church government. Episcopalianism was regarded by the Covenanters as an

important stage in the centralisation of state power in London. Additionally, episcopacy was opposed because it would deprive laity of all social groups of means for participating in church government.²⁸ Presbyterianism, which the Scottish revolt sought to maintain, was widely regarded in Scotland as the best safeguard against both developments.

If there was an interacting relationship between Protestantism and a "spirit of capitalism", then it clearly did not operate on the same time-scale in Scotland and England. There is a fundamental problem of identifying when the Scottish "bourgeois revolution" took place. Professor Smout, following the conventional interpretation, believes that "in every formal sense, landed leadership [of society] went riding high right up to the Great Reform Bill of 1832."²⁹ The political and ecclesiastical changes around 1700 he regards as strengthening the position of the landed classes:

"The Revolution of 1688-90 had been a political victory by the British nobility; the terms of the Union of 1707 were accepted 'mainly because the nobles wanted them'; the Patronage Act of 1712 confirmed the ministers of the Church of Scotland as creatures of the heritor."³⁰

Smout believes that despite the expansion of the cities and of the urban middle classes in the late eighteenth century, and because the church and state were still unchanged by the 1820s, the aristocracy had been completely successful in playing off the middle classes against the working classes.³¹ Smout considers that the emerg-

gence of bourgeois attitudes and middle classes occurred very late in Scottish development. Not until after 1760 does he think that a specifically-urban middle class assumed "a dizzy sense of opportunity", and that even by 1800 "there was as yet nothing commonly used to describe those who lived in towns and lived by employing their brains and their capital".³² Smout regards 1830 as the turning point - the watershed when Scotland "stood on the brink of a political change" that gave the middle classes the vote, and when the control of the Church of Scotland was soon to pass to conservative Evangelicals who subsequently founded the Free Church "dedicated to religious conservatism". These ecclesiastical developments Smout regards as "perhaps the first symptoms of general doubt (as yet unacknowledged and unconscious) as to whether all economic growth and all social change was really progress".³³

An alternative view may be to regard the development of Scottish capitalism and the "embourgeoisment" of Scottish society as emanating from the late seventeenth century, and from the 1689 Revolution Settlement in particular. Moreover, it may be that the progression of changes in the structure of Scottish religion was indicative of an inter-acting relationship between Protestantism and capitalist development.

Those who suffered from the restoration of presbyterianism in 1688-90 were the supporters of James VII : the Roman Catholics, episcopalians and Jacobites. They were strongest in the Highlands and

Islands, but some were leading members of the Scottish aristocracy resident in Edinburgh up until 1689. Those in the northern parts of Scotland suffered directly from military suppression, including the massacre of the Clan MacDonald at Glencoe in 1692. The suppression was prolonged, continuing through the abortive Jacobite risings of 1715, 1719 and 1745, culminating in severe suppression in the late 1740s and 1750s. The wealthier Jacobites living in the capital lost political influence after the loss of James VII and the restoration of presbyterianism in the Church of Scotland. The Edinburgh homes of Catholics were plundered in 1688, and government became totally under the control of presbyterians. There was no overt victory for a bourgeois class,³⁴ but the supporters of the Revolution Settlement - particularly in its "presbyterianising" aspect - were predominantly urban (from Edinburgh and Glasgow especially) and composed largely of middle and lower "orders". The metropolitan Jacobites having been purged, great forays were made into the countryside and parts of the Highlands in an attempt to extinguish episcopacy.³⁵ It is particularly noteworthy that the only sections of the community to retain rights of patronage in the Church of Scotland by the Revolution Settlement were the town councils - the merchants and incorporated tradesmen.³⁶

Insofar as Scotland was concerned, the Revolution of 1688-90 was by no means a "victory" for the landed classes. In the context of the religious aspects of the Revolution, they suffered substantially. Principally, their

rights of patronage were abolished. In addition, the vast majority of episcopalian clergy were removed; in the whole of Scotland south of the Forth and Clyde rivers, only about seventeen episcopalian ministers survived in parish charges of the Church of Scotland after 1690.³⁷ The nobility's loss of the right to select the ministers was not merely a symbolic loss of power in the community, but represented a serious decline in the landed classes' authority in agricultural communities. In contrast, the status of the middle classes - the merchants and tradesmen - was enhanced by the Revolution. The royal burghs of Scotland each had the right to send Commissioners (or members) to the general assembly of the Church of Scotland - a right not held by the heritors of rural parishes.

The events of 1688-90 introduced a period in which the power of the landed classes in the Church of Scotland was seriously threatened. In large measure, the Union of 1707 served as an attempt by the landed classes to re-assert their power. The Union was, in the main, supported by the aristocracy and opposed by many towns (including the four largest cities), the urban mobs and the Church.³⁸ The Church dropped its opposition by the promise of its continuance as the state church, but it remained wary, afraid that presbyterianism might not be well served by parliamentary union with an episcopalian country. Such fears were justified when, in 1712, patronage was restored to the landed classes and tolerance extended to Scottish episcopalians. However, this was not

an immediate nor a complete victory for the landed classes, restoring the pre-1690 situation. Episcopalians remained the object of suspicion during the years of Jacobitism, and the gradual assumption of the rights of patronage over the period of the eighteenth century produced party division in the Church of Scotland and the emergence of dissenting groups: the predominantly peasant Secession Church and the predominantly urban middle-class Relief Church.³⁹ Professor Smout argues that because the Established Church remained unchanged constitutionally until the 1830s, the aristocracy had restrained the advance of middle-class aspirations and the dissemination of bourgeois attitudes to economic activity. This ignores the class basis of the development of presbyterian dissent and the Evangelical party in the Church of Scotland.

In conclusion, the re-assertion of presbyterianism in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Scotland did appear to interact with the emergence of class antagonisms (peasant-gentry and burgher-gentry conflicts) arising from the commercialisation of agriculture and of commercial capitalism. Although some of the dissenting presbyterian churches (such as the Secession Church) of the period may have appeared far from disposed to free enquiry, rationality and tolerance, other churches (such as the Relief Church) and the Evangelical party in the Established Church did represent an urban middle class that craved ecclesiastical indulgence of city life, commercial success and bourgeois values. In the context

of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Scotland, it is perhaps possible to view urban presbyterianism and evangelicalism as having been more "disposed" to capitalism than rural episcopacy and Moderatism.

(iii) The third theory is that the Protestant ethic played a vital role in the emergence of industrial capitalism in late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain. The development of capitalist industry was dependent on the growth of entrepreneurial activity, and the growth of the ideas of free trade, personal freedom and political representation for the middle classes. The industrial revolution, it is argued, was the cause of the first real middle-class challenge to the landed classes, and in this context the ecclesiastical structure adapted to the evolving pattern of class conflicts associated with early industrial capitalism. The power of the state church was eroded as the middle classes turned to dissent to find bourgeois status and value-systems commensurate with industrial society. Religious pluralism developed within Protestantism, and, in so doing, theocratic values came under attack, religious toleration grew, and support for the idea of a universal and established church waned. At the same time, religious practices became predominantly "voluntary". The emerging industrial working classes became, in the main, alienated from the churches of both upper and middle classes. In this way, the interaction between Protestantism and the development of industrial capitalism produced a process of secularisa-

tion. The mechanistic interaction was thus a transitory stage in capitalist development, but the ethos of entrepreneurial individualism was sustained by the middle classes well beyond the point at which their vigorous commitment to dissenting religion started to decline.

The key issue in this theory is the existence of a mutuality between religious individualism and economic individualism. The role of Calvinism in this relationship is problematic. Tawney argued that Calvinism contained conflicting influences:

"From the very beginning, Calvinism comprised two elements, which Calvin himself had fused, but which contained the seeds of future discord. It had at once given a whole-hearted imprimatur to the life of business enterprise, which most early moralists had regarded with suspicion, and had laid upon it the restraining hand of an inquisitorial discipline."⁴⁰

The disciplining and repressive nature of Calvinism - a creed described by Tawney as "collectivist, half-communistic", declined in England in the seventeenth century. The liberalising aspect came to dominate English dissent:

"The individualism congenial to the world of business became the distinctive characteristic of a Puritanism which had arrived, and which, in becoming a political force, was at once secularized and committed to a career of compromise. Its note was not the attempt to establish on earth a "Kingdom of Christ," but an ideal of personal character and conduct, to be realized by the punctual discharge both of public and private duties. Its theory had been

discipline; its practical result was liberty."⁴¹

Presbyterianism, the home of the collectivist aspect, became incompatible with English society and economic development at an early stage. Individualistic puritanism, represented particularly by the Independents, developed the notion that every individual had a "Calling" in which his or her work became of importance to the Lord's Grand Design. Men could save their souls only by doing those works:

"From this reiterated insistence on secular obligations as imposed by the divine will, it follows that, not withdrawal from the world, but the conscientious discharge of the duties of business, is amongst the loftiest of religious and moral virtues."⁴²

In this way, the means to economic livelihood and spiritual salvation became one.

If Calvinist presbyterianism was unsuited to the development of commercial and industrial capitalism in England, why did presbyterian Scotland develop an advanced economy during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries? Burrell suggests that Calvinism was flexible enough to adapt to first a feudal and agrarian society in the sixteenth century and then to a commercial and urban society in the seventeenth century;

"... it seems clear that the incompatibility of Calvinism with any particular social organisation was political rather than economic. The presbyterianized Scottish Church, like any other powerful,

autonomous ecclesiastical institution, challenged the undiffused authority of the centralized state." 43

The same suggestion has been made in respect of social, economic and political change in the eighteenth century:

"... the contribution of the Scottish Church in legitimating the loss of political independence resulting from the Act of Union was two-fold. Firstly, it was a distinctively Scottish social institution that continued to provide a focus for national feeling and loyalty, in contrast to the alien character of the Westminster Parliament. At the same time, its flexibility in assimilating the wider cultural influences to which Scottish society was exposed during the eighteenth century made the Church an effective agent of capitalist development." 44

Whether or not the Scottish Church was an "agent of capitalist development", the characteristics ascribed to it are essentially the same as those characteristics ascribed to liberalising non-presbyterian English dissent: thrift, sobriety, hard work and individual endeavour. In this way, the Calvinist doctrine of predestination implies the same human actions as the doctrine of salvation by good works:

"The consciousness of being one of the elect leads ... to constant striving in everyday life in order to demonstrate that the individual is worthy of election.... It follows readily from this that those who are saved are also those who have proved

their salvation by success in this world."⁴⁵

Therefore, the fact that the Scottish middle classes were predominantly presbyterian and the English middle classes predominantly non-presbyterian may not be of major economic significance. A Protestant ethic encouraging capitalism may have been present within both religious traditions. In Scotland, presbyterianism was reinforced by capitalist development; in England, it gave way to other forms of puritanism.

The importance to the present study of the debate on the Protestant ethic lies in the assertion that because Protestantism may have interacted in some way with capitalist development, placing emphasis on "this world", on the economic success of the individual and on rationality, then Protestantism (especially in its puritan forms) had a propensity to secularise society. This assertion has been recently reiterated in respect of Scottish development.⁴⁶ Moreover, it has been suggested that there was a "potential for secularization inherent in Calvinism ..."⁴⁷ This raises the notion of "carriers" of secularisation.⁴⁸ Inevitably, this approach leads away from the concept of secularisation as an historical process. Secularisation, like the Protestant ethic, becomes a latent force that is unleashed when capitalism develops. The decline in the social significance of religion thus becomes an inevitable and simultaneous concomitant of industrialisation. It has already been

suggested that this devalues the concept of secularisation.⁴⁹ The degree to which religion's social significance declines as a consequence of social change should be measurable. Urbanisation and industrialisation should not be regarded as automatic causes or consequences of secularisation. In this regard, the next section examines the social significance of religion in pre-industrial and rural society in Scotland, and questions the empirical bases for the assumption of an intimate connection between urbanisation and secularisation.

(c) Religion in pre-industrial society: town and country.

"All our ancestors were literal Christian believers,
all of the time." Peter Laslett⁵⁰

In discussing secularisation in industrial society, it is important to establish from what religious condition secularisation has occurred. It has long been a commonplace in this context to compare agrarian communities of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Britain with the industrial communities of the nineteenth century. The intention has often been to present a stark contrast between the agnosticism and atheism of modern society and the agrarian religiosity of "the world we have lost". This section examines the differences, if any, in the levels of religious observance in agrarian and industrial societies. A challenge is made to the assumption that

the impact of the British industrial revolution of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had a sudden and detrimental effect on an hitherto strong and stable religious condition. In particular, attention is drawn to pre-industrial urban communities in which patterns of religious practice and ecclesiastical organisation had already, by 1780, diverged from the agrarian norm.

The primary unit of ecclesiastical organisation in Scotland was the parish. Its geographical area could vary enormously depending on population, financial income and adherence to the Established Church. Outside of the larger towns, the smaller parishes tended to be in lowland Scotland where the Church of Scotland retained the adherence of the bulk of the population during the seventeenth-century changes between episcopacy and presbyterianism. The small size of the parish tended to permit or reflect a relatively high level of religious practice. In law, church accommodation was supposed to exist for two-thirds of the population aged twelve years and over. Fulfillment of this requirement was more often approached in small parishes where the churches were readily accessible and demand for pews was high. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, however, the heritors who were obliged to provide the church accommodation became increasingly reluctant to pay for the new churches necessitated by population growth. The legal formula was disregarded in many areas, but litigation was difficult. Heritors could lie about the capacity of parish churches. In any case, as will be shown, there was little

pressure on pews until the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁵¹ It was between 1790 and 1830, when population increased substantially in many industrialising parishes, that the legal formula became a contentious ecclesiastical issue. In general, however, heritors were able to evade their obligations because the formula had been in effective disuse for so long. If there was to be change in the supply of church accommodation, it had to come from either the general assembly or the Westminster parliament.⁵²

The Highlands and Islands contained some of the largest parishes in Great Britain. For a number of reasons, provision of church accommodation was poor: population density was low, access to parish churches was difficult, and adherence to presbyterianism was not secure until the early nineteenth century. Large areas remained loyal to episcopacy during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and a number of communities adhered to Catholicism. In addition, native superstition had a strong hold on religious practices. The clergy of the Church of Scotland operating in the north had to face problems of a foreign language (Gaelic) and culture, mass illiteracy, difficult communications and recurrent clan warfare. The parish of Gairloch in Wester Ross, measuring thirty miles by fifteen miles, had by 1800 one parish church where services were held regularly and three turf houses used for worship intermittently. Church of Scotland clergy in the parish were persecuted by episcopalian Gaels in the early eighteenth century for being presbyterian; they were persecuted by the evangelical descendants of those

Gaels in the early nineteenth century for being Moderates and associated with the landlords. Ministers spent much of their time trying to suppress "abominable and heathenish practices" that remained prevalent in Gairloch until the second half of the nineteenth century. The Church's influence amongst the Gaels was very weak. Practically no roads existed in the parish until the 1840s, and regular church-going was confined to those members of the population who lived in close proximity to the parish church. For the same reason, communion was held only once every three years.⁵³ The Church's standing in Gairloch parish was fairly typical of the situation in the Highlands and Islands as a whole. Civil administration tended to be chaotic until the late eighteenth century, resting in the hands of local clan chiefs who dispensed arbitrary justice. The Church of Scotland felt insecure with such men as patrons and upholders of the faith. It was only as the chiefs were transformed into a landed gentry in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, adopting the social outlook of the lowland heritors, that the Church slowly came to feel that it was "by law established" in the north-west of Scotland. Even so, the Gaels never adhered to the Church of Scotland in large numbers. Only in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the break-up of the clans and the development of the crofting community swept most of the people into an evangelical movement that joined the Free Church on its formation in 1843, did Christian religion become a significant feature of Highland life.⁵⁴

Attendances at annual communion have been the

main source of evidence for high levels of religious observance in agrarian Europe. In the Roman Catholic Church in France and in the Anglican Church in England in the late seventeenth century, it has been shown that performance of Easter Communion could be as high as 90 per cent of eligible communicants.⁵⁵ The equivalent annual summer communions in Scotland also drew large numbers. Many of these events, however, were chaotic, especially when services were shared between a number of parishes or when a revival took place.⁵⁶ In any case, there must be some doubt as to the degree to which the taking of communion signified religious adherence. In Scottish country parishes, the communion had grown by the early eighteenth century into a four to six day festival of summer eating, drinking and allied pursuits where temporal attractions may have outweighed the spiritual. Certainly, in the parish of Cairloch in the early nineteenth century, only about two hundred of the three to four thousand people who assembled for the week-long jamboree agreed to take the sacraments. Similarly, in the parish of Tranent in East Lothian near Edinburgh in 1794, only 450 out of 2,732 parishioners received communion.⁵⁷

At other times of the year, there was little pressure on the limited accommodation provided by parish churches in Scottish agricultural districts. In three lowland parishes in 1755, there was seating for only 22 per cent of the total population yet there were no reports of overcrowding.⁵⁸ A century later, when great

attention was being paid to church accommodation as a factor affecting religious adherence, there was much better provision. In 1851, the agricultural counties had church pews for between 50 and 70 per cent of the population, the greater part of the increase being due to the appearance of dissenting presbyterian churches.⁵⁹ The change can be seen quite clearly in the small town of Jedburgh in the Borders. The town was fairly distant from industrial areas, and its population (as a parish) was virtually unchanged in a hundred years; the population stood at 5,816 in 1755 and at 5,476 in 1851. In the middle of the eighteenth century, the town had one church - the turf-roofed parish abbey church. A hundred years later, there were an additional six dissenting churches providing nearly four thousand extra pew seats.⁶⁰ It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that church-going in the town improved in proportion to the provision of church accommodation since over 2,500 of those extra seats were occupied on census Sunday in 1851.

There is widespread evidence to suggest that the level of church-going in eighteenth-century rural Scotland was severely and adversely affected by the poor condition of parish churches. Furthermore, it seems that the neglect of Scotland's churches emanated from the periods of episcopal rule in the seventeenth century. Henry Grey Graham, the historian of Scottish life in the eighteenth century, provides this description of parish churches:

"They were dark, very narrow buildings, with a few

little windows having small panes of glass, which were considered so precious that they were preserved by wire outside. The floors were earthen, and in some older kirks of the North, the bodies of generations had been buried beneath them, to the detriment of health, decency, and comfort; for sometimes the bones of the dead so strewn the floor that they were kicked by the worshippers, whose noses were afflicted by the 'corrupt unripe corps' disturbed to make room for new tenants. The roofs were thatched with heather, fern, or turf, for straw was too scarce and valuable as food for cattle to use for thatch." ⁶¹

One major improvement during the course of the eighteenth century was the introduction of fixed pews to replace the stools. However, Graham recounts that the condition of the churches had improved little by the end of the century. He quotes from ministers' contributions to the [Old] Statistical Account of the 1790s:

"One after another reports [state] that the 'kirk is ruinous'; 'unhealthy, dark, cold, sunk beneath the surrounding earth'; 'execrably filthy and out of repair'; 'unsafe to sit in, with a rent bell.' Many report that their own church is 'the most shabby and miserable place of divine service in Scotland' - each being unable to imagine one worse than his own." ⁶²

Even the prestigious churches suffered from disrepair. In the West Kirk in the city of Edinburgh at the middle of the eighteenth century, the minister's cap was in winter covered with a "thin glaister o' sifted snaw". ⁶³ From such evidence, Graham, a minister in the Free Church of Scotland, concluded that "one becomes almost sceptical

regarding the churchgoing habits of our forefathers".⁶⁴

The pattern of church-going in pre-industrial Glasgow was probably not dissimilar to that pertaining in the country parishes. City churches could generally accommodate a greater number of worshippers than rural churches, but it would be wrong to conclude that townsfolk were better provided for. There is insufficient information at hand concerning the capacity of Glasgow's churches to provide a quantitative comparison with agricultural parishes before the nineteenth century. By 1851, Glasgow's population was the worst endowed with church accommodation in the whole of Scotland. Church accommodation existed for only 32 per cent of the people compared with 49 per cent for Scotland as a whole. Some of the predominantly agricultural counties were well provided with churches: in Berwickshire, for instance, there were sittings for 70 per cent of the total population. Even moderately industrialised counties, such as Renfrewshire with 51 per cent, and depopulated Highland areas, such as Caithness with 45 per cent, surpassed the ratio of sittings per capita in Glasgow.⁶⁵ However, it must be borne in mind that the provision of church accommodation in rural areas improved dramatically between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries. As many contemporaries observed, Glasgow's situation had deteriorated badly in comparison to country parishes.⁶⁶ But there is little evidence to show a large and absolute decline in church provision in Glasgow between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Table 4.1 provides a crude indication of changes

in Glasgow's supply of church accommodation between 1660 and 1851. It can be seen that the deterioration in supply between 1780 and 1821 culminated in a situation little worse than the position of the late seventeenth century. Furthermore, the decline of the late eighteenth century is more apparent than real. The improvements achieved by 1740 were only maintained during the next forty years by the opening of meeting houses for very small religious groups such as the Quakers, the Reformed Presbyterians, the Glasites and the Bereans. The figures given in brackets in the table exclude such small churches and meeting houses, and show that church supply was fairly constant throughout the period. The conclusion to be drawn is that whatever decline in Glasgow's church accommodation in relation to country parishes took place, it owed as much if not more to improving church supply in agricultural areas in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as to retarded church building in the city.

Demand for use of Glasgow's church accommodation in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries seems to have been very similar to the demand in agricultural parishes. Two or three new churches were built in the city in the first three quarters of the seventeenth century as a result of pressure on existing churches, but between 1690 and 1790 there does not appear to have been any complaints of overcrowding at Sunday worship. Church-building in the eighteenth century was largely the result of urban expansion and middle-class desire for segregation

from the "lower orders". One church started in 1737 was built with unusual decorations to suit the taste of the rising merchant class - particularly the so-called "Tobacco Lords". Another church was opened in 1780 to serve the middle classes of the new west end of the city: the dank and dreary churches in the city centre were by then starting to go out of fashion. Pew rents charged for the Established churches in the city remained low throughout the eighteenth century, and not until the 1790s were they rising as a result of increased demand.⁶⁷ In this respect, the pattern of change was similar in the country parishes, where, it has already been noted, demand for accommodation was rising between 1790 and 1830 as a consequence of increasing and shifting population. It is difficult to be more concrete about church-going habits in city and country, but it seems clear that we should not exaggerate the urban-rural dichotomy in this particular regard.

In some terms other than church accommodation and church-going, the significance of religion was conspicuously lower in pre-industrial towns than in country districts. It has been noted that the number of churches per head of population was lower - in part because city churches were larger and could hold more worshippers. The consequence was that the number of ministers per capita was lower in the same proportion. Each church generally had only one active clergyman; assistant ministers were appointed when parish ministers were absent, infirm or in retirement. In country parishes in the lowlands of Scotland, each

minister could tend a flock of as little as 551 parishioners (Smailhom parish) or 583 (Carnock parish). Even the large Highland parish of Gairloch had one minister to 1,437 inhabitants in 1801.⁶⁸ Glasgow's ratio, as suggested by the data in table 4.1, was somewhere around one minister per two thousand of population. The number of kirk sessions per capita was also lower in Glasgow to the same degree; their functions were also much reduced in comparison to country parishes and this is discussed below. Economies of scale in urban church building thus had obvious and adverse repercussions on the churches' influence amongst burgh inhabitants.

Where the urban-rural dichotomy was most apparent in pre-industrial Scotland, and where it was more pertinent to subsequent religious change and secularisation, was in the areas of ecclesiastical social policy and ecclesiastical organisation. The Established Church of Scotland was the prime agency for the implementation of social policy before 1800. Its functions were perhaps broader and its remit undertaken more seriously than in some other countries. The educational system run by the Church of Scotland, for instance, was by the late eighteenth century probably the most successful in Europe if not in the world.⁶⁹ Throughout Europe there were differences in churches' relations with government, in the financing of ecclesiastical agencies, in the mechanisms governing social-policy formation, and in the methods adopted to to perpetuate religious influence amongst the people. Nevertheless, the overall role of the Scottish Church in

Table 4.1 Church buildings and population in Glasgow
1660-1851

Date	Population	Number of churches ¹	Ratio of ¹ churches to population
1660	14,678	5	1:2936
1688	11,948	6	1:1991
1708	12,800	6	1:2133
1740	17,000	11 (9)	1:1545 (1:1889)
1763	28,300	16 (13)	1:1769 (1:2177)
1780	42,800	25 (19)	1:1712 (1:2253)
1801	77,000	35 (29)	1:2200 (1:2655)
1821	147,000	49 (43)	1:3000 (1:3418)
1851	345,000	124 (116)	1:2782 (1:2974)

Sources Figures for Glasgow population 1660 to 1780 are from magistrates' censuses, quoted in G MacGregor, History of Glasgow (1881, Glasgow), pp 253, 291, 315, 265. Population figures for 1801 to 1851 are from B R Mitchell and P Deane, Abstract of British Historical Statistics (1962, Cambridge), pp 24-5. Figures for numbers of churches are from sources cited in Table 3.1, page 183 above.

Note 1. The data in brackets excludes the following minor denominations: the Reformed Presbyterian Church, the Berean Church, the Glasite Church, the Old Scots Baptists, the Old Scots Independents, the Quakers and the Unitarian Church.

the management of education as in the prosecution of public social policy generally was similar to the roles of established churches in much of western Europe. To greater or lesser extents, willingly or unwillingly, governments and ruling classes relied heavily on the churches conducting educational and poor-relief systems and maintaining social discipline. Whatever peculiarities existed in Scotland, the delegation of social-policy functions to churches was a feature common to European societies before 1800. And it was in this area of ecclesiastical operations that urban-rural dichotomies were most crucial to the course of religious change after 1780.

In a Scottish parish outwith a royal burgh, the board of heritors or landowners oversaw parochial affairs. They were jointly and individually responsible for the construction and maintainance of the parish church and the parish school, and for the payment of the minister and the schoolmaster. Just as they were required to provide church accommodation adequate for the adult population, so they were also required to provide sufficient educational facilities and ensure that all children could obtain education irrespective of their parents' financial means. The heritors could offset expenses by charging pew rents in the church and fees in the school. However, they were generally prevented from passing on all of the costs and were obliged in law to meet any shortfall personally. The heritors' board was not an ecclesiastical court but a civil institution established by law to ensure the

maintainance of facilities run by the Church of Scotland. This was one of the foundations of the Church "by law established", for it forced landowners to support the Kirk whether or not they were adherents of it.

The parish's church court was the kirk session, chaired by the minister and composed of elders. In many instances, elders were also heritors and there tended to be a close relationship between the two bodies. It was the responsibility of the kirk session to supervise the provision of communion and religious services generally, the collection and distribution of non-assessed poor-relief funds,⁷⁰ and the conduct of parishioners. In country parishes, elected local government did not arrive until the creation of county councils in 1888. Civil power, in the form of the exercise of criminal justice, rested until 1748 with a variety of sheriffs and barons (and their deputies, the baron bailies) in the private courts of hereditary jurisdictions. After 1748, a more coherent system of sheriffs' courts and justices of the peace was created.⁷¹ Both the barons and the justices were generally the largest landowners, and many of the criminals and litigants who appeared before them were tenants. With the court of the baron or the justices as the major legal institution in the parish or a group of parishes, the kirk session acted as the rural equivalent of the burgh magistrates' court in dealing with many minor offences.⁷² The elders and minister sat in judgement of offences such as witchcraft, Sabbath breaking, drunkenness and "sins of the flesh", but

could call upon the local baron to assist if necessary.⁷³ The division between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions was blurred until the late eighteenth century with kirk sessions trying people for offences such as theft, assault and even murder and baron courts being involved in the "dooking" (trial by submersion in water) of adulterers, fornicators and witches.⁷⁴ The union between civil and ecclesiastical justice was symbolised by the civil bailies' use of the churches' repentance stool to punish offenders, and by the attachment of public stocks to the exteriors of many parish churches.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the kirk sessions formed a major part of the judicial system, dispensing brutal justice upon the wayward. In the first half of the eighteenth century, the church's role was little changed though there was an increasing reluctance to employ some of the old punishments. The repentance stool fell into disuse in most parts of Scotland, and the repeal in 1736 of the witchcraft laws removed the crime for which thousands had been tortured and killed.⁷⁵ The Moderates of the eighteenth-century Church of Scotland opposed the old harsh and intolerant ways. Probably as significant, the growth of dissent in the second half of the century weakened the authority of the Established Church. The presbyterian dissenters, opposing the liberalisation of moral standards, imposed their disciplinary procedures upon adherents, and submission to ecclesiastical justice became a matter of personal choice. In the process, the elders of the

Church of Scotland became regarded less as officers of the law. In the country parishes, each elder supervised an area of the parish and often knew all the inhabitants under his guard. He could spot offenders quickly and bring them before the kirk session.⁷⁶ But with increasing population and the growth of dissent in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the elder's task became at once more difficult and less welcome. By the early nineteenth century, the traditional apparatus of a quasi-legal ecclesiastical justiciary was crumbling and being transformed into a system of denominational discipline.⁷⁷

Long before population growth, religious dissent and industrialisation affected the status of the Established Church in agricultural parishes, special ecclesiastical and social-policy arrangements existed in the large towns. At the Reformation, town councils assumed the patronage and ownership of nearly all town churches. Unlike heritors in country parishes, town councillors did not become personally responsible for church finances. It was a corporate responsibility of town corporations, administered in most cases by the city chamberlain through the burgh's main financial account - the Common Good Fund. In recognition of the special link between the towns and the Church, councils sent "Burgh Commissioners" with full voting rights to the Church of Scotland's annual general assembly. Heritors enjoyed no such privilege. The collective political muscle of the royal burghs - those towns, some of them quite small, that had received full

royal charters - was exerted through the Convention of Royal Burghs set up around 1552. By 1707, over three hundred towns, including Glasgow in 1636, had received charters.⁷⁸ An important result of the burghs' strength was their exclusion from legislation concerning the provision of parish schools. Consequently, a major element in the Church's social policy after the Reformation was never enforced in Glasgow and other royal burghs.⁷⁹ However, rather than weakening the relationship between the Church and the town councils, the burghs' reduced statutory obligations increased ecclesiastical reliance on municipal co-operation in ad hoc social-policy schemes. In all probability, this led to Glasgow's social welfare provisions being less adequate than those in pre-industrial country parishes. This was certainly so in regard to education. Nonetheless, municipal social policy tended to be pragmatic and experimental and was more adaptive to change. By the end of the eighteenth century, therefore, urban and rural ecclesiastical systems were already different.

At the Reformation, Glasgow town council inherited three churches, one of which - the Cathedral - subsequently fell to Crown patronage but which was managed by the council. The council built new churches in 1687, 1720, 1756 and 1780. Together with an overspill congregation which met in the crypt of the Cathedral, there were eight fully erected (in the legal sense) Established churches in the city by 1780. Nonetheless,

like similar large towns, Glasgow was theoretically only one parish. Until 1599, the parish included areas to east, west and north of the city, but in that year was reduced to make it co-extensive with the city.⁸⁰ The "city parish" was a slight anomaly in the ecclesiastical system. It would have a single parish church - in Glasgow St. Mungo's Cathedral, in Edinburgh St. Giles' Cathedral - but would contain other churches with parish status. Each church had a kirk session, but there was also a "general session" that advised the town council on ecclesiastical and social-policy matters. The general session had many of the powers that kirk sessions had in agricultural areas, including poor-relief administration. Until the late eighteenth century, Glasgow's poor relief was centrally organised. In the 1780s, the city was sub-divided for poor-relief purposes into smaller parishes with one church in each of these smaller areas. One consequence of this system of ecclesiastical administration was the relative unimportance of the kirk session in the city. In particular, the urban kirk session was relatively unimportant in the judicial system. The existence of local magistrates' courts obviated the need for kirk sessions acting as minor civil courts. In a more general sense, kirk sessions could not and did not undertake the same watching brief of the lives of the people in the towns that they did in the country. The elder's role of supervising a small area of a parish, the basis of what became known as the "parochial system",

did not apply in the towns. City inhabitants were less willing to submit to such scrutiny, and the nature of city life made it more difficult. Ecclesiastical organisation in the large towns tended to concentrate power in the general sessions and town councils, and the kirk sessions were left as minor church courts concerned with congregational affairs.

The general session and town council had a very close working relationship. The ministers on the session were in effect council employees; the clergymen's stipends were paid by the council out of the Common Good Fund, and the clergy were appointed by the council acting in its capacity as patron of the City Churches. In turn, many of the elders were town councillors. The bond between kirk and council was visibly represented by the pews in the premier council church, the Tron, that were reserved for the use of the senior councillors - the Lord Provost and magistrates. The general session was always ready to express opinions to the council on matters such as drunkenness and Sabbath-breaking by cattle drovers. The council as law-maker and magistracy as law-enforcer frequently bent to the wishes of the clergy by giving judicial support to "religious" laws. This was not totally dissimilar to the position in agricultural districts. The important difference was that the secular authorities had assumed the complete enforcement of ecclesiastical law in the town whereas the Church retained much of this function in the country. The city clergy could still act as accusers and informants,

especially during the periods of religious persecution in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The general point, though, is that urban local government as a whole, including the judicial system, had already passed from the hands of the Church to the secular authorities.

The same applied to the management of urban social policy. The general session retained official control of poor relief, but the town council was involved in all changes to the system. The town's hospital, built in 1733 to hold paupers for the receipt of "in relief", was constructed and managed jointly by the town council, general session, trades house and merchants house. Similarly, the general session found in 1774 that church collections for the conduct of poor relief were inadequate, and the town council stepped in to institute an assessment on rate-payers.⁸¹ Apart from poor relief, which was a statutory responsibility, other social welfare provisions in Glasgow before the nineteenth century were voluntary and ad hoc. Nonetheless, the municipal authorities were in control of all schemes. A hospital built in 1641 to house indigent orphans was financed from a private bequest but managed by senior town councillors and ministers employed by the council.⁸² The town council acquired supervisory functions in respect of nearly all charitable homes, schools and similar institutions in the pre-industrial city.⁸³ Like most municipal authorities in Scotland, it ran

a grammar or high school for the children of prosperous citizens. For the children of the lower orders, the council co-operated with the general session and the two city hospitals (both municipally managed) in the provision of charity schools in the eighteenth century. Whilst the local presbytery of the Church of Scotland had the right to inspect the religious orthodoxy of all teachers, the town council regulated the number and type of schools that could be set up in the city.⁸⁴ The ministers of the Established Church employed by the council gave extensive advice on social policy. They guided the council in the area of educational provision, undertaking inquiries of children's educational skills and needs. Ministers were regarded as the "experts" in education as in the care of social casualties. Social welfare remained in the city, as it was in the country areas, the province of the clergy of the Established Church. But welfare and the Church itself had been subsumed at the Reformation into the municipal system, and the overall management of social policy rested with the town council.

The development of charities in the eighteenth century further differentiated the urban and rural approaches to social policy. Charity in agricultural districts depended almost entirely on the landed classes, and funds were generally channelled through the poor-relief and parish-school systems which the landowners, as heritors, were responsible for.

In that sense, rural charity was often indistinguishable from heritors' statutory obligations. In the cities in the eighteenth century, philanthropy developed as a component of the social activity of the urban propertied classes. To a limited extent, charities were designed to meet the shortcomings of statutory welfare provisions. To a greater extent, as a London magistrate noted, humanity was in fashion.⁸⁵ Charities were particularly fashionable in eighteenth-century Edinburgh - erstwhile capital and continuing social centre for the Scottish aristocracy, intelligentsia and legal profession. Edinburgh remained the home for major Scottish charities until the 1840s. One of the most important institutions was the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (S.S.P.C.K.), founded in 1709. Until the 1810s, the S.S.P.C.K. was the main source for the provision of schools and teachers in the Highlands and Islands, with the bulk of the funds coming from Edinburgh's propertied classes.⁸⁶ A smaller philanthropic tradition was emerging in Glasgow in the eighteenth century; one society founded in 1725 assisted widows and children with the surname Buchanan, and the Highland Society founded in 1729 cared for immigrant Gaels.⁸⁷ As already noted, many of the welfare schemes of the eighteenth century involved the town council. The charity schools, the work house, the orphans' hospital and, from the 1790s, the infirmary, were operations financed by the council, church collections and public subscription. No great distinction

was drawn between municipal and private philanthropy; both were equally symbolic of urban wealth and the "civilising" of eighteenth-century Scottish town life. Charity buildings were prominent structures in cities, and frequently, as in Glasgow, had large gardens, chapels, steeples and elaborately-embellished stonework.⁸⁸ In part, this was a reflection of the Calvinist view of the "dignity of honest poverty".⁸⁹ Most obviously, such buildings were designed to represent civic achievement. This was somewhat perverse, since most of the institutions were created because of the failings or want of statutory provisions in the burghs. In the long term, however, they introduced an important flexibility of approach to social problems not found in the agricultural districts. Eighteenth-century charities established the basis for the implementation of evangelical social policy, retaining the participation of the municipal authorities.

Brief mention must be made of the social and economic circumstances of those who controlled the Established Church of Scotland: the ministers, heritors and town councillors. Clergymen in country parishes lived in manses provided by the heritors. Part of their income they were expected to derive themselves from portions of land known as glebes. They could cultivate the glebe or rent it out or a mixture of both. Ministers were, in effect, landowners since the glebe was virtually inalienable from the ministerial charge. In some parishes, peasants were expected to collect the

minister's harvest without remuneration.⁹⁰ The remainder of the minister's income was the stipend from the teinds. The stipend was the value, paid in cash or kind, of a quantity of oatmeal and/or barley decided by negotiation between the minister and the heritors or by the national Court of Teinds in disputed cases.⁹¹ Consequently, country clergy were directly and intimately connected with the land and the agricultural economy. They were the clear social and economic superiors of the peasantry, and virtually the social peers of the heritors. Ministers in burgh churches were in a quite different position. Stipends were in cash and fixed to a currency value. There were no glebes and generally no manses.⁹² City ministers of the Established Church were salaried employees of the town council, having no direct connection to the means of production. In a practical sense, urban clergy were isolated from the economic fluctuations that dictated the money income that country clergy received from the teinds. Similarly, urban clergy did not become involved, as country clergy did, in agricultural production and trading - the latter in order to dispose of produce received as teinds. In a more general sense, the arrangements in country areas implied the existence of an economic significance of religion that was totally absent in the burghs. In terms of the productive capacity of the glebes and of the teinds surrendered to ministers by peasant farmers and landowners, the Church possessed a role in the

rural economy that greatly enhanced the overall social significance of religion.⁹³ There is perhaps room for research on the decline of the economic significance of religion as a factor in secularisation.

The social and economic backgrounds of the Church's owners and managers - respectively the heritors in the country and the town councillors in the burghs - also provide an important contrast. This had a significant bearing on urban-rural differences in ecclesiastical and social-welfare operations that had become apparent by 1780 and that were to be accentuated in the ensuing fifty years. The heritors were landlords, frequently members of the aristocracy and judicial barons or justices of the peace: in other words, the landed political establishment. In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the majority were Roman Catholic or episcopalian. By the eighteenth century, most were Moderates although some retained episcopal leanings. They were sympathetic to the Enlightenment and to toleration, and were opposed to puritanism and "wild enthusiasm". By contrast, town councillors were merchants or members of the trades incorporations. They were businessmen and craftsmen, and, increasingly in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, entrepreneurs: in other words, men who sought rewards from hard work and who were attuned to economic change. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they were solidly presbyterian, puritans by nature and zealous persecutors of immorality, sorcery,

papacy and episcopacy as the need arose.⁹⁴ In the second half of the eighteenth century, they became the political backbone of the Evangelical party in the Established Church, and, from 1790 onwards, they collected the cream of the Evangelical clergy in the City Churches. Town councillors were the natural challengers to the aristocratic class, both in the agitation for parliamentary reform from 1790 and in the context of the Moderate-Evangelical struggle in the Church of Scotland. Innovatory social policy, characteristic of the Evangelical party, was already receiving support and leadership from town councillors by 1780. In the following fifty years, it was to become the symbol of middle-class and Evangelical revolt against the aristocratic and Moderate establishment.

There has been room here to give only a brief description of religious organisation and practice in pre-industrial Scottish society. In some respects, such as church accommodation and church-going, religious provisions and observance were probably not starkly at variance in town and country. However, there were important differences in other spheres. Judicial and social-welfare powers of church courts were much circumscribed in the burghs with town councils having effective control of poor relief, and magistrates courts acting as surrogate kirk sessions. Statutory provision of parish schools did not exist in the royal burghs leaving a major gap in the collectivist presbyterian system. The parochial system, which imposed religious

supervision and discipline on country people, was generally absent in the large towns because of peculiar problems (such as shifting population and the anomie of urban life) and in consideration of the political, ecclesiastical and judicial powers exerted by town councils. Although general principles of presbyterian social policy were applicable in the towns, and although the clergy retained an influential advisory capacity in relation to municipal activities, the overall significance of religious agencies in pre-industrial urban life might be thought of as being reduced in comparison to rural life. Perhaps a more appropriate view would be that the significance of religion in the towns was mediated and legitimised by "secular" authorities. In the sense that many of the duties of those "secular" authorities involved ecclesiastical affairs, and that the authorities took great cognisance of ecclesiastical guidance, then it might fairly be said that the social significance of religion in respect of submission to religious tenets and influence on "secular" affairs was maintained or even enhanced despite the apparent "secularisation" of religious authority.

An important consequence arises from this when we consider the impact of industrialisation and modern urban growth. The general pattern of ecclesiastical organisation and the parameters of ecclesiastical responsibilities were not greatly affected by the impact of economic and social change in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There was no great

surrender of ecclesiastical authority after 1780, no collapse of an agrarian-oriented parish system, no secularisation of quasi-theocratic local government in the burghs. Such surrender and "secularisation" had already taken place, mostly at the time of the Reformation. In short, the agrarian parish system had never existed in the towns. The pre-industrial, "semi-secularised" urban system of statutory ecclesiastical and welfare organisation was preserved in practically all respects until the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

However, the impact of urban development after 1780 should not be under-estimated. Statutory arrangements of the Established Church were severely shaken and overtaken by dramatic changes in religious affiliation, agency and social policy. Down to 1780, congregational worship, communion, baptism, marriage and burial covered practically the entire range of church activities, as far as popular participation was concerned, in both town and country. There were no Sunday schools, mission schools, women's guilds, temperance societies, young men's institutes or religious tract societies. The concept of the religious voluntary organisation had not yet emerged. Concomitantly, there were no church halls or mission halls in which such organisations could meet and function. These were to be developments arising from urban change in the century following 1780. The inadequacies of ecclesiastical and welfare provisions in large towns like Glasgow produced crises for the

churches - the first major crisis period occurring in the 1780s and 1790s. But the crises were not of the same magnitude as those in the country parishes faced with industrial development and staggering population increase. Ecclesiastical administration swiftly collapsed in formerly agricultural parishes such as many in west central Scotland and in the various coal-mining areas of the central belt. The parish school, the parish church and parish poor relief became utterly inadequate in such parts. Parochial supervision and the authority of the heritors' board and the kirk session were quickly trammelled by the advent of industrialism. Neither the heritors nor anyone else had the experience, the willingness or the resources to meet the demands of a large industrial workforce. The eventual solution for such areas is in itself instructive if obvious. New burghs were created, taking over judicial and other responsibilities from the obsolete ecclesiastical authorities.⁹⁵ But this could be a slow process and often left the Established Church bereft of adequate patronage. Old burghs like Glasgow were better equipped to meet the challenge of the industrial age. Town councils had constructed the basic infra-structures of local government on which to build further. The Church had had its statutory functions circumscribed and did not have to face the entire collapse of civil and ecclesiastical administration. When social change and crisis developed in the last two decades of the

eighteenth century, the urban church was in a condition to make remarkably adept responses.

Notes to chapter 4.

1. B R Wilson, Religion in Secular Society (1969, Harmondsworth), p 14.
2. D Martin, "Towards eliminating the concept of secularization," in J Gould (ed.), Penguin Survey of the Social Sciences (1965, Harmondsworth), pp 169-182.
3. Some Marxists have attempted to modify this view; see for example A MacIntyre, Marxism and Christianity (1971, Harmondsworth).
4. See for example H Cox, The Secular City: Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective (1968, Harmondsworth); and idem, God's Revolution and Man's Responsibility (1969, London).
5. R Currie et al., Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700 (1977, Oxford), pp 99-101.
6. "Secularization affects all other exogenous determinants of church growth because the long-term result of cultural changes tending to reduce the appeal of church membership is to minimise the effect of all factors promoting growth and to maximise the effect of all factors inhibiting growth." Ibid., p 101.
7. Currie, Gilbert and Horsley use statistics for audiences of religious broadcasts, membership of secularist organisations and numbers of civil marriages as evidence for secularisation. In fact, these authors use data on church membership for the same purpose, thus tautologically regarding secularisation as both cause and effect.

8. D Martin, A General Theory of Secularization (1978, Oxford), p viii.
9. "Secularization arises in large measure from the formative influence of biblical faith on the world, an influence mediated first by the Christian church and later by movements deriving partly from it." H Cox, The Secular City ..., p 35.
10. A MacIntyre, op. cit., p 80.
11. For a review of some recent literature in the field, see H McLeod, "Religion in the City", Urban History Yearbook 1978, pp 7-22.
12. Ibid., p 7.
13. An important new study, G Marshall, Presbyterians and Profits: Calvinism and the development of capitalism in Scotland, 1560-1707 (1980, Oxford), appeared too late to be considered in this thesis.
14. S A Burrell, "Calvinism, capitalism and the middle classes: some afterthoughts on an old problem", in S N Eisenstadt (ed.), The Protestant Ethic and Modernization: A Comparative View (1968, New York and London), p 135.
15. Ibid., p 148.
16. T C Smout, A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830 (1969, Fontana/Collins, Glasgow), pp 88-93.
17. Ibid., pp 88-89.
18. S G E Lythe and J Butt, An Economic History of Scotland 1100-1939 (1975, Glasgow and London), pp 80-1.
19. Ibid., pp 81-2.
20. Quoted in A J Campbell, Two Centuries of the Church

in Scotland, 1707-1929 (1930, Paisley), p 24.

21. S N Eisenstadt, "The Protestant Ethic thesis in an analytical and comparative framework", in idem, op. cit., p 4.
22. Burrell, op. cit., pp 142-4; Lythe and Butt, op. cit., p 70.
23. H Luthy, "Once again: Calvinism and Capitalism", in S N Eisenstadt (ed.), op. cit., p 96.
24. John Knox, quoted in Tawney, op. cit., p 124.
25. Ibid., p 180.
26. For example, H R Trevor-Roper, "The Gentry, 1540-1640", Economic History Review, Supplement (1953), and idem, "The Social Origins of the Great Rebellion", History Today, vol. v, 6 (June, 1955).
27. Burrell, op. cit., passim.
28. Ibid., p 148; G D Henderson, The Scottish Ruling Elder (1935, London), pp 161-2.
29. T C Smout, op. cit., p 262.
30. Ibid., p 261.
31. Ibid..
32. Ibid., pp 339-340.
33. Ibid., pp 484-486.
34. T Dickson (ed.), Scottish Capitalism: Class, State and Nation from before the Union to the Present (1980, London), p 80.
35. J H S Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland (1960,

London), pp 252-3.

36. Ibid., pp 254-5.

37. A L Drummond and J Bulloch, The Scottish Church 1688-1843: The Age of the Moderates (1973, Edinburgh), pp 6-7.

38. T Dickson(ed.), op. cit., p 87; Burleigh, op. cit., pp 271-3.

39. See above pp 56-66.

40. Tawney, op. cit., p 210.

41. Ibid., pp 210-11.

42. Ibid., p 216.

43. Burrell, op. cit., p 148.

44. Dickson (ed.), op. cit., p 121.

45. Ibid., p 114.

46. "Special aspects of Calvinist theology were amenable to the secularizing tendencies of eighteenth century social thought." Ibid., pp 114-5.

47. Ibid., p 115.

48. P L Berger, The Social Reality of Religion (1969, Harmondsworth), p 113.

49. See above p 239.

50. P Laslett, The World We Have Lost (1965, London), p 71.

51. The minister of Cairloch in Wester Ross stated in the New Statistical Account (1836) that the parish church built in 1791 gave accommodation for 500 sitters. It is doubtful whether this small structure, which is still (1979) in use, could hold that number of people even if all the pews were removed and

everyone stood. J H Dixon, Cairloch (1886, reprint 1974, Oxford), p 407. This may be an example of a quite common ruse of calculating church accommodation on the basis of multiplying the number of pews by the number of Sunday services (either two or three). In this way, heritors could claim to be above or near to the legal formula.

52. A court ruling in 1787, made in regard of the parish of Tingwall, stipulated that any new church had to accommodate the required proportion of the population: i.e. two-thirds of those aged twelve and over. However, the ruling also stated that if an existing church was structurally sound: "The heritors are not to be obliged to build a new church to accommodate a fluctuating population, which may be here to-day, and away to-morrow." The improved condition of many old parish churches in the nineteenth century may owe something to this decision. In a dispute between the minister and the heritors of Neilston parish in Renfrewshire to the south-west of Glasgow in the 1820s, the heritors argued that the legal formula had been breached in many parishes for a long time, that they were "under no legal obligation at present to build a church, sufficient to accommodate the manufacturing population", and that "the ancient laws of Scotland are inapplicable to the present state of things". Statement of Facts, and Case for the

- Heritors of Neilston, relative to Church Accommodation in the Parish ... (1826, Glasgow), pp 17-18, 26-29.
53. Dixon, op. cit., pp 118-9.
54. J Hunter, The Making of the Crofting Community (1976, Edinburgh), pp 94-106; a more detailed exposition is given in J MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland, 1688-1800 (1951, Aberdeen).
55. Laslett, op. cit., p 71; K Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century England (1973, Harmondsworth), p 189.
56. Drummond and Bulloch, op. cit., pp 49, 55; A Fawcett, The Cambuslang Revival: The Scottish Evangelical Revival of the Eighteenth Century (1971, London), passim. Graham concludes a survey of these events in the eighteenth century thus: "The ancient hereditary piety and spiritual sentiment faded, and left the coarse qualities of the peasantry without control. Scenes of drinking and roystering and rustic love-making disgraced these 'gospel solemnities.'" H G Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century (1901, London), pp 313-4.
57. Dixon, op. cit., p 119; Drummond and Bulloch, op. cit., p 72.
58. The parishes are Dalmeny, Carnock and Gladsmuir; data quoted in ibid., p 74.
59. Roxburghshire had church seats for 55 per cent of

the population, Wigtonshire 51 per cent, the county of Haddington 47 per cent and the county of Peebles 71 per cent; calculated from Census of Great Britain 1851: Report of Religious Worship and Education, Scotland (1854, London), p 6.

60. Ibid., p 28; Drummond and Bulloch, op. cit., p 74.
61. Graham, op. cit., p 286.
62. Ibid., p 287.
63. Quoted in ibid., p 288.
64. Ibid.
65. Census of Great Britain, 1851 ..., op cit., p 6.
66. R Buchanan et al., Spiritual Destitution of the Masses in Glasgow ... (1851, Edinburgh), p 5.
67. See appendix II.
68. Figures for lowland parishes refer to 1755.
Drummond and Bulloch, op. cit., p 74; Dixon, op. cit., p 405.
69. See below vol. II pp 60-1.
70. In 1579, the Scots Parliament permitted an assessment for poor relief. This seems to have been used fairly consistently in Glasgow from the late sixteenth to late seventeenth centuries. However, it was reported that by 1740 only eight out of one thousand Scottish parishes in Scotland were making levies. Glasgow and other industrial communities introduced levies in the late eighteenth century, but in 1800 there were still only ninety-three parishes making assessments. J MacKinnon, The Social and Industrial History of Scotland (1921,

- London), pp 54-5; G MacGregor, History of Glasgow (1881, Glasgow), pp 147, 217, 278.
71. Smout, op. cit., pp 115-118, 212; MacKinnon, op. cit., p 56; T Johnston, A History of the Working Classes in Scotland (1946, Glasgow), pp 18-63.
72. Strictly speaking, the senior magistrates in the burghs, known as bailies, were the equivalents of the baron bailies in the hereditary baronies. In practical terms, though, rural kirk sessions acted like the burgh magistrates' courts as the lowest judicial authority. M R McLarty (ed.), A Source Book and History of Administrative Law in Scotland (1956, London, Edinburgh and Glasgow), p 7.
73. In one barony in the Borders in the 1660s, the baron made a blanket intervention to "put into execution all acts and decrees of the kirk-session against all persons whomsoever"; quoted in Smout, op. cit., p 116.
74. When in Ladykirk parish in Orkney in 1666 there was suspicion of murder in the death of four fishermen, the suspects were taken from Sunday worship to handle the corpses in the burial ground in the presence of the congregation. As no indication of guilt emerged, the minister declared the case closed. S D B Picken, The Soul of an Orkney Parish (1972, Kirkwall), p 18.
75. Smout, op. cit., pp 184-192, 219.
76. Until the third quarter of the eighteenth century, elders were called upon to act as street patrols or

- "searchers" in the maintenance of Sabbath sanctity; R D Brackenridge, "Sunday Observance in Scotland 1689-1900", Ph.D. thesis, University of Glasgow, 1962, pp 1-64.
77. On the breakdown in the vital area of Sabbath enforcement, see ibid., pp 69-121.
78. McLarty (ed.), op. cit., p 7; MacGregor, op. cit., p 191. The Convention of Royal Burghs, like the the general assembly of the Church of Scotland, retained and even enhanced its influence on the dissolution of the Scots Parliament in 1707. Royal burghs were abolished in the re-organisation of local government in the early 1970s, and the Convention was replaced by the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (C.O.S.L.A.).
79. See below vol. II p 51 et seq.
80. MacGregor, op. cit., p 143.
81. Ibid., pp 310-11, 351.
82. Ibid., pp 212-5.
83. A nineteenth-century historian of Glasgow, writing of town councillors' functions in the seventeenth century, wrote: "Nothing came amiss to them. They were ready to perform the functions of municipal rulers, trustees, School Board, Parochial Board; and whatever they did was done well, and with policy." MacGregor, op. cit., p 216.
84. See below vol. II pp 52-3.
85. B Inglis, Poverty and the Industrial Revolution (1972, London), p 57.

86. Smout, op. cit., pp 434-6.
87. MacGregor, op. cit., p 299.
88. The town's hospital or workhouse opened in 1733 was described three years later as more magnificent than any similar institution in London, Rome or Venice, "resembling more like a palace, than a habitation for necessitous old people and children." However, the same writer regretted that Edinburgh's Heriot's Hospital had superior windows. Quoted in MacGregor, op. cit., pp 310-11.
89. D Carswell, Brother Scots (1927, London), p 14.
90. O H Mackenzie, A Hundred Years in the Highlands (1949, London), pp 160-1.
91. The produce used to pay the teinds varied according to the local economy. In 1817, the minister of Neilston in Renfrewshire was awarded a stipend of 16 chalders or 256 bolls, half in oatmeal and half in barley. In the parish of South Ronaldsay and Burray in Orkney in the late eighteenth century, the bulk of the stipend was paid in barley and butter, although payment in livestock, kelp and services was probably included. Statement of Facts, and Case for the Heritors of Neilston . . ., op. cit., p 4; Picken, op. cit., p 54. See also note 50, pp 155-6, above.
92. As far as I can discover, no official manses were provided for the ministers employed by Glasgow town council.
93. In South Ronaldsay in Orkney, the minister's stipend

accounted for almost six per cent of the annual rental value of the parish in the 1790s. In Gairloch in Wester Ross, the figure was about three and a half per cent, to which had to be added the value of the glebe - perhaps twelve per cent of the value of the stipend. Figures calculated from data in Picken, op. cit., pp 54-5; and in Dixon, op. cit., pp 400, 407.

94. Edinburgh bailies, the senior magistrates of the town council, appear to have been extremely zealous in undertaking prosecutions for immorality. In 1561, they dug a special hole in the Nor Loch (now Princes Street Gardens) for dooking fornicators. The council also provided a special prison for adulterers and fornicators. Boyd, op. cit., pp 7-8.
95. A district where industrialisation and rapid population growth brought particularly acute problems was the parish of Old Monklands to the east of Glasgow. This formerly agricultural parish of less than 4,000 inhabitants in the late eighteenth century became a major centre of coal and iron mining in the early nineteenth century. By 1841, it contained two growing industrial towns - Airdrie and Coatbridge - and a population of 20,000. The consequence of inadequate backing for the local Established Church from the heritors was a swift and extensive development of dissent from the mid-1830s onwards. An interesting account of the rather sporadic development of ecclesiastical

agencies in Coatbridge is given in W Hamilton,
Work and Prayer: The Story of a Church in an
Industrial Community (1937, privately published,
Coatbridge).

Part II

Social theology in an urban society:
changes in the social role of
religion in Glasgow.

PAGE
NUMBERING
AS ORIGINAL

This part of the thesis considers the overall and sequential development of religious adaptation to urban society, thereby describing the practical "social theology" of the urban churches. The three chapters, covering the periods 1780-1850, 1850-1880 and 1880-1914 respectively, concentrate on the ubiquity of the evangelical framework of response from 1780 until 1880 and the failure and progressive abandonment of that response in the three decades preceding the First World War.

Chapter 5

Urbanisation, social change and the religious response, 1780-1850: the emergence of evangelicalism.

(a) Introduction: the urban setting.

In the 1780s, a process started that was to transform organised religion in Glasgow and, by extension, in Scotland as a whole into a recognisably modern form. The changes in religious organisation and social thought of that decade were the foundations for the ongoing process of ecclesiastical adaptation to the growing industrial city. The 1780s constituted an important discontinuity in religious development, marked in particular by the emergence of the evangelical framework of response to social change in industrial society. Sections (b) and (c) of this chapter examine the progressive development of this framework up to 1850. The present section describes in brief the background to the industrial growth of Glasgow.

In the mediaeval period, Glasgow was a cathedral town governed by the archbishop. The town's central point was formed by the cathedral and the adjacent bishop's palace. Around the cathedral were located houses and market stalls, including the fishmarket

which was inconveniently distant from the river Clyde. At the Reformation of the 1560s, the town's focus shifted southwards. The cathedral was ransacked and abandoned but, unusually for a Scottish city cathedral, was left standing by the presbyterian reformers. More importantly, people with grievances, business or favours to ask no longer made the trek to the bishop's palace but went instead to the town council and magistrates. The Tron (the market place, deriving its name from the public weighing machine) became the new city centre, symbolised by the promotion of the Tron Church to the position of the city's premier church in place of the cathedral.¹ The city that developed thereafter was described by Daniel Defoe in 1715 as standing "in a manner foursquare". "The Four principal Streets," he wrote, "are the fairest for breadth, and the finest built that I have ever seen in one City together."² Other eighteenth-century commentators praised the main thoroughfares and the city in general for their elegance.³ The main streets went out at right angles from the Tron: the High Street leading northwards to the Cathedral, the Callowgate eastwards forming the exit towards Edinburgh, the Saltmarket southwards towards the Clyde and the bridge over to the village of Gorbals, and the Trongate westwards becoming the road running along the north bank of the Clyde towards Dumbarton. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these streets were indeed broad by contemporary standards, and particularly in comparison to the narrow main

street of Edinburgh, the High Street, which was obstructed by buildings erected in the middle of the thoroughfare. Most of Glasgow's shops and stalls were situated in the buildings facing the main streets. However, the grandeur of the principal streets was contrasted by the narrow wynds (alleys) and closes (closed-off wynds) that led off from them. In these less grand surroundings, the majority of the population lived in low tenements built in close proximity to one another. In the pre-industrial period, Glasgow's houses were not as high as those of Edinburgh, where the city's location on a narrow ridge necessitated vertical rather than horizontal expansion. With the rapid growth of Glasgow from the late eighteenth century, house construction resorted to the tenemental style.⁴

Until the second quarter of the eighteenth century, Glasgow was one of the important trading ports of Scotland, but in comparison to many English seaports was of minor significance. The city's importance accelerated after the Union of 1707 and the opening of colonial markets to Scottish traders which that measure allowed. By 1745, Glasgow's deep-water ports of Greenock and Port Glasgow on the lower Clyde handled nearly a fifth of the British tobacco trade. In the next thirty years, Glasgow rose to become the principal tobacco port of Great Britain. The trade was instrumental in building up a large mercantile network based in the city. When the flow of tobacco from America was severely disrupted by the American War of Independence of 1776-82, new commodities quickly replaced it: sugar and, most important-

ly, cotton. Between 1780 and 1800, the economic basis of Glasgow changed from trading to manufacturing. The importation of cotton led to the rapid development of factory industry. More than any other single industry, cotton stimulated an acceleration in the growth of the city's population and moulded the industrial character of Glasgow.⁵

The advent of industrialisation in the late eighteenth century produced a significant change in the character of Glasgow's social elite. In the pre-industrial period, the population of Glasgow was socially stratified in a manner quite distinct from the stratification of the country population. The senior groups in the burgh were composed of merchants and master tradesmen, followed by professional groups such as clergymen, solicitors and teachers. There were groups of artisans, craftsmen and "mechanics" who possessed status as skilled workers; this status continued after the virtual abolition of guild restrictionism by 1740. At the lower end of the social scale were unskilled, casual and domestic workers, the itinerant hawkers and traders, and the paupers.⁶ During the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century, the merchants involved in the Virginia tobacco trade were regarded as the aristocracy of the city. According to one observer, the "tobacco lords" "had a privileged walk at the [Tron] Cross, which they trod in long scarlet cloaks and bushy wigs". The same observer noted that the American War reduced the status of these men, and "the rising generation of the middle classes" attained a new

status marked by the opening of the Tontine coffee house at the Tron in 1781. The coffee house removed, he said, "the absurd distinction of assumed rank in a manufacturing town." He went on:

"Wealth is not now the criterion of respect, for persons in the inferior walks of life who conduct themselves with propriety, have a higher place assigned them in society than at any former period in the history of the city." ⁷

Here was the basis of the Victorian notion of "respectability" - a mode of behaviour dependent not on wealth, although that could aid it considerably, but on personal conduct. It was with this change in the criterion of social status that evangelicalism was associated. This was no more apparent than in the matter of alcoholic consumption. Although the temperance and teetotal movements did not emerge until the late 1820s and mid-1830s respectively, there was a significant reduction in the consumption of intoxicating beverages, and a great reduction in drunkenness, amongst the propertied classes in Glasgow in the 1780s. Similarly, profanity also became highly reprehensible and was allegedly much reduced "in good society". ⁸

Other features mark the importance of the 1780s in the development of industrial Glasgow. Pressure of population led in the 1770s to the infilling of the city's "quarters" formed by the intersection of the four principal streets. It was in the following decade that the city started to extend beyond its mediaeval and early-modern limits. This was not initiated, as in Edinburgh,

with a grand town-council plan for a new town.⁹ Building took place as land became available and as developers came forward, but the town council closely supervised progress. The process of feuing (the Scottish right to build) the new town began in 1781 with what later became Ingram Street and, in the following year, George Square. In 1786, construction boomed with the building of George Square, Buchanan Street and George Street, followed in 1787 by the building of Frederick, Hanover and Cochran streets.¹⁰ The middle classes moved westwards with the house building; in the 1780s, 1790s and 1800s, Buchanan Street contained the most fashionable residences. At the same time as the commencement of the middle-class move to the west end of the city, industrial suburbs developed - first in the east end in the 1780s with the growth of the burgh of Calton, and by 1800 by the growth of the Gorbals and Hutchesontown to the south of the river and Anderston to the west. The construction of the middle-class west end proceeded so fast, and the working-class population of the city grew so rapidly, that in the first ten years of the nineteenth century the "respectable" classes evacuated the central wynds of the city.

The change from merchant to industrial city in the 1780s did not proceed without problems for the town council. In 1785, the council inquired into ways of improving the city's water supply.¹¹ Industrial premises started to multiply at a prodigious rate in the mid-1780s, reflected in a council minute of 1786 which expressed concern with:

"... the works already erected and now about to be erected in and near about the city, which produce nauseous smells, putrify the air, and prove hurtful to the health of the inhabitants ..."¹²

In 1780, the council took the first steps to light and pave the city's streets.¹³ Together, the municipal and ecclesiastical authorities became concerned in the mid and late 1780s with educational destitution resulting from child labour in the new factories, and with the inadequate provision of church accommodation. Perhaps most disturbing of all for both authorities was an industrial dispute that led to the industrial suburb of Calton being controlled for several days by rioting workers.¹⁴ This incident revealed the emergence of a large and growing section of the "lower orders" congregated in certain parts of the city: a group of people isolated to an extent never seen before from the beneficent and restraining influence of social superiors and Christian religion. The concomitant was also becoming apparent: that an enlarged middle order in society was taking up reclusive residence in the city's west end and was turning to religion as a point of identity, a means of social defence, and as a basis of urban social polity.

(b) Evangelicalism and the rise of the middle classes.

"Dissent is in the general more alive & open to good innovations & untried schemes of benevolence."

John Dunlop¹⁵

The development of manufacturing industry and the

growth of population created immediate problems for the Established Church of Scotland in Glasgow. In the first place, the city's middle classes started to grow very rapidly, many of them were moving to the new west end, and they developed a penchant for evangelicalism. Taken together, these three developments created a rapidly increasing demand for church accommodation. In the second place, the development of an industrial proletariat threatened the church's social policy and led to innovations in social theology and agency. The evangelical framework of response to industrialisation and urbanisation emerged from these two overall problems. Section (c) examines the early development of evangelical social policy as a response to the emergence of the industrial working classes. The present section deals with the growing middle-class identification with evangelical religion and the need for church accommodation.

Evangelicalism was a central element in the social identity of the "new" middle classes of the late eighteenth century. In the context of an expanding economy generated in large measure by entrepreneurial zeal and skill, evangelicalism could readily be associated with the advance of the individual. With its emphasis on the religious opportunity open to the individual (especially the possibility of gaining salvation by individual effort), evangelicalism complemented economic individualism. Moreover, evangelicalism generally, and presbyterian evangelicalism in particular, provided opportunities for the individual layman to attain status and power within

the churches. The complementarity between evangelicalism and the new economic order of the late eighteenth century brought with it antagonism to the old order, or, more accurately, the old orders, and to the social groups that controlled the Church of Scotland. Evangelicalism distinguished the new middle classes from the ill-educated and "aristocratic" tobacco lords. It also distinguished the middle classes from the landed gentry who controlled both national government and the Church of Scotland. Despite many "conversions" of landed and titled people, and despite aristocratic patronage of evangelical organisations,¹⁶ evangelicalism represented the ecclesiastical interests of the middle classes and gave religious idealism and identity to their political aspirations.

In assessing the popularity of evangelicalism amongst the urban middle classes, great importance should be attached to its social-policy features. To a significant degree, evangelical social policy as an "imposition" on the working classes became in turn a self-imposition on the middle classes, and not vice versa. At the outset in the late eighteenth century, evangelicalism encouraged the middle classes to adopt certain types of behaviour - such as sobriety and piety - as features distinguishing them from both the upper classes and the industrial working classes. Evangelicalism also proposed that those same features be impressed on the working classes as means to individual betterment and as means for the collective maintenance of social order. As a framework of response to urbanisation and industrialisation, it became apparent

very quickly that the second "objective" of evangelicalism was emerging as the more vital to the continued development of the movement. Increasingly, the proposed means of "controlling" or "restraining" the working classes evolved ahead of their adoption as traits of middle-class behaviour or as middle-class activities. The Sunday-school and teetotal movements are two examples where the clientele was initially working-class. This became an accelerating phenomenon between 1780 and 1850. Thus, many of the eventual characteristics of middle-class evangelicalism were initiated by or for the working classes. And, to a significant degree, middle-class enthusiasm for evangelicalism was based on its social-policy applications.

Perhaps the most important though obvious feature of the early rise of evangelicalism was the middle-class desire for ecclesiastical self-determination. This took practical form in the Evangelical struggle for control of the general assembly of the Church of Scotland and control of local congregations.¹⁷ But underlying both struggles was the need for more church accommodation to seat the expanding numbers of the middle classes. In turn, church provision became a political issue within the Established Church: to provide more churches would swing the balance of power in the general assembly and regional church courts away from rural Moderates towards urban Evangelicals. In this way, church extension became a political act as well as a means of satisfying demand.

From the Reformation until about 1820, the town council of Glasgow felt itself to be morally as well as

legally responsible for the provision of church accommodation adequate for the needs of the city's population. Despite the existence of a legal formula governing church provision, there were two main factors by which the council determined its ecclesiastical policy: the demand for seats in churches, gauged by the financial returns from seat-letting, and the social desirability of building more churches. Whilst the city's population was stagnant or expanding relatively slowly, the two factors tended to operate in unison. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, however, the rapidity of population growth, the advance of evangelicalism, and the middle-class desire for social exclusivity in church as in residential areas led to the two factors operating separately: the one leading to church-building for the middle classes on the financial basis of loss minimisation;¹⁸ the other to church-building for the working classes on the basis of social-policy objectives. The inability or unwillingness of the town council to attract and seat the growing middle classes in the Established churches led to the growth of dissent. In the context of the burghs, the development of presbyterian dissent was initially a response to the inadequate provision of accommodation by the Church of Scotland and its urban patrons.

Table 5.1 provides data on the provision of churches in Glasgow from 1708 to 1851. The monopoly position of the Church of Scotland started to disintegrate in the mid-eighteenth century and accelerated towards the end of the period. In the 1730s, churches were built by

the Secession, Reformed Presbyterian and Episcopal churches, and the Quakers established a place of worship. By 1763, two more Secession churches and a second (English) Episcopal church had been opened. In the next seventeen years, churches with congregationalist-presbyterian leanings were opened. From 1780 onwards, the Relief and Secession churches outpaced all other denominations for growth. Table 5.2 provides details of the growth of those two denominations in Glasgow. The Secession Church, founded in 1733, established its first Glasgow congregation within five years. However, the Seceders maintained a fairly low level of growth in the city until 1817-23 when four new churches were opened. Between 1834 and 1840, a further three Secession churches were opened in the city. The Relief Church, founded in 1761, formed its first Glasgow congregation in the same year when there was a walk-out from the council-owned Wynd Established Church.¹⁹ The first permanent congregation of the Relief Church in the city was formed in 1763. Between 1792 and 1806, there was a spurt in church-building with five new Relief churches being opened. In contrast, only two more churches were opened in the city in the next forty years.

The difference in periods of growth of the Secession and Relief churches in Glasgow was indicative of two aspects of the development of dissent. In the first place, the Relief Church was the larger of the two denominations in the city in 1800, but it lost this position in the early 1820s. During the first period of pressure on the city's church accommodation in the 1790s and early 1800s,

the Relief Church was more popular because of the independency that congregations maintained within the church. Congregationalism was an important attraction of presbyterian dissent in the late nineteenth century. This was apparent not only in the rise of the Relief Church, but also in the appearance of the Old Scots Independents, the Bereans and the tabernacles resulting from the Haldanes' "revival" movement of the late 1790s. The main middle-class aspiration at this time, in ecclesiastical terms, was to set up congregations in which there was little or no outside influences on the selection of ministers. The Relief Church offered the best opportunities to satisfy this desire whilst still maintaining some level of adherence to "orthodox" presbyterianism. By the 1820s, however, the notion of denominational rivalry to the Church of Scotland had grown in strength. The Relief Church was too lax, and maintained too close a linkage with the Established Church, to offer a satisfactory denominational alternative. The Secession Church became a serious contender in the denominational stakes as a result of declining "rusticity" and the healing of internal divisions. In 1820, the Burgher and Antiburgher churches of the Secession united to form the United Secession Church after the town council of Glasgow abolished the burgess oath in 1819. The opening of new Secession churches in the city in 1821, 1822 and 1823 appears to have been a consequence of these developments. With more accommodation becoming available, the United Secession Church became a viable denominational

Table 5.1 Estimated numbers of churches in Glasgow by denomination, 1708-1851¹

Denomination	Year						
	1708	1740	1763	1780	1801	1821	1851 ²
Church of Scotland	6	7	9	12	15	18	25
U.P. Ch. (& antecedents)	-	1	3	4	9	14	27
Free Church	-	-	-	-	-	-	27
Ref. Presb.	-	1	1	1	1	1	2
E.U.	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Bereans	-	-	-	1	1	1	1
Glasites	-	-	1	1	1	1	1
Baptists	-	-	-	1	1	3	6
Congreg.	-	-	-	-	1	3	11
O.S.I.	-	-	-	1	1	1	1
Rom. Catholic	-	-	-	-	1	1	8
Episc. Ch.	-	1	2	2	2	2	5
Quaker	-	1	1	1	1	1	2
Unitarians	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Methodists	-	-	-	1	1	3	5

Sources Census of Great Britain 1851: Report of Religious Worship and Education, Scotland (1854, London), p27; J Cleland, Annals of Glasgow, vol. 1 (1816, Glasgow), pp 133-149; G MacGregor, History of Glasgow (1881, Glasgow); J Cleland, The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow (1824, Glasgow), pp 12-20; J L Aikman, Historical Notices of the United Presbyterian Churches in Glasgow (1875, Glasgow); R Small, Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church vol. 2 (1904, Edinburgh); J Brown, Religious Denominations in Glasgow (1858, Glasgow).

Notes 1. The accuracy of these figures is affected by a number of factors. The figures for the Church of Scotland are broadly accurate, though for the dates

Table 5.1 (continued).

1801 and 1821 they possibly underestimate by one to four churches due to the existence of small mission chapels (such as the Seamen's Mission) that did have the status of churches (either quoad sacra or quoad omnia). The ad hoc and secret meeting places for the holding of mass prior to 1797 have been omitted from the figures for Roman Catholic churches. The number of Methodist churches was subject to great changes in the city in the 1810s and 1820s due to the ill-fated chapel-building scheme - a scheme that built and subsequently closed several churches; one such church was bought by the town council and opened as St. James' Parish Church in 1820. Six of the denominations - the Bereans, Glasites, Baptists, Congregationalists, Old Scots Independents and Old Scots Baptists - suffered from continuous defections between them from 1770 to 1850, but the figures in the relevant columns provide a fairly accurate estimate of the aggregate number of churches.

2. The figures for 1851 are drawn from the 1851 religious census in respect of all denominations except the O.S.I. and the Bereans. These denominations were not specifically mentioned in the census figures relating to Glasgow, but were presumably included in the category "Isolated Congregations".

Table 5.2 Church-building in Glasgow by the Relief and
Secession churches, 1738-1847

Period	Churches opened	
	Secession Church	Relief Church
1738-40	1	-
1741-60	1	-
1761-80	-	2
1781-1800	2	3
1801-20	1	3
1821-40	6	-
1841-47	1	1

Sources J L Aikman, Historical Notices of the United
Presbyterian Churches in Glasgow (1875, Glasgow);
R Small, Congregations of the
United Presbyterian Church, 1733-1900 vol. 2
(1904, Edinburgh).

[continued from page 317]

alternative to the Established Church whilst the growth in popularity of the Relief Church declined in relative terms. In reflection of this, the Secession Church opened seven new churches in Glasgow between 1821 and 1847 whilst the Relief Church opened only one. As middle-class dissatisfaction with the landed classes' control of the Established Church and the government grew in the early nineteenth century, so the desire for congregational independency of the type offered by the Relief Church was overtaken by the desire for a united and strong church that sought the disestablishment of the Church of Scotland.

The two periods that have been identified as times of rapid church-building by presbyterian dissent in Glasgow (the 1790s for the Relief Church and 1821-3 and 1834-40 for the Secession Church) indicate the importance of the Established Church's building programme as an influence on the pattern of growth in dissent. These were periods in which there was general recognition by the Church of Scotland and Glasgow town council that there was a shortage of accommodation in the City Churches. The problem became apparent first in the west end of the city where the building of the new town was gathering speed in the 1770s and 1780s. The town council responded in 1779 by deciding to erect a new church, St. Enoch's, to cater for the increasing numbers of middle classes resident in the vicinity of Buchanan Street.²⁰ At the same time, the council decided to attempt to bring under their control those Established churches (at that time three in number)

that had been built in the city by voluntary subscription.²¹ The attempt did not succeed, so the council started to co-operate in the erection of voluntary chapels as a means of easing pressure on existing churches. The clearest indication of high demand for church accommodation was the council's recognition in 1782 that the prices that it charged for seats in the eight City Churches were "low rented" in comparison to the charges in the voluntary churches (known as "chapels-of-ease") and in dissenting churches. From about 1790, seat rents in both council and dissenting churches started to rise very sharply.²² With the increasing economic and ecclesiastical importance of the city, and in consequence of increasing competition from dissenting presbyterian churches, the council regularly raised the level of stipends paid to its ministers: stipends rose from £138 per minister in 1762 to £165 in 1788, £200 in 1796, £250 in 1801, £300 in 1808, and £400 in 1814.²³ When raising stipends in 1796, the council stated that "... the present stipend of the Ministers is inadequate to support them in the station in life which they ought to hold in society, for reasons so obvious that there is no occasion to state them here." Seat rents were accordingly increased to pay for the rise in stipends, in the hope that congregations "would chearfully [sic] pay, seeing it to be applied to so good a purpose ..."²⁴ Despite several increases in seat rents, the council found that demand was still high.²⁵ In 1806, every seat in the churches owned by the council was let and many applicants for seats were disappointed. At the

same time, the crowded conditions in some of the old churches was causing concern. The Wynd Church, in particular, was becoming unpopular in the first decade of the nineteenth century as the wynds in the city centre around the church were evacuated by the middle classes and left to become the core of Glasgow's slums during the rest of the century. In 1806-8, the council replaced the Wynd Church with a new building in the west end of the city.²⁶ The result was an "extraordinary" increase in seat-rent income, and the council felt able as a result to again raise the seat rents of all the City Churches in 1808.²⁷ In this way, there appears to have been a close correlation between the rising demand for seats in Established churches and rising demand for seats in dissenting presbyterian churches. A closer examination of the management of the City Churches is undertaken in an appendix.²⁸

During the raising of seat rents in the City Churches in the late eighteenth and first decade of the nineteenth centuries, prices for seats assigned to "the lower classes of the community" were maintained.²⁹ However, the increasing demand was reported to be specifically for the "good seats" - the more expensively-priced and better-located pews in the churches. As a result, it became impossible to keep on meeting this demand without reducing accommodation for the poorer worshippers.³⁰ Middle-class demand for church accommodation was so high, and the financial returns for the council were so great, that the council was forced to

give in to congregational requests for improved facilities and comfort in the churches. It was at this time that the interiors of Glasgow churches acquired an appearance recognisably modern. The council spent considerable sums on curtains, linen cloths, windows, heating systems, paving and fencing.³¹ In like manner, removal of the poor also became a demand from middle-class worshippers. In at least one church, this involved the entire removal of cheap and free seats that were distractingly located behind the pulpit.³² In many other City Churches, the policy of maintaining low-priced and free seats for the lower classes seems to have been abandoned by 1810.

The decision to discourage poorer worshippers from attending the main City Churches resulted in the council agreeing in 1813 to undertaking a major church-building programme to provide separate places of worship for the working classes. This is considered in the next section. Fairly quickly, the council decided to include as an addition to the programme the construction of churches in the middle-class west end of the city. The scheme was to be paid for by a special tax on liquor. The Lord Provost remarked acutely, in the context of rising evangelical puritanism, that the liquor tax was "perhaps the least exceptionable assessment that could be devised".³³ The council agreed unanimously to introduce a Churches Extension Bill in the House of Commons, but belatedly decided that the tax should be on houses.³⁴ The reasons for this change

are unclear, but it seems probable that in the circumstances of the 1810s, when there was considerable disquiet about the influence of alcohol on the working classes, that evangelicals may have considered it inappropriate for houses of God to be financed from trade in debilitating substances. The result for the scheme was catastrophic. The council was forced within two months to abandon the entire project. Considerable opposition emerged from the legal and medical fraternities, the incorporated trades and the Quakers. The professional fraternities owned considerable amounts of property in the city. Together with the other opponents, they asserted that besides the proposed tax being "objectionable and obnoxious" in a free country, the religious condition of Glasgow did not warrant the construction of so many new churches:

"... far from there being any want of religious education and knowledge, or of religious worship, ... there is not a city or town in the British empire ... where there is so general a diffusion of religious knowledge." ³⁵

In 1816, the council resumed consideration of their plan in view of the continuing shortage of church accommodation.³⁶ Apart from two churches opened in 1819 and 1820 for the working classes of the east end, the scheme never got off the ground. One plan by a group of "very respectable gentlemen" to build a parish church at their own expense was rejected because the council refused to surrender the right to select the minister.³⁷ A similar plan for a

church in the middle-class west end was also rejected.³⁸

With the abandonment of the 1816 proposals, the council did not consider again the possibility of building new churches for the middle classes. On the one hand, the growth of dissenting presbyterian churches seems to have led to a decline in the demand for seats in the City Churches and to a drop in revenue from seat rents. This became apparent in the early 1820s when the council became very reluctant to make improvements to churches demanded by congregations. In one case, the council was forced to rebuild the Ramshorn Church in 1823 after the congregation threatened a seat-rent strike.³⁹ In the 1820s, the council lost interest in the expansion of the City Churches. Indeed, the City Churches appear to have become a burden to the council in that decade. The situation was becoming untenable with the rise of the dissenting notion of "Voluntaryism". In 1833, the town council was reformed by the granting of an elective franchise. The first election in November 1833 resulted in the council acquiring a strong contingent of dissenters and Established Church Evangelicals from the rising middle classes. Both groups disliked the council having the right to choose the ministers of the City Churches, and co-operated in opposing the expansion of the municipal "ecclesiastical department". However, the dissenters were opposed to the Established Church entirely, and there was an attempt one week after the reform of the council to have all the council-owned churches disposed of to the congregations.⁴⁰ The year 1833 also marked the

Evangelical takeover in the general assembly of the Church of Scotland. The two events mark an important victory in the advance of the Scottish evangelical movement. In the context of church accommodation, the council was no longer able to even consider taking an active part in the provision of new churches for working or middle classes.

The inability of the town council to build more than a mere handful of new churches was central to the shortage of Established churches in the city. Until 1846, the city of Glasgow was confined to the very centre of the conurbation. In the suburbs springing up around it from 1790 onwards, there were different ecclesiastical arrangements. A large parish and judicial area known as the Barony of Glasgow enclosed the city north of the river Clyde. The Barony parish was under Crown patronage. To the south of the river, where building development started after 1800, the Barony of Gorbals had its own parish where the patronage was shared by Glasgow town council and the University of Glasgow. Church extension was peculiarly difficult here. Both the Barony and Gorbals parishes had one parish church each in 1750. The prime means for increasing the number of churches to serve the rising numbers of people was the sub-division of the parishes. However, the creation of new parishes was a process requiring a change in civil arrangements in relation to poor relief and education as well as changes to church accommodation. There was great resistance on the part of the heritors to any alteration to the status quo. They opposed change

particularly because of the increased financial burdens placed upon them in the erection of new churches. From the middle of the eighteenth century, an increasingly-used alternative was the erection of chapels-of-ease. These were to serve, as the name suggests, as overflow churches easing the pressure on the parish churches. They had no territorial parishes and no official role in poor relief (save the collection of voluntary offerings) or educational provision. In 1752, a chapel-of-ease was built at Shettleston, a village to the east of Calton, as a relief to the Barony Parish Church. Another was built at Calton in 1793, in the midst of the developing working-class east end, and a third in Anderston in 1799 to serve the industrial suburb emerging in the western extremity of the Barony parish. These chapels were built by voluntary subscription, and the town council often assisted by making donations or agreeing to sell land for the sites of the churches. In Glasgow itself, three chapels-of-ease were built by 1798 - two to serve Gaelic-speaking Highlanders migrating to seek work in the cotton industry, and one that emerged from the debacle concerning the walk-out from the Wynd Church in the 1760s.

In many cases, a chapel-of-ease was built by worshippers who opposed the parish minister selected by heritors but who did not wish to go to the extreme of seceding from the Church of Scotland. Such chapels were, in consequence, a leading means for Evangelical revolt within the Established Church. As the Moderate-Evangelical split grew wider in the 1790s, chapels-of-ease became

targets for the dominant Moderate party in the general assembly. In 1798, the assembly decided to thwart the Evangelical-controlled presbyteries in urban areas by enacting that recognition of new chapels had to rest with the assembly itself and not as hitherto with presbyteries. To prevent ministers of chapels swelling the ranks of Evangelicals in presbyteries and so on up the hierarchy to the assembly, the Moderates forbade them from sitting on presbyteries and made chapels subject to the supervision of parish kirk sessions. This was a severe constraint on the movement for erecting chapels-of-ease. By 1826, only twenty-seven chapels in the whole of Scotland had been approved by the assembly.⁴¹ By 1824, only one chapel, serving Gaelic-speaking Highlanders in the Corbals, had been admitted to the Church from Glasgow and suburbs.

The shortage of Established churches drove many of the rising middle classes into dissenting presbyterian churches. The town council of Glasgow was aware of the problem, and in place of its thwarted church-extension scheme it sought to maintain and increase the status and evangelical leanings of the "ecclesiastical department" of the burgh. Despite considerable hostility towards evangelicalism during the period 1793-1815 on the part of the general assembly and the national government, the council appointed Evangelical clergymen to the City Churches. It became a deliberate policy of the council that, if it could not build more churches, it would pay the highest stipends to attract the very best ministers to

the city. The stipends it payed by the 1800s were well above the national average, and prominent Evangelicals like Stevenson Macgill and Thomas Chalmers took up charges at the City Churches. The dissenting presbyterian denominations in the city were doing the same. The Congregationalists, for instance, attracted the two leading Scottish clergymen, Ralph Wardlaw and Greville Ewing, to Glasgow. The quality of the minister - and his oratorical powers in particular - was important to attracting worshippers. Scottish ministers were judged almost entirely by their preaching, and the sermon was the central part of presbyterian worship. During the early development of presbyterian evangelicalism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it was common to visit different churches and different denominations to hear noted ministers - the practice of "sermon tasting".⁴² A very real competitive situation developed between evangelical presbyterian churches, and improvements in the quality of the clergy at the City Churches were important means by which Glasgow town council sought to attract worshippers and pew-renters.

Better ministers did not overcome problems relating to the condition and siting of Established churches. The town council was faced with continuous pressure from worshippers for renovation or rebuilding of old churches. In one famous case, the council's success in attracting a prominent minister produced a demand to improve his church because he was so prominent. In 1810, the minister of the city's premier church, the

Tron Kirk, informed the council:

"The Sabbath evening and week day sermons and the situation of the church itself, surrounded very closely by adjoining houses, render frequent white washing necessary." ⁴³

The Tron Church, like the abandoned Wynd Church, was located in the city centre where slums and workshops were squeezing out the middle classes in the early years of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, Sunday evening and weekday sermons, aimed at and well-attended by members of the working classes, adversely affected conditions in the church. These sermons had been a long-standing feature of church-life in Glasgow, but with the onset of industrialisation became unpopular with ministers and middle-class worshippers. Until 1799, the sermons on Thursday and Sunday evenings had been conducted in the College Church. In that year, the congregation pleaded with the council to move the sermons to another church. They were moved to the Tron. Despite the plea of the minister in 1810, the sermons remained at that church after the arrival in 1814 of Thomas Chalmers. Within two years, Chalmers' friends were pressing the council to build a new church specially for him. They told the council:

"... considering the Tron Church not at all calculated for his delicate health, and that his health is much impaired by preaching in it, they would wish, if possible, that a new church should be built in any part of the town for Dr. Chalmers." ⁴⁴

As we shall see in the next section, Chalmers got his new church in 1819, and his successor at the Tron managed to

persuade the council in 1820 to accede to a request from the kirk session and congregation to rotate the sermons for the working classes around all the City Churches.⁴⁵

The maintenance of the social status of the Established kirks of Glasgow included recognition of the needs of the precentors. Organs were practically unknown in Scottish presbyterian churches until the middle of the nineteenth century, and the precentors were important to the conduct of worship. The precentors in the City Churches of Glasgow were conscious that their social status was declining in comparison to dissenting precentors. They were paid a part-time salary by the council - the salary being £10 per annum in 1794 and 12 guineas in 1810. In 1821, the precentors asked the council for an increase because of the higher salaries paid to:

"different precentors in Edinburgh, Ayr, Paisley, and Greenock, as well as in some of the dissenting congregations in Glasgow ,... your petitioners having a sincere wish to appear respectable, and to have the office always filled with men of musical abilities ..."⁴⁶

In the long term, the council was unable to create the social exclusivity and standards of comfort in the City Churches that the bulk of the city's middle classes desired. Increasing ministers' and precentors' salaries could not compensate for lack of church accommodation and unsuitable location of old churches.

With the reform of the town council and the victory of the Evangelicals in the general assembly in

1833, church extension in Glasgow was removed from the domain of the municipal authorities. Henceforth, both Evangelicals and evangelical dissenters sought to promote church-building by voluntary action. The immediate effect of the Evangelical control of the assembly was the admission of chapels-of-ease and the institution of a major church-building programme. In 1834, Thomas Chalmers, by now furth of Glasgow, started a church-building fund which in seven years collected over £300,000 and paid for the erection of 222 churches. In all spheres of Evangelical activity, the victory of 1833 led to an explosion of interest and energy. Between 1834 and 1839, for instance, congregational "givings" for the general work of the Church in Scotland multiplied fourteen times.⁴⁷ In Glasgow, a close lay friend of Thomas Chalmers, the publisher William Collins senior, founded a church-building society with the aim of opening twenty new churches at the rate of four per year. This proved to be a great boost to the Church of Scotland in the city. By 1840, some eleven thousand extra sittings were provided in Established kirks in the city, and a total of sixteen churches had been built by 1843. Whilst these new churches were originally intended to provide accommodation for the less well-off - especially those excluded from the overcrowded and expensive seats in the City Churches - they became in reality the core of the future Free Church in Glasgow. Evangelicals left the Council's churches between 1834 and 1843 to join the new congregations. At the Disruption of 1843, the Free Church took over ten of the new churches. However, the legal battle over the

ownership of the churches, decided finally in the House of Lords, ended in victory for the Established Church. As a result, twelve of the churches were closed up because the Established Church could not afford to run them, and the Free Church congregations set about building more new churches for themselves.⁴⁸ By 1851, twenty-seven Free churches had been built in the city, indicating the wealth and determination of the Evangelical seceders.

The aggregate number of church-goers in Glasgow seems to have risen between 1833 and 1850. However, a fair proportion of those who attended churches built by the church-building society between 1834 and 1843 and by the Free Church after 1843 were drawn from Council-owned churches. This is the inevitable conclusion to be drawn from the drop in occupancy of paid seats in the City Churches. The occupancy was over 75 per cent in 1832-3, but it fell to 58 per cent in 1842-3 and to 30 per cent in 1843-4. The figures would have been even worse but for an influx of new worshippers attracted by the falling price of pews: the average price of let seats (in decimal-converted currency) fell from 56.7 pence in 1832-3 to 47.2 pence ten years later.⁴⁹ In essence, the movement of worshippers from City Churches to voluntary Established churches between 1834 and 1843 was a form of "dissent" from the "ecclesiastical department" of the town council. Whilst the pattern of middle-class defection from Established to dissenting churches appeared to slow down because of the Evangelical control of the general assembly in those years, the success of the church-building

society in Glasgow was due to it being a form of ad hoc dissent that was formalised by the Disruption of 1843.

Recent research has shown that there were significant differences in the social compositions of the membership and eldership of the Established churches on the one hand and the dissenting presbyterian churches on the other. The kirk sessions of non-established churches were principally composed of members of the rising middle classes (small merchants and tradesmen, teachers, clerks and local government officials). The kirk sessions of Established churches were principally composed of members of the upper and long-standing middle-class families (large merchants and manufacturers, bankers, accountants, advocates, university staff and landlords).⁵⁰ Further, a study by Peter Hillis of nine churches in Glasgow in the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century suggests that the dissenting presbyterian congregations had higher proportions of lower middle-class adherents but fewer lower working-class adherents than Established Church congregations. The study also shows that when one Established Church congregation seceded in 1843, the proportions of lower middle class adherents increased and of lower working class adherents decreased.⁵¹ Dissent was conducive to the aspirations of the rising middle classes but detrimental to the existing status of the upper middle classes. As Hillis observed:

"... the eldership in the non-established churches was partly viewed as a stepping stone to higher things but in the Church of Scotland it was awarded after the stepping stones of business and social

life had been successfully negotiated ..."⁵²

In the dissenting churches, the respectable rising middle classes could find freedom from the control of those Maclaren describes as "long-standing middle-class families who had in the past governed the Established church in oligarchic fashion, controlling the kirk sessions by successive co-option."⁵³

As far as the middle classes were concerned, then, evangelicalism was of importance to them initially as an ecclesiastical policy encouraging religious self-determination. The adequate supply of church accommodation suitably isolated from the industrial working classes was vital in the context of a rapidly expanding city. Church extension, whether within the Established Church or by secession, permitted social segregation and the self-elevation of middle-class groups. Despite minor efforts to build churches for the working classes in Glasgow in the 1810s and 1830s, church extension was until the late 1840s primarily a means of satisfying middle-class demands.

The imperatives of individual behaviour that developed as part of evangelicalism have been much noted.⁵⁴ A prominent Scottish evangelical of the first half of the nineteenth century recorded the change in behaviour required by evangelical advance between 1800 and 1860:

"With regard to the character of the Society of Glasgow in its upper classes, during the first ten years of the present century; it is probably now (1860) farther advanced & improved in science,

literature, morals and piety.... Purity of thought & morals were at a low ebb. There was only one evangelical minister of the State church (Dr. Balfour). The independents had only commenced as a Sect. Everyone of a serious cast in the middle class (male or female) was insulted and spoken against." 55

The development of the imperatives of behaviour demanded by evangelical "seriousness" was protracted. The evangelical rules of personal conduct continuously changed. This process depended greatly on the progress of evangelical social policy. For this reason, the development of evangelical ideals in relation to such things as education and sobriety are considered in the next section.

(c) Working-class irreligion: the threat of violent revolution and the evangelical response.

"Little did I imagine, in thus striving to keep aloof the ravenous wolf Ambition from my guileless flock, that I was giving cause for many to think me an enemy to the king and government, and a perverter of Christianity, to suit levelling doctrines."

The Rev. Micah Balwhidder in John Galt's Annals of the Parish⁵⁶

The principal features of evangelicalism as a framework of response to the formation of urban and industrial society were its proclaimed aim to sustain religious influence in the new society and its development of the means by which to do this. The main task, as many evangelicals saw it, was to maintain religious influence amongst the new industrial working classes.

Evangelicals believed that everyone could attain salvation by his or her own efforts, but that there were obstacles to the individual developing a desire to be "saved" and to his ultimate success. As industrial urban society grew, the social and religious alienation of the working classes became manifest. Evangelicals identified obstacles to the working classes' salvation. As irreligion grew, measured in a number of ways, so new obstacles were identified. Methods of removing those obstacles were developed and applied. As the period 1780 to 1850 progressed, the identified obstacles became increasingly temporal in character: for example, drunkenness, insanitation and poor housing. In turn, the solutions became increasingly temporal: total abstinence, sanitary improvement and slum clearance. Thus, evangelicalism developed as a means of re-modelling traditional religious social policy to the needs of industrial society.

Religious influence in social policy did not start with the evangelicals. We have already noted that the Church of Scotland was deeply involved in education, poor relief and social discipline. The background to the religious influence on industrial social policy is given in Part III. In many respects, Scottish presbyterians had always been committed to an "evangelical" welfare system. But until the late eighteenth century, the system was designed for an agrarian society. In Scotland, the urban variation of the agrarian religious welfare system first broke down in Glasgow in the 1780s. Radical changes to the system were required, and with the implementation

of those changes came ecclesiastical division. Until the 1780s, differences between the Evangelical and Moderate parties in the Church of Scotland in terms of policy and theology seemed quite minor. One historian remarked that "Evangelicalism in its best moods was simply an alternative version of Moderatism."⁵⁷ By 1796, the Evangelical party and evangelicals in general were developing a distinctive and innovative religious social policy.

The first indication that the industrialisation of Glasgow was threatening the working of the welfare system came in the early 1780s. The influx of people from the countryside stretched the poor-relief system to near breaking point. A major problem was the difficulty in checking applicants for relief. Poor relief in the city was organised on a centralised basis under the direction of the general session which collected income from the separate Established churches and distributed it centrally. In 1783, the minister of the council's Wynd Church, the Rev. William Porteous, drew up a scheme to reduce the cost of relief. Essentially, his scheme divided the city into separate parishes with one of the council-owned City Churches to each parish. Whilst the general session retained overall supervision and allocated funds to each church, the kirk sessions of the City Churches distributed the money. This was hoped to reduce expenditure because the elders and ministers would be more able to assess the condition of applicants. Porteous' plan aimed to "more comfortably" provide relief to native Glaswegians entitled to it and to

prevent "stranger and vagrant paupers" establishing residence in the city. By January 1784, it was reported that Porteous' improvements were "productive of the most beneficial consequences".¹⁰

The increasing size of the migration to Glasgow in the early 1780s also increased the extent to which the city was susceptible to fluctuations in the supply of agricultural produce. This occurred in serious form in 1782 when there was a poor harvest. The shortage of food was so great that the town council offered farmers a bounty of 6d. per boll (approximately equal to six bushels) of grain to bring their meal to the Glasgow market.⁵⁹

The town council's awareness of welfare problems became acute in 1785. In that year, the new town to the west of the city was under construction, making the physical growth of the city apparent. The council undertook a census of population in city and suburbs which indicated that there had been a seven per cent increase in five years.⁶⁰ With the full knowledge of the council, the general session investigated the condition of education in the city. The session's investigating committee, comprising three ministers led by William Porteous, found "a considerable want of education arising from the poverty of parents".⁶¹ The outcome of the inquiry was an expansion of the existing forms of educational provision. The council, together with subsidiary welfare organisations under its control (the general session, Hutcheson's Hospital and the town's hospital),

moved the existing three charity schools into bigger premises and built a fourth. The general session instructed kirk sessions of each City Church to "take every step" to overcome "the negligence of parents" in regard to the education of children, and argued that the "evil" of lack of education amongst poorer children could be "remedied in no other way but by the institution of charity schools".⁶² This was a significant remark, for within two years the council and the general session had abandoned the charity-school system in favour of a radical alternative - the Sunday school.

The event which revolutionised the churches' and the municipal authorities' approach to social problems came in 1787. In August of that year, cotton weavers in Calton in the city's east end went on strike for increased wages. At the end of the month, the weavers cut the webs on the looms of strike breakers and the contents of warehouses were destroyed. The Glasgow magistrates went into Calton on 3rd September in an attempt to restore order, but they were forced by the mob to retreat. The magistrates returned later the same morning with a detachment of soldiers. In Duke Street in the north of Calton, the rioters challenged the magistrates and soldiers. The Riot Act was read and a pitched battle ensued. A musket volley was fired killing three immediately and wounding others of whom five died later. The crowd dispersed and, after minor skirmishes in the afternoon and destruction of more looms the following day, an occupation of the district by the army effectively

ended the strike.⁶³

Riots were nothing new in Glasgow. Serious disturbances in the eighteenth century included the anti-Union riots of 1707 and riots in opposition to the 1725 Malt Tax - both incidents involving town councillors on the side of the rioters. Other disturbances included a riot in 1749 aroused by suspicion that medical students were "resurrecting" bodies from a graveyard, and riotous attacks on Catholics in 1779 in opposition to the Catholic Relief Bill.⁶⁴ However, the weavers' riot of 1787 was a new and frightening phenomenon for the city's establishment. As Kenneth Logue has stated:

"The Weavers' Strike of 1787 was one of the first determined attempts by working people in Scotland to resist the efforts of employers to treat their labour as a commodity whose price they could determine at will."⁶⁵

The strike was the first major industrial dispute in the city for higher wages. The rioters' control of Calton forcibly drew the authorities' attention to the existence of industrial suburbs. Above all, the idea of an east-west division in the city, between the industrial working class and the middle classes, emerged from these riots. Coming at the time when the new town was under construction, the strike and riot consolidated the emerging conception of a socially-segregated city. An important aspect of the rise of the Calton community was its "penetration" of the city centre. In 1781, the Tontine Hotel had been opened at the Tron as the focus for the city's new establishment. Within ten years, the working classes and industry of the

east end had engulfed the city centre. As a result, the Tontine was deserted by the middle classes and a new centre, the Assembly Rooms, was opened in the new town in 1792.⁶⁶

The Calton riot focused the attention of the town council on the problems which the expansion and industrialisation of the city were creating - not least because the council was liable for damage caused by riots.⁶⁷ Riots by the industrial working classes of the city formed an ever-present backdrop to the development of social policy and welfare provisions between 1787 and 1848. Disturbances were followed by increased civic and ecclesiastical concern for social problems, and were the times when new agencies tended to appear. So it was in 1787. Within four days of the quelling of the riot, the minister of the Wynd Church, William Porteous, presented the council with a report, compiled on behalf of the general session and "many respectable citizens", which called for increased control of "apprentices and young persons". One element of the plan outlined in the report was the accommodation of apprentices and their masters in unlet seats in the council's City Churches. Although the council agreed to this, there is no evidence to suggest that it was implemented since the churches were fully let. The other and more important aspect of the plan was the introduction of "Sabbath exercises" or Sunday schools for the same young people employed at the mills. The schools were to be managed jointly by the council, ministers, elders and subscribers. The council approved of the idea,

and the schools were opened in November 1787 with paid teachers and four hundred boys.⁶⁸

The significance of these Sunday schools was that they were municipally-patronised, and were the first attempt to cater for the educational and spiritual needs of young people employed six days a week in factories. Furthermore, they were started in Glasgow by the same minister who, two years' previously, had suggested further expansion of charity schools. Opened by the Lord Provost and magistrates, the Sunday schools were regarded by the city's establishment in 1787 as a grand new design for controlling the working classes. In 1790, the "Society for Managing the Sunday Schools in Glasgow" was made an incorporated institution by the council, and continued to operate with paid teachers until the early 1820s.

The foundation of the Sunday schools was followed by other social-policy initiatives. The Highland Society opened a school in 1787 for the children of poor migrants from the north of Scotland who were being brought to the city to work in the cotton factories.⁶⁹ A greater problem was the employment of children. Children could be employed and layed off at will, and an unstable child workforce developed. Whilst the Sunday schools provided education for those in work, the council sought ways of dealing with "idle and disorderly" boys. The council decided to create a workhouse for them in the city's granaries. The council approved a small expenditure to make alterations to the granaries in order to accommodate the boys - the operation to be carried out "with the

Greatest Frugality".⁷⁰

Another outcome of the Calton riot was an attempt by the town council to establish a police force in the city. The town guard was an ineffective group of usually elderly men, employed to watch the streets at night and to raise the alarm if necessary. At the riot, prior to the involvement of the army, the magistrates had only been accompanied, as was usual at disturbances, by the "town officers". Reliance on the army was unsatisfactory; soldiers were not regularly maintained in the city. An inspector had been appointed by the council in 1778 with a number of men under him, but the council had been unwilling to impose an assessment to pay them. As a result, the inspector resigned after three years and was not replaced.⁷¹ In 1789, the council presented a bill to parliament for the establishment of a police force paid for out of a special tax. The council were forced to withdraw the measure after severe opposition emerged from the city's ratepayers.⁷²

These responses to the riots of 1787 were part of a growing awareness on the part of the municipal authorities, the churches and the middle classes that the city was changing rapidly. There was more than a hint of desperation on the part of the council in its swift adoption of the Sunday-school scheme. Similar institutions were set up in Aberdeen and Edinburgh in the mid and late 1780s, designed to accommodate the same groups of employed children.⁷³ Youths were "so much neglected", in the words of the Sunday School Society of Glasgow, "as to render ineffectual any religious education they had formerly got, and to expose them to the most imminent [sic] danger of

becoming useless or pernicious members of society ..."⁷⁴
The religious solutions - increasing educational provisions by charity and Sunday schools - were not regarded as peculiarly evangelical in the 1780s. The chief proponent of the city's changing social policy of that decade was William Porteous, a staunch Moderate who, after 1793, became a self-appointed spy to the chief law officer in Scotland on the activities of evangelicals. Perhaps most noteworthy of the religious innovations of the 1780s was the absence of a large plan to extend religious and educational provisions to all of the working classes. The schemes were small in scope, designed to contain certain specific problems. As these innovations emerged into a broader and more ambitious design in the 1790s, so the rationale behind them became a matter of controversy.

The tentative changes in religious agency in Glasgow in the 1780s were followed in the next decade by the emergence of evangelical social policy. Many of its ideas were drawn from, or at least inspired by, the French Revolution. At the same time, however, evangelicalism became inextricably bound up with the British establishment's reactions to war with France and with its fears of violent revolution at home. Whilst the Moderates in the Church of Scotland adopted Enlightenment ideas of religious toleration, an end to superstition and witchcraft, and the application of reason to the investigation of the world and the human condition, the Evangelicals became greatly influenced by Enlightenment ideas about the social and spiritual utility of mass literacy and popular education as transmitted

by the French Revolution. In this way, the French Revolution was seen to have a great influence on the development of British evangelicalism.⁷⁵ The idea of educating the lower orders was extended in evangelical thinking to the use of missions to heathens in foreign lands and to the irreligious in city slums. In so adopting revolutionary ideas, and despite the similar educational objectives of John Knox and other early reformers, evangelicals left themselves exposed to suspicion. Whilst evangelicals promoted their policies in an attempt to avert violent revolution in this country, their use of innovative agencies and methods to attain this end made them the objects of close scrutiny and the target for attack by Moderates and the government.

Evangelical development during the 1790s and 1800s took place throughout Great Britain. Progress in Scotland owed a great deal to events in England, and there was an important interaction between Scottish and English evangelicals. Similarly, the reaction of the ecclesiastical and political establishments took place within a British as well as a Scottish context. Within Scotland, the centre of evangelicalism and the struggle with the Moderates and the Scottish arm of the British government (the Scottish Secretary, Henry Dundas, and his nephew Robert Dundas, the Lord Advocate) with which it had to contend was in Edinburgh. To a great extent, events in Edinburgh between 1790 and 1810 determined the course of events in the rest of Scotland. By the 1810s, however, most of the principal figures and the centre of Scottish evangelicalism itself had moved to Glasgow.

There were a number of individuals who played leading parts in the struggle to implement the new evangelical social policy during the period 1793 to 1815. On the evangelical side were the Haldane brothers. Robert Haldane of Airthrey in Stirlingshire was a country gentlemen who took little part in religious or political affairs before 1789. In 1789-91, he read extensively in the works of Paine, Priestly and Burke. This reading raised his interest in social improvement:

"Although I did not exactly agree with these writers, a scheme of amelioration and improvement in the affairs of mankind seemed to open itself to my mind ... such as the universal abolition of slavery, of war, and of many other miseries ... I rejoiced in the experiment that was making in France the construction of a government at once from its foundation upon a regular plan"⁷⁶

At a meeting of freeholders in his county in 1794, he protested at the raising of a volunteer army to defend Britain from French attack, saying that the people would be better employed in studying the reforms of society. He came to believe that only a revival of religion could reform society, and when his brother James, a former captain of an East India merchant ship, adopted the same views, they decided in 1795 to undertake missionary enterprise in Bengal in India, and, when that fell through, in Scotland. The result of the Haldane revival, as it is sometimes referred to, was the formation of the Congregational Church in Scotland and, after 1808, of the Baptist Church. The Haldanes were supported in their efforts by Creville Ewing who came to Edinburgh in the 1780s as the minister of

a private evangelical chapel owned by Lady Glenorchy, a patron of evangelicalism. Ewing became the leading minister in the Scottish Congregational Church, and moved to Glasgow in the 1810s.⁷⁷

The leading opponents of the evangelicals belonged to the Moderate faction in the Church of Scotland. The leader of the party in the late eighteenth century was Dr. George Hill, Principal of St. Andrews University. In Glasgow, the leading Moderate was William Porteous. Both of these men were regular correspondents to Robert Dundas, the Lord Advocate, supplying information on the activities of the Haldanes and other evangelicals.

The corresponding societies of 1790-2 were the foundations for the dissemination of revolutionary ideas in Britain. Tension heightened in 1793 with the French declaration of war and with the advent of the Terror. In 1792, the Scottish Friends of the People held meetings in Edinburgh, and some ministers of dissenting churches were suspected of having sympathies with the radicals.⁷⁸ From 1793, there were a succession of treason and sedition trials in central Scotland, and the government became excessively suspicious of "reform" and private societies of all kinds. Late in 1794, volunteer regiments were raised all over Scotland to suppress any insurrections that might occur. In Glasgow, the fear of the authorities was that the industrial working classes might revolt.⁷⁹ In December 1794, a small riot resulted from a mutiny amongst soldiers trying to prevent a court martial.⁸⁰ In view of growing unease about radical activities in the Glasgow area, infantry barracks for a thousand men were built in

the east end in 1795, and Moderate clergy pressed for the arming and training of volunteers in the city.⁸¹

It was against this background that the evangelical movement tried to develop a programme of social and religious action. In 1796, James Haldane and Greville Ewing formed the Edinburgh Missionary Society to undertake mission work overseas. The membership of the society included clergy of most presbyterian denominations. Ewing, as secretary to the Society, sent out a circular in March 1796 to a very large number of Scottish ministers, most of them in the Established Church, requesting backing for the missionary enterprise.⁸² As a result, two synods of the Church, those of Fife and Moray, overtured the general assembly of May 1796 to give formal financial and other backing to missionary societies in general.⁸³ The general assembly debated the subject in a heated fashion. For the first time, the Evangelical-Moderate split became a matter of specific religious policy, and the Moderates claimed that missionary societies were controlled by political subversives. One Moderate minister said:

"When we see the tide of infidelity and licentiousness so great and so constantly increasing in our land, it would indeed be highly preposterous to carry our zeal to another, and a far distant one." ⁸⁴

The idea of links with foreign countries and the use of circular letters allowed the Moderates to accuse the Evangelicals of being in touch with revolutionary France and correspondence societies. David Boyle, an advocate from Ayrshire and later Lord Justice Clerk, made the first specific allegations in the debate:

"Sir, numerous societies of people are at all times alarming; but at this time particularly so.... Observe, Sir, they are affiliated, they have a common object, they correspond with each other, they look for assistance from foreign countries, in the very language of the seditious societies.... their funds may be, in time, nay, certainly will be, turned against the constitution ..."⁸⁵

Dr. Hill of St. Andrews made the same point in a more effective manner. In the middle of his summing-up speech for the Moderate party, he produced the copy of the Edinburgh Missionary Society circular sent to him - the clear implication being that circular letters were the hallmarks of corresponding societies. The debate was fierce, but Moderate assertions of Evangelical complicity with the revolutionaries were so forcefully presented that the Evangelicals lost the vote by 58 to 44. The short-term consequence was that Evangelicals who supported missions were regarded as seditious, and the long-term consequence was that the Church of Scotland refused to support foreign missions for a quarter of a century.

Undaunted, Robert Haldane proceeded with his plan to send missionaries to Bengal. The problem was that to land in India the Society required the permission of the East India Company. To achieve this, Haldane sought the support of William Wilberforce.⁸⁶ At the same time, Haldane wrote to the Lord Advocate seeking support:

"Your Cases, employments, pursuits, & views, great as they may appear to you, are in my view trifling when compared to the subject of this and my former letter you have but to speak the word & it will be done."⁸⁷

The permission, however, was not forthcoming. The Scottish ecclesiastical establishment was, after the 1796 Assembly, diametrically opposed to missionary activity. The political establishment merely confirmed this opposition.

The Glasgow Missionary Society was founded in 1796 with the same aims as the Edinburgh Society. One of the ministers of the City Churches, Robert Balfour, was a supporter of the Haldanes, and encouraged the Glasgow Society to render its support to missionary activity proposed by the Haldane brothers. William Porteous was a vigorous opponent of the Society and of Balfour in particular. Porteous reported, for instance, that a missionary settlement established by the Society had been "almost dissolved by a democratical missionary". The Society sent a letter to the East India Company in support of Robert Haldane's application, signed by Balfour and "by ministers of the Established Church in Glasgow". Porteous took exception to this as, according to him, it gave the impression that all the clergy of the council's churches had signed; according to Porteous, only Balfour had signed. Porteous attended a meeting of the Society in order to show the seditious nature of Evangelical policy on foreign missions, apparently without success.⁸⁸ In this way, it was the issue of foreign missions that first showed the policy division between the Moderates and the Evangelicals in the city.

The Moderate victory over foreign missions had far-reaching repercussions on evangelical designs. The urban presbyteries had since 1794 sought the approval of the general assembly for the construction of chapels-of-ease in

the towns. After the Moderate victory in the 1796 Assembly, it was quite impossible to obtain approval for any measure that was likely to increase the number of Evangelicals on the courts of the Church. Church extension, like other innovations proposed by the Evangelicals, was regarded as seditious by many in the Moderate party. Porteous wrote to the Lord Advocate in January 1797 saying:

"Many of us have reason to believe that the whole of this missionary business grows from a democratical root, and the intention of those who planted it was to get hold of the publick mind ..."

The plan to build more churches in urban areas Porteous considered:

"...revolutionary in its nature - contrary to law, to the establishment and constitution of this church ..."

Porteous regarded ministers who were not attached to a parish church, like Greville Ewing and ministers of chapels-of-ease, to be potential trouble-makers for both Church and government. Consequently, whilst he opposed further church extension, he felt that the promotion of chapels to parish churches would increase the supervision of renegades:

"Yet I am convinced that something vigorous must be done, to restrain and regulate chaplains, to connect them more closely with the Church, and also with the state." 89

The obstruction of overseas missions resulted in an important shift in missionary objectives from overseas to

Scotland. Whilst Robert Haldane tried in vain to get the Indian project off the ground, his brother James spent the summer of 1796 touring the Highlands. Evangelical religion was at that time beginning to form an important element in the cultural and religious identity of the nascent crofting community that was emerging from the ruins of clan society.⁹⁰ James Haldane's appearance in the Highlands to support the evangelicals had important political implications. The Church of Scotland, allying with the landowning classes, was virtually in open warfare with disorganised and rebellious peasant evangelicals. As a result, the religious tracts which Haldane distributed were described as the writings of Tom Paine.⁹¹ The Haldanes' activities in the Highlands, which increased after 1797, heightened the hostility of the Moderates.

The political implications of evangelicalism in the Highlands were rather unusual. Whilst they did have an affect on the Scottish situation as a whole, the impact was less than that created by evangelical developments in the lowlands. The most important element of this was the emergence of the gratis Sunday-school movement. In 1795-6, the concept of free Sunday schools for the working classes was imported from England. The paid Sunday-school teachers of the 1780s and early 1790s had been under the supervision of the courts of the Church of Scotland. In 1796, the Haldanes' Edinburgh Missionary Society set up Sunday schools in and around the capital, and encouraged the formation of others in the west of Scotland.⁹² In March 1797, the Edinburgh Gratis Sabbath School Society

was set up, followed by similar institutions in other parts of lowland Scotland.⁹³ The Moderates reacted swiftly to the encouragement of unsupervised religious and general teaching. William Porteous, the originator of Glasgow's Sunday schools in 1787, wrote to the Lord Advocate in 1798 describing the new schools as:

"... calculated to produce discontent, to foster an aversion to the present order of things, and to increase ... portentuous [sic] fermentation in the minds of the people ..." ⁹⁴

In 1798, the Haldanes and Greville Ewing established the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home (S.P.G.H.) to continue the work of founding gratis Sunday schools throughout Scotland. The Society sent out itinerant preachers, further angering the Moderates by ignoring the traditional presbyterian hostility to the use of lay and unsupervised preachers. At the general assembly in 1799, a pastoral admonition was issued which described the teachers of the S.P.G.H. as "persons notoriously disaffected to the Civil Constitution of the country", and which forbade members of ministers of the Church from having any dealings with the Society.⁹⁵ This ruling effectively prevented Evangelicals from developing evangelical policies within the Church. Henceforth, evangelical innovation was restricted to presbyterian dissent and to private enterprises undertaken by Evangelicals of the Church of Scotland.⁹⁶

With Moderates imposing greater control on the activities of Evangelicals within the Established Church, attention to the activities of dissenting evangelicals

increased. The role of William Porteous⁹⁷, previously confined to Glasgow, now became of national importance. As the most prominent clergyman in Glasgow between 1780 and 1810, he exerted great influence. Whilst he took every opportunity to cast suspicion on Evangelicals in his own Church, he reserved his greatest wrath for the presbyterian dissenters and their "democratical modes of government". The dissenters had played an important part in the development of foreign mission societies in the mid-1790s, and, with the clampdown on Evangelical enterprises in the Established Church in 1796 and 1799, missionary activity became more closely associated with the non-established denominations. The non-presbyterian churches, however, were largely ignored in the hunt for subversive clergy. The French Revolution and the Franco-British war that followed led to the release of the Episcopal and Roman Catholic churches from many of the legal constraints under which they had operated in the early eighteenth century. The presbyterian dissenters, by contrast, became the object for close scrutiny by ecclesiastical and government authorities. Henry Dundas, the Scottish Secretary, expressed his suspicions of their loyalty in a letter to prime minister William Pitt in 1792. The names of a number of ministers of the Secession Church appeared on a list of delegates to the first Scottish Convention of the Friends of the People in Edinburgh in 1792. The list was acquired by Dundas through one of his spies, and was passed to a senior government minister, William Pulteney, to make enquiries.⁹⁸ For the next eight years, the dissenters remained the object of suspicion, with the government

collecting information from spies within the corresponding societies, the United Scotsmen radical organisation, and from men like William Porteous. The government was passed a considerable quantity of information on the doctrinal basis of the dissenters' supposed sedition, but in general Dundas was not interested in settling internecine ecclesiastical disputes. The Relief Church, with the exception of a few individuals, came under little suspicion. The Burgher Seceders, those willing to accept the burghess oath, were under some scrutiny until they voted a loyal address to the Crown in 1797.⁹⁹ The Antiburgher Seceders, however, displayed a consistent sympathy for the Friends of the People, and on one occasion censured a member who defended the British constitution.¹⁰⁰ In 1797-9, both the Burgher and Antiburghers split into the New and Auld Lights, and the Antiburgher New Lights attracted increased attention. Influenced by the French Revolution, the New Lights believed that the civil magistrate should have no power in the maintenance of an established church. They were very much encouraged by the need for and progress of voluntary religious societies in the 1790s. Foreign missions and Sunday schools attracted their support and admiration. The progress of the work done by the Haldanes gave the New Lights renewed encouragement to reject the state connection and to formulate the voluntary principle of religious organisation.

The emergence of the New Lights produced a campaign of vilification from Porteous. In a long pamphlet entitled The New Light Examined published in 1800, Porteous gave a

detailed list of mainly doctrinal reasons for suspecting the New Lights of seditious and treasonable intent. The New Lights' decision to release themselves from some of the articles in the Established Church's Confession of Faith he regarded as an indication of their growing disloyalty to the British constitution:

"Though [before the advent of New Light] they were habituated to democratical modes of government, yet they were believed to be friends to the Constitution, and well-wishers to the country:- They adhered to the Standards of the Church of Scotland, which are full of the soundest principles of loyalty and patriotism ... [Now] they are advancing boldly in the paths of innovation; they set aside the Confession of Faith and Catechisms of the Church ..." 101

The timing of the change in the Secession Church's doctrines was, in Porteous' view, an important factor for suspicion. The changes started in 1795:

"At the time, the minds of the people were greatly agitated, the enemies of our peace and liberty were employing every engine to drive them to distraction, and to disseminate revolutionary principles. Watt and Downie had been recently tried in this country, and convicted of High Treason. Horne Tooke and Thelwall had been tried in England. Ireland was preparing the weapons of rebellion, which were to be sharpened by theological contention - in a word, Sedition and Treason were walking about at noon day... THEN, the Associate Synod [the Secession Church] grasped at the first opportunity of questioning and discussing the extent of the magistrate's power, and of inviting public attention to such topics... Was not this a controversy that tended to strife, and which ought to have been suppressed by the hand of power, as well as by the spirit of the Gospel?" 102

Porteous concluded by warning that, although the nation was emerging from its time of danger by 1800, the Secession Church and the New Lights retained doctrinal innovations "which, like a postern gate, will give them admission to the fortress of our Constitution as soon as the day of danger returns."¹⁰³

Porteous expressed cogently the Moderate suspicions of the New Lights. The Lord Advocate, pressed by the Moderates, investigated the Seceders in 1799-1800 and publicly acquitted them of any suspicion.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, Porteous' charges brought the dissenters into public disrepute. A Secession minister from Edinburgh, James Peddie, replied to Porteous in a pamphlet. In great detail, he showed how the Seceders' doctrinal changes had nothing to do with disloyalty to the constitution. The slur cast by Porteous and other Moderates, however, could not be easily removed. The dissenters had been making great strides in the 1790s in recruiting from amongst the urban middle classes. The allegations of the late 1790s dissuaded many from continuing to associate with a church that was being constantly harangued by the Established Church and periodically investigated by the government. Peddie remarked:

"You have attacked the religion, the loyalty, the common sense of my brethren and myself. You have attempted to ruin us, our families and our flocks; to deprive us of character, of liberty, yea of life - How could I speak smoothly to such a man?" ¹⁰⁵

Perhaps the most tangible product of the sedition controversy was the shortage of Secession ministers in the 1800s. Ministerial recruitment fell to a disastrously low level.

Many people were reported to have left the Secession Church between 1799 and 1806. Even in the latter year, by which time the open sedition charges had stopped, the Church was still feeling the effects. Secession ministers had lost their "station in society" and few new ministers were coming forward.¹⁰⁶

For Evangelical clergy in the Church of Scotland, it was equally difficult to escape the Moderate witch-hunting of subversion between 1796 and the early 1800s. Ministers could not just pay lip-service to "our happy constitution". Parish clergy were the prime means of communicating information about the progress of the war and the government's intentions. They were expected to conduct special services of thanksgiving and grief as events dictated, and to exhort the people to support the government. The parish registers, maintained by the (kirk) session clerk, were the lists for the recruitment of militia forces, and the church beadies were responsible for calling out the militia when required.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, the churches were used for raising funds for the war effort. In Glasgow in 1797-8, a collection of £14,000 was made for the defence of the country.¹⁰⁸

During the revolutionary wars, the pulpit was one of the main platforms for counter-revolutionary propaganda. For this reason, many sermons were printed - those of the clergy of Glasgow's City Churches being no exception. The majority of the seven clergy employed by the town council were Moderates. William Porteous of the Wynd Church, as we have seen, attacked Evangelicals and dissenters in public and spied on them in private. Alexander Ranken

of Ramshorn Church defended "the importance of religious establishments":

"Some are flattered with the hope of advancing the interests of religion by innovation, and are blinded with the specious names of independence, liberty, reform, &c. They are not aware of the more natural and certain consequences of political innovation, anarchy, infidelity, ruin!" 109

He stated that it opposed "Divine nature" to suppose that:

"... human ordinances are oppressive, that government is tyranny, that an established church is a nuisance, and clerical maintenance an unnecessary burden." 110

In any case, he added, nobody is ever satisfied:

"Admit Fox, and Pitt will complain; admit the dissenters, and the church will complain; admit any one of a congregation, in place of the clergyman, and there will be still reason to complain." 111

Some sermons, such as those of William Taylor of St. Enoch's Church in the west end of Glasgow, merely extolled the fight against France.¹¹² For the Evangelical ministers in the City Churches, there were real difficulties in maintaining overt allegiance to the constitution whilst trying to advance evangelical enterprises and be true to their beliefs. The town council contained men, like David Dale of New Lanark, who were staunch evangelicals. In 1797, a vacancy appeared at the charge of the premier city church, the Tron Kirk, and the council appointed a rising Evangelical light, Stevenson Macgill. His appointment came in the middle of the anti-Evangelical fever of the late 1790s, and his ministry in those years was a careful balance

between evangelical advance and political correctness. In later years, he was a key figure in the implementation of certain Evangelical enterprises in the city; in the late 1800s and early 1810s, he set up a Magdalene institution for destitute boys and prostitutes, and gained municipal co-operation in the establishment of the city's first lunatic asylum.¹¹³ Methodist influences in his family made him a keen evangelical, and even in the midst of the most hostile forces he was willing to make a daring plea for moral and spiritual regeneration. Two of his sermons, published in 1798 as part of the clergy's "war effort", contain an ambiguity in some statements concerning "licentiousness" (often used by Moderates like Porteous to refer to radicalism) and government, and a defiant proclamation of Evangelical principles:

"Our personal security is endangered, on the one hand, from licentiousness, and, on the other, from despotic power ... In vain shall we speak of the importance of good morals, while we are leaders in every species of dissipation, intemperance and debauchery. In vain shall we speak against French principles and French impiety, while our whole conduct manifests and promotes a disregard to the doctrines, laws and institutions of the Gospel ... It is time that every man looked seriously to himself; considered his conduct and its effects; and the cause which, in truth and reality, he was promoting." ¹¹⁴

Another minister of a City Church, Robert Balfour, was not concerned with appearing to temper his evangelicalism, and as a consequence, as we have seen, became the target for Porteous' spying activities. Whilst other ministers deserted the Glasgow Missionary Society after 1797, he remained its

secretary. It is interesting to note that the only sermon of his that seems to have been printed during the war years was delivered to the Society. In it, he made a strong plea for the advance of evangelical religion:

"The heathen then cannot justly be denied the benefit of Christian benevolence; and if this is fully felt and acknowledged, it follows ... that we are bound to make every possible exertion to bring the heathen world into a state of salvation." ¹¹⁵

It was largely as a result of the suspicion that fell on Evangelicals that so little published material survives concerning their activities in Glasgow at this period. Only those, like the Haldanes and Ewing, who were not members of the Church of Scotland, were willing to publicise their activities. Men like Balfour tended to keep a low profile, especially after 1797. As a result, of course, increased suspicion fell upon them because of their semi-covert operations.

As we have seen, fear of subversion and working-class violence was a major cause of Moderate and government suspicion of evangelicals and evangelical enterprises. At the same time, however, the fear of working-class unrest was a major factor motivating evangelicals in their work. Popular disturbances were widespread in Scotland between 1792 and 1820. Disturbances took place in relation to political agitation, food shortages, militia recruitment and industrial action. Prosecutions and convictions for treason and sedition were numerous between 1793 and 1802, and between 1815 and 1822. ¹¹⁶ For example, about twenty members of the Friends of the People were found guilty of sedition in the

mid-1790s and were transported. Eighty-eight bills for treason were issued as a result of the intense agitation in Glasgow and the west of Scotland in April 1820 - the so-called "Scottish Insurrection"; thirty people were tried for treason and three were executed. Whilst the authorities generally discounted any denominational connection with these events after 1800, the evangelical response to working-class unrest was tainted by the suspicions of the 1790s. The Moderates' continued hostility towards evangelicals necessitated the development of the evangelical response outwith the Church of Scotland. As a result, there emerged a more intense relationship between municipal and ad hoc religious schemes of social welfare.

An important development in the evangelical movement in the 1800s was the foundation of the great publishing enterprises which produced cheap bibles and tracts. A small enterprise was started in Edinburgh in 1793,¹¹⁷ but the main movement sprang up in London in 1804 with the founding of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Local societies, many of them affiliated with the London Society, were formed in the late 1800s. They were mostly interdenominational in composition, but were composed overwhelmingly of dissenters. A society was founded in Glasgow in 1805 with the strong support of David Dale, the evangelical owner of the New Lanark cotton mills; another society was formed by Edinburgh dissenters in 1809. The societies were regarded by Moderates as extensions of the "seditious" missionary societies of the previous decade. Evangelicals in the

Church of Scotland gave their open support nonetheless. The Scottish Bible Society, founded in Edinburgh in 1809, was created by ministers of the Church of Scotland.¹¹⁸ The eight Established churches owned by the town council of Glasgow collected £640 for the British and Foreign in 1805.¹¹⁹ Since these bible societies raised funds mainly for the printing of tracts and bibles for the use of overseas missions, Evangelicals were quite openly disregarding the spirit, if not the letter, of the general assembly's decision in 1796.

The bible societies changed in the 1810s and 1820s. In the first place, the Scottish societies broke off their affiliations with the central London institution; this was mainly because of the withering of the relationship between Scottish and English evangelicals which had been so important in the 1790s and 1800s.¹²⁰ Thus, a separate Scottish tract and bible publishing industry developed. The Glasgow Bible Society, founded in 1812, collected over £18,000 between 1812 and 1828 of which nearly £14,000 was sent to the British and Foreign.¹²¹ But other societies were being formed with the aim of distributing tracts and bibles at home, and particularly in the working-class areas of Glasgow. Organisations like the Calton Bible Association, the Religious Tract Society for Glasgow and the Glasgow Young Men's Religious Tract Society developed in the 1810s, and in the following decade other organisations such as the Glasgow Catholic School Society (a presbyterian body), the Glasgow Gaelic Schools Society, the Seamen's Friend Society and the Glasgow City Mission became great purchasers of tracts. In one year, the Calton Bible

Association bought and distributed on the streets of Glasgow tracts and bibles to the value of £271.¹²² These societies were dominated by dissenting evangelicals with the support of small numbers of Evangelicals in the Church of Scotland; men like Greville Ewing (director of the Glasgow Gaelic Schools Society), an extreme Protestant evangelical William McGavin (director of the Gaelic Schools Society and first president of the Glasgow City Mission) and Stevenson Macgill (manager of the Gaelic Schools Society).¹²³ The societies, concerned with the eradication of the "famine of the word of the Lord",¹²⁴ provided the basis for the development of Glasgow's printing houses, and most notably the firm of William Collins founded by Collins senior in the 1810s.¹²⁵ Street tract distribution provided some middle-class evangelicals with contact with the poor and the working classes, but it did not involve intimate contact with slum housing. House-to-house visitation was not part of the scheme of work of the tract societies in the 1810s and 1820s. The tract societies sought to encourage the reading of the gospel and thus improve knowledge of the opportunities for salvation. Unlike the Sunday schools, however, the tract societies made no attempt to discover whether the receivers of the tracts could read, and there was no follow-up to distribution. This "passive" proselytising was to be found wanting in the late 1820s, and more "aggressive" forms of evangelical work were developed to operate with tract distribution.

The continuation of the war with France up to 1815,

combined with the increasing growth of the city population, maintained the alertness of the authorities to unrest amongst the working classes. A recurrent cause of unrest was harvest failure. There was a well-established convention for municipal intervention to improve the supply of produce to the city. In the crises of the 1799-1816 period, though, it is interesting to note the role of a leading evangelical, David Dale, in urging the continuation of this intervention, and the support given by Glasgow town council to religious enterprises as means to alleviate unrest. In 1799-1800, the council raised a voluntary subscription for buying grain to be sold to the working classes and the poor below market price. The council's move was in response to riots around food shops in Argyle Street (the extension of the Trongate) and in the east end of the city. Some £117,000 was spent on food, but the organising committee lost £15,000 in 1801 through the loss of several shiploads of corn. The council tried to obtain an assessment to meet the shortage, but a parliamentary bill had to be abandoned because of local opposition.¹²⁶ David Dale, a member of the council, urged that the council itself should buy food and sell it or distribute it free to citizens. Dale used his own funds to buy a shipful of grain then in the Clyde estuary, and sold the produce at reduced prices. The council followed his example and bought £60,000 worth of provisions.¹²⁷ During frequent grain shortages between 1800 and 1816, the council introduced prohibitions on the distillation of whisky in the city - thereby reducing

the price of grain and increasing the supply.¹²⁸ The production of whisky, the council stated in a memorial to the Lords of the Treasury in 1816, had :

"... an obvious tendency to deprave the habits and corrupt the morals of the lower orders of the people, to excite a spirit of insubordination among them, and to destroy their respect for the laws." ¹²⁹

The effects of food shortage were gravest when they coincided with industrial and political action. A grain shortage in September 1810 was followed four months later by a severe trade depression which hit "great numbers of the industrious inhabitants". Voluntary schemes of relief were initiated, whisky distillation was banned, and the council sought an assessment to provide relief. The harvest failed again in the summer of 1811, and prohibition on the production of whisky was re-introduced.¹³⁰ The cotton trade was the most seriously affected by the depression, and weavers initiated legal and then industrial action to restrain manufacturers from reducing wages. Troops clashed with strikers in Calton, resulting in several weavers being imprisoned for combination and conspiracy.¹³¹ Disturbances by weavers and others were widespread in Britain in 1811-12, and motivated local authorities and evangelicals to extend social welfare provisions. In Edinburgh, for instance, increasing disorder in 1811 generally, and at Hogmanay in particular, led to a Police Act for the city and the formation of various societies, including the Edinburgh Society for the Suppression of Begging.¹³² Voluntary religious organisations, especially tract and Sunday-school societies,

showed considerable signs of expansion in 1811-14, and, as one Glasgow Sunday-school society claimed in 1813, an important objective was to prevent children from "committing depradations on people's property".¹³³ As in 1787, evangelical organisations appeared to expand in response to the incidence of turbulence in industrial society.

The organisation most concerned with increasing social disorder in Glasgow was the town council. Throughout the period 1812-1820, the council responded to unrest in a number of ways. Most of the measures introduced by the council, such as the appointment of constables and the prohibition on whisky distillation, were short-term measures of control. The only long-term measure the council considered was the provision of churches for the working classes. The minutes of the council show that even during the periods of intense unrest, councillors were keen to consult with Established churchmen as to ways of improving religious influence amongst the lower orders. In 1812, in the midst of the trade depression, the Church of Scotland Presbytery of Glasgow drew the council's attention to the need for new churches for the working classes of the city and suburbs. The council agreed to the construction of "a plain church of large dimensions, such as will accommodate a numerous congregation" in the industrial east end of the city. The project moved slowly for seven months between March and September. In the latter month, renewed agitation forced the council to appoint special constables in Calton and nearby Bridgeton, and in

Anderston in the west. At this juncture, the project was revived and a site for the church was selected. The disturbances subsided, and the church extension project was held in abeyance until late 1813. With renewed vigour, the council agreed with the Established Church in its proposal. The Lord Provost spoke of "the propriety or rather the necessity which now existed for extending and improving the religious establishment of the city".¹³⁴ The plan for one church was enlarged to include the construction of an unspecified number of churches, and the stipends of the ministers were to be increased. This was agreed to despite the poor state of the council's finances at the time.¹³⁵ The eventual collapse of the scheme, as we have already seen, was due to the opposition of certain bodies of influential citizens and not due to the lack of commitment on the part of the council.

The City Churches were a major, if not the single largest part, of municipal business. In 1813, the total revenue of the Common Good Fund was £13,000 of which £2,250 came from seat rents in the City Churches. Some of the council's expenditure was beyond legal requirements. In 1815, for instance, it was discovered that the council was paying for communion elements in most if not all of the City Churches and other Established churches in the city.¹³⁶ The council attached great importance to religion as a means of maintaining social order. Accordingly, the council agreed in February 1814 to increase ministers' stipends at a time when finances were in a very poor state.¹³⁷ By 1816, finances had improved sufficiently for the church extension scheme to be considered again. Consider-

ation of various schemes took up a major amount of council meetings during that year. Finally, in September, the project was given the go-ahead with instructions for council officers to issue contracts immediately.¹³⁸ The cause for the urgency was the recurrence of unrest. In June 1816, a radical-turned-spy wrote in a Glasgow newspaper of the growing political agitation amongst the working classes. He alleged that there was "an extensive and widely spread conspiracy for the avowed purpose of overturning the Government".¹³⁹ Radical organisations were recruiting well, especially in Calton, and a meeting of some 40,000 people in October was closely watched by cavalry. A spate of meetings took place throughout the west of Scotland, some taking place in dissenting churches. In May 1817, a minister of the Relief Church was put on trial for sedition,¹⁴⁰ and in December rioting took place in Calton, Bridgeton and other industrial suburbs.¹⁴¹ Large Irish immigration also occurred in 1816-18, and coincided with outbreaks of fever in the wynds of central and eastern Glasgow.¹⁴²

Against this background, the council's new church was under construction in April 1817. Thomas Chalmers, the most prominent minister in the city, was given the church, named St. John's, on the grounds of the unhealthy conditions in his own church at the Tron. Chalmers conceived a plan to provide an agrarian-type parochial system in the east end, with close supervision of the inhabitants of the parish. The council agreed to his scheme which required that a large number of church seats be let at low or no charges "for the accommodation of the

poor parishioners".¹⁴³ The council also agreed to his plan to dispense with poor-relief assessments in St. John's parish and to rely on voluntary contributions.¹⁴⁴ St. John's was to be a bold Evangelical experiment in providing an urban version of traditional parochial supervision, using new agencies such as Sunday schools but introducing to the city the agrarian system of an active eldership.

In late 1819, social unrest in the city was worsening. Rioting occurred on the King's birthday in June and the town council was inundated with demands for repayment for damage caused. Awaiting the commencement of the St. John's experiment in Calton, the council inquired about the possibility of using public funds to start educational schemes for children of the labouring classes.¹⁴⁵ By September, a general depression had descended on the city with the ranks of the unemployed swollen by large numbers of immigrant Irish. Rioting continued into December, and the council asked the Treasury for a grant to start public works on a dry dock.¹⁴⁶ In the midst of all this, the council's main concern, as reflected in its minutes, was to see St. John's opened. With this achieved, renewed disturbances in November and December led to the editor of the Glasgow Herald raising a 1,000-strong force of "Glasgow Sharpshooters" and to the growing fear of armed insurrection. On December 13th, cavalry patrolled the streets as great numbers of people congregated in the centre of the city.¹⁴⁷ At this point, the council hurriedly agreed to buy a second-hand church in the east end from the Methodists and to use it to give Chalmers' scheme a "fair

trial".¹⁴⁸ The threat of insurrection came to a head in April 1820 with street battles in Glasgow and other industrial towns in the west of Scotland, and the final and successful imposition of military control.

Thomas Chalmers said in a sermon on the death of Princess Charlotte in 1817:

"I am surely not out of place when on looking at the mighty mass of a city population, I state my apprehension, that if something be not done to bring this enormous physical strength under the control of christian and humanized principle, the day may yet come when it may lift against the authorities of the land its brawny vigour, and discharge upon them all the turbulence of its rude and volcanic energy." ¹⁴⁹

Evangelical fear of working-class insurrection was of primary importance in the development of municipal-cum-evangelical social policy in the 1810s. The growing acknowledgement amongst evangelicals that Glasgow was presenting the most acute test of their social theology attracted young and keen clergy and laymen to the city in that decade: ministers such as Thomas Chalmers, Greville Ewing and Ralph Wardlaw (a Congregationalist), and laymen such as William Collins (who came to the city in 1813, started his own private Sunday school and persuaded Chalmers to come to Glasgow in the following year), and David Stow (who, like Collins, became involved in Chalmers' St. John's experiment and went on to pioneer infant schools in the 1820s). The death of William Porteous in 1813 and the arrival of Chalmers in the city in the next year marked an important stage in the acceptance of evangelicalism as the prime means by which the municipal and religious

authorities should respond to the continuing growth of urban and industrial society in Glasgow. As a result, evangelical voluntary organisations grew enormously.

In the period 1816-1819 in particular, there was a very rapid growth in the number of Sunday schools in Glasgow and in Scotland as a whole; the Glasgow Sabbath School Union, founded in 1816, claimed the affiliation of schools with an aggregate roll of 9,000 scholars by 1818.¹⁵⁰ Evangelicals were co-ordinating activities for the first time at district, regional and national (Scottish) levels. With the use of tract societies, Sunday schools, church extension and modest expansion of day-school facilities, the evangelical framework of response to urbanisation was beginning to acquire some breadth and general acceptance in the city.

Thomas Chalmers rapidly became the central figure of the Evangelical movement in Glasgow and, by the late 1830s, in Scotland as a whole. His schemes to bring religion and education to the working classes made him the most revered practitioner of evangelical social policy. During his term at the Tron Church between 1814 and 1816, he delivered "Astronomical Discourses" for the working classes, and at St. John's between 1819 and 1823 the Sunday evening service became composed almost entirely of working men and women. The scheme at St. John's was not, however, a success. Because of his rising fame, the middle classes attended his morning and afternoon services in large numbers, causing the seat prices to reach the highest average ever in a Glasgow City Church.¹⁵¹ The

parochial scheme, despite difficulties in managing the provision of adequate financial relief to paupers, seems to have operated fairly well; at least, Chalmers expressed his satisfaction with it.¹⁵² As far as the town council was concerned, however, the scheme turned into a fiasco. The church building proved very expensive. It suffered from grave structural defects which nearly led to the collapse of the tower before the church had even been opened. The church was not large enough to cope with the increasing population of the east end, and Chalmers wrote to the council in 1822 pleading for a chapel-of-ease to be built at the eastern end of the parish. The council replied that whilst they thought the project a "highly laudable undertaking", they did not "hold out the prospect of their erecting chapels of ease in any one of more of the [city's] ten parishes".¹⁵³ Chalmers actually managed to build two chapels by voluntary contributions, but he continually pestered the council for financial assistance.¹⁵⁴ The council for its part sought to save money; they stopped the customary annual whitewashing of the church as one measure.¹⁵⁵ With the decline in social disorder after 1820, the council quickly lost interest in Chalmers' ambitious and, as it turned out, expensive scheme. Quite disgruntled with religious affairs in general, the council refused to donate ground in 1823 for a chapel-of-ease in the Goosedubs, one of the worst slums in the city centre, and discontinued payment for the local Church's annual presbyterial dinners. It may have been with some relief that the council accepted Chalmers resignation from St. John's in 1823 when he took up an appointment at

St. Andrews University. However, the council was most unhappy at being forced to pay for the installation of communion tables in the City Churches and for the complete re-building of two churches which were in advanced states of disrepair. To cap it all for the council in 1823, the selected candidate to succeed Chalmers at St. John's refused the charge because he was unwilling to devote his time to the parochial scheme that had so manifestly failed.¹⁵⁶

The disillusionment with evangelical enterprises was important. During the 1810s, there had been an inter-action between voluntary evangelical activities and municipal schemes. In general, there seems to have been a stagnancy in evangelical growth in the 1820s. Evidence in relation to the Sunday-school movement seems to suggest this.¹⁵⁷ A major reason seems to have been doctrinal disagreements that were afflicting inter-denominational presbyterian organisations; John Dunlop reported severe difficulties of this kind in Greenock and the eventual break-up of organisations.¹⁵⁸ In such circumstances, leadership on the part of the municipal authorities might have sustained evangelical work. That it did not may have been an indication that the old middle-class families, many of them owners of cotton factories, were reluctant to use their civic offices to promote the concerns of the rising middle-class groups in the dissenting churches and in the Evangelical wing of the Church of Scotland.

Nonetheless, there was some important developments in evangelicalism in the 1820s. In the first place, experimentation with "aggressive" rather than "passive" evangelising emerged from the failure of the St. John's

experiment. In 1815, the Glasgow Religious Tract Society stated the shortcoming of "passive" distribution of tracts:

"It is extremely difficult for such a Society to determine what measure of success may have attended their exertions, as Tracts are in general circulated in quarters, from which no future information concerning the result is received." 159

Sunday schools went some way towards providing a more secure evangelisation of young people, but adults and domestic working-class life were as yet little reached by evangelical enterprises. To overcome this problem, a foreign missionary, David Naismith, returned to his native Glasgow in the mid-1820s to discover that the social cleavage between middle and working classes had widened and that existing evangelical agencies were not having the same measure of success achieved by overseas missions. Thus, he founded in 1826 the Glasgow City Mission, reputedly the first city mission in the world. The Mission's aim was to appoint missionaries to sections of working-class areas where they would distribute tracts door-to-door and conduct services in people's homes and in wynds. It was hoped that each missionary would visit every household in his area perhaps once every six months to encourage church-going and the search for salvation. The City Mission was, in its own words, to:

"... promote the spiritual welfare of the poor of this City, and its neighbourhood, by employing persons of approved piety, and otherwise properly qualified, to visit the poor in their own houses, for the

purpose of religious discourse; and to use other means for diffusing, and increasing amongst them a knowledge of evangelical truth." ¹⁶⁰

The City Mission found that the demand for pews in churches was so low that a quarter of seats were unused. The lower classes, the Mission stated, "either have no money to pay for seats, in a place of worship, or they have no clothes with which they can appear in public, or they want the inclination".¹⁶¹ To put it in economic terms, the "supply-led" expansion of evangelical enterprises was not sufficient; a demand for religious provisions had to be fostered by "aggressive" salesmanship. The City Mission quickly attracted support from most presbyterian denominations. Its directors were drawn from the ranks of the existing "vice-presidential" group that had conducted many of the evangelical societies of the 1810s. The Mission carefully followed an inter-denominational evangelical recruitment pattern. Missionaries or "agents" were selected from the various churches in order to maintain ecclesiastical balance. Its first eight agents were made up of four Established churchmen, two Congregationalists, one Secessionist and member of the Relief Church. The use of lay volunteers in the dissemination of the Gospel was still frowned upon by most presbyterians. Accordingly, the agents were nearly all divinity students or probationers (those newly-qualified as ministers but without charges); in later years, laymen were used. Inheriting the concept of "value for money" from the St. John's experiment, the Mission stressed that by using students costs were kept down. For

working five hours a day, any time between 11a.m. and 9p.m., six days a week (Saturdays off), the eight missionaries in 1826-7 were paid a total of £70, or under £9 each per annum.¹⁶² Each agent was assigned a district and expected to visit every family every four months. As more agents were employed, so the coverage of the city improved. By 1828, twenty agents were employed. During the religious revival of 1859-60, the Mission reached the peak of its operations with fifty-seven agents. Thereafter, it gradually declined until in 1926 it had twenty-two agents.¹⁶³

After founding the Glasgow City Mission, Naismith went on tour with his idea founding other city missions in Edinburgh, London, and Belfast. Despite the early work of the Haldanes' S.P.C.K. in mainly rural areas, the City Mission was the first application of the integrated missionary concept in the urban environment. However, it still retained a paid workforce. The role of the lay evangelical was still that of subscriber rather than participant. The participant role of the layperson was still limited to teaching in Sunday schools. Within twenty years, the volunteer was to join in the "aggressive" system.

A second development of the 1820s was the emergence of the temperance movement. A detailed account of the progress of the movement, and its transformation into the teetotal movement in the mid-1830s, is given in Part III. It is important to note here that the two movements emerged quite late in the development of the evangelical framework of response to urban society. Opposition to drunkenness had been widespread before the 1820s, but the idea of evolving a movement with pledges

was influenced by the general expansion of the evangelical penchant for voluntary organisation. Drink was now being isolated as a separate factor preventing the individual from seeking and attaining salvation. However, the associations between the total abstinence movement and political radicalism (especially Chartism) in the late 1830s and 1840s turned many in the churches away from taking the pledge. None of the churches gave their sanction to the movement until after 1850, and as late as 1846 it is very difficult to identify any clergyman who was an overt supporter.

In the 1830s and 1840s, the evangelical movement advanced rapidly. On the one hand, middle-class victory in the areas of parliamentary and municipal reform in 1832 and 1833 respectively, and the Evangelical control of the general assembly of the Church of Scotland from 1833 onwards, provided new positions of authority for the implementation of evangelical social policy. On the other hand, there were two contextual factors encouraging the evangelical movement. In the first place, working-class unrest returned after the lull of the 1820s. In Scotland, working-class impatience with the progress of the reform bills of the early 1830s produced violence and mass meetings. In March 1832, factories closed as 120,000 people congregated on Glasgow Green carrying banners proclaiming "Liberty or Death". Strikes and riots took place in many towns, including Greenock, Falkirk and Dumfries. With the middle classes enfranchised as a result of the 1832 Reform Act, working-class fury mounted.

By 1835, a demonstration on Glasgow Green could attract 200,000 people to listen to Dan O'Connell and a local radical minister, Rev. Patrick Brewster of the Church of Scotland's Paisley Abbey. In December 1836, the National Radical Association of Scotland was formed, and within two years Irish and Scots radicals together with trades union leaders were joining forces in the Chartist movement. Demonstrations remained large and ominous for the middle classes; a further 200,000 met on Glasgow Green in May 1838.¹⁶⁴ In such circumstances, the religious condition of the working classes became once again a matter of concern for evangelicals and civil authorities. The second contextual factor was the deteriorating conditions in which the majority of Glasgow's inhabitants were living in the 1830s and 1840s. More importantly, the middle classes, the churches and the municipal authorities became aware of this deterioration. Table 5.3 gives an indication of the magnitude of the problem in the 1820s and 1830s. Life expectancy dropped dramatically as overcrowding in slum houses in central and eastern Glasgow was exacerbated by immigration and trade depression. The

<u>Table 5.3 Life expectancy in Glasgow at 10 years of age,</u>					
<u>1821-1922</u>					
	1821-27	1832-41	1870-72	1881-90	1920-22
Males	42.27yrs.	37.40yrs.	40.15yrs.	44.32yrs.	50.81yrs.
Females	45.24	39.94	41.83	45.44	53.19
<u>Source</u> A K Chalmers, <u>The Health of Glasgow 1818-1925</u> (1930, Glasgow), p 63.					

cholera epidemic of 1831-2 both worsened and drew attention to the situation. The crude burial rate in Glasgow, Gorbals and Barony of Glasgow rose from 26.3 per thousand of population in 1830 to 32.3 in 1831 and 49.0 in 1832. The effect was not short-lived. The burial rate remained between 30 and 34 for the next two years and rose to 38.3 in 1836 and 44.3 after a typhus epidemic in the following year.¹⁶⁵ Fever epidemics remained a feature of Glasgow life until 1870. The municipal authorities and evangelicals reacted to them in much the same way as they reacted to outbreaks of social unrest. Welfare schemes designed to improve the moral, spiritual and physical conditions of the working classes were swiftly instituted after each visitation. The motivation was made stronger by the incidence of fever amongst the middle classes of the city. Many cases of fever amongst the "respectable" citizenry were not reported to the authorities in order to shield families from the ignominy of mass burial.¹⁶⁶ Glasgow's experience of the cholera of 1831-2 was the worst in Britain with over 3,000 deaths being attributed to the disease.¹⁶⁷ The conditions in which the working classes of the city lived became notorious in the late 1830s and 1840s. J C Symons stated in 1839:

"It is my firm belief that penury, dirt, misery, drunkenness, disease and crime culminate in Glasgow to a pitch unparalled in Great Britain." ¹⁶⁸

Similar comments in Edwin Chadwick's Sanitary Report of 1842 reinforced the conclusion that Glasgow contained the worst housing in the whole of the country.

The emergence of the four factors cited above

in the years 1831-4 created a perception of a great evangelical/middle-class victory. This was expressed as a policy of social regeneration - the implementation of evangelical social action on a wide scale, and the improvement of working-class areas by concerted municipal and philanthropic action. The events of the early 1830s clarified evangelical ideas about the role of religious agencies in urban society, giving structure, meaning and immediacy to evangelical social theology.

The reform of the town council in 1833 led to a strong evangelical presence on the council. There were immediate and determined attempts by evangelical councillors to introduce collectivist measures of social improvement: the municipalisation of the city's water supplies, the introduction of slum-clearance schemes, the creation of a municipal education system to cater for the working classes, and the introduction of severe licensing regulations in support of the temperance movement. The role of the municipal authorities as an "agency" of the evangelical movement is considered in detail in Part III. It is important to note here that the evangelical encouragement of municipal intervention in the social life of the city between 1833 and 1850 had only very limited success. Whilst urging for municipal and parliamentary sanction of evangelical conceptions of social improvement, the urban middle classes were deeply imbued with laissez faire ideas. This, in effect, restricted the development of public expenditure to fund collectivist improvement. The presbyterian dissenters were often vehemently opposed

to increasing local rates in Glasgow. The political ethos of the urban middle classes rested on the notion of the free market. With the agitation of the Anti-Corn Law League in the 1840s, and the eventual repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, there was a strong external influence on the Glasgow middle classes to concede that social improvement was as liable to free-market forces as the industrial and farming sectors of the economy. In so conceding, there was a block to the historic interventionist role of Scottish local government as sought by many in the evangelical movement. This shift throughout Britain towards seeking governmental approval of laissez faire was strongly underpinned by the shift towards policies of "non-intrusion" and "voluntaryism" in the ecclesiastical sphere.

"Voluntaryism" was adopted as the creed of the Protestant dissenters in both England and Scotland in the 1830s and 1840s. In England, the nonconformist struggle with the Church of England over the imposition of church rates was perhaps the most prominent feature of relations between established religion and voluntary nonconformism. In Scotland, "voluntaryism" amongst the presbyterian dissenters such as the Relief and Secession churches (after 1847, the United Presbyterian Church) was, on one crucial point, significantly different from English nonconformist "voluntaryism". The Scots voluntaries supported state intervention in the area of education. Thus, by the late 1840s, a significant section of Scottish presbyterians were seeking the establishment of a national, non-sectarian elementary education system. Thus, whilst the advance of

evangelicalism was limited in the corridors of municipal power, there were important moves towards the implementation of evangelical policies at national level.

The emergence of the Free Church in 1843 was the crucial turning-point in the development of evangelical agencies. From its inception, the Free Church was committed to the massive expansion of evangelical programmes of social and religious improvement. Religious voluntary organisations grew at an enormous rate in that Church. The Free Church immediately accepted Sunday schools as part of the work of the Church and, with the U.P. Church adopting the same view from 1847, independent Sunday-school societies virtually disappeared as the schools became attached to congregations.¹⁶⁹ The Free Church embarked on a massive day-school programme, in large part because the majority of school-teachers in the Church of Scotland seceded in 1843.¹⁷⁰ From the mid-1840s, organisations catering for the leisure needs of older children started to develop.¹⁷¹ In 1847, a few Free and U.P. ministers openly announced their support for the total abstinence movement.¹⁷² Home mission work started to be undertaken by congregations, in conscious imitation of the work pioneered by the City Mission. The most important congregational work was that of the Free Tron Church in Glasgow. The minister of the Church, the Rev. Robert Buchanan, was widely thought of as inheriting "the mantle of Dr. Chalmers" after the latter's death in the late 1840s.¹⁷³ Buchanan started the Wynd Mission in central Glasgow in about 1845, using a co-ordinated programme of Sunday schools, day schools,

mission churches and "aggressive" visitation techniques to bring religion to the inhabitants of Glasgow's wynds.¹⁷⁴ However, despite the broadening of evangelical enterprise, the Free Church's ability to extract wealth from the urban middle classes led to a continuing emphasis on church extension as the prime means of evangelisation of the working classes. Buchanan himself was responsible for a resurgence in church-building in Glasgow in the early 1850s.¹⁷⁵ Nonetheless, the 1840s were significant for the alignment of evangelicalism with specific and large denominations. With the Free and U.P. churches, together with some smaller evangelical churches such as the Evangelical Union, the Congregationalists and the Baptists, dominating the religious life of Glasgow and of Scotland, the evangelical framework of response to urban and industrial society was firmly established as the dominant religious influence on society. Moreover, evangelicalism had by the 1840s intruded significantly into the government of Glasgow. Evangelicalism had developed into a diffuse though concerted movement with the aim of sustaining religious influence in a potentially hostile environment.

(d) Conclusion.

"Bodily ails are I think particularly useful in shutting one up from the world and leading the mind beyond it. I am so sensible of its beneficial effects and I may say enjoyments that I sometimes feel surprised at the pity and regrets expressed by my friends." "I hope the illness Mrs. Charles Stirling has had may prove beneficial to her health ..."

Barbara Ewing, 1823 and 1825¹⁷⁶

Between 1780 and 1850, religion in Glasgow was transformed. Growing social segregation and the shortage of Established churches led to the rapid growth of presbyterian dissent. The crises of social change introduced an accelerating dynamism to religious change. In the 1780s, 1810s, 1830s and 1840s, evangelicals responded to perceived threats to social order by developing new agencies for the encouragement of "salvation" amongst the working classes. Perceptions of physical constraints on "salvation" extended the parameters of evangelical concern to include problems of poverty, lawlessness, poor housing and disease. Evangelical seriousness transformed the criterion of happiness into the discovery of Christ in "Happy Death". Indeed, in the context of worsening living conditions and fever epidemics, illness itself became an agency of evangelical action. After struggling under government scrutiny in the 1790s, evangelicals gradually emerged as the leading proponents of action to contain the problems of urban society. As a social theology, evangelicalism was unrefined. It was in many ways an anti-theology. The anti-intellectualism of evangelicalism in the eighteenth

century was accentuated in the early nineteenth century by the development of agency which turned it into the social theology of action.

Throughout the development of evangelicalism up to 1850, there was an emphasis on the educative aspects of religious action. Salvation was being encouraged by the education of individuals in the benefits to be derived from Christian religion. Thus, instruction from the minister's sermon was made more available by church extension, and the use of Sunday and day schools and the distribution of tracts and bibles stressed the way to God through literacy and instruction. The achievement of salvation was regarded as an essentially personal matter. The religious revivals in rural areas were not phenomena that were quickly translated into the cities. There was a noted absence of revivals in towns in Scotland until the second half of the nineteenth century;¹⁷⁷ the "individualism of conversion" remained dominant in puritan evangelicalism before 1850.¹⁷⁸ In this context, it is interesting to note that evangelical agencies of the pre-1850 period were almost exclusively designed for the working classes; the educated middle classes did not require the basic instruction provided in Sunday schools for instance, and were expected, as William Wilberforce expected of his son, to seek salvation by private prayer and instruction.¹⁷⁹ Towards the end of the period covered by this chapter, though, aspects of evangelical social theology were appearing that were to imply middle-class use of evangelical agencies: temperance and total abstinence societies in particular.

More generally, however, the educative emphasis of evangelical social action was to give way after 1850 to an emphasis on revivalism. Whilst this was to have a major effect on evangelical social theology, it was also to imply that "closet conversion" for the middle classes was to be radically altered.

The perceived dangers of declining religious influence between 1780 and 1850 were essentially physical. The middle classes removed themselves from the city centre of Glasgow because of disgust at working-class habits and habitats. Working-class mannerisms, accentuated by drink, seemed to threaten violence. Despite the influence of the French Revolution and the advance of radicalism and trades unionism, the dangers as seen by middle-class evangelicals were not ideological. Middle-class fears were of anarchy and social breakdown, not of an alternative ideology to religion. It was the "brawny vigour", as Thomas Chalmers called it, of the working classes that was feared by evangelicals, not a secularist and anti-religious ideology. Evangelicalism was being mooted as the means to control the anarchy of urban and industrial society.

Notes to chapter 5.

1. A Gomme and D Walker, Architecture of Glasgow (1968, London), pp 41-2, 47; G MacGregor, History of Glasgow (1881, Glasgow), pp 105-6.
2. Quoted in Gomme and Walker, op. cit., pp 49-50.
3. See for instance T Smollett, Humphry Clinker (orig. 1771, 1967, Harmondsworth), p 274.
4. F Worsdall, The Tenement: A Way of Life: A social, historical and architectural study of housing in Glasgow (1979, Edinburgh), pp 63-73.
5. For the rise of the tobacco and cotton industries in Glasgow, see A Slaven, The Development of the West of Scotland 1750-1960 (1975, London and Boston), pp 19-57, 79-110.
6. T C Smout, A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830 (1969, Fontana/Collins, Glasgow), pp 146-170, 355-367.
7. John Leighton, writing in 1835, and quoted in Gomme and Walker, op. cit., pp 57-8.
8. Ibid.
9. See A J Youngson, The Making of Classical Edinburgh 1750-1840 (1960, Edinburgh), pp 1-17.
10. MacGregor, op. cit., pp 366-7, 371.
11. Ibid., p 370.
12. R Renwick (ed.), Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, eleven volumes (1902-16, Glasgow), minutes of town council (hereafter referred to as "Renwick, Glasgow town council minutes"), vol vii, p 182, 11 January 1786.
13. Ibid., vol viii, p 581, 16 August 1780.

14. See below pp 341-343.
15. J Dunlop, Autobiography (1932, privately printed, London), p 122.
16. For examples, see I Bradley, The Call to Seriousness: The Evangelical Impact on the Victorians (1976, London).
17. See above pages 36-82.
18. See vol. II pp 219-223 and appendix II.
19. See above pages 60-1.
20. Renwick, Glasgow town council minutes, vol. vii, pp 577-8, 22 December 1779.
21. Ibid., vol. viii, 22 December 1781.
22. Ibid., vol. viii, 1 April 1789, 14 March 1793.
23. J Bell and J Paton, Glasgow: Its Municipal Organisation and Administration (1896, Glasgow), p 411.
24. Strathclyde Regional Archive, MS Report of Committee [of Glasgow town council] on Ministers' Stipends, 5 May 1796.
25. Renwick, Glasgow town council minutes, vol. ix, 26 March and 24 September 1807.
26. Ibid., vol. ix, 8 August 1806, 23 April and 3 June 1807, 8 January 1808.
27. Ibid., vol. ix, 28 March 1808.
28. See appendix II.
29. The poorer seats in presbyterian churches were generally located at the back of the gallery or at the rear of the ground-floor area.
30. Renwick, Glasgow town council minutes, vol. ix, 26 March 1807.
31. Ibid., vol. ix, 19 December 1806, 30 January and

- 13 February 1807; vol x, 3 April and 7 September 1810, and 20 March 1812.
32. This occurred in St. Andrew's Church in 1810; ibid., vol. x, 13 October 1810.
33. Ibid., vol. x, 10 September 1813.
34. Ibid., vol. x, 16 September 1810, 1 October 1810 and 22 October 1810.
35. Ibid., vol. x, 26 November and 3 December 1813.
36. Ibid., vol. x, 23 January 1816.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid., vol. x, 27 June 1816, 23 September 1816.
39. Ibid., vol. xi, 18 April 1823 and 13 January 1824.
40. Strathclyde Regional Archive, MS minutes of Glasgow town council, 12 November 1833, c.1.1.59.
41. A L Drummond and J Bulloch, The Scottish Church 1688-1843: the Age of the Moderates (1973, Edinburgh), pp 184-5; J H S Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland (1960, London), pp 319-20.
42. D Keir (ed.), The Third Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xv, The City of Edinburgh (1966, Glasgow), p 168. John Dunlop, a member of the Established and then Free churches, returned to Scotland in 1844 to find the "agitation" after the Disruption not to his liking. Consequently, he spent his first Sunday attending worship at a Congregational Church; J Dunlop, op. cit., p 235.
43. Renwick, Glasgow town council minutes, vol. x, 23 March 1810.
44. Ibid., vol x, 5 April 1816.

45. Ibid., vol. x, 22 June 1820.
46. Ibid., vol. x, 24 July 1821.
47. Drummond and Bulloch, op. cit., p 233.
48. [Glasgow Church Building Society], Proposal for Building Twenty New Parochial Churches in the City and Suburbs of Glasgow (nd, but 1834, Glasgow);
R Buchanan, The Spiritual Destitution of the Masses in Glasgow (1851, Glasgow), pp 8-9; idem, A Second Appeal on the Spiritual Destitution of the Masses in Glasgow (1851, Glasgow), p 11.
49. See appendix II, table II.2.
50. A A Maclaren, Religion and Social Class: the Disruption years in Aberdeen (1974, London and Boston), pp 69-94, 218; P L M Hillis, "Presbyterianism and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Glasgow: A Study of Nine Churches", Th.D thesis, University of Glasgow, 1978, p 142.
51. Hillis, op. cit., p 153 et seq.
52. Ibid., p 162.
53. Maclaren, op. cit., p 93.
54. See Bradley, op. cit., especially pp 145-155.
55. J Dunlop, op. cit., p 27.
56. J Galt, Annals of the Parish (orig. 1821, 1978, Edinburgh), p 126.
57. A J Campbell, quoted in W L Mathieson, Church and Reform in Scotland, 1797-1843 (1916, Glasgow), p 105.
58. Renwick, Glasgow town council minutes, vol. viii, pp 122-3, 15 January 1784.
59. MacGregor, op. cit., p 367.

60. Ibid., p 370.
61. Renwick, Glasgow town council minutes, vol. viii, pp 167-8, 10 June 1785.
62. Ibid.
63. MacGregor, op. cit., pp 371-2; K J Logue, Popular Disturbances in Scotland 1780-1815 (1979, Edinburgh), pp 155-160. The town council, in appreciation of the army's assistance, presented each soldier involved with a pair of stockings and a pair of shoes; Renwick, Glasgow town council minutes, vol. viii, 27 September 1787.
64. MacGregor, op. cit., pp 286-290, 300, 330, 364.
65. Logue, op. cit., pp 159-160.
66. Gomme and Walker, op. cit., p 60.
67. Throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the town council made payments to persons whose property had been damaged during riots. One payment of £11 made in February 1788 to two wrights for damage caused by a mob in the cotton works of Spreull, McColl and Co. may have been for events during the Calton riot of the preceding summer; Renwick, Glasgow town council minutes, vol. viii, 28 February 1788.
68. For a detailed account, see below vol. II pp 5-10.
69. J Scotland, The History of Scottish Education, from the beginning to 1872 (1969, London), p 94.
70. Strathclyde Regional Archive, MS Report of Committee [of Glasgow town council] anent employment of idle boys in grannaries [sic], 28 February 1788; Renwick, Glasgow town council minutes, vol. viii, 28 February

1788.

71. MacGregor, op. cit., p 364.
72. Ibid., p 381.
73. See below vol. II pp 5-10.
74. Quoted in Renwick, Glasgow town council minutes, vol. viii, p 388, 29 November 1790.
75. See H W Meikle, Scotland and the French Revolution (orig. 1912, reprint 1969, London).
76. Quoted in ibid., p 60.
77. See N Gray, "Greville Ewing: Architect of Scottish Congregationalism", Ph.D thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1961.
78. Meikle, op. cit., especially pp 194-213; W M Kirkland, "The impact of the French Revolution on Scottish religious life and thought, with special reference to Thomas Chalmers, Robert Haldane and Neil Douglas", Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1951, especially pp 129-205.
79. Renwick, Glasgow town council minutes, vol. viii, pp 577-588, 20 December 1794, and p 570, 13 November 1794.
80. Ibid.; MacGregor, op. cit., p 378.
81. Ibid.; Edinburgh University Library, MS letter from William Porteous to Lord Advocate (Robert Dundas), 20 February 1797, Laing MSS La. II 500.
82. Edinburgh University Library, Circular of Edinburgh Missionary Society, 18 March 1796, enclosed in letter from Principal Dr. George Hill to Lord Advocate, 2 March 1797, Laing MSS La. II 500. The copy of the circular cited above was presumably the copy Dr. Hill produced in the general assembly debate of 1796; see

below p 351.

83. Account of the Proceedings and Debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, May 27, 1796 (1796, Edinburgh), pp 3-4.
84. Quoted in ibid., p 37.
85. Quoted in ibid., pp 54-5.
86. Edinburgh University Library, MS letter of introduction from T I Jones (introducing Robert Haldane) to William Wilberforce, 14 September 1796, Laing MSS La. II 500.
87. Edinburgh University Library, MS letter from Robert Haldane to Lord Advocate, 28 September 1796, Laing MSS La. II 500.
88. Edinburgh University Library, MS letter from William Porteous to Lord Advocate, 20 February 1797, Laing MSS La. II 500.
89. Edinburgh University Library, MS letter from William Porteous to Lord Advocate, 24 January 1797, Laing MSS La. II 500.
90. J Hunter, The Making of the Crofting Community (1976, Edinburgh), pp 89-106.
91. Meikle, op. cit., p 207.
92. Mathieson, op. cit., pp 64, 83.
93. Sabbath School Union of Scotland, Annual Report, 1819, p 10.
94. Edinburgh University Library, MS letter from William Porteous to Lord Advocate, 21 February 1798, Laing MSS La. II 500.
95. Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1794-1812 pp 38-45.

96. A detailed account of Sunday schools is given below chapter 8.
97. Until the 1790s, Porteous had belonged to the radical intellectual wing of the Moderates. In emulation of the continental philosophes, he published a book in 1778 on the subject of religious toleration, drawing examples from pagan religions in America and Greece. He wrote in that volume: "I wish and pray to God, that, whatever may befall [sic] us, we may never lose sight of these enlarged, reasonable, and evangelical principles of toleration." W Porteous, The Doctrine of Toleration ... (1778, Glasgow), p 14. (Italics by present author)
98. Meikle, op. cit., pp 198, 239-273.
99. J McKerrow, History of the Secession Church vol II (1839, Edinburgh), p 356; Meikle, op. cit., pp 199-200.
100. Ibid., p 199.
101. W Porteous, The New Light Examined ... (1800, Glasgow), pp 4-5.
102. Ibid., pp 54-55.
103. Ibid., p 55.
104. McKerrow, loc. cit.
105. J Peddie, A defence of the Associate Synod against the charge of sedition addressed to William Porteous ... (1800, Edinburgh), pp 77-8.
106. Associate Synod, Address ... to the People under their charge respecting the present scarcity of probationers ... (1806, Edinburgh), pp 1,3.
107. Renwick, Glasgow town council minutes, vol. ix, 1 April 1803.
108. Ibid., vol. ix, p 124, 20 September 1798.

109. A Ranken, The importance of religious establishments (1799, Glasgow), p 57. It is interesting to note that despite his expression of allegiance to Crown and Church, Ranken was in 1796 the founding secretary of the Glasgow Missionary Society, and remained in that position until the 1800s; Glasgow Missionary Society, Report of the Directors to the General Annual Meeting ..., 1 November 1796, p 6.
110. Ranken, op. cit., p 60.
111. Ibid., p 67.
112. W Taylor, The love of our country ... (1803, Glasgow),
113. Glasgow Herald 8 October and 15 November 1813; S Mechie, The Church and Scottish Social Development, 1780-1870 (1960, Oxford), pp 38-45.
114. S Macgill, Our blessings and our duty ... (1798, Glasgow), pp 4, 54, 56.
115. R Balfour, The Salvation of the Heathen Necessary and Certain ... (1796, Glasgow), p 67.
116. For accounts of civil disturbances and criminal prosecutions resulting from them, see Logue, op. cit.; P B Ellis and S MacA'Ghobhainn, The Scottish Insurrection of 1820 (1970, London); and M I Thomas and P Holt, Threats of Revolution in Britain 1789-1848 (1977, London).
117. A R Thompson, "An enquiry into the reading habits of the working classes in Scotland from 1830 to 1840", B.Litt. thesis, University of Glasgow, 1961, p 141.
118. A L Drummond and J Bulloch, The Church in Victorian, Scotland, 1843-1874 (1975, Edinburgh), p 146.

119. G Struthers, The History of the Rise, Progress and Principles of the Relief Church (1843, Glasgow), p 409.
120. D Reeves, "The interaction of Scottish and English Evangelicals, 1790-1810", M.Litt. thesis, University of Glasgow, 1973, passim.
121. Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Victorian Scotland, p 146; Glasgow Bible Society, Sixteenth Annual Report, 1828, p 31.
122. Ibid., p 28.
123. Glasgow Gaelic Schools Society, Fourteenth Annual Report, 1826, pp 3-4, 6; Glasgow City Mission, First Annual Report, 1827, p 2.
124. Glasgow Bible Society, Sixteenth Annual Report, 1828, p 15.
125. The firm of William Collins became one of four British publishing houses licensed to print the authorised version of the bible; obituary of Sir William Collins (1900-1976), The Scotsman 22 February 1976.
126. MacGregor, op. cit., pp 382, 385; Logue, op. cit., p 41.
127. Renwick, Glasgow town council minutes, vol. ix, 19 March 1800, 6 November 1800. The council had to pay out for damages caused during the disturbances; ibid., vol. ix, 19 March 1800, 24 September 1800.
128. Ibid., vol. viii, 9 January 1783; vol. ix, 11 December 1801.
129. Ibid., vol. x, 29 February 1816; MacGregor, op. cit., p 400.
130. Ibid., vol. x, 13 October 1810, 6 and 8 February 1811,

17 October 1811.

131. Ellis and MacA'Ghobhainn, op. cit., pp 92-6; Thomas and Holt, op. cit., pp 30-1.
132. Logue, op. cit., pp 187-190; A J Cameron, "Society, policing and the problem of order: Edinburgh 1805-1822", Edinburgh University, undergraduate thesis, Department of Economic History, 1974, pp 21-26.
133. Report of the United Sabbath Day Schools of Glasgow and its Vicinity, 1813, p 6.
134. Renwick, Glasgow town council minutes, vol. x, 10 September 1813.
135. Ibid., vol. x, 20 March and 25 October 1812, 19 March, 10 and 16 September, 1 October, 22 October, 2 and 26 November, and 7 December 1813.
136. Ibid., vol. x, 24 February 1814, 30 May 1815.
137. Ibid., vol. x, 24 February 1814.
138. Ibid., vol. x, 23 January, 29 February, 26 March, 5 April, 21 May, 27 June, 30 September and 15 October 1816.
139. Quoted in Ellis and MacA'Ghobhainn, op. cit., p 100.
140. Ibid., pp 100-110; Kirkland, op. cit., pp 191-203.
141. Renwick, Glasgow town council minutes, vol x, 27 December 1816.
142. Ibid., vol x, 21 April and 16 June 1818.
143. Ibid., vol. x, 7 April 1818.
144. For a review of the St. John's scheme, see R A Cage and E O A Checkland, "Thomas Chalmers and Urban Poverty: The St. John's Parish Experiment in Glasgow, 1819-1837", Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow's Philosophical Journal, vol. 13, 1, Spring

- 1976, pp 37-56.
145. Renwick, Glasgow town council minutes, vol. x,
28 September 1819.
146. Ibid., vol. x, 27 October 1819.
147. Ibid., vol. x, 27 December 1819.
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150. Glasgow Sabbath School Union, Annual Report, 1818,
p 16.
151. See appendix II.
152. Drummond and Bulloch, The Scottish Church 1688-1843
..., p 175; Cage and Checkland, op. cit., p 44.
153. Renwick, Glasgow town council minutes, vol. x,
8 March 1822.
154. Ibid., vol. x, 9 May 1822.
155. Ibid., vol. x, 9 May 1822, 31 May 1822.
156. Ibid., vol. xi, 4 February 1823, 25 February 1823,
18 April 1823, 23 March 1824.
157. See below vol. II pp 18-19.
158. J Dunlop, op. cit., pp 53-7.
159. Glasgow Religious Tract Society, Annual Report, 1815,
p 5.
160. Glasgow City Mission, First Annual Report, 1827, p 3.
161. Ibid., pp 6, 8.
162. Ibid., p 14.
163. N Munro, A Short History of Glasgow City Mission (1926,
Glasgow), pp 21-38.

164. T Johnston, A History of the Working Classes in Scotland (1946, Glasgow), pp 245-248.
165. R J Morris, Cholera 1832: The Social Responses to an Epidemic (1976, London), p 82.
166. Ibid., pp 68-9, 80.
167. Ibid., p 67.
168. Quoted in A K Chalmers, Public Health Administration in Glasgow (1905, Glasgow), p 8.
169. See below vol. II pp 20-25.
170. See below vol. II p 68.
171. See below vol. II pp 71-5.
172. See below vol II pp 147-8.
173. G E Troup, Life of George Troup, Journalist (1881, Edinburgh), p 82.
174. N L Walker, Robert Buchanan D.D. (1877, Glasgow), pp 300-338; R Buchanan, The Schoolmaster in the Wynds (1850, Glasgow); idem, The Spiritual Destitution of the Masses in Glasgow (1851, Glasgow); idem, A Second Appeal on the Spiritual Destitution of the Masses in Glasgow (1851, Glasgow).
175. See below pp 411-414.
176. Strathclyde Regional Archive, Barbara Ewing [wife of Congregationalist the Rev. Greville Ewing] Correspondence, letters to Archibald Stirling, 28 August 1823 and 15 January 1825, T-SK 13/11, bundle 12-42.
177. I A Muirhead, "The Revival as a Dimension of Scottish Church History", R.S.C.H.S. vol. xx, 3 (1980), pp 179-196.

178. Ibid., p 191.

179. I Bradley, op. cit., p 24.

Chapter 6

Religious revivalism and social reform,
1850-1880: the reign of evangelicalism.

(a) Introduction: the new context.

The period covered by this chapter witnessed the apogee of evangelicalism. By 1850, two of the three largest churches in Scotland were committed to the implementation of evangelical schemes within their own denominations and to the intrusion of evangelical influence in civil administration. Moreover, such was the acceptance of the evangelical framework of response to an expanding urban society that all of the Protestant churches adopted evangelical schemes if not the entire theology and rhetoric of evangelicalism. In this regard, it is instructive to note that the Roman Catholic Church made great strides in the mid-Victorian period in the development of evangelical-type agencies, and that the most prominent Established Church minister in Glasgow - and one of the most prominent in Scotland - was an Evangelical who had reluctantly decided not to secede in 1843. It was during this period that the self-stylisation "Evangelical" became an avowal of orthodoxy. By its ubiquitous usage, it became, in some cases, meaningless. With Moderatism discredited, there was no alternative title to "Evangelical". Similarly,

there was no alternative social theology to evangelicalism.

In attaining an exalted orthodoxy in mid-Victorian Britain, evangelicalism was assisted by the new social and economic context. In the first place, the successive economic depressions of the 1810-1850 period gave way to two decades of relative economic boom. The period 1851 to 1873 witnessed rising prices, the expansion of credit, rapidly-accelerating output and a broadening economic base in Britain.¹ For Glasgow, the late 1840s and early 1850s marked the rise to prominence of heavy industry. Whilst retaining a large cotton industry, the city and its environs experienced the rapid rise of shipbuilding, engineering, and iron and coal production - all of which were boosted by the advent of iron ships. The tonnage of steam ships built on the Clyde rose from 17,600 tons in 1831-40 to 81,400 tons in 1841-50 and to 798,400 tons in 1860-70; steam tonnage built on the Clyde represented 24 per cent of total British output in 1831-40 and 66 per cent in 1841-50 and 1860-70.² Glasgow managed to do what no other city of comparable size could do: combine a large cotton industry with major heavy industry. With a population of 345,000 in 1851 and 587,000 in 1881,³ Glasgow became the second city of the British Empire and arguably the first industrial city of Europe.

With the rapid expansion of the economy in these years came increased prosperity. The middle classes and skilled workers grew in number and wealth. Asa Briggs has described the period as one of "unparalleled working class progress".⁴ Certainly, the numbers of skilled workers increased as heavy industry grew. Nonetheless, the textile

industry, dependent on cheap, semi- and unskilled labour, remained the largest single employer of industrial labour.⁵ With the upturn in economic performance from the 1840s, there is evidence of increasing wages for some members of the working classes during the 1850s and 1860s.⁶ For others, principally the unskilled, employment opportunities may have improved with increasing demand for industrial labour, but, until the 1860s, it is possible that their incomes decreased. From the mid and late 1860s, there is evidence of rising real wages amongst the working classes; after a setback in 1875-9, the rise continued until 1900.⁷ One direct result of the economic improvement of the mid-Victorian period was increasing middle-class wealth and, thus, opportunity for the practice of Christian "liberality" towards the churches. A second development due partly to economic improvement was the relative calm that settled on working-class politics between 1850 and 1880. After 1848, the incidence and threat of working-class violence diminished considerably. Despite extensive agitation in Glasgow and elsewhere in 1866-7 in support of parliamentary reform,⁸ the working-class "Machinery of protest became converted into machinery of acceptance, working within the system rather than seeking to overthrow it ...".⁹ The increasing numbers of skilled workers formed their own trades unions and friendly societies distinct from the older organisations of the unskilled. In so doing, the new "labour aristocracy" became relatively conservative within the labour movement.¹⁰ For middle-class evangelicals, the fear of working-class revolution receded after the early 1850s. Evangelical agencies no longer responded to outbreaks

of working-class violence. Increasingly, evangelicals responded to religious opportunities for evangelisation - particularly the opportunities provided by religious revivalism.

The relationships between evangelicalism, revivalism and social reform have been the subject of some study in the United States. T L Smith concludes from his study of the mid-nineteenth century in that country that concern for social problems arose from and then supplanted evangelical revivalism:

"Enthusiasm for Christian perfection was evangelical Protestantism's answer to the moral strivings of the age ... Out of the heart of revival Christianity came by mid-century a platform more widely acceptable and as realistically concerned with alleviating social evil... The rapid growth of concern with purely social issues such as poverty, workingmen's rights, the liquor traffic, slum housing, and racial bitterness is the chief distinguishing feature of American religion after 1865 from that of the first half of the nineteenth century. Such matters in some cases supplanted entirely the earlier pre-occupation with salvation from personal sin and the life hereafter." ¹¹

The American experience of revivalism is important for, as will be shown, the development and progress of urban revivalism in Glasgow as in Britain as a whole were the direct results of American influences. It is important to state here, though, that the influence of revivalism on evangelical social theology should not be seen in isolation from the earlier and broader development of evangelicalism. To a great extent, evangelicals in Glasgow responded to the opportunity of revivalism in the mid-Victorian period in

much the same way as they had reacted against the threat of violent revolution in the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries.

Between 1850 and 1880, there were major advances in the use of evangelical agencies; these are examined in some detail in part III. It is sufficient to note here that there was considerable success by evangelicals in pressing for municipal intervention in social reform: in areas such as sanitary reform, slum clearance, municipalisation of water supplies and the provision of public parks.¹² This period also saw the general acceptance of the total abstinence movement amongst the churches and the "respectable" middle classes.¹³ Also, the presbyterian dissenters succeeded in 1872 in gaining a public elementary-education system over which they had considerable influence through the local school boards.¹⁴ These were important developments which marked the high-point in the implementation of the evangelical strategy of social reform.

Despite the economic improvement of the mid-Victorian period, it is important to stress that the type and degree of social problems which the evangelicals identified as obstacles to religious influence in urban society did not change dramatically after 1850. Fever epidemics of typhus and cholera remained prevalent until the late 1860s. Overcrowding in the slums may have got worse rather than better in the third quarter of the century. With the influx of Irish after the potato famine of 1845-6, and with continuing migration from country areas, Glasgow's working-class housing deteriorated as houses were subdivided. By 1871, 78 per cent of all families in the city lived

in one-roomed (single-end) or two-roomed (room-and-kitchen) houses.¹⁵ Although aggregate life expectancy rose,¹⁶ conditions of life for those at the lower end of the social scale cannot be said to have changed radically for the better. The problems inhibiting religious influence amongst the majority of the city's inhabitants came into starker relief for evangelicals after 1850 as mission schemes multiplied and brought church men and women into contact with slum life.

(b) The expansion of evangelical agencies in the 1850s.

"To the overwhelming majority of our upper classes, the district to which the Wynds belong is a terra incognita... [Middle-class] Blythswood Hill and [working-class] Bridgegate are not more than a mile apart, and yet practically, they are nearly as far asunder as the antipodes."

The Rev. Robert Buchanan, 1850¹⁷

Knowledge of the conditions of the labouring classes was of the greatest importance in determining middle-class and religious social action. With middle-class movement out to new suburban housing to the west of the city accelerating after 1840,¹⁸ increased social segregation further reduced contact between "upper" and working classes. In such circumstances, the conditions of life in the slums became matters for purposeful inquiry. The revelations on Glasgow's slum conditions contained in the Chadwick Report of 1842 were followed by investigations by local newspapers in the mid and late 1840s.¹⁹

In 1848, the coincidence of a cholera epidemic and civil disturbance increased evangelical activity and led to the publication of religious inquiries into the religious and living conditions of the city's working classes and the poor. The growth of evangelical agencies in the 1850s owed a considerable amount to the events of 1848 and to the "uncovering" of the nature of slum life.

In February, March and April 1848, serious rioting took place in the centre of Glasgow as a result of bread shortages, unemployment and the influence of the continental "Year of Revolutions".²⁰ The events made a strong impression on evangelicals. One young lay evangelical of the Free Church was sworn in as an armed special constable, and recorded in his diary on 11 March:

"The riots on Monday and Tuesday very serious. On Tuesday at one o'clock it assumed a very threatening aspect. The French Revolution has given an example to the disaffected throughout the country. The aspect of things is ominous throughout Europe ..."²¹

Immediately after the riots, the writer started a home mission scheme in the Gallowgate in the east end to educate and occupy the energies of youths. When Queen Victoria visited the city in August, he wrote:

"Five hundred thousand people agog and not an accident, not a riot. It is surely an answer to prayer."²²

Religious voluntary organisations as a whole showed considerable expansion in 1848-9. Sunday-school enrolment in the whole of Glasgow rose over 12 per cent in a year, more than 7 per cent higher than in the previous year.²³ New

organisations catering for older youths, such as young men's institutes, were started, trying clearly to extend religious influence to those too old for Sunday schools but old enough to participate in rioting.²⁴ The riots of 1848 were still being recalled with purpose three years later. Robert Buchanan, minister of the Free Tron Church, led a campaign to evangelise the city's slums. He told the Free Church general assembly in 1851:

"Those demon-like figures that were seen mounting the barricades in Paris, and shedding blood like water, at the late revolution, few had ever beheld them before I have often shuddered in traversing the wynds of Glasgow to think that we have there in abundance the very materials with which the St. Antoinnes and the St. Marceaux of Paris have, again and again, fed the flames of its frequent revolutionary conflagrations Surely, however, humanity and religion do not need such an argument to summon them into the field."²⁵

This evangelical appeal was reiterated by others in the early 1850s and produced a new vigour in organised evangelical schemes. On the one hand, there was innovation in religious voluntary organisations; new institutions that received evangelical support from 1848-50 onwards included penny banks and mutual improvement societies. There was a rapid expansion of congregational mission day schools in the city by the leading presbyterian denominations.²⁶ However, the main thrust of evangelical strategy, as championed by Buchanan, was church extension. Recalling the efforts of Thomas Chalmers in St. John's in the 1810s and 1820s, and in the church building programmes of the 1830s, Buchanan sought funds for renewed church building by the Free Church. He

demonstrated that there was a shortage of church accommodation in the city (see table 6.1) and that the poor religious and social condition of the city was attributable to this cause. At his instigation, the general assembly of the Free Church accepted that the religious condition of Glasgow

Table 6.1 Estimates of church accommodation to population in major Scottish cities, 1851.¹

Percentage of the population for whom there existed church sittings.		
	Figures provided by Robert Buchanan	Figures provided by religious census
Aberdeen	50	47
Dundee	44	46
Paisley	61	70
Greenock	54	55
Perth	71	52
Edinburgh & Leith	-	43
Glasgow	22	30

Sources R Buchanan et al., Spiritual Destitution of the Masses in Glasgow; speeches to the general assembly of the Free Church (1851, Edinburgh), p 5; Census of Great Britain, 1851: Report of Religious Worship and Education, Scotland (1854, London), p 22.

Note 1. A similar table providing three other sets of estimates (one for 1837 and two for 1851) is given in D J Withrington, "The 1851 Census of Religious Worship and Education: with a note on Church accommodation in mid-19th-Century Scotland", R.S.C.H.S. vol. 18, 2(1974), p 147.

was of special concern to the Church, and set up a Committee on the Evangelization of Glasgow. The Church Building Society, which had done so much for the cause of church extension for Church of Scotland Evangelicals in the 1830s, was reconstituted in the name of the Free Church. Buchanan's church-building programme influenced other denominations in the city to undertake similar though more limited schemes.

Despite the experience of the second quarter of the century, there was still a feeling amongst many evangelicals that poverty was not a handicap to increased levels of church-going. Buchanan stated:

"Let it be remembered that the great mass of the non-church-going population are not paupers. To a large extent they are in receipt of good wages, and quite able to pay for a church sitting, if they were so inclined. But they have fallen away from religious ordinances." ²⁷

But, Buchanan argued, church extension had to be combined with the "aggressive" system of evangelisation to bring the working classes to church:

"By far the greatest part of all the ministerial and pastoral work at present going on in our great towns is conducted purely on what we have learned, from the vocabulary of the great master of Church extension [Thomas Chalmers], to call the attractive, in contradistinction to the aggressive system. According to the attractive system, the place of worship is built, and the minister preaches to those who come to hear him, - and with more or less fidelity watches over them as one that must give account... [But] the attractive system leaves multitudes in all our great towns in a state of total estrangement from the house and ordinances of God." ²⁸

Thus, Buchanan stated the need for new "territorial" churches to be serviced by an integrated team of Sunday-school and day-school teachers, missionaries, prayer meetings, libraries, penny savings banks and educational lectures. At the Free Tron Church, he said that the mission work in the Wynds in 1851 included thirty Sunday schools with 800 children, four week-day schools with 600 children, and a preaching station with 300 regular attenders.²⁹ John Paton recalled in the 1880s his use of the "aggressive" system to gain and maintain attenders to his mission, part of the Glasgow City Mission:

"What would my younger brethren in the Ministry, or in the Mission, think of starting out at six o'clock every Sunday morning, running from street to street for an hour, knocking at the doors and rousing the careless, and thus getting together, and keeping together, their Bible Class? ... About eight or ten of my most devoted young men, and double that of young women, whom I had trained to become visitors and tract distributors, greatly strengthened my hands."³⁰

The use of the integrated "aggressive" system became widespread after 1848. One Free Church congregation in Glasgow, deprived of its church by the House of Lords' ruling,³¹ took on the task in May 1848 of mounting a home mission scheme in addition to building a new church. Within eight months, the congregation was running a mission day school, a ragged school, a female school of industry, an evening school, Sunday schools with 541 children, and an Association for Missionary Visitors (volunteers) to maintain attendances at the various activities.³² With congregational total abstinence societies being added to the list of voluntary

organisations in the 1850s, the evangelical parochial system was put into extensive and intensive operation.

The Established Church of Scotland, bereft of its leading Evangelicals and, more importantly, its most keen Evangelical laypersons as a result of the Disruption of 1843, was slow to match the presbyterian dissenters in the provision of evangelical agencies. By the 1850s, however, evangelicalism was the norm in Scottish Protestantism. The Church of Scotland could not deny the importance of Sunday schools, for instance, and formally committed their control to a committee of the general assembly in 1850.³³ The Church in Glasgow was given an important injection of evangelical zeal with the arrival at the Barony Church in 1851 of the Rev. Norman Macleod, later Scottish Chaplain to Queen Victoria. Macleod had a colossal parish, albeit with a number of chapels-of-ease (churches quoad sacra). It included some of the worst industrial areas in the city and suburbs: Calton, Bridgeton and Shettleston to the east, Port Dundas to the north, and Anderston to the west. Although not in Glasgow in 1848, Macleod was influenced by the events of that year:

"The freedom of a man quoad civilia, as well as quoad spiritul^aia, will ever be in proportion to the sense entertained by himself and others of his dignity and worth. Hence, the connection between Christianity and civil liberty, and hence the folly of Chartists and Revolutionists,... and refusing Church Extension, which is but a means for bringing those blessings to the masses, and thus of helping them to obtain, use and preserve freedom." ³⁴

Macleod became well known for initiating in 1857 evening

church services for the working classes and the poor - services to which none were admitted except those in working clothes.³⁵ As we shall see in relation to the religious revivals later in our period, Macleod had to face obstinacy and entrenchment on the part of many clergy and laity in the Established Church in the pursuit of evangelical policies. In 1852, he wrote in his diary of his desperation and his contemplation of religious revivalism:

"It would be worth a hundred dead general assemblies, if we had any meeting of believing ministers or people - to cry to God for a revival. This and this alone, is what we want. Death reigns!"³⁶

One of the main reasons for the continued emphasis in the 1850s on church extension as a means of evangelisation was the traditional presbyterian objection to lay preachers.³⁷ The need to use professional clergy to evangelise implied the provision of churches from which the gospel could be properly proclaimed. Some evangelical congregations were starting to copy the Glasgow City Mission by employing missionaries, often confusingly referred to as "City Missionaries". These men were responsible for taking the gospel to the unchurched in the parish (whether legally or nominally defined). However, it was often difficult to attract sufficient numbers of trained clergy to this task as they naturally wished to have full charges. In addition, trained missionaries required stipends. Thus, of the thirty-two Free Church congregations in Glasgow in 1851, only nine employed missionaries and only one of them was lay.³⁸ Religious voluntary organisations such as Sunday schools could use volunteers because their work was regarded as fundamentally

educative. Evangelisation, as strictly defined by the churches, could not expand fully until presbyterian attitudes to preaching could be relaxed. In this context, the advent in 1859 of urban revivalism was of great importance.

(c) Religious revivals before 1858.

Until 1858, religious revivals in Britain and the United States had been rural and localised phenomena. As activities involving mass participation, they had been confined to the "lower orders" in agricultural and other rural communities. The circumstances creating revivals have been the subject of considerable study, involving examination of psychological, economic and social factors, the application of "catastrophe theory", and speculations on "the Will of God".³⁹ Causation in religious revivalism is not of concern here, though circumstances associated with mass conversion are. The semi-rural setting was especially suited to the type of revivalism prevalent in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. An "awakening" often came about as the result of years of "vigorous" preaching by the local minister. Often without overt encouragement from him, his small congregation would one day exhibit the physical effects of violent conversion: an anxious disposition akin to extreme fear, crying out, fainting and hysteria. People from nearby communities would hear of the revival and come to the village or small town concerned. Revival services would continue for many days, often conducted in open fields. One of the

consequences was the cessation of work on many farms or in local industries. Revival services generally extended throughout the day, with formal worship (often with communion), prayer meetings and "enquiry meetings" (for those anxious about their souls). This was the usual pattern for revivals in Scotland until 1850, as experienced at Cambuslang and Kilsyth in 1742, Arran and Skye in 1812, Lewis in 1824-33, and again at Kilsyth in 1839.⁴⁰

The same rural pattern was evident in the United States in the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries.⁴¹ The localised nature of these revivals was probably due to the lack of good communications. Revivals tended to spread out radially. Very rarely did they "jump" from place to place over long distances; when they did, as in the case of a minister from the Cambuslang awakening starting a similar movement in Dundee, it was due to the efforts of individuals rather than a continuous and popular transmission. Generally speaking, though, revivals prior to 1858 did not raise the cult of the individual preacher, and it was not until the Moody-Sankey revival of 1873-4 that the pattern of personality-led awakenings became established.

Before 1858, urban revivals on the scale of rural ones were unknown. In the mid-eighteenth century, John Wesley and George Whitefield did much revivalist-type preaching in towns such as Bristol. Whitefield enjoyed some success in addressing large crowds in Glasgow, but there was no organisation suited to cultivating revivalism in cities. A measure of the evangelist's priorities was given in 1742 when Whitefield abandoned

his preaching in Glasgow to assist in the Cambuslang revival.⁴² Individual conversions were common enough in the 1790-1850 period,⁴³ but frequently the term "revival" was applied by ministers to an increase in congregational interest in evangelical work amongst children and the poor. Mass conversion, in contrast, was virtually unknown in large urban and industrial centres in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Revivals were not frequent occurrences. Couper lists only four in lowland Scotland in the two centuries prior to 1850, and, with the exception of Kilsyth, they always took place in different localities.⁴⁴ However, from the 1820s onwards there was an interest amongst Glasgow evangelicals in the circumstances creating revivals. The awakenings in frontier and eastern-seaboard America were matters of particular interest. In 1828, the Glasgow Evangelical Corresponding Society was formed, and a special committee composed of three ministers published accounts sent by presbyterian ministers in the New World of revivals experienced in Protestant and, more particularly, presbyterian communities there.⁴⁵ Indeed, the experience of expatriate Scottish ministers seems to have been crucial to the cultivation of Scottish presbyterian support for revivals. As presbyterian clergy in the United States encountered revivals, so the mother churches in Scotland were encouraged to take some interest in the phenomena. William Collins, publisher and friend to Thomas Chalmers, published a series of pamphlets in 1840 on British revivals, one of which was written at the request of the Glasgow Evangelical

Corresponding Society.⁴⁶ A desire grew to understand the mechanisms behind awakenings, and although there was as yet no attempt to provide a "blueprint" to incite revivalism in Scotland, the interest in experiences in rural and small-town America and Scotland revealed an anticipation of further developments.

The desire of the presbyterian churches to "evangelise" people both at home and abroad must be distinguished from support for revivalism. Violent and public conversions were regarded with a great deal of cynicism and condemnation by most clergymen in Scotland until the mid-nineteenth century. Even self-proclaimed evangelicals hesitated about giving such events their full support.⁴⁷ Missionary work was designed to achieve peaceful conversions by educational rather than emotional methods. In a society still mindful of superstition, violent conversion to Christianity exhibited symptoms very similar to possession by the devil, and many clergy were doubtful of the sincerity of people who proclaimed their submission to God after years of irreligion, drunkenness, vice and absence from church.

During the three centuries after the Reformation, revivalism had never been supported by the Church of Scotland. Individual clergy, however, did offer their support. Controversies had raged within the Church, particularly after Cambuslang in 1742, and only small numbers of Evangelical ministers were willing to be seen associated with awakenings. The experiences in the U.S.A. and in rural areas of Scotland in the first half of the nineteenth century had not established any consensus in support of

conversionism in any of the Scottish churches. The events in America and Ireland in 1858 and in Scotland the following year forced decisions to be made.

(d) The religious revival of 1859-61.

"The 'stricken' cases are at first very puzzling. Either they seem to you only cases of hysteria; or you are afraid of shamming; or you are entirely over-awed by the visible signs of the Almighty's presence."

Revival journal, Glasgow 1859⁴⁸

In 1857, a large number of lay preachers started work in New York, and expectations of a revival were strong.⁴⁹ On 7 October, the stock market collapsed making many clerks and businessmen redundant, and the John Street Methodist Church next to the financial quarter became crowded during services. By December, the congregation was overflowing and other churches and Y.M.C.A. meetings experienced increased attendance and revivalist fervour. By April 1858, there were twenty regular meetings of revivalists in New York alone, and revivalism was becoming manifest in other cities. The New School Presbyterian Church held "Revival Conventions" in late 1857 in Pittsburg and Cincinnati. All-day meetings were under way in Baptist, Old School Presbyterian, Congregational and Methodist churches in New York, Rochester, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Cincinnati by January 1858. For the first time, the "secular" press gave revivalism extensive reportage, probably because of the remarkable multi-

denominational and urban characteristics of the revival. The New York Herald sensationalised the awakening, and the New York Tribune competed with a weekly revival issue in April 1858. The press described the year as the Annus Mirabilis.

New York evangelicals anticipated, and to some extent precipitated the 1858 revival. The New York Sunday School Union had devised an extensive district missionary scheme in late 1856, and the spring of 1857 had seen 2,000 visitors blanket the city, visiting the poor every month and building a foundation for the awakening. Much of this kind of evangelical work in the United States seems to have been designed to create revivalism, but in Britain evangelising was not, in general, used for the same purpose before 1859. The educational rather than the "vitalistic" aspect was predominant in Sunday schools and mission work in Glasgow. Though some wanted a revival in Glasgow, few believed that it was a realistic possibility. Thus, the 1859 revival in Glasgow, unlike in New York, was a severe shock and surprise to churchmen. Further, there was virtually no preparation for it.

To some extent, the increased evangelical voluntary work of the 1850s may have created the foundations for the revival. The new "aggressive" tactics of Sunday-school teachers and city missionaries increased the impact and outreach of evangelising schemes. Following the example of the Free Church, the United Presbyterian Church in Glasgow undertook its first major mission-church scheme in 1854-5, establishing seven churches in working-class areas such as the expanding suburb of Maryhill to the north-west of the

city centre, and setting up about six mission stations.⁵⁰ Norman Macleod's services for working people, though reaching only a few thousand at most on each occasion, did excite considerable interest in Glasgow in 1857-9 and led to the foundation of a mission church.⁵¹ With the Glasgow City Mission reaching a peak of its operations in 1859, with fifty-seven paid agents visiting every "poor family" in the city every four months,⁵² there was at the very least extreme religious pressure being put on the city's working classes.⁵³ Mission stations, such as one in Grove Street founded in 1858 to cater for mill girls and children,⁵⁴ were creating district agencies that catered for specific groups amongst the working classes. The growth of missionary agencies in the years 1848-58 on the pattern established by the City Mission, seems to have created a more revivalist atmosphere in the city. However, the agencies were not intended to foment a religious awakening.

Of the three large churches, the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church were the best equipped to deal with the revival when it came. Three preaching stations had been opened by the Free Church in Glasgow by 1859, and students at the city's Free Church College had a mission station in Calton. In addition, the Free Tron Church and a number of other congregations had their own mission schemes.⁵⁵ The Free Church Presbytery of Glasgow also ran special Sunday evening services for the working classes in emulation of Norman Macleod's work in the Barony parish of the Church of Scotland; however, it is interesting to note that the Free Church

services were badly attended in June 1859.⁵⁶ The U.P. Church Presbytery of Glasgow overtured the senior court of the Church, the U.P. synod, in 1859 to organise a revival in the cause of total abstinence. In addition, the synod's Home Mission Committee drew up a plan in the summer of that year to initiate open-air preaching, but the Glasgow Presbytery decided to delay implementation for a year.⁵⁷ Without appearing to anticipate a revival, the Free Church general assembly welcomed the preacher Brownlow North in 1859 as "an evangelist who may be freely asked by ministers of the Church to preach to their congregations".⁵⁸ The Free Church thereby gave recognition to an English lay preacher, albeit by formally admitting him as a probationer to the ministry.⁵⁹ The Free Church had thus relaxed its rules in relation to lay preaching before the advent of the revival in late 1858, whilst the U.P. and Established churches continued to insist on licensed preaching of the gospel in their pulpits.

The Church of Scotland was the least prepared for the revival. On the one hand, it was among presbyterian denominations the furthest from giving approval to violent conversions. On the other hand, it had not yet cultivated a strong interest in home mission work. For example, a plan to erect a mission station at Hogganfield in Shettleston to the east of the city centre was a total failure because of chronic shortage of financial support despite extensive fund-raising throughout the city.⁶⁰ Norman Macleod's hand was to be found in nearly all the Church of Scotland's mission activities in the city at the time. Only by his intervention did the general assembly

of the Church refrain from banning lay preaching in its churches; instead, the assembly merely disapproved of the practice.⁶¹ The Church had neither the organisation nor the will to use the revival for evangelical purposes.

The revival in American cities reached its peak in the months between February and June 1858. In October, the Rev. Well, minister of the Old School Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn, came to Scotland and addressed the Free Church Presbytery of Glasgow in support of the awakening. "Its influence in removing social evils had been, in some [way] experienced," he told the Presbytery, who thereupon decided to call a meeting to consider the state of religion in Glasgow. The meeting heard that there was a "feeling of desire which seems to be awakened in the Church", but no action was taken and the Presbytery seems to have lost interest in the matter.⁶² By August and September, the revival was well underway in Ireland, and the Free and U.P. Presbyteries became aware that the awakening was of a trans-Atlantic nature and would likely appear in Scotland.⁶³ Both denominations quickly organised the machinery of revival in city congregations: prayer meetings, fellowship meetings and district meetings for the non-church-going. The Free Church Presbytery, taking heed of American experience, ordered that such meetings be "varied, and short and pointed", solely consisting of prayer and devotion so that the enthusiasm created should not be stifled by long speeches of expression of faith or by long ministerial sermons.⁶⁴ In addition, both the Free and U.P. Presbyteries took a major new departure in permitting elders and deacons to assist

ministers in the conduct of religious meetings.⁶⁵

The Established Church did not give such wholehearted approval to the revival when it came. A meeting of ministers from Glasgow and elsewhere found "much ground of [for?] gratitude to God" for the awakening, but called for increased vigilance in "regulating" it.⁶⁶

No official church action followed, and the Presbytery minutes show a remarkable disinterest in the revival over the course of the following two years. The smaller evangelical denominations gave unequivocal support. A Methodist preacher from Greenock was active in revival meetings in Edinburgh during the course of the awakening there, and Congregational churches in Glasgow held revival meetings during the years 1859-61.⁶⁷

The Roman Catholic Church was not involved in this essentially Protestant event. Indeed, there were serious rioting and street fights between Catholics and Protestants in Bridgegate in late August 1860 as a result of open-air revival preaching by the editor of a city revival journal. The rioting was allegedly started by two men in "clerical costumes" (ie. Catholic priests), and resulted in six arrests being made after the Bridgegate Kirk came under siege by Catholic mobs. The Catholic Free Press urged opposition to revival meetings, and the presbyterian Scottish Guardian suggested that the Catholic Church should pay the fines of those arrested since it had fomented the troubles.⁶⁸ There was an important anti-Catholic element to the evangelical movement in the city after mid-century, and this is considered in an appendix.⁶⁹

The revival, starting in late 1859 and extending

into 1860 and 1861, was felt largely amongst the city's working classes. For this reason, there were many fears that the revival was another variant of the social revolution of the 1840s. Many described the revival as "rude" and threatening. Robert Buchanan, in a speech to the Free Church Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, tried to dispel some of the fears:

"With regard to the temporary derangement of society which some people who are suspicious of this movement want to make much of, asserting that the Revival will lead to the interruption of ordinary business, and even of the necessary rest for which night provides, I must say that I am not much disquieted at that temporary state of things....I have been met by good people who objected to these [prayer] meetings being continued to midnight, and who said that if that was to go on, all the arrangements of society would come to an end." ⁷⁰

The revival was not merely strongest amongst the working classes but was also in many cases conducted in places of work. Prayer meetings were held in police offices throughout the city (run by the policemen themselves), weaving mills in Bridgeton and Pollockshaws, and in other factories.⁷¹ Girls in particular seem to have been very much affected, and women were important in conducting prayer meetings in the textile factories.⁷² Hostility to the revival was evident from some employers who found production disrupted by revival meetings and by workers exhausted from attending late-night gatherings. Artisans and the self-employed were also hostile, disliking the disruptive and "rude" quality of the awakening. One of the lay preachers who rose to prominence as a result of the

revival found "gentlemen clerks and shopmen, and drunken butchers, and Tom Paine-worshippers, and worldly-wise men" to be "ignorant" and "scoffers" of the revival - for him epitomising Satan.⁷³

The awakening had a profound effect on the churches. Probably as a recognition of his contribution to evangelical and revival work, Robert Buchanan attained the highest office in his Church, the Moderator of the Free Church general assembly, in 1860. In his opening moderatorial address to the assembly, he said of the revival: "Whole congregations have been bending before it."⁷⁴ Forty-two out of the sixty-six Free Church Presbyteries - practically the whole of lowland Scotland and much of the Highlands as well - reported "decided awakening and revival".⁷⁵ In proportion to its size, probably the greatest impact was felt by the U.P. Church; allegedly, and probably exaggeratedly, normal Sunday attendances increased by over 50 per cent.⁷⁶ Glasgow U.P. Church Presbytery noticed "the appearance of greater earnestness and prayerfulness throughout our churches both in Glasgow and neighbourhood".⁷⁷ The great influence of lay preachers in the revival alienated the Church of Scotland, and the emergence of evangelical hymn-singing in a country whose churches had hitherto depended on the word of God for psalms and paraphrases alienated some Calvinistic evangelicals.⁷⁸ Nonetheless, the Church of Scotland must have felt some of the effects of the revival, and the Glasgow Presbytery's instruction to its office bearers to "regulate" the awakening was one indication that evangelicalism was influencing congregations of

the state church.

The revival of 1859-61 was disorganised and haphazard in the best revivalist tradition. Many lay as well as trained preachers were involved, and, although Boston in the United States hailed Edward Payson Hammond as a hero for his part in the revival in Glasgow,⁷⁹ no individual or coherent group of individuals dominated the revival. Although evangelists made attempts to sustain the revival until 1862,⁸⁰ it was effectively over by mid-1861.⁸¹ The awakening had brought a wind of change into the religious life of Scotland as of Great Britain as a whole.⁸² Two aspects were particularly noted by contemporaries. Firstly, in the words of Robert Buchanan, "it has been perhaps most conspicuous among those classes of society who hitherto have been the least accessible to any religious influence whatever."⁸³ Secondly, the violence and disturbing hysteria evinced during conversions contrasted starkly with the pious and serene conversions which many urban middle-class evangelicals had undergone.⁸⁴ Until 1859, the urban evangelical movement had regarded conversion as a distinctly private affair, and it was difficult for some evangelicals to believe that the same process could be worked through mass meetings and hysterical behaviour. In this process of acceptance, the influence of American presbyterians, and of a group of Scottish ministers that went over to witness the events in Ireland in the summer of 1859, seems to have been crucial. The urban revivalist techniques and organisation evolved in the U.S.A., and especially in New York, were with a few

changes copied by the Scottish presbyterian churches. With the acceptance of revivalism came important changes in evangelical social policy which, in turn, were to lead to the "manufacture" of revivalism.

(e) Evangelical social policy, 1860-73.

"... twenty years ago the only panacea for the recovery of the lapsed masses was the building and endowing of churches."

A mission institute superintendant, 1877⁸⁵

Although home missionary schemes had been building up since 1848, the 1859-61 revival accelerated progress. Slowly, the churches' obsession with building more and more churches was displaced by a concern for constructing integrated schemes of religious social work. The fact that the working classes had shown interest in religion in a way never seen before in urban and industrial society gave the evangelical denominations considerable encouragement to investigate sympathetically the conditions of life for the labouring population with a view to increasing religious influence amongst them. One consequence was the emergence of the evangelical delusion that the working classes were "lapsed" church members. However, as one ecclesiastical historian of the 1859 revival in the British Isles has noted, there arose "a social and civic conscience".⁸⁶ Most significantly, perhaps, there emerged evangelical concern for effects of the laissez faire economy on the working classes. Both within and outwith the churches grew a concern for life in the slums,

and those who were fighting for municipal or state intervention in housing, public health and the drinks trade found a growing body of supporters amongst the middle classes.

The most immediate outcome of the revival was the rapid advance in the numbers of mission stations and volunteer helpers for evangelical schemes. In April 1860, the Free Church Presbytery of Glasgow gave permission for the opening of five new mission stations, bringing the number within the Presbytery's bounds to ten.⁸⁷ In June of the same year, the members of the Presbytery were genuinely surprised to hear that there was a problem of destitution amongst Highlanders in the city, and asked to be briefed on the situation by the Home Mission Committee of Hope Street Gaelic Church.⁸⁸ The U.P. Church Presbytery started consultations with other churches to co-ordinate missionary work in the city to avoid "collision with or opposition to other Evangelical bodies".⁸⁹ It also heard submissions and compiled a report on the subject of the "social evils" - primarily intemperance.⁹⁰ Most significantly, the U.P. Presbytery formed a committee "to consider what measures ought to be taken in order to meet the destitution which it is feared prevails" in the city.⁹¹ These were the first concerted attempts by the courts of the presbyterian churches in the city to acquaint ministers and elders with the social problems of the working classes and the poor. The minutes of the presbyteries' meetings give a sense of genuine revelation coming to churchmen on such matters. The fact that the Free and U.P. presbyteries permitted non-members of

those courts to submit evidence on destitution was a sign of a new receptivity to the discussion of social problems other than mere non-church-going.

Evidence of the influence of evangelicals in the government of the city is given in part III. It is sufficient to note here that the Wynd Mission conducted by Robert Buchanan gave rise to a philanthropic slum-clearance scheme in the centre of Glasgow which got underway in 1860-1. The prime movers of the project included two town councillors who later became Lord Provosts of the city. When the scheme became impracticable as a philanthropic venture in the mid-1860s, one of those men, John Blackie, then Lord Provost, persuaded the council to take over the project. This became the City Improvement Act of 1866 which cleared a considerable area of slum housing in the next three decades.⁹² This project was strongly supported from the late 1850s by Free Church clergy. Three of them, Buchanan, Dugald MacColl, editor of the revival newspaper the Wynd Journal, and a strong advocate of total abstinence William Arnot, formed a Free Church Presbytery Committee on Housing in 1858.⁹³ The Free Church general assembly, under the influence of Robert Buchanan and a minister from Edinburgh, James Begg, created a similar committee in 1858. The condition of housing was developing as a major issue in the Free Church in the early 1860s, and, as is argued elsewhere, the passing of city improvement Acts for Edinburgh in 1865 and for Glasgow in 1866, and the passing of the national Artizans' and Workmen's Dwellings Act in 1868, was regarded by that Church and many evangelicals as

significant and welcome advance in interventionist social reform.⁹⁴

A central theme in the revival of 1859-61 had been the importance of total abstinence as a means for social and religious improvement. During the years 1859-62, the total-abstinence principle was formally adopted by the general assembly of the Free Church.⁹⁵ The assembly thereafter began to take an interest in the campaigns for state intervention on the issues of the opium trade, the drinks traffic and national education. The U.P. Church in Glasgow continued to press the Synod to support the total-abstinence movement and to give more encouragement to home mission work.⁹⁶ The Glasgow Presbytery of that Church was the most evangelical section of that denomination and led the rest of the Church towards evangelical policies on drink and evangelisation. However, there seems to have been less formal support from the U.P. Church for state or municipal interventionism than from the Free Church.

With religious revivalism becoming accepted as a means of increasing religious influence amongst the working classes, and with municipal intervention in social reform becoming accepted as an aid to "moral improvement", there was a development in the 1860s and early 1870s of presbyterian criticism of unbridled capitalism. It was becoming evident to some evangelicals that the single-minded grasping for wealth in the free-market economy was detrimental to the moral, physical and spiritual condition of the working classes. By demanding more and more labour, argued Robert Buchanan, the entrepreneurial

classes were encouraging people to migrate from the countryside to the towns:

"The incessant influx of such masses into our already enormously overcrowded streets and lanes ... leads to the utter destruction both of moral decency and bodily health.... In such circumstances the laissez faire, or let alone, policy is ruinous." ⁹⁷

These views were shared by another Free Church minister in Glasgow who considered single-end houses "not fit for the lairs of wild beasts" and called for the end to "the constant immigration from the country".⁹⁸ The success of a major municipal water scheme in the early 1860s led one Sunday-school teacher, writing anonymously, to consider in 1864 the responsibilities of employers of labour:

"The working classes are the foundations of society... On account of their utility, and their forming the great bulk of the inhabitants, their wellbeing should be most especially cared for... We know the difficulties of employers, their struggles and embarrassments, and we also know the hardships of their workers. There is care on the one side, and want on the other. And even when there is little occasion for care, there is sometimes gross injustice, an injustice which God Almighty beholds, and which He will avenge." ⁹⁹

The writer was under no illusions that employers were the sole instigators of destitution: "The middle classes must give justice to the poor, and then rigorously insist that they give justice to themselves."¹⁰⁰ In assessing the "moral statistics of Glasgow", the author argued that the vast working-class expenditure on drink could only be stopped by the payment of "wages sufficient for all the necessities of life" and municipal house-building.¹⁰¹

There was, therefore, growing evangelical support for public action in the field of social reform and for social responsibility amongst employers. With municipal slum-clearance underway in the late 1860s, municipal takeover of the city's gas supplies in 1869, and an experimental house-building project by the town council in 1871,¹⁰² public social action was building up led by evangelicals on the town council.¹⁰³

During the 1860s, clergymen began to seek accurate information on insanitation, house overcrowding, mortality rates, population density and related topics. In reflection of this, they started to quote data from the Medical Officer of Health and the City Chamberlain in religious tracts.¹⁰⁴ Even Robert Buchanan, who in the early 1850s had doubted this, stated in 1871 that poverty, insanitary housing and overcrowding were detrimental to moral and religious conduct. Thus, he came to support municipal improvement schemes, thereby partly shedding the laissez faire "mantle of Dr. Chalmers".¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, he still considered church extension as the best means for the churches to help the destitute, and through his reconstitution of the Glasgow Church-Building Society for the third time in 1871 an additional twenty-one Free churches were erected in the city between 1871 and 1879.¹⁰⁶ Buchanan died in 1872, and, with the growing acceptance of less costly voluntary mission work, church-building for missionary purpose virtually ceased in the city between the late 1870s and the 1890s.

(f) The Moody-Sankey revival of 1873-4.

"When two false teachers shall come across the seas who will revolutionise the religion of the land, and nine bridges shall span the river Ness, the Highlands will be overrun by ministers without grace and women without shame."

Prophecy of the seventeenth-century Highland
Brahan Seer.¹⁰⁷

The religious revival led by Dwight L Moody and Ira Sankey in 1873-5 was quite unlike any other before. In the first place, their revival was the first to be dependent on the drawing power of individuals. In the second place, it was highly organised with an extensive publicity machinery directed by the London publishing house of Morgan and Scott, but also aided by the advertising and administrative assistance of the presbyterian churches in Scotland. The revival had some of the characteristics of big-time show business with pre-publicity, "support" preachers, audience stewards and high-speed touring by the main attraction with "one-night-stands" and "residences" of a week or more. In the third place, the revival was the first to have a major impact on the middle classes. The acceptance of mass revivalism amongst the groups that made up the majority, or at least the most influential members, of the church-going population was highly significant to the course of evangelical social theology and to the long-term position of religion in urban society. The entry of revivalism as a component, and, in many cases, a major component, of normal congregational activities in the presbyterian and other evangelical

churches was to have major consequences in the context of the advance of scientific thinking in the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century.

Moody and Sankey, preacher and singer/harmonium player respectively, had worked in young men's societies in Chicago for a number of years without reaching any particular fame.¹⁰⁸ In June 1873, they arrived from America at the port of Liverpool where they achieved very little success with their preaching and singing. At York, they found that they were getting a small response from their audiences, but in Sunderland and Newcastle they were very successful in preaching in presbyterian and Baptist churches. A Free Church minister from Leith in Edinburgh went to Newcastle and persuaded the revivalists to come to Scotland. Arriving in Edinburgh on 22 November 1873, they commenced five months work in Scotland that was to act as the beginning of the second great international awakening. The revival affected practically all of Scotland, including parts of the Highlands and Islands not affected by the revival of 1859-61. The most startling success - a success that was to spread the fame of Moody and Sankey all over the British Isles and America - was in Glasgow.

Moody and Sankey arrived in Glasgow on 8 February 1874. Much work had been done in preparation for their coming, some of it before the two Americans had been "discovered". The U.P. Church Synod in May 1873 recommended that evangelistic services should be started throughout Scotland and, following this proposal, the Glasgow Presbytery in September organised week-long series of services in the city.¹⁰⁹ Moody's success in Edinburgh in late 1873

was watched with great interest by leading evangelicals from Glasgow, and prayer meetings were begun in December to build up a core of enthusiastic helpers to assist when the revivalists arrived in the western city. A "United Evangelistic Committee" was established to co-ordinate activities, and a choir was formed and rehearsed before the evangelists arrived in Glasgow.¹¹⁰ The Free and U.P. churches gave their active support to the preparations, but the Established Church Presbytery of Glasgow remained aloof from the revival until late 1874, being engrossed in fighting off attempts by an evangelistically-minded congregation to introduce an organ into worship.¹¹¹ The Free and U.P. churches were determined to dominate the revival and prevent a repetition of the disorganised 1859-61 awakening in which their roles had been restricted by a lack of anticipation and preparation and by the activities of lay preachers of other denominations.

The first meeting held by Moody and Sankey in Glasgow was for the 3,000 core of helpers - most of them Sunday-school teachers - to introduce the tone of the evangelists' meetings and to bring morale to a high pitch.¹¹² Over the next two months, prayer meetings and mass revival meetings were held throughout the city with Moody and Sankey rushing from venue to venue. Meetings were conducted at various times of day during the week; many were held at mid-day or one p.m. in the west end of the city for the benefit of professional and clerical staffs during their lunch breaks. The Ewing Place Congregational Church became the focus for the revival in the city, attracting many young men to the Y.M.C.A. meetings held there. Moody was

especially interested in the work of the Y.M.C.A., and devoted considerable time to preaching at their meetings.¹¹³ Free and U.P. churches were the main venues for revival gatherings. The clergy of those denominations in the city gave almost unanimous support to the awakening: support by appearing beside the evangelists at meetings, by conducting the smaller prayer meetings, and by advertising the revival from pulpits.

The awakening was felt all over the city and suburbs. Both middle- and working-class areas were affected, although there were special circumstances which made the middle-class response significant.¹¹⁴ There was an important change in theological emphasis in the revival preaching. The revival of 1859-61 had stressed sin and the need for repentance; Moody stressed the assurance of salvation through faith and the certainty and joyousness of heaven as a result.¹¹⁵ It seems to have been the optimistic tone of Moody's preaching which formed the basis for broad appeal:

"A great many persons imagine that anything said about HEAVEN is only a matter of speculation... I expect to live there through all eternity."¹¹⁶

Sankey's singing and harmonium-playing strengthened the emphasis on praise and optimism, and some people claimed to have been converted by his music alone.¹¹⁷ Couper describes the events of the revival meetings:

"The ordinary services were always followed by what were called 'enquiry meetings', at which those who had been awakened by the message delivered might be personally dealt with by experienced Christians. Elaborate precautions were taken that none but suitable persons should be employed in this delicate work. During the

principal meetings an opportunity was usually given for those who were already followers of Christ to make open profession of the fact. While the congregation assumed a suitable posture that the matter might be carried through with as little publicity as possible, those who were 'anxious' were invited to indicate by some sign their state of mind so that concerted prayer might be offered for them. Written requests for prayer, either on behalf of the writers themselves, or of careless relatives and friends were also handed in to the preachers, and after being read, were gladly responded to by the people. Every care was taken that undue excitement and hysteria of all kinds should be immediately suppressed, and it is notable that phenomena which had disfigured former revivals were altogether absent from the whole movement." 118

By the emphasis on religious opportunity through salvation being hopeful and not despairing, and by the strict control of revival meetings, religious revivalism was made acceptable to the middle classes.

In its organisation and presentation, the revival was interestingly similar to the emerging commercial entertainments of the period. There was a main "promoter" to organise and publicise the evangelists' work. Robert Morgan of Morgan and Scott, the London publishers of the revival magazine The Christian, formed a close friendship with Moody after a visit to Chicago in 1869.¹¹⁹ After Moody visited London in 1872 to lecture to Y.M.C.A. meetings, Morgan gave extensive coverage in his magazine to the preacher's activities. Morgan increased his journal's attention to Moody and Sankey during the summer of 1873.¹²⁰ Complimentary copies of The Christian were mailed to hundreds of Scottish ministers when it became evident that the revival was succeed-

ing in Scotland.¹²¹ Morgan published Moody's speeches and writings, Sankey's hymns and tunes, and various books on the revival written by clergy. People were recruited through The Christian to assist at revival meetings, and a poster campaign advertised revival meetings in Glasgow.¹²² Mass revival meetings started with introductory addresses and prayer by local ministers, to be followed by the arrival of Moody and Sankey. The two evangelists were treated like show-business "stars". At the final meeting in Glasgow in the Kibble Palace at the Botanic Gardens, some 7,000 people crowded inside and many more were refused admission. When the evangelists arrived, their coach was thronged.¹²³ Such scenes had rarely been seen before in Scotland.

The Moody-Sankey revival was centred on the popularity of individuals. Support came from Protestant clergy and other "free-lancing" evangelists like Brownlow North. Despite much-increased religious activity left in the wake of the evangelists, Moody and Sankey were essentially a "touring show" and the revival followed where they went. After leaving Glasgow and Scotland in April 1874, they and the revival continued successively in Dublin, Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham, Liverpool and London. With their fame becoming widespread, they moved in late 1875 to the United States to continue the city tour.

(g) The religious revival of 1873-4 and the intellectual and social context: the middle-class response.

"The root of this objection [to revival conversions], we fear, lies in the rationalist spirit of fallen man, who will insist on having a chief hand in the work of his

own recovery."

The Rev. John MacPherson, 1875¹²⁴

Many presbyterian ministers in Glasgow were surprised at the high proportion of middle-class people amongst those involved in the "great outpouring of the spirit" of 1874. After the experience of 1859-61, revivalism was still considered to be a mainly lower-class phenomenon. The temporary nature of revivalism's influence on church attendance, drunkenness and immoral behaviour amongst the working classes was a major criticism levelled at evangelists by some members of the middle classes. Even many evangelicals in the 1860s were doubtful as to the long-term benefits produced by revivals. One minister of the U.P. Church in Glasgow wrote in 1869 of the working classes:

"There is surely something that can be done for this class better than either spasmodic revivalism or wax candles [Roman Catholicism]." ¹²⁵

Minor Scottish revivals of the 1860s reinforced the view that mass conversionism was essentially a characteristic of peasant or working-class religion. For example, there was a revival in the mining community of Hillhead, a western suburb of Glasgow, in 1865.¹²⁶ Although most evangelicals in the Free and U.P. churches accepted revivalism as a valid form of religious experience after the events of 1859-61, it had not been totally accepted as an experience for middle-class worshippers. Edward P Hammond conducted revival meetings for children of the well-to-do in the west of Glasgow in 1861, but he appears to have been the only evangelist to have done so.¹²⁷ There was, therefore, strong aversion amongst the middle classes to joining in the variously-described

"rude" and "hysterical" behaviour evident in 1859-61.

In the early 1870s, Scotland was beginning to feel the force of developments in the scientific and theological worlds - developments that were undermining the religious justification and rational explanation for the evangelical world view. Evangelicalism, based on the literal interpretation of the bible, was arguably the most powerful ideology of the 1850s and 1860s. By 1870, intellectual developments were sweeping the rationality from evangelicalism. On the one hand, there were major advances in science and scientific speculation on the origins of man, life and the earth. On the other hand, theologians were re-defining the status of the bible in the light of those advances in science. Thus, it is argued here, there were in the mid 1870s grounds for middle-class evangelical sympathy with revivalism as a means, albeit an emotional one, of retaining and proclaiming again the evangelical world view.

The emergence of a "vitalistic" emphasis to challenge the educative nature of evangelical agencies has already been referred to in relation to the 1850s. The spread of liberal interpretations of the bible may have been in some way a motivating force for keeping scientific interpretation out of religious teaching. When in 1850 a U.P. Sunday school in Glasgow introduced non-religious lectures on anatomy, history and other topics on the grounds that "science is the hand-maiden of religion",¹²⁸ and other evangelical agencies were doing likewise, evangelicals do not seem to have fully realised what the implications of science were to be on Christian understanding of the bible and human evolution. In the early 1850s, German "liberal theology", particularly

important for defining the bible as "containing the Word of God" rather than "being the Word of God", was being considered in some of the presbyterian divinity colleges in Scotland. By the early 1870s, such liberal interpretation of the bible was becoming widely broadcast.¹²⁹ Further, the ideas of Charles Darwin on the origin of the species were causing special concern amongst Scottish churchmen in the 1860s and 1870s. It was notable that the evangelicals considered Darwinism as being a direct threat to them, and it was they who sought to answer the challenge. Many evangelicals recoiled from the new advances in science, and set about prosecuting those churchmen who dabbled in scientific explanation.¹³⁰ A working-class evangelist from Glasgow, Henry Drummond, was strongly affected by the Moody-Sankey revival and became widely-known in the presbyterian world in the last quarter of the century. With some scientific training, he became the leading Scottish advocate of "evolutionary theology" which tried to adapt Darwinism to evangelicalism without impairing either. This led in 1894 to the publication of Drummond's The Ascent of Man as a theological interpretation of evolutionary theory.¹³¹ Whether by rejection or by adaptation, evangelicals showed by their responses that the spread of scientific thinking into biblical criticism and theology was a challenge to evangelicalism in particular. In this context, the emergence in 1873-4 of middle-class revivalism was very significant.

Evangelicals regarded the growth of secularist influences amongst the middle classes in the early 1870s as being potentially more serious than the spread of rationalism

and materialism amongst the working classes. Darwinism was a specific target for Moody's supporters in America and Britain. The Christian carried articles reflecting the concern with the implications of Darwinism on the literal interpretation of the bible, and specifically Genesis. The paper also tried to meet the threat which the study of comparative religion was having on the primacy of Christianity as a system of religious belief and, consequently, as an ethical and political basis for western civilisation.¹³²

Attacks on secularism, infidelity and rationalism were significant additions to the anti-Catholic campaigns of militant Protestants in the early 1870s.¹³³ The first election for the Glasgow school board in 1873 was notable for a group of candidates that was described by presbyterian candidates as "secularist". The group, led by the Unitarian clergyman John Page Hopps, campaigned for the exclusion of religious instruction from the new public schools on the grounds that the beliefs of minority religious groups such as the Unitarians and the Mormons would not be accommodated in the curriculum.¹³⁴

Evangelicals and non-evangelical presbyterians considered Hopps to be promoting the cause of secularism. Furthermore, there was a strong conviction that the secularists in Scotland were ideological invaders from England. Hopps, for instance, was an Englishman who had only come north to Scotland in 1870, and the presbyterians made great play on this fact. Indeed, much of the Church of Scotland's publicly-stated opposition to the advent of national education was on the grounds that it was secularists, and especially English ones, who were mooting the idea of a public education system.¹³⁵ Secularism became almost as contentious an

issue in Glasgow in the early 1870s as Roman Catholicism had been for centuries. The two became closely identified in Protestant eyes as posing a dual threat to the religious and "democratic" bases of Scottish society. It became common to equate rationalism with Catholicism - a powerful propaganda tactic in the Scottish Protestant community. This became easily justified when Hopps, on his election to the school board, supported Catholic school-board members in their attempts to exclude presbyterian religious instruction from public elementary schools.¹³⁶ Nor was this view confined to Scotland. In Liverpool, a speaker at a preparatory meeting before the arrival of Moody and Sankey in 1875 attacked Protestant churches for countenancing "false doctrines on every side - Rationalism, Ritualism, Romanism ..."¹³⁷ With reason in evangelicalism being assaulted by advances in science, revivalism presented an emotional alternative core. As the 1870s chronicler of Scottish revivals wrote in 1875:

"For the religious education of the Scottish people we have largely availed ourselves of the metaphysical bias of the national mind, and there is no reason why we may not for the highest ends with due prudence take advantage of the emotional susceptibilities of our race."¹³⁸

The revival was seen by evangelicals as an opportunity to scourge the middle classes of secularist influences. The middle-class response was perhaps an indication of the sense of insecurity which the new scientific philosophy had created.

The urban middle classes were the prime target for the revivalists of 1873-5. First in Glasgow and then in Manchester and London, a house-to-house canvass of

residential districts was undertaken to promote the revival.¹³⁹ A Glasgow minister of the Free Church observed in April 1874: "The work [of the revival] hitherto has been chiefly among the church-going."¹⁴⁰ It was reported in Edinburgh that the university, Merchant Company schools, Moray House (teacher-training) School and the Free Church divinity hall (New College) were greatly affected by visits by Moody and Sankey.¹⁴¹ In Glasgow, many of the revival meetings were held in the middle-class west end. A West End School Boys' Meeting (later called the Hillhead Burgh Hall Meeting), many Y.M.C.A. and Young Men's Religious Improvement Society meetings, and the first Glasgow branch of the Y.W.C.A, were started as a direct result of the revival.¹⁴² The final mass meeting of the revival in the city was conducted in the Botanic Gardens in the comfortable middle-class suburb of Kelvinside. All the evidence suggests that, despite increased working-class involvement in organised religion, the main participants in the Moody-Sankey revival in Glasgow were the middle classes.¹⁴³

Having introduced revivalism to the urban middle classes, evangelicals found that it was difficult to sustain interest in it. As with the revival of 1859-61, the beneficial effects were found to be temporary. In 1888-9, the Rev. Dr. George F Pentecost of Brooklyn spent four months preaching to the wealthier congregations of the city: Kelvinside Free Church, Park Established Church and Sandyford Established Church. These meetings did not get the expected response, although meetings in the Merchants' Hall for business men were crowded.¹⁴⁴ The year 1889 was evidently a bad year for revival work. Attendances at noon prayer meetings and

fellowship meetings of the Glasgow United Evangelistic Association (G.U.E.A.), which grew out of the United Evangelistic Committee of 1874, and church-going, fell because the Glasgow Exhibition was "fostering a worldly spirit, antagonistic to earnest spiritual life".¹⁴⁵ The other organised revival campaigns in the last quarter of the nineteenth century - two by Moody and Sankey in 1882 and 1892, . . . and one co-ordinated by the G.U.E.A. and the three main presbyterian churches in 1899-1900 - achieved little success amongst the middle classes. However, the revival of 1873-4 did cause an increase in mission work amongst the city's working classes. Many new mission stations and churches were founded in the mid and late 1870s, particularly occasioned by the reform in worship that resulted from the influence of Ira Sankey.¹⁴⁶ In addition, religious voluntary organisations grew substantially in the 1870s. Sunday schools, Bands of Hope, young men's and women's institutes and unaffiliated bodies increased in number as a direct consequence of the revival.¹⁴⁷ However, the increasing diversification in religious voluntary organisations can be seen as the evangelical response to competing voluntary activities. Sporting organisations were growing rapidly in Glasgow in the 1860s and early 1870s. Queen's Park and Rangers football clubs were formed in 1864 and 1866 respectively, the Scottish Rugby Union in 1873, the West of Scotland Cricket Club in 1874, and participant clubs for football, rugby, cricket, bowling and croquet were creating non-religious organised leisure for working and middle classes from the early 1870s. Although evangelical organisations coped well in the 1870s and 1880s with the

challenge of secular leisure, the emphasis on revivalism had to be discarded in the 1890s when the challenge became much more serious.

It seems, then, that the intellectual and social developments resulting from Darwinism, liberal biblical criticism and new leisure activities produced a unique situation for a religious revival amongst the middle classes in the early 1870s. The same situation was created in Wales in 1904-5 when Evan Roberts led a revival, although it attracted support primarily from the industrial working classes. Although the 1859-61 awakening was felt in Wales, the Moody-Sankey one was not. According to C R Williams, Welsh language and culture was so strongly embedded in Welsh nonconformity that the "liberal" or "New" theology derived from scientific advance was kept out of that country until the 1900s.¹⁴⁸ After a period of forty years' hegemonic influence, Welsh puritan nonconformity was on the wane in the 1890s, indicated by the growth of socialism, Sabbath desecration and new popular pastimes such as football. Williams argues that these developments, together with the appearance of the new theology, produced a crisis in Welsh culture, secular as well as religious, to which the revival was a reaction. The comparison with Scotland in the early 1870s is striking. Sabbath desecration, for instance, increased markedly in the 1860s, particularly after the "Sabbath War" of 1865-6 when the churches lost the struggle to prevent the Sunday running of trains.¹⁴⁹ However, the strength and influence of the churches did not decline immediately as a consequence of events at this time. Certain changes in the social context in which organised religion operated increased the

potential for secularisation. As one example, the creation in 1873 of the publicly-elected school boards led to evangelical control of elementary education, but allowed the advance of counter-religious interests in the future.

By adopting religious revivalism as the panacea for all social as well as spiritual ills, evangelicals were making a renunciation of their claim to have an acceptable and "rational" comprehension of the human condition. Evangelicalism as a framework for social action now placed emphasis on emotion and not education as the basis for social improvement. One significant result was the decline in evangelical interest in certain types of state intervention in social reform. Whilst evangelical support for state regulation of morality and individual conduct grew (in the field of temperance legislation in particular¹⁵⁰), evangelical support for schemes like municipal slum-clearance dissipated. In 1872, the evangelical Glasgow newspaper the North British Daily Mail brought civic improvement into disrepute by publishing a detailed, slanderous and, later, retracted accusation of corruption by town councillors in the purchase and sale of slum property. After extensive evangelical interest in municipal projects for slum clearance and even subsidised house building between 1866 and 1871, there was a notable decline in interest in this kind of social action. Indeed, there was virtually no new municipal initiatives in this field until the early 1890s.¹⁵¹ In short, revivalism seemed to redirect evangelical concern away from collectivist social action. There was renewed emphasis on the individual and his or her ability to achieve salvation through mass revivalism. This was to have serious consequences for evangelicalism

and for organised religion as a whole after 1880.

(h) Worship reform and revivalism.

"The Psalms of David mount straight to heaven, but
your paraphrases sticks to the ceiling o' the kirk."

J M Barrie, The Little Minister ¹⁵²

Attempts to introduce organs into Scottish presbyterian churches were made as early as 1807 when a small James Watt organ was used in worship at St. Andrew's Parish Church, Glasgow. It was quickly banned by the Presbytery at the instigation of the Lord Provost and magistrates on the grounds "that the use of organs in the public worship of God is contrary to the law and constitution of our Established Church".¹⁵³ It was significant that one of only two ministers who supported the use of the organ was the Evangelical Stevenson Macgill. However, evangelicals were by no means united on this issue and, as far as the present writer can establish, no Scottish presbyterian church between 1808 and 1856 had an organ or any other instrument installed and in use in divine service. In 1855, some wealthy Glasgow citizens decided to build an organ as an integral part of the structure of Claremont U.P. Church in the west end of the city. After a protracted struggle in the courts of the U.P. Church, the congregation was forbidden from using the organ and it lay silent until 1872.¹⁵⁴ Presbyterian acceptance of instrumental music in worship was one of the most tangible products of the Moody-Sankey revival of 1873-4.

Until the 1870s, the ministerial sermon was the

centre-piece of presbyterian worship. The service would normally begin with a psalm followed by a prayer lasting fifteen or twenty minutes, a reading from scripture, another psalm, a sermon of fifty minutes or more, a second twenty-minute prayer, another psalm and the blessing.¹⁵⁵ A minister was judged by his sermon, and especially his ability to deliver it without notes. Ministers were probably the finest orators in Scotland, and this explains in part why they were in great demand to speak to public gatherings on any conceivable subject. The length of sermons and speeches could be considerable, and any sermon less than about three-quarters of an hour in length was considered insufficient. Norman Macleod, when defending his actions in favour of liberalising the Sabbath during the "Sabbath War" of 1865-6, spoke for three hours to the Presbytery of Glasgow of the Church of Scotland.¹⁵⁶ Even prayers were of didactic character, and were more often directed at the congregation rather than at God. Moody advised Scottish clergy to shorten their sermons and increase praise, and, overall, to make divine service shorter. He considered presbyterian worship most unappealing to the non-church-going and hoped that ministers would make their services more popular.¹⁵⁷

The revival itself required a shortening and, in some cases, an exclusion of sermons. Perhaps the greatest force for restricting the length of sermons was the revolution in Scottish religious music. The human voice was generally considered to be the only instrument worthy and capable of praising the Lord, and psalms, being the Word of God, to be the only songs worthy and capable of praising the Lord in church. Scottish worship was frequent-

ly devoid of music, and all praise was unaccompanied but led by a precentor. Even in Scottish Catholic churches, congregational singing was not introduced until after 1811.¹⁵⁸ There was, naturally, a long-standing desire to improve religious music. Singing by English soldiers stationed in the north of Scotland after the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 proved a powerful influence on some communities. One soldier was granted a discharge to teach local choirs better singing. In 1755, he was invited to Aberdeen to teach, and in the same year Glasgow town council engaged a Manchester man to teach psalmody.

The limited content of the psalms of David began to prove unsatisfactory towards the end of the eighteenth century. In 1781, the Paraphrases - which, as the name suggests, paraphrased the Word of God - were published. They were widely used, especially Paraphrase 34 onwards by liberal evangelical congregations, but they had no official sanction. In 1792, some young ministers in the Relief Church published a hymn-book. Although the book received the approval of that Church in 1794, the hymns were of poor quality and were not much used. In 1851, the U.P. Church produced a hymn-book largely composed of English hymns by such writers as Isaac Watts and John Wesley. However, there was strong resistance in the Free, Established and small extreme presbyterian churches to the introduction of "human hymns". The wider acceptance of hymns and organs came about simultaneously as a result of religious revivalism and the new emphasis on praise in religious worship.

Organs and hymns were used by many evangelists during the revival of 1859-61, but not in presbyterian churches.

However, the movement within the Free and Established churches to introduce hymns was greatly aided by the popularity of evangelical hymns amongst revival audiences, and both churches produced their own collections of hymns in 1872 and 1870 respectively. The opposition to organs was still strong, however. Although the U.P. synod formally approved the use of organs in 1872 because of pressure from English U.P. congregations, there remained a firm and tacit opposition from Scottish presbyteries.

Sankey used the organ as an integral part of worship for practically the first time in Scottish presbyterian churches. He described the reaction to his first solo at a revival meeting in Scotland:

"The intense silence that pervaded that quiet audience during the singing of this song at once assured me that even 'human hymns' sung in a prayerful spirit, were indeed likely to be used of God to arrest attention and convey Gospel truth to the hearts of men in bonnie Scotland, even as they had in other places." 159

But, as Sankey said himself, a major controversy ensued:

"Much has been said and written in Scotland against the use of 'human hymns' in public worship, and even more had been uttered against the employment of the 'Kist o' Whistles,' the term by which they designated the small cabinet organ I employed as an accompaniment to my voice." 160

A prominent Calvinist evangelical in the Free Church, the Rev. James Begg from Edinburgh, wrote a number of pamphlets against the reforms in worship.¹⁶¹ However, there was great pressure from the mission churches in Glasgow in favour of the organ, and especially the American-style harmonium, and

hymns. In August 1873, before the revival, the Church of Scotland Presbytery of Glasgow was able to ignore a request from Blackfriars Church "to sanction the introduction of instrumental music".¹⁶² By 1877, many of the new mission churches and stations set up both before and after the revival were asking permission of their parent kirk sessions to permit the use of organs and harmoniums. Shettleston Old Kirk (Church of Scotland) Parochial Missionary Association found the attendances at their services falling off in 1876 and decided to take a number of steps to improve their services. One of these improvements was to introduce "instrumental music". However, the kirk session refused permission. The request was repeated a few years' later, but the Association collapsed due to lack of attendances before the reform could be approved or implemented.¹⁶³ Duke Street U.P. Church Missionary and Benevolent Association likewise asked its kirk session for permission to use a harmonium at week-day and Sunday services, and, after a short struggle, the session agreed.¹⁶⁴ These are just two examples of widespread demand for instrumental music in mission churches in Glasgow in the 1870s. Formal acceptance followed quickly. After an organ was installed in the parish church of Elgin in the north-east of Scotland during the revival of 1874, a group of opponents appealed to the local synod and then to the general assembly where their case was rejected in 1876.¹⁶⁵ Thus, the Established Church gave its formal sanction to the use of the organ in public worship, and by 1880 organs were being installed in most presbyterian churches in Scotland.

The shortening of sermons and the introduction of hymns and organs were the main elements in the liberalising

and modernising of Scottish presbyterian worship. The tone of worship changed from dour puritanism to a more joyful thanksgiving. The role of the laity increased as a result. The system of standing for prayer and sitting for singing was standard in Scottish churches until the mid-nineteenth century and did not encourage particularly fine music. Between 1850 and 1880, the system was reversed, though it is still common today to find certain churches and meetings using the system of standing for prayer. The congregation was thus felt to be an important element in the praise of the Lord; the role of the minister was partially modified to the same degree. The decor of churches was improved by the introduction of stained-glass windows which had not been seen, for the most part, in presbyterian churches before.

There is an essential paradox about the Moody-Sankey revival. On the one hand, the revival was a reaction to the theological crisis created by the ideas of Darwin and by the social revolution in leisure that was starting around 1870. On the other hand, the revival introduced less-puritanical forms of religious worship which themselves had been popularised as a consequence of liberalising trends in evangelicalism. A new breed of evangelical clergy were coming to the forefront. The narrow puritan evangelicalism of Thomas Chalmers, Robert Buchanan and James Begg was being displaced by a liberal evangelicalism of ministers like Norman Macleod, A H Charteris and J Marshall Lang of the Church of Scotland, and Robert Howie of the Free Church. Apart from Macleod, these men were not well known in the 1860s. After 1880, the last three of them were to become important clergy in the struggle to save the social signif-

icance of religion in Scottish life by a broadening of evangelical social theology into a form in which it was practically unrecognisable. When in 1865-6 Macleod had supported the running of Sunday trains, presbyterians both within and outwith the Church of Scotland attacked him most vociferously. Almost unbelievably, in 1869 he was elected Moderator of the general assembly. Marshall Lang had used an organ in worship in a new church in Anderston in Glasgow in 1859 but, as he himself said, "there was no congregation to object".¹⁶⁶ Liberal evangelicals were the most prominent group of clergy on revival platforms in 1873-4. Some of them were to lead the churches towards a new social theology after 1880.

Notes to chapter 6.

1. Convenient summaries of the economic condition of Britain in these years can be found in G Best, Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-75 (1973, Panther, St. Albans), pp 19-32; and S G Checkland, The Rise of Industrial Society in England 1815-1885 (1971, Longman, London), pp 35-51.
2. A Slaven, The Development of the West of Scotland 1750-1960 (1975, London and Boston), p 127.
3. S G E Lythe and J Butt, An Economic History of Scotland 1100-1939 (1975, Glasgow and London), p 245.
4. Quoted in Best, op. cit., p 111.
5. Checkland, op. cit., pp 217-8.
6. Slaven, op. cit., p 156 table 17; Best, op. cit., pp 111-2; Checkland, op. cit., pp 228-232.
7. Ibid.
8. T Johnston, A History of the Working Classes in Scotland (1946, Glasgow), p 260.
9. M I Thomis and P Holt, Threats of Revolution in Britain 1789-1848 (1977, London), p 132.
10. See below pp 487-494 and vol. II pp 60-3.
11. T L Smith, Revivalism and social reform in mid-nineteenth-century America (1957, New York and Nashville), pp 146, 148.
12. See below vol. II pp 232-250.
13. See below vol. II pp 148-182.
14. See below vol. II pp 93-123.
15. Slaven, op. cit., p 149.
16. See table 5.3, page 381 above.
17. R Buchanan, The Schoolmaster in the Wynds . . . (1850, Glasgow), p 3.

18. M A Simpson, "The West End of Glasgow 1830-1914", in idem and T H Lloyd (eds.), Middle-class housing in Britain (1977, Newton Abbot), pp 52-3.
19. M W Flinn (ed.), Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain by Edwin Chadwick 1842 (1965, Edinburgh), especially pp 97-99; Glasgow Examiner, 6 April and 3 August 1844, 24 May and 2 August 1845, 12 and 19 December 1846; J Smith, The Grievances of the Working Classes (1846, Glasgow); G E Troup, Life of George Troup, Journalist (1881, Edinburgh), pp 40-1; see below II pp 193-6, 239.
20. T Johnston, op. cit., pp 253-4.
21. J C Gibson (ed.), Diary of Sir Michael Connal, 1835 to 1893 (1895, Glasgow), p 70.
22. Ibid., p 76.
23. See below table 8.2 vol. II p 36.
24. See below vol. II pp 72-5.
25. R Buchanan et al., Spiritual Destitution of the Masses in Glasgow ... (1851, Edinburgh), p 9.
26. See below vol. II pp 67-71.
27. R Buchanan, A Second Appeal on the Spiritual Destitution of the Masses in Glasgow (1851, Glasgow), p 10.
28. R Buchanan et al., op. cit., p 6; Buchanan's italics.
29. Ibid., p 10.
30. J G Paton, Missionary to the Hebrides: An Autobiography (1889, London), pp 60-1, 65.
31. See above pp 333-4.
32. St. Peter's Free Church, Glasgow: Report/s of the Deacons' Court 1849, pp 3-8, and 1850, pp 5-11.
33. See below vol. II p 24.

34. Quoted in D Macleod, Memoir of Norman Macleod D.D. (1886, London), p 96.
35. Ibid., pp 261-276.
36. Quoted in ibid., p 238.
37. "Whatever may be the root causes, it is evident that in Scotland there has been, and still is, a deep -rooted prejudice against lay-preaching although it may be that sheer necessity will make inevitable the discarding of such objections." A Fawcett, "Scottish Lay Preachers in the Eighteenth Century", R.S.C.H.S., vol. 12 (1954-6), p 118.
38. R Buchanan, Spiritual Destitution of the Masses in Glasgow (1851, Glasgow), p 10.
39. See, for instance, in the Scottish context S Mechie, "The Psychology of the Cambuslang Revival", R.S.C.H.S., vol. 10 (1948-50); I Muirhead, "The Revival as a Dimension of Scottish Church History", R.S.C.H.S., vol. 20, part 3 (1980), pp 179-196; W J Couper, Scottish Revivals (1918, Dundee).
40. Details of these revivals are contained in Couper, op. cit., and in A Fawcett, The Cambuslang Revival: The Scottish Evangelical Revival of the Eighteenth Century (1971, London).
41. On American frontier revivals; "Settlers from miles around would converge, set up tents, and camp in one place while services were conducted." C C Cole, The Social Ideas of the Northern Evangelists 1826-1860 (1966, New York), p 74.
42. Couper, op. cit., pp 46-7.
43. Detailed accounts of "individualistic" conversions are given in F W B Bullock, Evangelical conversion in Great Britain, 1696-1845 (1959, London).

44. Couper, op. cit..
45. Glasgow Evangelical Corresponding Society, A Narrative of the Revival of Religion within the bounds of the Presbytery of Albany ... during 1819, 1820, (1830, Glasgow).
46. Revivals of Religion, numbers 1-12 (n.d., but 1839-40, Glasgow).
47. For instance, the Secession Church was opposed to the Cambuslang revival of 1742.
48. Wynd Journal (Glasgow), 15 September 1859; passage probably written by the editor, the Rev. Dugald MacColl.
49. The details of the American revival given in this paragraph are taken from T L Smith, op. cit., pp 63-94.
50. The U.P. Church was moved to undertake the scheme after the publication in 1854 of the results of the religious census of 1851. Figures calculated from J L Aikman, Historical Notices of the United Presbyterian Churches in Glasgow (1875, Glasgow); and U.P.C.P.G., First Report of the Mission Churches under the sanction of the U.P. Presbytery (1854, Glasgow), pp 19-23.
51. D Macleod, op. cit., p 261.
52. N Munro, A Short History of the Glasgow City Mission (1926, Glasgow), p 26.
53. See above pp 377-9.
54. Grove Street Home Mission Institute, Eighteenth Annual Report, 1877.
55. F.C.P.G., MS minutes, 4 May 1859, S.R.O., CH3/146/36.
56. Ibid., 8 June 1859, S.R.O., CH3/146/36.
57. Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church (hereafter "P.S.U.P.C."), 1859, p 218; U.P.C.P.G.,

- MS minutes, 9 August 1859, S.R.O., CH3/146/52.
58. Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland (hereafter "P.G.A.F.C."), 1859, p 147;
K Moody-Stuart, Brownlow North: His life and work (orig. 1878, 1961, London), pp 81-9.
59. Ibid., p 82.
60. Shettleston Old Parish [Church of Scotland] Kirk, Committee of Management of Hogganfield Mission Station, MS minutes, 16 June 1859 and 25 January 1860, and correspondence therein contained, S.R.O., CH2/178/27.
61. A L Drummond and J Bulloch, The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843-1874 (1975, Edinburgh), p 186.
62. F.C.P.G., MS minutes, 6 October 1858 and 25 October 1858, S.R.O., CH3/146/36.
63. Ibid., 3 August 1859, S.R.O., CH3/146/36; U.P.C.P.G., MS minutes, 13 September 1859, S.R.O., CH3/146/52.
64. In New York, statements of faith were limited to five minutes. T L Smith, op. cit., p 64; F.C.P.G., MS minutes, 15 August 1859, S.R.O., CH3/146/36.
65. Ibid.; U.P.C.P.G., MS minutes, 16 April 1861, S.R.O., CH3/146/52.
66. E.C.S.P.G., MS minutes, 5 October and 2 November 1859, S.R.O., CH2/171/9.
67. The Revival (London), vol. 5, no. 103, 13 July 1861, p 12; ibid., no. 104, 20 July 1861, p 20; ibid., no. 119, 9 November 1861.
68. Article from the Scottish Guardian, reprinted in the Wynd Journal (Glasgow), 1 September 1860.
69. See appendix III.
70. Quoted in the Wynd Journal, 22 October 1859.

71. Ibid., 1 October, 22 October and 19 November 1859.
72. Ibid., 1 October 1859.
73. The Revival, vol. 5, no. 109, 24 August 1861, pp 60-1.
74. R Buchanan, Assembly Addresses (1860, Edinburgh), p 13.
75. Couper, op. cit., p 130.
76. Drummond and Bulloch, op. cit., p 185. The main cause of the exaggeration was the large number of mission stations established by the U.P. Church in the mid-1850s and given formal sanction as churches around 1860. As a result, attendance and membership figures were suddenly eligible for inclusion in national statistics of the U.P. Church.
77. U.P.C.P.G., MS minutes, 26 September 1859, S.R.O., CH3/146/52.
78. James Begg, a prominent Free Church minister from Edinburgh, was one clergyman in the puritan reforming tradition who was strongly opposed to worship reform; Drummond and Bulloch, op. cit., pp 186-7; see below pp 451-457.
79. T L Smith, op. cit., p 73; "Elis" (pseud.), Good will to Men: A narrative of the Evangelistic labours of Mr. Edward Payson Hammond (1861, London). Hammond associated particularly with the Free Church in Glasgow; see ibid., pp v, 1, 10-12, 37, 52, and 103.
80. Advertisements and announcements for revival meetings in the Wynd Journal and its successor Word and Work fall off in early 1862 and disappear in November. The paper ceased publication in December.
81. U.P.C.P.G., MS minutes, 23 April 1861 and 14 January 1862, S.R.O., CH3/146/52.
82. For an ecclesiastical historian's survey of the revival, see O Bussey, "The Religious Awakening of 1858-60 in

Great Britain and Ireland", Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1947.

83. R Buchanan, op. cit., p 13.
84. See note 43 above.
85. Grove Street Mission Institute, Report, 1877, p 20.
86. Bussey, op. cit., p 337.
87. F.C.P.G., MS minutes, 4 April 1860, S.R.O., CH3/146/36.
88. Ibid., 6 June 1860, S.R.O., CH3/146/36.
89. U.P.C.P.G., MS minutes, 13 December 1859, 10 January 1860, S.R.O., CH3/146/52.
90. Ibid., 10 September 1861, 11 February and 11 March 1862, S.R.O., CH3/146/52.
91. Ibid., 12 November 1861, S.R.O., CH3/146/52.
92. See below vol. II pp 240-5.
93. F.C.P.G., MS minutes, 7 October 1859, S.R.O., CH3/146/36.
94. See below vol. II pp 197-8.
95. See below vol. II pp 153-6.
96. See, for instance, the Overture of the U.P. Presbytery of Glasgow to synod, Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church (hereafter "P.S.U.P.C."), 1859, p 218.
97. R Buchanan, Spiritual Wants of the City (1871, Glasgow - proof copy in Glasgow University Library), p 5.
98. J Johnston, The Rising Tide of Irreligion ... (1871, Glasgow), p 7; idem, Religious Destitution in Glasgow (1870, Glasgow), p 26.
99. "A Sunday-School Teacher" (pseud.), The Moral Statistics of Glasgow in 1863 ... (1864, Glasgow), pp 21, 25.
100. Ibid..
101. Ibid., pp 26-7, 61.

102. See below vol II pp 243-6.
103. See below vol. II chapter 13.
104. See for instance J Johnston, The Rising Tide of Irreligion, Pauperism, Immorality and Death in Glasgow ... (1871, Glasgow).
105. R Buchanan, op. cit., pp 5-6.
106. F.C.P.G., Report of the Church-planting Committee ... (1895, Glasgow), p 19.
107. Quoted in A Mackenzie, The Prophecies of the Brahan Seer (2nd ed, orig. 1899, reprint 1976, Colspie), pp 23-4.
The ninth bridge over the Ness was built in the late 1890s.
108. Background information on Moody and Sankey is taken from Couper, op. cit., pp 141-152; J F Findlay jun., Dwight L Moody: American Evangelist, 1837-1899 (1969, Chicago and London); J MacPherson, Revivals and Revival Work: A record of the labours of D.L.Moody and Ira D. Sankey and other Evangelists (1875, London); and W R Moody, The Life of D. L. Moody (1900, London); except where otherwise stated.
109. U.P.C.P.G., MS minutes, 9 September 1873, S.R.O., CH3/146/58.
110. Glasgow United Evangelistic Association (hereafter "G.U.E.A."), A Book of Remembrance, 1874-1924 (1924, Glasgow), p 13.
111. F.C.P.G., MS minutes, 7 January 1874, S.R.O., CH3/146/38; U.P.C.P.G., MS minutes, 13 January 1874, S.R.O., CH3/146/58; E.C.S.P.G., MS minutes, from 3 September 1873 to 7 October 1874, CH2/171/10.
112. J MacPherson, op. cit., p 78.

113. Moody recommended that the Scottish Y.M.C.A. should become centrally organised. He attended services for young people at various churches, including East Campbell Street Church and Ewing Place Congregational Church. Times of Blessing (a weekly journal published in Edinburgh for the Evangelistic Committees of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dundee), 18 April 1874; J MacPherson, op. cit., p 151.
114. See below pp 441-451.
115. Couper, op. cit., p 157.
116. D L Moody, Heaven: its hope; its inhabitants; its riches; its happiness ... (n.d., London), pp 7, 15. See also, for example, idem, The Way to God. A series of addresses. (n.d., London).
117. J F Findlay, op. cit., pp 157-8.
118. Couper, op. cit., pp 141-2.
119. J F Findlay, op. cit., p 128.
120. Ibid., p 131.
121. Ibid., p 152.
122. Ibid., p 151; Couper, op. cit., p 5.
123. Ibid., p 146; J MacPherson, op. cit., p 80.
124. Ibid., p 303.
125. Rev. John Ker, D.D., Letters of ... 1866-1885 (1890, Edinburgh), p 117. Supporters of the Moody-Sankey revival sought to answer this criticism; see, for instance, J MacPherson, op. cit., p 304, and idem, Life and Labours of Duncan Matheson, the Scottish Evangelist (n.d., c1871, London), p 209.
126. Ibid., p 216.
127. "Elis" (pseud.), op. cit., pp 57, 104.

128. Quoted in Glasgow Sabbath School Union (hereafter "G.S.S.U."), Report, 1849, pp 21-2.
129. A L Drummond and J Bulloch, The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843-1874 (1975, Edinburgh), pp 215-265;
J Macleod, Scottish Theology in relation to Church History (orig. 1943, 1974, Edinburgh and Carlisle, Penn.), pp 255-295, 311-315.
130. The Free Church undertook official investigations of at least two liberal ministers between 1875 and 1881. The more celebrated of the two was William Robertson Smith, professor of the Old Testament at the Free Church College in Aberdeen. After lengthy and much-publicised trial, the general assembly of the Church did not convict him of heresy but removed him from his chair in 1881.
J H S Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland (1960, Oxford), pp 359-360; A L Drummond and J Bulloch, The Church in late Victorian Scotland, 1874-1900 (1978, Edinburgh), pp 40-78.
131. H Drummond, The Ascent of Man (1894, London); G A Smith, The Life of Henry Drummond (1899, London), pp 119-151, 408-439.
132. The Christian, 1 January, 6 February, 19 May and 2 October 1873; J R Findlay, op. cit., pp 182-3, 290.
133. See appendix III.
134. Glasgow School Board, MS minutes of public monthly meetings, 11 August 1873, 6 July 1874, S.R.A., D-ED 1/1/1.
135. "A Parish Minister" (pseud.), The Churches and Education (1870, Glasgow), pp 7-8; Glasgow Herald, 26 March 1868.
136. See below vol. II pp 109-110

137. Quoted in J F Findlay, op. cit., p 185.
138. J MacPherson, Revival and Revival Work . . ., p 141.
139. J F Findlay, op. cit., p 167.
140. Quoted in Times of Blessing, 18 April 1874.
141. Ibid..
142. G.U.E.A., A Book of Remembrance 1874-1924 (1924, Glasgow), p 14; Times of Blessing, 25 April and 22 October 1874.
143. Moody's preaching urged the middle classes to renounce materialist ambition: "If people would but read their Bibles more, they would not be as worldly-minded as they are." "When you come to die, what benefit will your riches be to your soul? None whatever." D L Moody, Heaven: its hope . . ., pp 9-10; idem, Life words from Gospel addresses (1875, London), p 89.
144. G.U.E.A., op. cit., p 45.
145. G.U.E.A., Report, 1889, pp 11-12.
146. See below section (h).
147. See below vol. II pp 36, 76-80, 160-1.
148. C R Williams, "The Welsh Religious Revival, 1904-5", British Journal of Sociology, vol. 3, 1952, pp 242-3, 246, 248, 251.
149. R D Brackenridge, "Sunday Observance in Scotland, 1689-1900", Ph.D. thesis, University of Glasgow, 1962, pp 188, 201.
150. See below vol. II pp 171-181.
151. See below vol. II pp 249-250.
152. J M Barrie, The Little Minister (1908, Cassell's People's Library edition, London), p 31.
153. Glasgow town council, MS minutes, 24 May 1808, S.R.A., c1.1.48; G Macgregor, The History of Glasgow (1881,

- Glasgow), p 392; A L Drummond and J Bulloch, The Church in Victorian Scotland, 1843-1874, p 187.
154. Ibid., p 188.
155. A service (given by John Cairns at Berwick) in 1850 is described in A R MacEwen, John Cairns (1895, London), pp 321-3.
156. D Macleod, op. cit., chapter xviii.
157. Times of Blessing, 25 April 1874.
158. This and the following two paragraphs are based on Drummond and Bulloch, op. cit., pp 181-7.
159. Quoted in Couper, op. cit., p 142.
160. Quoted in ibid..
161. See, for instance, James Begg, Instrumental Music and the Worship of God (1875, Edinburgh); and idem, Purity of Worship in the Presbyterian Church (1876, Edinburgh).
162. E.C.S.P.G., MS minutes, 3 September and 10 October 1873, S.R.O., CH2/171/10.
163. Shettleston Old Parish [Church of Scotland] Kirk, Parochial Missionary Association, MS minutes 22 August, 1876, 7 November 1877, 1 April 1878, 14 July 1879, S.R.O., CH2/178/12.
164. Duke Street U.P. Church Missionary and Benevolent Association, MS minutes, 16 October and 17 December 1877, S.R.O., CH3
165. P.G.A.C.S., 1876, pp 57-8.
166. Quoted in Drummond and Bulloch, op. cit., p 193.

Chapter 7

Religion in crisis, 1880-1914:
the decay of evangelicalism and the
"secularisation" of social reform.

(a) Introduction.

"There are those who delight in ecclesiastical
hypochondria, but there are few themes so tiresome
and profitless as bewailing the decline of the
churches." E R Wickham¹

Amongst ecclesiastical historians and social historians
of religion, there has been in recent years a growing acceptance
of the view that a crisis befell organised religion in late
Victorian and Edwardian Britain. The pioneer research in the
1950s by E R Wickham in a study of Sheffield produced a break-
down of the religious history of the last one and a half cent-
uries into "the 'bleak age', 1800-1850", "the years of religious
boom, 1850-1900", and "'decline and fall', 1900 to the present".²
The work by K S Inglis in the early 1960s on the relations between
the churches and the working classes in England rightly stressed
the fact that the bulk of the urban population had been alienated
from the churches since the early Industrial Revolution.³ How-
ever, by emphasising the long-term nature of the churches' crisis
vis-à-vis the industrial classes, Inglis distracted attention
from the extent of religious influence amongst the middle classes
and in the realms of social policy and government. This imbalance

was redressed by the work of, amongst others, E P Hennock, Geoffrey Best, G Kitson Clark, Helen Meller and Brian Harrison, who all pointed in various ways to the significance of religion in Victorian Britain.⁴ Latterly, increased attention has been paid to the period between 1880 and 1914. Work by Hugh McLeod, Stephen Yeo and J H S Kent has identified this period as being of particular interest in the study of religion in modern British society.⁵

The present chapter is concerned with the decay of the evangelical framework of response to urban society, and with the emergence of a new social theology amongst certain churchmen who sought to prevent the decline in the social significance of religion. Section (b) identifies a number of organisation problems that were afflicting the churches. The remainder of the chapter examines the labour movement's crucial challenge to religious control of social policy.

(b) The diminishing success of evangelicalism, 1880-1914.

"NO charge for admission
long sermons
collections"

Advertisement for the Martyrs' Christian Band,
Glasgow, in the 1890s.⁶

This section looks briefly at the progress of evangelical agencies and the churches in Glasgow in the period between 1880 and the outbreak of the First World War. Much of the evidence for the decay of evangelicalism at this time is contained in part III. Of particular concern here is the overall decline in the success of evangelical agencies and the consequent doubts raised in the minds of churchmen as to

the utility of the evangelical framework of response to urban society.

The Moody-Sankey revival in Glasgow in 1874 had a great impact on mission work amongst the working classes of the city. The number of mission stations and churches rose substantially in the 1870s, creating many new congregations mostly located in the central and inner-suburban areas of the city. It became a matter of course for each Protestant congregation to form an evangelistic or home-missionary association to promote the opening of at least one mission station. Members of congregations were recruited to undertake voluntary work as "home visitors", carrying the Gospel to homes and back streets, and trying to attract the lapsed masses to activities at the mission stations. A large number of organisations and special meetings were undertaken. In addition to branches of denominational, city or national organisations such as Sunday schools, Bands of Hope, Foundry Boys' Religious Association and, from the late 1880s, the Boys' Brigades, congregational missionary associations formed special groups such as "Kitchen Meetings", "Mothers' Meetings" and mill-girls' prayer meetings. Open-air preaching was undertaken in summer, and tract distribution was carried out throughout the year. By the 1880s, the number and variety of religious activities mounted at congregational level was staggering. Free St. Mary's Church, Govan, had in 1897 Sunday schools with 1,137 scholars, Bible classes with 493 scholars, 155 Sunday-school teachers, an average of 468 children attending special "Sabbath Forenoon Meetings" watched over by 77 monitors, a Literary Society with 185 members, male and female Fellowship Associations with a total member-

ship of 213, Christian Endeavour societies with 251 members, a company of the Boys' Brigade with 58 officers and boys, Gospel Temperance Meetings with a membership of 420, 292 Home Mission workers, a Penny Savings' Bank with 18,585 transactions during the year, and branches of the Y.M.C.A. with an unspecified number of members.⁷ These or similar "agencies" were duplicated by practically every Protestant congregation in the city. In 1885, an inter-denominational organisation, the Glasgow Home Mission Union, was formed to allocate small mission districts, with as few as 180 families in each, to evangelising congregations in the city.⁸ Within a district, the congregation responsible was to provide intensive "aggressive" evangelisation. Similarly, the Glasgow Charity Organisation Society, although never a very powerful body in the city, provided co-ordination in the provision of relief to the destitute; some congregations objected to the giving of relief, and there appears to have been little uniformity in mission districts as to charitable distributions.⁹ With some 360 churches in the city and suburbs by 1900, it was important for the churches to prevent collisions between the evangelising schemes of different congregations and, more importantly, different denominations. Despite the co-ordination, which included the provision of precise maps of mission districts, incidents still occurred. In 1898, for instance, the Home Mission Union responded to a complaint from a Free Church congregation that there had been "poaching in your mission district" by a Baptist congregation.¹⁰ By the 1880s, then, the centralised home-mission work pioneered by the City Mission in the 1820s had been transformed into a congregation-based system providing systematic and co-ordinated evang-

elisation of the entire city.

Despite the continuing growth of evangelical agencies in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it is clear that the evangelisation of the working classes was running into difficulties. In the first place, there is evidence of declining interest amongst middle-class volunteers in home-mission work. In 1886, the Evangelistic Association of Queen's Park Free Church reported great enthusiasm amongst its voluntary workers in tackling the task, set by the Home Mission Union, of visiting every family in its mission district at least once a month. By 1892, attendances by voluntary workers were down and the district had to be amalgamated with that of a neighbouring congregation in order to maintain activities. By 1895, the Association had no funds for buying hymn-books, and was forced to take over the congregation's tract-distribution service in order to keep it going. By 1896, there was a desperate shortage of voluntary workers, and the Association did not meet to plan activities for over ten months. In May 1900, the Association was in tatters. The secretary had allegedly not done his job, and the treasurer did not know the income and expenditure for the year. The Association had failed to make its annual subscription to the Home Mission Union, and the association was acknowledged to be in a poor state.¹¹ Many evangelical congregations were reporting shortages of volunteers from the late 1890s.¹² Congregations of the Church of Scotland, bemused by the apparent power of evangelicalism in the 1860s and 1870s, found their evangelical agencies particularly prone to declining enthusiasm amongst voluntary workers. The Parochial Missionary Association of Shettleston Parish Church in the

east end of the city collapsed entirely in 1879 from lack of interest amongst the congregation.¹³ The particular aspect of evangelisation in which a lack of volunteers developed in Glasgow in the late nineteenth century was monthly home-mission visiting. Middle-class evangelicals appear to have become less willing to undertake the task of visiting the working classes in their homes. More generally, though, there are hints in the records of these associations that there was waning lay interest in evangelical, and especially revivalist, fervour. A gulf in attitudes developed between some clergy, particularly the paid missionaries, and congregations. The middle-class members of congregations wished to move away from revivalism. Renwick Free Church, for instance, attempted to dispense with the ubiquitous Sankey Hymn Book in 1899 only to find that the clientele of the mission station were extremely attached to it.¹⁴

A second problem faced by evangelical agencies in this period was declining interest and enthusiasm amongst the target groups. Evidence elsewhere in this thesis shows that the membership of Sunday schools started to decline in the 1890-1910 period, and that the growth rates for church membership declined appreciably.¹⁵ Stephen Yeo, in his study of Reading, has shown that religious and non-religious voluntary organisations were suffering from a loss in middle-class commitment, mentioned in the foregoing paragraph, and from changing tastes and opportunities in leisure pursuits.¹⁶ Specifically, the churches, like other organisations, were being forced to broaden their appeal and to adopt "secular" pursuits.¹⁷ There is evidence of the same processes taking place in Glasgow. By the late 1880s, religious voluntary

organisations were starting music classes, swimming clubs and, later, cycling clubs and football teams. In some instances, religious organisations encouraged people to participate in other activities. For example, one branch of the Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society gave grants for older children to attend evening classes run by the school board.¹⁸ To enliven religious meetings, there was a common trend from the late 1880s towards the introduction of orchestras and brass bands.¹⁹ The collection plates were dispensed with in many mission stations to enable direct competition with commercial leisure activities with advertisements proclaiming "no admission charges".²⁰ In general, there was a trend towards the introduction of "secular" activities in some religious voluntary organisations. Moreover, "secular" organisations were started in many congregations. The "secularisation" of religious voluntary education is detailed in part III.²¹ It is worth noting here that the success of some partially-secularised organisations was short lived. The Roman Catholic Church, for instance, found that the introduction of branches of the Catholic Young Men's Society into Glasgow in the early 1890s proved highly successful in attracting young Catholics away from drinking dens and gambling. By 1912-14, however, Glasgow and Scottish branches were reporting declining interest and recruitment.²² In contrast, organisations with more fully "secularised" activities, such as the Boys' Brigade, continued to grow strongly throughout the period up to the First World War.²³

The problems for the churches in Glasgow were not confined to voluntary organisations. The organisation, management and size of congregations became problematic for the churches,

and especially for the evangelical presbyterian denominations. Table 7.1 shows the growth in the number of churches in the city and suburbs between 1861 and 1900. It indicates that there was exceptionally high growth in the number of Free and U.P. churches up to 1879, and between 1895 and 1900. The Established Church, on the other hand, sustained a more gradual but prolonged growth in the number of churches. In the late 1890s, however, the Church of Scotland did not make any net increase in the number of churches in the city. The church extension schemes of the two dissenting denominations moved in spurts. The main periods of expansion for the Free Church were between 1843 and 1850 (28 new churches), 1851 and 1863 (between 20 and 28 churches), 1871 and 1879 (21 churches), and 1895 and 1900 (13 churches). The main periods for the U.P. Church and its antecedents were 1820-23 (6 new churches), 1834-7 (4 churches), 1850-57 (14 churches, 8 of them in 1855-6), 1862-3 (7 churches), 1875-79 (11 churches), and 1894-99 (5 churches).²⁴ The two denominations tended to undertake expansion schemes at roughly the same times - such as after the religious revivals of 1859-61 and 1873-4. The Church of Scotland, being less enthused with revivals, showed a more steady growth rate.

Table 7.2 shows that the building programmes of the Free and U.P. churches in the second half of the nineteenth century progressively reduced the number of members/adherents with each congregation in relation to the figures for the Church of Scotland. The change between 1871 and 1879 is particularly noticeable, with the average size of congregations increasing in the Established Church and decreasing in the other two denominations. Between 1879 and 1891, the lull in

Table 7.1 Presbyterian churches in Glasgow and suburbs,
1861-1900.

Date	Church of Scotland	Free Church	U.P. Church
1861	-	43	37
1871	(51) ¹	56	49
1874	54	62	53
1876	67	76	57
1879	77	81	64
1891	83	84	67
1895	86	85	68
1900	85	98	74

Sources F.C.P.G., Report of the Church-Planting Committee ... (1895, Glasgow), p 7; Scottish Church and University Almanac, 1900-1, pp 47 et seq., 106 et seq., and 152 et seq. (checked and amended by reference to R Howie, The Churches and Churchless in Scotland (1893, Glasgow), R Small, History of the Congregations of the U.P. Church 1733-1900 (1904, Edinburgh), vol. 2, pp 22-3, and J A Lamb, The Fasti of the United Free Church of Scotland, 1900-1929 (1956, Edinburgh and London)); and Association for Promoting the Religious and Social Improvement of the City, Report on the Religious Condition of Glasgow (1871, Glasgow), p 6.

Note 1. This figure refers to the City of Glasgow only.

Table 7.2 Average numbers of members/adherents/attenders per
presbyterian congregation in Glasgow and suburbs,
1851-1900.¹

Date	Type of data	Church of Scotland	Free Church	U.P. Church
1851	Attenders ²	1183.52	1195.29	1667.10
1871	Attenders ³	558.00	558.05	727.11
1871	Members	486.27	486.90	633.77
1879	Adherents	676.87	416.75	590.29
1891	Adherents	723.17	505.81	635.78
1895	Members ⁴	760	548	650
1900	Adherents	797.12	519.96	632.72

Sources See table 7.2; also, Census of Great Britain, 1851:
Report of Religious Worship and Education, Scotland
(1854, London), p 27.

- Notes 1. The figures are not necessarily compatible between different years. However, the data on "members" seems to have been regarded by the collecting sources as the same as "adherents". The value of the table is in showing the relative size of congregations in the three presbyterian churches. With two exceptions, all the data on which the figures are based related to Glasgow and suburbs; the figures for 1851 and 1871 refer to the city only. Excluding the data for 1851, all the data on which the figures are based were originally compiled by the denominations concerned.
2. Attenders are the aggregates of morning, afternoon and evening attendances at the religious census.
3. Although not stated by the Association for the Religious and Social Improvement of the City, which collected the data on which these figures are based, it seems that these statistics refer to morning attendances.
4. The figures were calculated by the Free Church Presbytery of Glasgow.

church-building (one built by the U.P. Church and four by the Free Church) produced an increase in membership per congregation for the dissenters. However, the resumption of church-building by these denominations in the mid and late 1890s again reduced the figures. By 1900, the membership of congregations of the Church of Scotland in Glasgow was, on average, larger than the U.P. Church by 160 people and larger than the Free Church by some 270 people. These developments in the 1890s were very significant in the context of moves towards union between the Free and U.P. churches. Up to 1890, the large number of mission stations and churches opened by the dissenters kept the average size of congregations comparatively low. These congregations were supported by financial contributions from the wealthier congregations in the city. The church-building of the 1890s was largely in the new outer suburbs of Glasgow - in areas such as Jordanhill, Cathcart, Pollokshaws and Bearsden - which were becoming populated by some of the city's middle classes.²⁵ In trying to keep pace with migratory flows, the dissenting presbyterian churches found that some districts became, in their own words, "over-churched".²⁶ After desultory attempts at co-operation between the Free and U.P. churches in the early 1890s in the field of church extension, these denominations and the Church of Scotland started co-ordinated church-planting in the city in 1896.²⁷ When the Free and U.P. Churches united in 1900 to form the United Free Church, fourteen congregations were immediately involved in amalgamations. Two years' later, a further number of churches in the city centre were closed.²⁸ The situation remained difficult with population movements to the new suburbs creating unviable congregations in the city.

centre and some inner suburbs, and the U.F. and Established churches increased co-operation in church building.²⁹ Whilst denominational rivalries remained, even within the United Free Church,³⁰ the extent of co-operation in church-building, as in home-mission work, indicated declining religious animosities and increasing organisational problems in Scottish presbyterianism.³¹

Perhaps the most telling symptom of a crisis in self-confidence amongst churchmen was the ecclesiastical response to trade depressions and unemployment in Glasgow between 1890 and 1914. The nature of the employment problems in the city and the general form of municipal and philanthropic responses to them are dealt with in some detail in a trilogy of articles by J H Treble.³² The churches noted the adverse affects of trade depression on evangelising work. More importantly, however, the evangelical doctrine that individual effort and religious commitment could secure success was torn asunder. The normal palliatives for destitution, such as soup kitchens and free meals, were instituted by many congregations.³³ But churchmen were dismayed at the total failure and apparent inappropriateness of evangelical solutions to "social ills". During the relative prosperity of the 1850s, 1860s and 1870s, evangelical social theology seemed to have worked. With economic crises in the city between 1890 and 1910, that theology and the agencies which it had given rise to appeared redundant. The Church of Scotland Presbytery of Glasgow was one of the church courts in Scotland to actively move away from the accepted evangelical social theology. In 1888, the Presbytery noted that 120,000 people within the Presbytery bounds were without church connection, and that

25 per cent of the population lived in one-roomed houses. It added:

"... existing agencies and methods have not hitherto proved adequate to cope with such serious conditions of life; ... it is especially the duty of the Church of Scotland to care for the whole population, and to labour for their physical as well as their moral and spiritual well-being ..." ³⁴

This was a statement of intent by the Presbytery, which led it into active involvement in various forms of social reform, including the establishment of an authoritative Presbytery Commission on the Housing of the Poor; details of the Presbytery's activities in the 1890s and 1900s are considered later. In the evangelical dissenting churches, there was strong resistance to thus abandoning evangelistic principles. The Free Church Presbytery of Glasgow appointed a "Committee on the Sunken Portion of the Population" in 1890. In its report of 1892, the Committee stated that it had considered a number of proposals:

"... such as a shelter for young girls, a Labour Bureau, and a Home for Inebriate Women, but had come to the conclusion that any of these necessitated work which had been taken up [by] larger bodies such as the Town Council and the [Established Church Presbytery] Commission on the Housing of the Poor, and also involved action that could not well be taken by the Presbytery."³⁵

With that, the Free Church Presbytery Committee recommended its own discharge, effectively reaffirming attachment to basic evangelical principles. By 1902, the evangelicals in the United Free Church were becoming very concerned with the lack of success with evangelical schemes in the city. Their response

was to seek the development of new agencies and to institute reorganisation of existing ones.³⁶ However, the numbers of voluntary helpers were declining for the first time in the dissenting presbyterian congregations in the city. The number of U.F. Church Sunday-school teachers in the city started to fall from 1903. Over 300 teachers, representing five per cent of the total, were lost in one year in 1906-7.³⁷ Recruitment of scholars was also falling, and other agencies were showing little or no growth. Throughout the late 1890s and 1900s, evangelicals were pressed by advocates of the new social theology to abandon their unswerving loyalty to evangelicalism. Deputations from the Established Church, the trades council, trades unions and social-reform organisations appeared before the U.F. Presbytery, but there was sustained reaffirmation of evangelical aims and methods. Several ministers on the U.F. Presbytery joined the labour movement in the first decade of the twentieth century. They tried to urge the Presbytery to join in the work started by the Church of Scotland - work involving co-operation with the labour movement, active campaigning against sweat shops and poor housing, and the institution of church-based social service. With deepening economic problems in Glasgow in the late 1900s, one of these labour ministers moved that the Presbytery send the following "overture" to the U.F. Church general assembly of 1908:

"Whereas the increasing pressure of social distress, and the growing urgency of industrial problems, are rapidly creating a new situation, and presenting fresh difficulties to the work of the Gospel: Whereas the estrangement of a large section of the people from the Christian Church is not diminishing, but is rather more pronounced, and a

strong tide of feeling within our own Church has set in towards social service and the removal of social ills: It is hereby humbly overtured that the General Assembly, while maintaining the supremacy of the Gospel of Jesus Christ as the essential means of the betterment and social elevation of the people, should take the above premises into consideration, and appoint a strong Committee to study at first hand these problems, and to devise such measures as will secure joint action with other Churches in grappling with the above-mentioned ills; or to do otherwise as in its wisdom it may see fit." ³⁸

The overture, agreed to without a vote, must be seen as an important step in the decay of evangelicalism in the presbyterian churches in the city, and a step towards the acceptance of a wider approach, involving "secular" action, to social reform.

Following this motion in March 1908, the U.F. Church Presbytery moved swiftly along its new course. Under the direction of two ministers who had strong links with the labour movement, a Committee on Unemployment was formed in late 1908. Discussions were started with the Independent Labour Party, the town council's distress committee and other interested bodies including the Scottish Council for Women's Trades. The Committee of Presbytery organised a relief fund for unemployed members of the Church in the city.³⁹ Traditionally, there was strong opposition amongst the evangelical presbyterian churches to the giving of relief. In 1894, many dissenting congregations in the city had considered but rejected the idea of handouts.⁴⁰ In 1908, however, U.F. congregations in the city abandoned their evangelical principles and created a highly-organised city-wide relief system. By December 1908, 170 of the 194 U.F. congregations in the Glasgow Presbytery were giving relief to church members.⁴¹ In addition, the

Presbytery organised a central fund to assist poorer congregations. The stated criterion for the giving of relief by the U.F. Church was that the recipients be members of the Church. By 6 April 1909, when the U.F. fund closed "for the season", 138 congregations had relieved their own unemployed and 48 congregations had received assistance from the central fund. In all, 271 families (480 adults and 584 children) were given £858 during the winter of 1908-9 from the Presbytery fund.⁴² The relief organisation of the Glasgow Presbytery of the Church of Scotland was similarly operated, having a central fund of £881 by the end of February 1909.⁴³

The creation of relief funds for unemployed church members in 1908-9 was highly significant. Until that time, the churches had considered that relief-giving was not their domain, but was the responsibility of the town council or ad hoc organisations.⁴⁴ Further, problems of unemployment amongst church members would not seem to have been acute or appreciable before 1908. With the advent of destitution amongst church members on a large scale in the first decade of the twentieth century, evangelicals were forced to recognise that economic problems could beset the individual which were not his or her fault. Attendance at church or Sunday school and the taking of the pledge of total abstinence could not solve these problems. For many in the Protestant churches, evangelicalism as a response to urban and industrial problems became manifestly anachronistic. Furthermore, there was no apparent means of revamping evangelical social theology to meet the new economic context. In the first half of the nineteenth century, evangelicalism had promoted salvation through education - by encouraging personal improvement by learning how to read and write, and by the

acquisition of religious-based social skills. In the mid-Victorian period, evangelicalism had been transformed by revivalism. This encouraged salvation by emotional conversion. In the process, the rational means to social improvement were effectively renounced by the evangelicals. In relation to education, both voluntary and day-time, the means of social reform were taken over by "secular" agencies. South Cumberland Street Branch of the Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society, which was committed to revivalist conversion, recruited older children to the evening classes of Glasgow school board, and gave grants to some children to attend. The means and methods of social reform were ineluctably passing from the hands of evangelicals to the grasp of other agencies. The evangelicals' loss of control of social policy was crucial, for it, more than anything else, justified and gave credence to evangelicalism as a ruling ethos amongst the Victorian church-going middle classes. If church-going, good moral behaviour and teetotalism could not help the unemployed members of the presbyterian churches in 1908, were such things sufficient for, and crucial to, social improvement? Many in the Church of Scotland, and some in the evangelical dissenting churches, were beginning to answer "no" after 1890. More importantly, the "sunken masses" and professional social reformers were, from the 1880s, giving the same answer but much more emphatically. The new solutions to social problems were not coming from the churches. The town council and other agencies were being drawn more and more to investigate active means to improve living conditions in the city. The radical solutions, with which many Glasgow clergy of the Church of Scotland were becoming associated, were coming from the labour movement. It was in the churches' links with the

labour movement that the "secularisation" of social policy became most apparent between 1880 and 1914.

(c) Church and Labour: introduction and developments to 1890.

"This Council has not formerly been in the habit of reviewing the actions of the Courts of the Church, but at the last meeting of the General Assemblies of the Established and Free Kirks some pretty strong language was indulged in with regard to meetings of the Railway Servants held on the Sabbath-day.... We hear a good deal about the carelessness of working-men about ... church attendance and such like. May we be allowed to hint that working-men have also their own ideas about the way in which the Churches, as Watchmen, perform their duties ..."

Glasgow United Trades Council, 1882 ⁴⁵

The churches regarded the rise of the labour movement after 1890 as a two-pronged threat. Socialist ideology, with its fundamentally secularist tone, appeared to be supplanting Christianity in popular philosophy. At the same time, the strength of the movement challenged the churches', and especially the evangelical churches', position as the chief agencies of social change. To meet this dual threat, a clerical group, popularly known as "Christian socialists", emerged in the Established churches of Scotland and England with the intention of promoting religious influence within the labour movement and asserting the churches' concern for social problems. New clerical attitudes to the "social question" can be traced back to the 1870s or before,⁴⁶ but it was in the 1880s that the social theology showed the clearest signs of radical change. It was in the 1890s that significant numbers of clergy came into contact with the labour movement. Studies of Christian

socialism, the Labour Church and the English Congregational Church have indicated the importance of the ten years after 1888 in the establishment of ministerial links with the organisations of the labour movement.⁴⁷ Recent studies have shown that the process was not all one way. Religious influence, whether inspired by Christian socialism or not, was being felt in the labour movement in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Socialist Sunday schools were created, which sought to spread the areligious gospel of universal love amongst the young using the churches' Sunday-school structure; Labour Churches emerged, and there was a so-called "religion of socialism" in many sections of the labour movement.⁴⁸

There has been a substantial amount of work done on the churches and the labour movement between 1880 and 1914, most of it concentrated on England. Emphasis has been placed on the involvement of churchmen in labour organisations, on comparative denominational attitudes to labour, and on the religiosity of selected labour leaders. The literature is both profuse and diverse in approach. The conclusions are equally diverse. Robert Wearmouth has championed the Methodists, arguing, implicitly or explicitly, that they constituted the largest denominational group amongst trades unionists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁴⁹ Stephen Mayor found that the nonconformists as a whole contributed substantially to the labour movement down to 1914. Both Mayor and Inglis highlighted the English Congregationalists as particularly significant for involvement with labour organisations.⁵⁰ Peter Jones, studying Christian socialism as a movement distinct from the labour movement, made a strong case for recognising the Anglican contribution. He argued that in

the 1880s and 1890s Church of England clergy reacted against the anachronistic, teetotal-centred policies of the evangelical dissenters and became sympathetic to the labour movement.⁵¹ Throughout much of the recent literature, there is an assumption that the clerical Christian socialists were both socialists and members of labour organisations. The term "Christian socialist" was vaguely defined by contemporaries and widely applied. In Scotland, the term was most often used around the turn of the century by staunch Liberals and Conservatives within the churches as a pejorative denoting "socialist". However, the vast majority of clergy belonging to organisations and groups that have been latterly defined as "Christian socialist" were not politically committed to the labour movement. The few who were tended to be regarded as "defectors". This has to be kept in mind during the remainder of this chapter.

The mainstay of the labour movement in Glasgow in the second half of the nineteenth century was the Glasgow Trades Council, set up in 1858 "to watch over the interests of the working classes and at present consider the sufferings of those who are out of employment and adopt some means for relieving [sic] the same".⁵² In its early years, the trades council established the moderate political position that was it was to maintain until the early 1890s. The town council's limited plans to assist the unemployed in 1858 were considered by the trades delegates to be "very satisfactory under the present state of the city [sic] finances".⁵³ The trades council's main business consisted of memorialising parliament and the town council on shorter working hours, amendments to the Combination Acts, triennial parliaments, the ballot and the franchise, and organising educational lectures for the work-

ing classes; in its first year of existence, trades council council business was dominated by the concerns of the lecture committee. Despite growing from eight affiliated trades in 1858 to thirty-three in 1863 with affiliated membership of ten thousand by 1878,⁵⁴ and despite its increasing ability to attract large numbers to political demonstrations on Glasgow Green, the trades council wielded very little influence in social-reform matters in the city. With the creation of the school boards in 1873, with the widest franchise then in operation, the council, in the words of its chairman, "stepped out of its general functions" to consider "the best means of securing the direct representation of the working classes of the city at the Glasgow School Board".⁵⁵ After concluding that any candidate the council put forward would stand very little chance of being returned, the delegates joined a presbyterian educational society in nominating a panel of candidates.⁵⁶ The trades council mounted the best organised campaign, but, in the words of the Glasgow Herald, its nominees on the panel suffered an "utter and absolute defeat".⁵⁷ After this humiliation, the council did not propose its own candidates again until the much-changed circumstances of the early 1890s. Instead, the council vetted presbyterian candidates, supporting those who favoured the teaching of religious instruction without the catechism and, after 1881, those who also favoured free education. Very little differentiated the council's educational policies from those of the presbyterian churches. Though throwing in their lot with presbyterian candidates at election time in the 1870s and 1880s, the trades delegates exercised minimal influence on educational provision in the city in those years.

The trades council's policies in other areas of social and economic affairs were largely in line with the policies of the presbyterian churches and the local political establishment. The central plank of the evangelical movement's programme for social reform in the second half of the nineteenth century was the campaign for total abstinence from alcohol, to be introduced and enforced by local prohibition through local plebiscites. Even after the affiliation of the new and radical trades unions in the 1890s, the trades council supported the local-veto proposal.⁵⁸ Similarly, the council firmly supported Sabbatarian principles, actively opposing the Sunday opening of museums and art galleries and the running of Sunday trams.⁵⁹ At the T.U.C. Congress in Hull in 1886, a motion was passed in favour of the Sunday opening of museums; the Glasgow delegates, true to the evangelical city to which they belonged, opposed it.⁶⁰ The trades council agreed with the presbyterian churches that the payment of wages in public houses was a contributory factor to the city's drink problem and that it should be banned.⁶¹ Again, the council agreed with the churches in applauding the repeal in 1882 of the Contagious Diseases (Women's) Acts, describing the legislation as "a disgrace to any Christian country, or even to the civilisation of the nineteenth century".⁶² Far from being an attack on Christian civilisation, this comment was typical of the trades delegates' desire to see it perfected.

There was thus a broad area of social policy on which the trades council agreed with the presbyterian churches. In its general economic outlook, too, the council reflected the views of the city's middle-class establishment. Until the 1890s, it had an unflinching belief in the doctrine of

economic liberalism. This was no more apparent than during the recession of 1884, which the delegates agreed by 20 votes to 4 had not been caused by free trade. Whilst reaffirming their opposition to bounties, fair trade and protection, they did not venture to suggest an alternative cause.⁶³ The council firmly supported the general basis of Victorian society - its economic system and its social conventions - whilst at the same time working within the system to improve the lot of union members.

However, the trades council always considered itself to be distanced from the institutions of established society. Before 1890, it had virtually no contact with the churches. The few exchanges that took place were usually acrimonious. In 1882, the national assemblies of the Established and Free churches criticised the trades-union practice of holding meetings on Sundays. The council retorted by advising the churches that rather than criticising the workers they should be "denouncing the great amount of unnecessary [Sunday] work now done by public companies in our midst, the shareholders of which are, we believe, in many cases, strong stoops in the Church".⁶⁴ Whilst supporting Sabbatarian principles, therefore, the trades council could not bring itself to identify with the churches. On the odd occasion when it was forced into contact with clergy, the council was surprised by the sympathy for the labour movement that could exist within the churches. At the T.U.C. congress in Aberdeen in 1884, the Glasgow delegates noted "the uncommon nature of the occasion" when a special church service was held at which a local presbyterian minister "preached an eloquent and outspoken sermon in

favour of trades unionism".⁶⁵ The trades council did not seek out support from sympathetic clergy. It did not co-ordinate campaigns with, nor join deputations from, non-labour organisations. A largely self-imposed isolation was maintained until the 1890s.

For their part, the churches were equally hostile to the labour movement before 1890. The evangelical presbyterian churches had suffered the political repercussions of the first half of the nineteenth century. The links found or imagined between the evangelicals, the Sunday schools and foreign missions on the one hand, and the corresponding societies and the French Revolution on the other, had created a distinct antipathy towards working class politics amongst most evangelicals. When the assistant minister of Paisley Abbey, Patrick Brewster, became deeply involved in the Chartist movement in the late 1830s and early 1840s, the displeasure of the courts of the Established Church was plainly seen.⁶⁶ The evangelical response to the riots of 1848 became regarded as an assault on radical political movements amongst the working classes. The Rev. Robert Buchanan of the Free Church said in 1851 that "Chartist or Socialist lecture-rooms are their [the workingclasses'] churches".⁶⁷ The home-mission work encouraged by him was made in part response to fears such as this. The severe licensing restrictions introduced by Glasgow town council after the campaign by the Glasgow Sabbath School Union in 1850 were opposed by the working-class newspaper the Glasgow Sentinel as a direct attack on the working classes.⁶⁸ The fact that working-class violence never returned with the power and frequency common in the half century up to 1848 was interpreted by evangelicals as an indication of the success of

their endeavours. From the religious point of view, the general calm in working-class politics between 1850 and 1880, and the sustained growth of church-going and religious influence in social reform, made the churches confident of, or at least complacent about, their mission to the industrial classes. Whilst maintaining an hostility to the labour movement, the churches did not regard the increased recruitment to trades unions or any advances in socialist thought as threats to Christian society in the way the violence of 1848 had seemed. In short, the churches and labour organisations maintained a quiet antipathy towards each other between 1850 and 1880.

Social problems received renewed and increased attention in the 1880s. In both England and Scotland, the spread of university settlements indicated a new social concern amongst academics and students. The appointment of the 1884 Royal Commission on Housing was a recognition of revitalised parliamentary interest in social reform. Similarly, the churches reacted to the continuing existence of social problems and, more importantly, to a perceptive decline in interest on the part of central and local government, professional social reformers and working classes alike to the evangelical palliatives then on offer. New religious organisations were being formed by Anglicans to create an alternative to the non-conformists' evangelical strategy on social reform - an alternative which would give due weight to the aims of the labour movement: organisations such as the Anglo-Catholic Guild of St. Matthew (founded 1877) and the Christian Social Union (founded 1889).⁶⁹ In Scotland, too, the clergy of the Established Church perceived the declining influence of evangelical social theology. The Church of Scotland, its influence

having been severely reduced by the advance of evangelical dissent during the nineteenth century, wished to regain its position as the national church. A number of Established clergy regarded the development of so-called "Christian socialism" as a means of reasserting their authority within the Scottish reformed church.

The publication in 1883 of Andrew Mearns's The Bitter Cry of Outcast London was the first incisive spur to a re-evaluation of religious social-reform thinking in Scotland.⁷⁰ James Campbell, Conservative M.P., Established Church elder and brother of the Liberal Henry Campbell-Bannerman, found that it illustrated the shortcomings of the Christian Church:

"The impression made upon us by that appeal owes much of its force to the conviction that the "Bitter Cry" holds true of more than outcast London ... And the thought cannot but have occurred to us, when reading such miseries, that there must have been some great fault - some gross neglect of duty - on the part of ourselves and others who have comfortable surroundings and live in the enjoyment of Christian civilization, when many of our fellow-creatures have been allowed to sink to so low - to so almost hopelessly low - a level."⁷¹

Douglas Barron, assistant minister at Edinburgh's Tron Established Church, expressed more clearly the Bitter Cry's implications on religious social policy:

"Increased missionary effort, whether parochial or other, will not raise such of the masses as are in no condition either to be reasoned with or preached to; far less will any scheme of charity, however elaborate, or however skilfully and conscientiously carried out."⁷²

This amounted to a volte face in the context of prevailing presbyterian thinking. Barron, reflecting parliamentary concerns

at that time, considered that housing was the most urgent problem requiring remedial attention. He expressed the view that the owners of insanitary property exercised "a scandalous abuse of power and privilege".⁷³ This shift in clerical concern from missionary endeavour to the precise and direct cures of the temporal ills of the working classes was a major breakthrough in the development of ecclesiastical social thought - a breakthrough in which Glasgow clergy were to take the lead in Scotland.

In the development of church-labour relations in Glasgow between 1880 and 1914, a vital part was played by three academics. The first was Edward Caird, Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Glasgow from 1866 to 1894, and subsequently Master of Balliol College, Oxford. Until 1887, he conducted a class in political economy in which he challenged Christians to deny that poverty was immoral - an immorality of the whole society and one which every individual should do his utmost to eradicate.⁷⁴ Caird's classes had a profound effect on his students. David Watson, minister of St. Clement's Established Church in the east end of Glasgow, and founder of the Scottish Christian Social Union, explained that Caird's classes, combined with John Bright's rectorial address on the poor to Glasgow students in 1883, Kingsley's attack on sweating in Alton Locke and Mearn's Bitter Cry, aroused his interest in social reform to "white heat".⁷⁵ William Muir, another Established Church minister involved in the debate on "the social question" in the 1890s, claimed that Caird's classes were instrumental in awakening his interest.⁷⁶ In the same political economy class as Watson in the early 1880s were the brothers Francis Herbert and William Stead.⁷⁷

Caird was probably the most important figure in nineteenth-century Scottish theology, and his influence extended to England where his friends included T H Green, and where young clergymen like William Temple, the self-appointed negotiator in the 1926 coal strike and subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury, paid tribute to his teaching.⁷⁸

The second academic was William Smart, who took over Caird's political economy class at Glasgow University in the late 1880s and became Professor in that subject in 1896. Between 1890 and 1910, Smart was the champion of Glasgow municipal collectivism, and acted as adviser to the Glasgow Presbytery of the Church of Scotland on housing matters. In 1902, he persuaded Glasgow town council to appoint a Commission on Housing, and in 1905 he was appointed to the national Poor Law Commission.⁷⁹

The third, and probably least well-known, was Henry Dyer. From 1873 until 1883, he was Principal of the Imperial College of Engineering in Tokyo and Professor of Civil and Mechanical Engineering there. In the mid-1880s, he returned to his native Glasgow where he became a lecturer at Glasgow Technical College. In 1891, he was elected to Glasgow school board as a Labour Candidate, and between 1914 and 1918 became its chairman. As a Christian with no church connection, Dyer became influential in the Glasgow trades council's educational campaigns and simultaneously in the churches' debates on social policy.

Caird, Smart and Dyer all played important roles in the development of church-labour relations in Glasgow in the 1890s and 1900s, and were also influential in municipal and national debates on social reform. They operated not as a coherent group, but as three individuals who gained their own influential

positions in social-reform affairs from the church-labour relations they encouraged and, to some extent, engineered. They acted not as church members or trades unionists, but as "outside" intellectuals and experts who gave assistance to both church and labour in the development of social policy.

(d) The new social theology.

"We believe that in all the disputes and conflicts - industrial, social, political - which rend the body politic of the Christian State to-day, the prime necessity is frank Justice between class and class."

Charles William Stubbs, Dean of Ely, 1897⁸⁰

The theological debates that led to the development of a new social theology took place under the general heading of "the social question". This term had been in widespread use for some time, but in the 1880s churchmen started to apply it in describing a broad process of secularisation. For churchmen, the "social question" was a conglomeration of various religious, social and political changes. First of all, and most importantly to churchmen, there was an apparent crisis in religion in Britain, as discussed already. There was a perception of declining church membership and of waning middle-class enthusiasm for church projects. Secondly, secular doctrines seemed to be gaining ground in popular philosophy. A large number of popular books on Darwinism and its implications on Scriptural accuracy were being published around the turn of the century.⁸¹ Thirdly, "secular" habits in leisure and reading were advancing rapidly, with the publication of popular newspapers and journals like the Daily Mail and Titbits, and the growth of mass spectator sports.⁸² Fourthly, the rapid rise of the labour

movement from 1889 to 1914 indicated to churchmen that the lapsed masses were turning to socialism rather than Christianity for social redemption, and that the churches were losing their control of "social prophecy". Lastly, the form of social improvement being widely discussed and gradually accepted by central and local government was collectivist: state intervention. This clearly made irrelevant the evangelical framework for social reform. Within Scotland, discussion and debate on the "social question" was dominated by clergy from Glasgow. The size and economic importance of the city increased awareness of how acute the "social question" was.

The development of a "Christian socialist" group in Glasgow began in 1888 when the Glasgow Presbytery of the Church of Scotland concluded that "existing agencies and methods have not hitherto proved adequate to cope" with urban social problems.⁸³ After appealing in vain to the general assembly for a national initiative, the Presbytery took the unprecedented step of setting up a Commission on the Housing of the Poor in Relation to Social Class. The most prominent clergymen on the Commission were John Marshall Lang, who later became Principal of Aberdeen University, Donald Macleod, brother of Norman of the Barony Church, and David Watson, a young minister. They invited William Smart to sit on the Commission, and he compiled a special report on the housing problem in London.⁸⁴ Other lay members included local town councillors, an architect and a former medical officer of health for the city of Glasgow. Evidence was called from poor-law and sanitary inspectors, landlords, the Charity Organisation Society and J Bruce Glasier representing the Socialist League. Although the Commission's report of 1891 was not radical,⁸⁵ relying heavily on the ideas

of Henry George, the Commission's public hearings attracted extensive interest and comment from the local press and the general assembly of the Established Church.⁸⁶ The Commission deliberated with the full consent and co-operation of the municipal authorities, and was regarded as the authoritative body in the consideration of the city's housing policy in the early 1890s. The Commission was highly significant in restoring prestige to the Church of Scotland in the city. More importantly, perhaps, it brought academics, lay experts and socialist into contact with clergymen.

The Presbytery Commission had an immediate impact on the national Church. In 1889, the general assembly, impressed with the initiative of the Glasgow Presbytery, appointed a special Commission on the Religious Condition of the People chaired by John Marshall Lang. From 1890 until 1896, the Assembly Commission investigated irreligion in Scotland in terms of social deprivation, touring the country collecting information from clergy and churchmen of different denominations, though predominantly from Established churchmen, professional social reformers and administrators. The difficulties which the churches had to face in respect of non-church-going were interpreted thoroughly and consistently in terms of social inequality. Lang wrote in the Commission's final report:

"In centres of industry, such as Glasgow and Dundee, the poverty which co-exists with the wealth is more obtrusively evident than in a city such as Edinburgh, where, for many, life is leisurely and easy.... For the Christian conscience has been aroused; and all persons, with some sense of justice as well as generosity, feel that the chasms between wealth-land and woe-land are a symptom of social unrighteousness."⁸⁷

Between 1890 and 1914, presbyterian ministers wrote extensively on the "social question". A mass of literature was published, most of it in large tomes of Biblical reinterpretation. The incident which sparked the deluge of books was the London dock strike of 1889. As the strike progressed, Scottish ministers grew increasingly sympathetic towards the workers. The most immediate reaction of clergy was that the churches had been suddenly removed from the centre of social-reform debates. A S Matheson, a United Presbyterian minister in Glasgow, wrote in 1890:

"Who were the spokesmen of these miserable dockmen in making a righteous demand? Not the ministers of Jesus Christ; not the magnates of the religious world; but a few socialists who, amid the starving multitudes, kept themselves and the sufferers in such moderation and self-control as to be the admiration of the world.... It should be the bitterest drop to us that social progress is mainly effected by men opposed to our churches and our religion.... Never let the orphan's rags, the stain of woman, and the anguish of the toiler appeal to us in vain. Lift up a standard for the people." ⁸⁸

Matheson's appeal fell largely on deaf ears in his own evangelical denomination, though he maintained his support for the London dockers in a later book.⁸⁹ However, many ministers of the Church of Scotland agreed completely with his point, reiterated by Tom Mann, that the churches were now taking little part in "social progress".⁹⁰

Those ministers who spoke favourably of the rise of the labour movement found a large measure of apathy and even hostility amongst the laity in the churches. Caird, Dyer and Smart were often used by ministers to increase the "respectability" of Christian-socialist views. Dyer, for

instance, was invited by ministers of the Established and Free churches in Glasgow to deliver lay sermons on social problems. Lay sermons by men not recognised as preachers was a fairly new departure in Scottish presbyterianism; so new, in fact, that ministers could find themselves in some trouble for inviting sermons from committed labour supporters, as Dyer himself noted.⁹¹ Such difficulties were compounded when Dyer tried to provoke his audience:

"The middle and upper classes of this country must make wake? up their minds to the fact that if a revolution ... is to be avoided, they must prevent the catastrophe by anticipating the demands of the age, and be prepared to lead public opinion on social questions.... A religion which fails to influence conduct is no longer a religion; it has become a superstition. Modern Christianity is largely a superstition."⁹²

Urged by the new middle-class "left" to enter social politics, churchmen were assailed by Tory and Liberal stalwarts in the churches for associating with "Christian socialism", and, by clear implication, with socialism. J.S McLandish, a prominent member of the Scottish insurance profession, said in 1898:

"If they [the clergy] meddle with economic, social or political questions on which the community are divided in opinion, and deal with subjects of which they have not been called on nor prepared to be teachers, they may, of course have the concurrence of some of those whom they address, but they will incur the distrust and condemnation of others, and these feelings will be apt to extend to their religious as well as to their economic teaching."⁹³

It was a moot point, of course, whether clergymen should be discussing affairs that had such clear political implications. However, the majority of the "Christian socialists" were not

politically committed to the labour movement. Furthermore, their main argument was that in consorting with labour organisations they were not actually entering the political arena. They regarded the labour movement as apolitical. The reasoning was that because the "social question" concerned religion, and because religion was self-evidently non-political, so the other components of the "social question", including the labour movement, were also non-political. Until the advent of significant labour involvement in political affairs in the late 1900s, the argument seemed to have some plausibility. In the books concerned with discussing the "social question", ministers argued that they were not discussing contentious issues. They said, in line with Edward Caird's argument, that social problems were social immoralities - that is, they were questions of an ethical nature which ministers and the churches had a right, if not a duty, to pronounce upon. Many of the books were prefaced with explanations of this kind. William Clow, Professor of Pastoral Theology and Christian Ethics at the United Free Church College in Glasgow, prefaced his 1913 book, Christ in the Social Order, by saying:

"A constant watchfulness has been maintained against entering into the sphere either of economics or politics. It has not been difficult to refrain from political reference or suggestion. But now and again the economic aspect of our social unrest is involved in its ethical criticism." ⁹⁴

Ethics were considered a justifiable entry to discussion of social problems. John Marshall Lang considered that "no hard-and-fast line can be drawn between ethics and economics".⁹⁵

William Muir followed the same line, condemning those clergy who would not discuss social questions because they considered

pastoral work as "not of this world".⁹⁶ A S Matheson felt that party politics should be kept out of "the great enterprise of social improvement as much as possible", but he had no sympathy with the view that religion had nothing to do with politics: "We cannot isolate religion and make it a kingdom in the air".⁹⁷ The progressive politicisation of social reform between 1890 and 1914 created doubts in the churches about whether they should sustain religious influence in social policy by entering the realms of political economy and party politics. Conversely, the increased role of the state and the local authorities in the work of social reform could be interpreted to mean that the churches no longer had a role to play. Lang said:

"Could the Church, in view of the magnitude of the [social] problem to be solved, and of its domestic divisions, undertake, by the free-will offerings of its membership, to administer the aid which has been thrown as a charge on the entire citizenship?"⁹⁸

As far as Lang and the Christian socialists were concerned, the question was rhetorical. The traditional role of the churches in the field of social amelioration and reform by evangelisation was diminishing rapidly. If the churches wished to influence social development at all, they had to cultivate, in Matheson's words, an "applied Christianity": "The world has never been converted by silence, and we are at a point of social pressure where to keep silence is little less than immoral".⁹⁹ It was the immorality of silence in the face of deepening social problems that was the essence of the "Christian socialist" outlook as taught by Edward Caird in the early 1880s. This consideration had to override all others.

Having established their right and duty to discuss social reform, ministers followed different courses towards a new social theology. Some studied scriptural teaching in detail, even to the point where David Watson quoted Leviticus to justify public sanitary inspectors, and quoted Isaiah and St. James in denouncing sweating in the tailoring trades.¹⁰⁰ More commonly, Christ's teaching in the New Testament was analysed to see if He had a social message, and, if so, of what it consisted. Ministers felt on firm ground on this topic. Lang said:

"Christ did more than work indirectly, through the regeneration of personal character, towards the improvement of communal life. He had always in His view the formation of a society which would mirror the divine order, the kingdom of God..."¹⁰¹

Lang, like many of the new social theologians of the Established Church, belonged to the evangelical and revivalist wing of the state church. But in this statement, it is clear that Lang saw social improvement as depending on more than evangelical self-improvement. Similar sentiments were expressed by others: "There are no short cuts to the social millenium, but there is a royal road if only we are willing to follow the King."¹⁰²

"His [Christ's] ministry exhibits a breadth and depth of social sympathy, and a fulness of healing energies for life's manifold ills, quite unique."¹⁰³

"The goal or objective of all social effort is the realisation of the Kingdom of God on earth..."¹⁰⁴

The evangelical tone is typical of the new social theologians' concern to highlight Christ's - and the churches' - centrality in matters temporal. Whilst few Christian ministers would openly deny that Christ desired to create a "Kingdom of God on

earth", traditional evangelicals placed emphasis on the "Kingdom" awaiting the "saved" in the afterlife.

Disquiet with the prevailing economic order provided a starting point for much of the theological analysis, and led to comparisons of economic individualism and socialism as two extremes. The uncontrolled acquisition of vast personal wealth, particularly by speculation in stocks and shares, was considered even by evangelicals to be the prime evil of individualism. "These men are the hungry parasites of our industrial order", wrote one minister¹⁰⁵ How to control the evil was more problematic. "Jesus regarded wealth as an achievement," said the dissenter William Clow, in partial defence of evangelical social theology. But, Clow went on, wealth was also a "stewardship" and a "peril" dependent on the influences of Christ's teachings. However such influences were to be imposed, "Christ did not abolish the capitalist." Clow continued:

"There is not a shadow of reason for affirming that Christ had any conception of making men equal in their possessions ... To abolish the capitalist on the ground of equality is neither Christian ethic nor economic wisdom."¹⁰⁶

The evangelical position, of which these statements are a fair representation, stuck rather closely to the doctrine of economic individualism. Established Church clergy, however, foresaw the need for more "socialising" of wealth whilst protecting the rights of properly "stewarded" property.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, there was an almost unanimous rejection of the idea of wealth redistribution. Donald Macleod felt that Christianity sought equality through the spirit of love, not through wealth.¹⁰⁸

This did not mean, however, that the capitalist system should be allowed to perpetuate inequality unfettered. David Watson said:

"Competition and capitalism have both had to be restricted and regulated by Government legislation, and the whole trend is towards greater restriction. Individualism is only a half truth; solidarity is the other half." 109

Donald Macleod affirmed that Christianity supported state restrictions on the employment of women and children, promoted the defence of the weak, and condemned laissez faire. Furthermore, Christianity supported the enactment of laws to limit working hours and improve living conditions. But there remained a problem:

"The absolute success of State Socialism might therefore accomplish many objects which the philanthropy of Christianity would be glad to witness, but in itself a State compulsion of goodness would not be a distinct gain, in the light of that religion which seeks the voluntary actings of a divinely-inspired love." 110

Taking this a stage further, Macleod stated:

"The sphere of the State is largely defensive. It is its duty to guard society from the danger which may arise from wrong-doing of individuals....But it is not the commonly recognised function of the State to be philanthropic. It does not prevent, nor try to prevent, a man being a bad man, as long as he does not interfere with other people." 111

Macleod and many of the new social theologians with an evangelical background found it difficult to avoid the conviction implicit in Victorian Christian belief that the individual could only enjoy sufficient freedom to seek and find religious salvation in a society based on economic liberalism: economic opportunity

begat religious opportunity. A commonly-expressed sentiment was that the individual had to be protected as a "free moral agent" in order to allow him or her to seek Christian salvation.¹¹²

Freedom from economic want conflicted with freedom from spiritual restriction, and this proved irreconcilable for many ministers, especially for those of an evangelical disposition.

In this way, many of the proponents of the new social theology found that their arguments broke down. They had seen, as the evangelicals had done earlier in the nineteenth century, that economic want adversely affected the ability of individuals to seek and find salvation. The solutions that had been mooted in the mid-Victorian period had included "philanthropic collectivism" by municipal authorities. Yet, by 1890, it was clear that collectivism was impairing the "free-market" society and, by implication, the moral independence of the individual. The books expounding the new social theology tended not to resolve this problem. Such books were almost entirely intended for consumption by members and clergy of the churches, and arguments for "Christian socialism" tended to be conservative and non-radical in tone and content. Thus, for instance, all the books were loaded with Biblical references and quotations. Clergymen who identified social problems requiring politically-induced economic solutions were aware that they were open to attack from within and outwith the churches. Their attempt to establish a compromise, based on principle, between economic individualism and socialism was regarded by many on the political left and right as pragmatic arbitration between, and unprincipled sacrifice of, irreconcilable doctrines. Unsympathetic churchmen regarded it as an unwarranted clerical intrusion into "secular" politics, and the evangelicals of the dissenting

churches looked upon it - rightly - as a challenge to their pre-eminence in the social-reform movement. Furthermore, there was considerable terminological confusion in clerical treatises - a confusion which Peter d'A Jones has described as "intellectual fuzziness".¹¹³ However, the different interpretations placed on terms such as "socialism", "collectivism" and "co-operativism", and the inter-changeable fashion in which they were used, were indicative of the rapid progress which made socialism a respectable subject for discussions and "socialist" a somewhat more respectable label in the 1890s. The "intellectual fuzziness", moreover, was not something created by nor solely the prerogative of the Christian socialists. The "experts" on which churchmen called for advice were just as confused, and some, like Henry Dyer, were aware of it.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, the confusion was a symptom of the pooling of ideas that took place as the nexus of academics, clergy and socialists was formed. For Christian socialists, at least, it was representative of the compromise between individualism and socialism that they sought.

The attempt to reach a compromise was fraught with problems. The socialist utopia might be similar to the kingdom of God on earth, but achieving the reconciliation was a pragmatic process. In trying to determine where the line should be drawn on state intervention, one minister suggested that the Crofters' Act was sufficient on the Highland land question as he doubted the ethics behind any further legislation. Nevertheless, he was convinced of the need for anti-trust legislation: "The policeman theory of the State no longer suffices."¹¹⁵ On issues such as free school meals, old age pensions, national insurance and labour exchanges, there was fairly general

agreement with the labour movement. It was in this area that the Christian-socialist dreams caused particular confusion. One advocate of the new social theology stated:

"When politicians seek to discredit reforms on which the hearts of the people are set by describing them as Socialistic, they are simply promoting Socialism. Even among those who are not very acute the conclusion is inevitable that if such things as Old Age Pensions, State intervention in Labour disputes, Labour Exchanges, and the Trades Boards Act are Socialism, then Socialism is not a thing to be greatly dreaded." 116

In effect, ministers resented being called "socialists" when, to their own minds, they had a quite distinct impression of the form of society that such measures were leading to. In Scotland, where comparatively little interest had been aroused by Ludlow, Maurice and Kingsley in the 1850s, "Christian socialist" was often used pejoratively. Partly for this reason, and partly because English Christian socialists were somewhat isolated from men of like mind in Scotland, Scottish clergymen tended not to identify themselves with the term "Christian socialist".

There were two particular confusions that churchmen employed as mitigating factors in their support for socialist aims: co-operativism and, especially in Glasgow, municipal collectivism. The municipal ideal attracted support from many bands of the political spectrum in Glasgow. The Loch Katrine water project of the late 1850s and the City Improvement Act of 1866 were landmarks in the city's attempts at collectivist social improvement in the mid-Victorian period. Glasgow's municipal socialism became famous between 1890 and 1914. The best known example of the city's municipal enterprises was the municipalisation of the trams in 1894. This resulted from an

industrial dispute that began in 1889 between the Tramway Servants Society, backed by the trades council, and the tramway company. The trades council suggested, with little hope of success, that the trams should be taken over by the city. To their surprise, the town council, the churches and the middle-class electorate not only felt sympathy with the workers in the dispute but also backed the municipal takeover.¹¹⁷ The success of the municipal trams and other civic enterprises (such as the municipal telephone system) aroused international interest in the following decade.¹¹⁸

William Smart was the great publicist of the municipal ideal in Glasgow, and his influence in social reform in the city was enormous. The Presbytery Housing Commission on which he sat, for instance, made recommendations on housing-control powers of the town council and on certain municipal enterprises (including municipal mortuaries) that were quickly implemented by the city fathers.¹¹⁹ Clerical support for the municipal ideal had had a long pedigree in Glasgow, even if it had not been as obtrusive as in cities like Birmingham, and enjoyed renewed vigour in the 1890s. David Watson, for instance, encouraged the Established Church to start an educational programme on the civic ideal for trainee clergy, and urged the Church to support further municipal intervention in the social and economic life of the city.¹²⁰ Writing in 1926, at a time when the churches' role in political affairs was more controversial, Watson stated:

"The Christianity of the city is the Church's business, and she can only do so through her members, through training and inspiring them for civic and social service....The Church has no occasion to apologise for taking an active interest in municipal affairs. She is bound to do so, in discharging her social function....Our immediate duty is to encourage

the Corporation [of Glasgow] in their great [council] housing schemes ..."¹²¹

Both Watson and A S Matheson were devotees of the Garden City ideal expounded by Patrick Geddes and Ebenezer Howard. Matheson issued a book entitled The City of Man in the Unwin series on town planning, and attended many of the conferences connected with Letchworth garden city. In the book, he stated that "the city is the highest form in which [the] hierarchy of mutual fellowship and service can be manifested". His vision was for the churches and society "to be alit with civic ideals, to be alive with civic ardours, to be aglow with civic pride and patriotism ...". The impulses from the garden-city movement were probably of less importance to Matheson and his colleagues from the west of Scotland than the fact that "the Corporation of Glasgow is now the Mecca of the municipal reformer".¹²²

The co-operative ideal also provided an area of compromise between individualism and collectivism. Clerical treatises of the 1890-1914 period were full of praise for social co-operation and for co-operatives. Ministers were often called upon to work for the educational programme of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society (S.C.W.S.) by lecturing on such topics as economics and the place of Christianity in the labour movement.¹²³ Co-operativism was used to legitimise views otherwise regarded as socialistic:

"Co-operation must take the place of competition; we must have a system of industry carried on, not for private profits, but for the public good."¹²⁴

The new social theologians often made reference to David Dale and Robert Owen, the promoters of the utopian-socialist experiments at the New Lanark cotton mill in the late eighteenth

and early nineteenth centuries, as the founders of the Scottish co-operative movement. Their work was pointed to in justification of profit-sharing and industrial democracy.¹²⁵ Co-operativism in its business application seems to have been less worthy of note for Glasgow clergymen. In particular, there was much criticism around 1900 that co-operatives (and especially the retail outlets of the S.C.W.S.) were putting small independent traders out of business.¹²⁶ It was largely as an ideal of Christian brotherhood that ministers spoke of co-operativism.¹²⁷

The new social theology of 1890-1914 was never very coherent. There were differences of opinion as to the extent to which the state should intervene in economic and social affairs. There were repeated attempts to combine the theology of Christian social service, church backing for the labour movement and ecclesiastical support for collectivist improvement with the existing social theology of evangelicalism. Thus, ministers like Lang, Macleod and Matheson supported the revival campaign undertaken by the Glasgow United Evangelistic Association in 1899, and supported moves for temperance legislation. Whilst emanating from the evangelical tradition, the social theology of Christian socialism was a quite distinct development. The majority of clergy in the dissenting evangelical churches abhorred it, and many in the Church Of Scotland were wary of being seen to align with the labour movement. However, there were significant numbers of clergy who supported the new social theology. Prominent clergy in the Church of Scotland published books expounding Christian-socialist views, and spoke of their views in courts of the Church and elsewhere. Books of a similar

kind were published by a few ministers and clergy in the United Free Church, the Baptist Church and the Scottish Episcopal Church. The Roman Catholic Church in Glasgow did not, as far as can be ascertained, publish anything related to Christian socialism. The American-based Catholic organisation, the Knights of Labor, appeared in Glasgow around 1890, and Leo XIII's papal encyclical of 1891, Rerum Novarum (entitled "The Workers' Charter" in one English translation) gave encouragement to Catholics in the labour movement.¹²⁸ John Wheatley's Catholic Socialist Society of 1906 was the most notable example of Catholic socialist activity in Glasgow before 1914. However, the Catholic Church in the city, under the direction of archbishops who were faced with severe political problems relative to the strong Irish nationalist movement in the west of Scotland, tended to dissociate itself from all contentious political issues.¹²⁹ Nonetheless, the Catholic Archbishop of Glasgow, Charles Eyre, did join one of the key church-labour organisations which are considered in the next section.

On the part of the labour movement in Glasgow, very little material was published which specifically advocated Christian socialism.¹³⁰ Many of those involved in the labour movement, such as Keir Hardie, a member of the Evangelical Union, and J Bruce Glasier, a member of the Congregational Church, professed their Christian faith and supported Christian-socialist organisations. But in one sense, this was irrelevant to the churches' problems. The trades council's attachment to Christian doctrines before 1890, for instance, contributed little to church-labour relations before 1890. The task facing Christian socialists was to create a meaningful relationship that would benefit both churches and the labour movement.

(e) The church-labour group in Glasgow, 1890-1914.

"... let the Socialist and Christian be rolled into one - into the Christian Socialist; then let him come to the feet of Jesus, and learn from Him the cure of social woes."

The Rev. A Scott Matheson, 1890¹³¹

With a few minor exceptions, relations between the churches and labour organisations did not develop between the official courts of the churches and labour bodies. Attempts to create such relations would have produced strong opposition from sections within the churches. Instead, a middle ground consisting of voluntary organisations was created in the 1890s and 1900s. The membership of the voluntary organisations included clergy from the Church of Scotland and, from about 1900 onwards, clergy of the United Free Church, the Scottish Episcopal Church and the Roman Catholic Church. It also included representatives of trades unions, the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society, the Scottish Labour Party and the Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.). An important role was played by the three academics Caird, Smart and Dyer in creating these organisations between labour and churches. The organisations maintained links, by formal affiliation and by cross-representation, with each other and with certain public bodies such as Glasgow town council and Glasgow school board. In addition, formal and informal links were created with the local presbyteries of the Church of Scotland and, later, the United Free Church, and with the Roman Catholic and Episcopal archbishoprics of Glasgow. Links were also created with a number of labour organisations, including the Scottish Trades Union Congress (S.T.U.C.).

The church-labour network developed out of mutual

concern for specific social problems. It did not, in general, emanate from clerical recruitment to the labour movement.

Of the seven clergy included in diagram 7.1, only two were politically-committed to the labour movement by 1914. The most prominent of these two was the Rev. John Glasse of Old Greyfriars Church in Edinburgh. He was a fairly unusual figure in the Christian-socialist movement in Britain. He was deeply involved in the Social Democratic Federation and the I.L.P.; along with Bruce Glasier, he organised the I.L.P. in Glasgow and Edinburgh. Glasse was also the organiser of the Scottish Land and Labour League.¹³² A labour historian said of him:

"[Glasse] gathered round him many ardent idealists to whom he administered doses of Proudon and Marx. At the manse in Tantallon Place the faithful were favoured with words of wisdom from the lips of [William] Morris, Kropotkin, Stepniak [and others] ..." ¹³³

Glasse's involvement in church-labour voluntary organisations was unusual because, although an Established Church minister, he was politically committed to the labour movement in a way shared by very few of his colleagues before the First World War. The remainder of the clergy involved in the group were supporters of the argument that the labour movement was non-political. They were very prominent clergy. Four of the seven became moderators of the general assemblies of the Established or United Free churches before 1914. There were a large number of lay people in the group. There were a few who were church elders, and who were in the group because of political status: members of parliament and some town councillors. The majority of the laity were "experts" in social-reform affairs: sanitary inspectors, poor-law inspectors, school inspectors, school-board

members and Glasgow's medical officer of health. The vast bulk of these men were church elders, predominantly in the presbyterian churches. On the labour side, the church-labour group included Robert Smillie of the Scottish Miners' Federation, Margaret Irwin, organiser of women's trades unions in Scotland and the first parliamentary secretary of the S.T.U.C., and Bruce Glasier. Glasier was particularly significant for having contact with churchmen in both England and Scotland. There were other labour representatives, including the chairman of the S.C.W.S..

The two social problems which first brought these people together were Sunday working and the sweat shops. Despite the hostile exchange over Sunday labour between the trades council and the general assemblies of the Established and Free churches in 1882, this was an area in which both sides had direct and not necessarily conflicting interests. The churches had always opposed labour on the Sabbath, and the unions opposed as part of their campaign to shorten the working week. However, labour organisations also wished to open amenities on Sundays for the benefit of those workers who were unable to use them on other days of the week. Thus, two conflicting movements emerged, both in support of labour aims. In 1879, the Glasgow Sunday Society was formed as an affiliated part of the London-based "Sunday Society to Obtain the Opening of Museums, Art Galleries, Libraries and Gardens on Sundays". It was led by a group including the academics Edward Caird and John Stuart Blackie of Glasgow University, the socialists Glasier and Glasse, and a leading member of the Catholic laity in Scotland.¹³⁴ In opposition to Sunday working, the Established Church gave its backing to two groups of workers. In 1889, Donald Macleod directed the attention of the Glasgow Presbytery to Sunday working in the bakery

trade. As a result of a presbyterial inquiry started by Macleod, the Presbytery claimed to have forced many of the city's bakery firms to reduce Sunday work to a minimum.¹³⁵ Certainly, the Presbytery became identified with the interests of workers in this matter. The Scottish Shopkeepers and Assistants Union was particularly welcome at Presbytery meetings, and gained the full support of the church court in the campaign to reduce hours by early and Sunday closing.¹³⁶ The Free Church Presbytery of Glasgow similarly backed the Shop Assistants, but seemed unwilling to enter a blanket campaign to vilify employers on the Sunday-labour issue.¹³⁷ A certain denominational alignment is apparent in these two opposing campaigns. The movement for freeing the Sabbath from presbyterian restriction was supported by episcopal and Catholic laity and clergy; the movement for reducing Sunday work was supported by the presbyterians. The net result was that both movements brought some clergy and labour activists into contact with each other.

The anti-sweating movement was even more important in the development of church-labour links in Glasgow. In 1887, the Scottish Tailors' Society - an affiliated union of Glasgow trades council - carried out a survey of sweat shops in the tailoring trade in the city, finding fifty sweaters "dens" within a mile radius of the city centre. The Society and the trades council called a public meeting and formed a women's trades union under the presidency of William Smart.¹³⁸ The union, the Women's Provident and Protective League (W.P.P.L.), grew rapidly around 1890 and became the focus for the anti-sweating movement and women's trades unionism in the west of Scotland. William Smart assisted in organising union branches and

publicised its work amongst the churches and the middle classes of Glasgow.¹³⁹ Edward Caird and another university lecturer also assisted in forming new branches, and investigated at least one industrial dispute in favour of the female labour force.¹⁴⁰ The overall organiser was Margaret Irwin who became a central figure in the Scottish women's movement for the vote. Her activities with the W.P.P.L. led in 1894 to the formation of the Glasgow (in 1900 renamed Scottish) Council for Women's Trades (S.C.W.T.). The S.C.W.T. quickly became the focus and central organisation of church-labour relations in Scotland. By 1904, its membership of just over a hundred people included nineteen clergy (the most notable being Donald Macleod, David Watson and John Glasse, together with the Catholic and Episcopal archbishops of Glasgow), several academics including Caird and Smart, the chairman of the S.C.W.S., and several trades unionists including Robert Smillie.¹⁴¹ The S.C.W.T. undertook detailed studies on sweating in various industries, on child labour and on housing. These were published as reports which received widespread attention in the churches and public authorities. It also assisted the W.P.P.L. in its trade union work, and sent numerous deputations to Westminster. The clergy took an active part in its work. Indeed, three out of the six members of the executive in the mid-1900s were ministers, and ministers were normally included in the delegates' deputations to the congresses of the S.T.U.C.. Through the meetings and operations of the S.C.W.T., church-labour relations developed very rapidly.

Those relations were further enhanced by the formation in 1901 of the Scottish Christian Social Union. It was founded by David Watson, borrowing the name and general functions of

its Anglican counterpart.¹⁴² Its membership included clergy and laity, several of whom, like Watson, were also members of the S.C.W.T.. Its president was the Lord Provost of Glasgow, and others involved in its activities included all the major clergy who published books on the "social question", together with several M.P.s, William Smart, a sprinkling of aristocracy, and one trades unionist. The Union organised social centres for the elderly, the destitute and the unemployed in working-class areas of Glasgow, providing the model of the Christian social service which the new social theologians wished the churches to adopt. The Union also compiled reports on various social problems, and generally sought "to affirm the social mission of the Church, and make practical suggestions as to how that mission may best be fulfilled".¹⁴³ Like the S.C.W.T., the Scottish Christian Social Union was affiliated to the S.T.U.C., and Watson attended congresses in deputations from both organisations.

The Christian Social Union and the Scottish Council for Women's trades were the central bodies in a network of organisations which sprang up in Glasgow in the years between 1894 and 1914. Other organisations included were the Kyrle and Ruskin societies of Glasgow, which were largely forums for discussing the aims and methods of social reform. More practical organisations appeared. The Charity Organisation Society was connected to the network. The Established Church Presbytery of Glasgow Housing Commission of 1889-91 gave rise to the Glasgow Social Union in which David Watson and other clergymen played leading parts. In 1890, the Social Union acted on advice from the Housing Commission and from William Smart in setting up the Glasgow Workmen's Dwelling

Company to build houses for artisans.¹⁴⁴ By 1903, the company had built 669 houses for 2,000 people.¹⁴⁵ Through individuals who were members of more than one organisation, the network grew to include all the major social-reform bodies in the city. Diagram 7.1 shows a matrix of cross-membership between these organisations. Diagram 7.2 shows the formal affiliations between some of the organisations involved. Other individuals and organisations were involved, but the first diagram highlights the importance of a group of activists and the second illustrates the formal links between organisations that have been brought to light.

The creation of the network had several immediate results. Caird, Smart and Dyer were all involved in industrial arbitration, and some clergymen in the group were encouraged to assist in negotiations between employers and trades unions. Notably, both the Free and Established Presbyteries of Glasgow tried to negotiate in the miners' strike of 1894, "wholly without effect".¹⁴⁶ The Glasgow trades council started to take a more active interest in social reform. It sought advice from Henry Dyer on educational policy, and he became the first labour representative on the school board. Some clergy were recruited by the labour movement. Of six labour members of Glasgow parish council in 1910-1, three were ministers.¹⁴⁷ In 1900, the trades council organised a campaign for improved housing for the working classes. The campaign attracted attention from outwith the labour movement, and the city's medical officer of health became a much-vaunted ally of labour's plans.¹⁴⁸ Labour's standing in social-reform affairs grew, and clerical sympathisers gave it considerable "respectability". Church and labour seemed to come to an understanding which quite

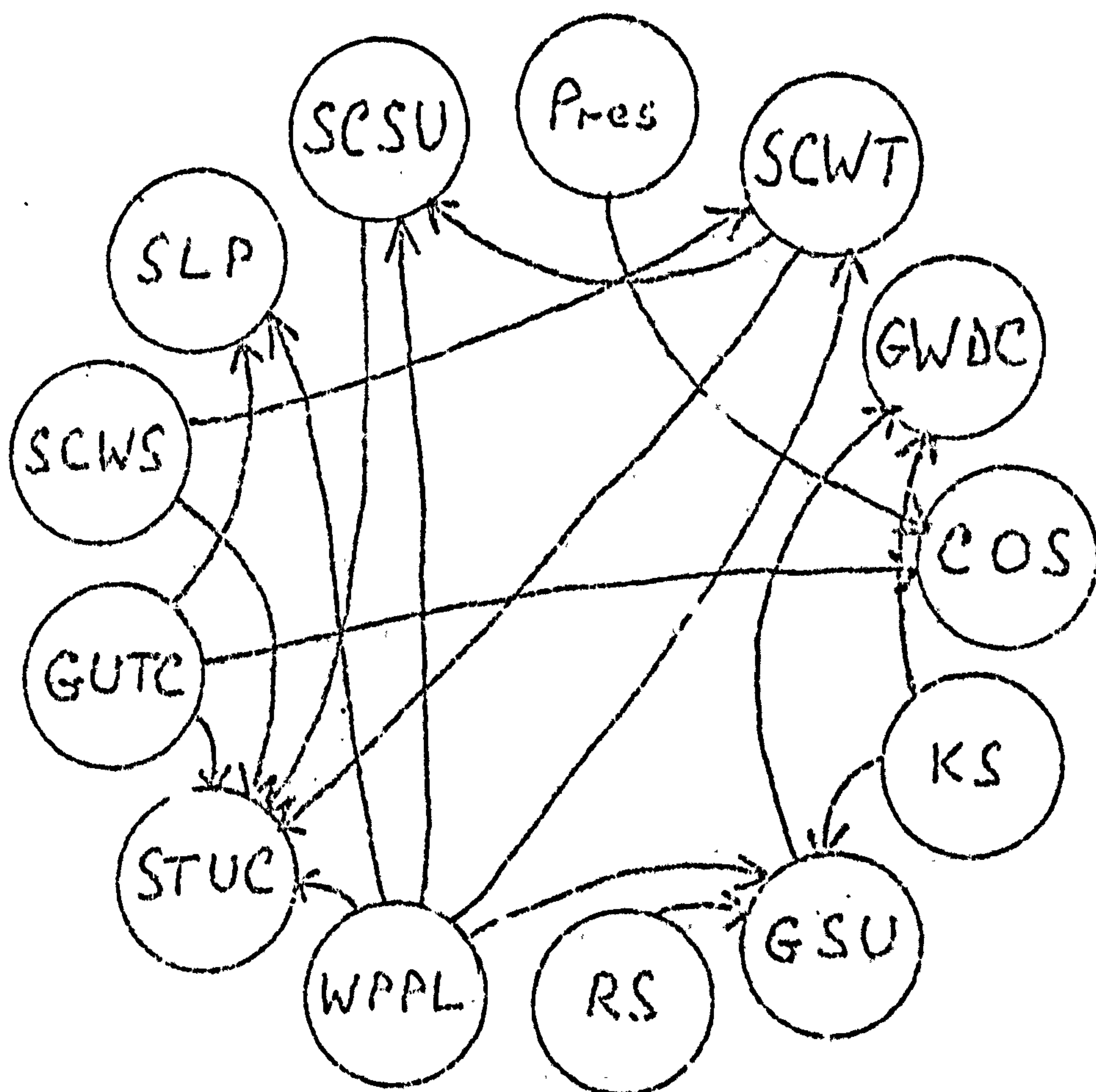
Diagram 7.1 Matrix of cross-membership in Glasgow network of social-reform organisations, 1880-1914

The diagram shows the cross-membership of 20 individuals in 18 organisations and their membership of Glasgow public authorities as labour representatives at dates between 1880 and 1914. The people include 7 clergy (notably John Glasse, David Watson, J M Lang and Donald Macleod), Edward Caird, William Smart, Henry Dyer, J B Glasier, Margaret Irwin and Robert Smillie. The figures in brackets give the number of the 20 people who were members of each organisation. Abbreviations are explained in diagram 7.2.

Sources: The information for diagrams 7.1 and 7.2 was obtained from reports and minutes books of some of the organisations.

	SDF	SL	ILP	SLLL	SSF	SCWS	LLS	STUC	WPPL	LC	GSS	SCWT	GWDC	COS	GSU	KS	RS	HC	ECSU
SDF (3)	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2							1
SL (3)	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2							1
ILP (3)	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2							1
SLLL (1)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1							1
SSF (1)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1							1
SCWS (3)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1			1			2
LLS (1)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1								
STUC (4)		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	1			1			2
WPPL (4)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	4			2				1
LC (2)											1	1			1				1
GSS (3)	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2			1				1
SCWT (16)	2	2	2	1	1	3	1	4	4	1	2	2	1	5	3	4			9
GWDC (2)						1	1	1	1			2	1	1	1	1			2
COS (1)						1	1	1	1			1	1			1			1
GSU (7)									2	1	1	5	1			1	4		4
KS (3)						1	1	1				3	1	1			1		2
RS (1)															1				1
HC (6)						1	1	1	1			4	1	1	4	1	1		5
ECSU (11)	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	9	2	1	4	2			5

Diagram 7.2 Affiliations and formal representations between
social-reform organisations in Glasgow, 1890-1914



Abbreviations (diagrams 7.1 and 7.2)

COS	Glasgow Charity Organisation Society	SCSU	Scottish Christian Social Union
CSS	Glasgow Sunday Society	SCWS	Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society
GSU	Glasgow Social Union	SCWT	Scottish Council for Women's Trades
GWDC	Glasgow Workmen's Dwellings Company	SDF	Social Democratic Federation
GUTC	Glasgow United Trades Council	SL	Socialist League
HC	Established Church Presbytery of Glasgow Housing Commission	SLL	Scottish Land and Labour League
ILP	Independent Labour Party	SLP	Scottish Labour Party
KS	Glasgow Kyrle Society	SSF	Scottish Socialist Federation
LC	Labour members of elected public authorities	STUC	Scottish Trades Union Congress
LLS	Labour Literature Society (Glasgow)	WPPL	Women's Provident and Protective League
Pres	Glasgow presbyteries of the Established, Free and U.P. churches		
RS	Glasgow Ruskin Society		

belied the fundamental decline in ecclesiastical influence on social policy. The Scottish T.U.C., welcoming the largely unsolicited support of the clergy, passed a motion proposed by David Watson, the delegate of the Scottish Christian Social Union, recognising the "legitimate aspirations" of both Labour and the Church.¹⁴⁹ Such a minor episode marked a radical transformation in the relations between the churches and the labour movement since the hostilities of the pre-1890 period.

The network of organisations was held together by agreement on certain social-reform issues. These included the abolition of the sweat shops, improved women's wages, free school meals, old age pensions, labour exchanges, workers' insurance and state intervention in industrial disputes. There were wide disagreements on other issues - particularly on the need for council housing. As the agreed policies between church and labour were implemented during the 1890-1914 period, so the group became increasingly weakened. By 1914, the agreed agenda of social action was practically used up. Despite strenuous efforts by some clergy to get general church agreement on the need for subsidised council housing, the church-labour group disintegrated during the First World War. Many of the leading figures were dead by 1918. In addition, the parliamentary successes of the labour movement reduced the validity of the argument that politics was not involved in social reform. Clergy were forced to either declare their support for the labour movement or to withdraw. The "middle ground" of Christian socialism, which had been the whole basis of the pre-1914 contact between churchmen and labour supporters, was destroyed. This came about particularly as a result of the apparent unpatriotic behaviour of the labour movement during the Great

War. "Red Clydeside" and the apparent militancy of the labour movement during the 1920s destroyed the "respectability" of both the movement and Christian socialism.

As the church-labour group disintegrated, it was already clear that the churches' influence in social reform had been drastically reduced. In 1904, the general assembly of the Church of Scotland accepted the plan of David Watson and the Presbytery of Glasgow to change the strategy of church social action from evangelisation to Christian social service. A well-defined social-work programme, on the model of the Scottish Christian Social Union, was undertaken using professional trained lay experts in the care of social casualties in homes for the elderly, disabled and inebriate, and in residential schools for delinquent children - the latter function still being partly performed by the Established and Roman Catholic churches in Scotland in the state-financed List D schools.¹⁵⁰ Whilst reducing "active" social-welfare functions, Watson and the Church hoped to maintain the Church's influence through the church-labour group and involvement in municipal and government social-policy formation. For the Christian-socialist clergy, the church-labour group had kept alive the prospect of a continuing religious influence in social reform. For its part, the labour movement in Glasgow had benefited from its relationship with the churches. At a time when the labour movement had little experience of social-policy formation and administration, the churches provided an excellent introduction to clerical and lay experts. Whether there was a lasting "Christian socialist" impression left on the labour movement is more difficult to assess. There is little evidence to suggest that labour organisations became in the long-term more reverential towards

the churches. Many ministers did join labour organisations in the inter-war years, but they tended to act as individuals without great authority in their own denominations. By 1918, labour did not need the churches or Christian socialism. The struggle for social improvement no longer depended on consensus action in voluntary organisations. It had become an overtly political struggle, and one in which the churches, in the main, were unwilling to participate. Social policy was politicised beyond the reach of the churches. Whatever had happened between 1890 and 1914, the net result was that labour had displaced the churches as the chief instigators of social progress.

Non-political Christian socialism, then, gave rise to a network of church-labour organisations in Glasgow. How far was this network representative of developments in Britain as a whole? In the Scottish context, the Glasgow group attained national significance. It included clergy and laity from most parts of Scotland, and especially the industrial areas. The Christian-socialist group of ministers was very influential in the general assembly of the Church of Scotland - probably the most influential group of its kind in any British church. However, it remains a possibility that other groups existed in Scotland - particularly in Dundee.

In the broad context of "the social question", Christian socialism and ecclesiastical reaction to the rise of the labour movement, there was a strong British dimension. It was this national dimension which was the continuous inspiration to the Glasgow group from the London dock strike of 1889 through the miners' strike of 1894 and the national campaigns for parliamentary legislation on welfare reforms. There were many Christian-

socialist organisations in England. Most of them were denominationally defined, in contrast to the remarkable ecumenism evident in organisations like the S.C.W.T. in Scotland. There were other significant differences between the national English Christian-socialist movement and the Glasgow group. For one thing, trades unionists appear to have been less involved in England. The labour representatives most frequently seen at Christian-socialist meetings in England were prominent national figures - and particularly three with Scottish backgrounds: Keir Hardie, J Bruce Glasier and Ramsay MacDonald. In England, Christian-socialist activities were centred on the annual, jamboree-type conference. Labour leaders attended such meetings to urge the churches into more involvement in social-reform issues and, more importantly, to build up a public image of good church-labour relations. Less emphasis seems to have been placed on developing detailed policy on social and political issues, committee work involving labour representatives, or on investigation of social problems that characterised the work of the Glasgow church-labour group.¹⁵¹

As to the existence of local church-labour groups in England, the evidence is somewhat patchy and inconclusive. Some studies, such as Wickham's on Sheffield and Paul Thompson's on London,¹⁵² emphasise the conflict between church and labour rather than any rapport. Where there is evidence of Christian-socialist activity by clergy, it appeared in the form of parish priests extending their pastoral work in order to assist certain groups of workers, such as women in sweat shops. One study of the Church of England in Birmingham does mention a group of clergy which came together in the late 1880s to seek

reform in the tailoring trades.¹⁵³ There are, of course, many recorded instances of individual clergy being actively involved in trades-union work. There are few labour histories or local histories of the late nineteenth century that do not mention at least one "Christian socialist" clergyman. Robert Wearmouth catalogued a list of some 80 preachers and members of the Methodist Church who were involved in trades unionism in England.¹⁵⁴ Here again, the church-labour contact was largely dependent on the individual preacher's sympathy for the labour movement, and his political commitment to it in several cases, rather than on group action by clergy with some measure of support or sanction from church courts. Parish-level church-labour contact was also evident in the worker-priest movement in the Church of England in the late 1940s and 1950s, emulating the work of French and German worker-priests.¹⁵⁵ Certainly, there appears to have been nothing on the scale, or in the form, of the inter-war Roman Catholic involvement in the American labour movement. In that case, the religious contribution was strongly anti-socialist and anti-communist in character.¹⁵⁶

However, there is insufficient evidence at hand to conclude that the Glasgow church-labour group was unique. In other churches, there may have been particular difficulties preventing activity of this kind. For instance, it may be that the episcopal structures of the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church militated against the formation of local or, even, national groups. A hostile bishop could easily proscribe Christian-socialist activities, as occurred in Glasgow with John Wheatley's Catholic Socialist Society of the late 1900s. Conversely, a church leader who was sympathetic to the labour movement, as Cardinal Manning was to the striking London dockers

of 1889,¹⁵⁷ could raise severe opposition from fellow bishops and cause severe divisions in church attitudes to labour. Whilst the full range of attitudes to labour existed in the Church of Scotland between 1890 and 1914, what is noteworthy about the Glasgow group of Christian socialists is that they sustained their argument that the labour movement was part of a wider and complex "social revolution", and spread it in the courts of the Church. On some issues, they carried the Church with them. Indeed, at least three of the ministers who became moderators of general assemblies were elevated because of their fame in the church-labour network in Glasgow.

(f) Conclusion.

"The Church confesses her helplessness, her inability to influence the slum-dwellers in their present surroundings."

David Watson, 1919¹⁵⁸

In this chapter, we have seen how the operation of the evangelical strategy on social policy became problematic in the late Victorian and Edwardian period. We have seen also how certain evangelical clergy in the Church of Scotland perceived the declining relevance of evangelicalism and sought to combine it or supplant it with Christian socialism. As social-policy formation became politicised, especially after the First World War, Christian socialism faded. There were attempts in the 1920s to sustain apolitical religious intervention in social issues: in the Archbishop of Canterbury's proposed speech of conciliation on B.B.C. radio during the General Strike, and in William Temple's arbitration in the 1926

coal strike. Church "Conferences on Politics, Economics and Citizenship" were organised. But, as Wickham noted, the influence of the churches had virtually disappeared:

"It was assumed rather, when a word had been said, a report published, an assembly at Lambeth or a conference concluded, that somehow work had been done, and that consequences would follow automatically." ¹⁵⁹

The non-political nature of British Christian socialism largely disappeared during the inter-war period. Through that development, the churches lost their influence on social reform. There was a feeling widespread amongst British churchmen that the loss of this influence, the loss of Christian "social prophecy", was at the root of declining religious influence in society at large. Despite the continued growth of church membership in Scotland and Britain until the late 1950s, the churches identified the 1890-1914 period as central to long-term decline of the social significance of religion. The "new evangelicalism" of Christian-socialist social theology, as Inglis has called it, ¹⁶⁰ failed to maintain the church-labour link and the relevance of Christianity to social development in this country.

Notes to chapter 7.

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6. Quoted in M Kay ("Callum", pseud.), Romance of the Martyrs' Christian Band, Being the story of fifty years' work among boys (1939, Glasgow), p 30.
7. Free St. Mary's Church, Govan, Annual Report and Financial Statement, 1898-9, pp 8, 14.
8. Queen's Park Free Church [Glasgow], [Evangelistic Association] Mission District, MS minutes, 18 February 1885, S.R.A., TD 396/47.
9. Ibid., 23 January 1894.
10. Quoted in Renwick Free Church [Glasgow], Evangelistic Association, MS minutes, 9 March 1898, S.R.A. TD 396/33/1.

11. Queen's Park Free Church, op. cit., 17 February 1898.
12. For instance, Renwick Free Church, op. cit., 17 February 1898.
13. Shettleston Old Kirk Parochial Missionary Association, MS minutes, 17 April and 19 December 1878, 27 May and 14 July 1879, S.R.O., CH2/178/12.
14. Renwick Free Church, op. cit., 29 March and 3 May 1899, 21 May 1902.
15. See above pp 206-229.
16. S Yeo, op. cit., pp 195, 198, 227, 317 and passim.
17. Ibid., pp 159-181.
18. [Renwick Free Church] Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society, South Cumberland Street Branch, later Renwick Halls Branch, MS minutes, 18 April and 10 August 1887, 17 December 1888, S.R.A., TD 396/37.
19. Queen's Park Free Church, op. cit., 17 September 1900; Glasgow Wesleyan Mission (East), In the Fighting Line: Report 1910-11, pp 7, 11. The Glasgow Presbytery of the Church of Scotland voted 18 to 10 in favour of concerts of "sacred music" at Sunday worship, and decided that the practice did not constitute "Sabbath desecration"; E.C.S.P.G., MS minutes, 4 December 1889, S.R.O., CH2/171/12.
20. M Kay, loc. cit.; Shettleston Old Kirk Parochial Missionary Association, op. cit., 1 April 1878.
21. See below vol. II pp 76-84.
22. St. Francis' [Church], Glasgow, Catholic Young Men's Society, Golden Jubilee, 1892-1942 (1942, Glasgow), pp 7-15.
23. J Springhall, Youth, Empire and Society: British youth movements, 1883-1940 (1977, London and Connecticut),

pp 27, 28, tables 2 and 3.

24. The sources for these figures are given in table 7.1.
25. F.C.P.G., Printed minutes, 3 December 1895, S.R.O., CH3/146/43.
26. F.C.P.G., Report of the Church-Planting Committee ... (1895, Glasgow), p 3.
27. F.C.P.G., MS minutes, 2 February 1892, S.R.O., CH3/146/41; ibid., Printed minutes, 7 January 1896, CH3/146/43; E.C.S.P.G., MS minutes, 8 January 1896, S.R.O., CH2/171/13.
28. U.F.C.P.G., Printed minutes, 6 November 1900 and 2 December 1902, S.R.O., CH3/146/44.
29. Ibid., 11 June 1907, S.R.O., CH3/146/45; E.C.S.P.G., MS minutes, 26 June 1905, S.R.O., CH2/171/14.
30. The United Free Church in Glasgow in the 1900s maintained separate church-extension funds for the Free Church and U.P. Church "sections", administered by a committee of the U.F. Presbytery with joint conveners; U.F.C.P.G., Printed minutes, 3 May 1904, S.R.O., CH3/146/45.
31. In 1898-9, 527 of 583 kirk sessions in the U.P. Church, and 71 out of 75 presbyteries in the Free Church, agreed to union; A L Drummond and J Bulloch, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, 1874-1900 (1978, Edinburgh), pp 316-7.
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History, vol. 3 (1978), pp 43-60.

33. For example, Shettleston Parish Church, Parochial Mission Committee, MS minutes, 6 December 1893, S.R.O., CH2/178/13; Queen's Park Free Church, op. cit., 13 April 1899.
34. E.C.S.P.G., MS minutes, 28 March 1888, S.R.O., CH2/171/12.
35. F.C.P.G., MS minutes, 1 March 1892, S.R.O., CH3/146/41.
36. U.F.C.P.G., Printed minutes, 4 February 1902, CH3/146/44.
37. Ibid., 3 May 1904, 8 May 1906, 7 April 1908, S.R.O., CH3/146/45 and /46.
38. Ibid., 10 March 1908, S.R.O., CH3/146/46. The proposer of the overture was the Rev. Colin M Gibb who in 1910 was elected a "Labour Member" of Glasgow Parish Council; Glasgow United Trades Council, Report 1910-11, p 26.
39. U.F.C.P.G., Printed minutes, 11 August 1908, CH3/146/46.
40. See, for instance, Queen's Park Free Church, op. cit., 23 January 1894.
41. U.F.C.P.G., Printed minutes, 8 December 1908, S.R.O., CH3/146/46.
42. Ibid., 6 April 1909.
43. E.C.S.P.G., MS minutes, 24 February 1909, S.R.O., CH2/171/14.
44. For information on the development of such relief organisations, see J H Treble, "Unemployment and unemployment policies in Glasgow, 1890-1905", in P Thane (ed.), op. cit., pp 154-163.
45. Glasgow United Trades Council (hereafter G.U.T.C.), Report 1882-3, p 11.
46. D J Withrington, "The Churches in Scotland, c1870-c1900: Towards a New Social Conscience?" R.S.C.H.S., vol. xix (1977), pp 155-168.
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50. S H Mayor, "Some Congregational relations with the Labour Movement"; and K S Inglis, op. cit..
51. P d'A Jones, op. cit..
52. G.U.T.C., MS minutes, 30 April 1858, Mitchell Library, Glasgow, 83200.
53. Ibid., 11 June 1858.

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55. Quoted in Glasgow Herald, 5 March 1873.
56. Ibid., 13 March 1873.
57. Ibid., 28 March 1873.
58. G.U.T.C., Annual Report, 1892-3 (1894), p 17.
59. Ibid., 1884-5 (1885), p 12.
60. Ibid., 1885-6 (1886), p 13.
61. Ibid., 1882-3 (1883), p 10; ibid., 1892-3 (1894), p 17.
62. Ibid., 1881-2 (1882), p 9.
63. Ibid., 1884-5 (1885), p 12.
64. Ibid., 1882-3 (1883), p 11.
65. Ibid., 1883-4 (1884), p 12.
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D S Cairns, Christianity in the Modern World (1906, London), p 275.
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117. G.U.T.C., Annual Report/s, 1888-9 (1889), pp 9-12;
1889-90 (1890), p 11.
118. See B Aspinall, op. cit..
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120. E.C.S.P.G., MS minutes, 30 September 1907, S.R.O., CH2/171/14. In 1907-8, Watson successfully campaigned for the town council of Glasgow to take a tighter control of the licensing of lodging houses; ibid., 26 February, 25 March and 28 October 1908.
121. D Watson, The Churches at Work (1926, Edinburgh), pp 70-1.
122. A S Matheson, The City of Man (1910, London), pp 143, 196, 199.

123. See for instance J W Harper, Social Life (1900, Glasgoe).
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126. Ibid., p 155.
127. Many clergy and members of labour organisations read and contributed to the journal, The Scottish Co-operator, which was edited by Henry Dyer.
128. R Bean, "A note on the Knights of Labor in Liverpool, 1889-90", Labor History, vol. 13 (1972), pp 68-78;
H Pelling, "The Knights of Labor in Britain, 1880-1901", Economic History Review, vol. ix (1956-7), pp 327-8;
Pope Leo XIII, The Condition of the Working Classes [containing an English translation of Rerum Novarum] (1944, Oxford).
129. S Gilley, "Catholics and Socialists in Glasgow, 1906-1912", a paper delivered to the Labour History Society, May 1978.
130. The Labour Literature Society of Glasgow, a co-operative of which J Bruce Glasier was a member, published at least one penny pamphlet in support of Christian socialism:
M Cass, The Socialism of Jesus (1893, Glasgow).
131. A S Matheson, The Gospel and Modern Substitutes, p 218.
132. R P Arnot, William Morris, the Man and the Myth (1964, London), pp 43, 77-9.
133. D Lowe, Souvenirs of Scottish Labour (1919, Glasgow), p 127.
134. Glasgow Sunday Society, Report, 1883-4.
135. E.C.S.P.G., MS minutes, 6 November and 4 December 1889, S.R.O., CH2/171/12.
136. Ibid., 6 January 1892, CH2/171/12; ibid., 6 May 1896, CH2/171/13. In 1907, Glasgow trades council appealed to the Established Church Presbytery for assistance in the

- campaign against Sunday labour; ibid., 18 December 1907, CH2/171/14.
137. F.C.P.G., MS minutes, 2 February 1892, S.R.O., CH3/146/41.
138. G.U.T.C., Annual Report, 1887-8 (1888), pp 11-12.
139. W Smart, Women's Wages (1892, Glasgow).
140. G.U.T.C., Annual Report, 1890-1(1891), p 18; ibid., 1891-2 (1892), p 17.
141. Scottish Council for Women's Trades, Annual Report, 1904-5, pp 3-5.
142. D Watson, The Scottish Christian Social Union ... (1901, Glasgow).
143. Scottish Christian Social Union, Annual Report, 1909-10, p 3. See also Report of the Scottish Christian Social Union Commission to Germany re Eberfeld System and Labour Colonies (n.d., c 1905, Glasgow).
144. Glasgow Social Union, Annual Report, 1891, pp 6-8.
145. J Butt, "Working-class housing in Glasgow, 1851-1914", in S D Chapman, (ed.), The History of Working-class housing (1971, Newton Abbot), p 75.
146. E.C.S.P.G., MS minutes, 1 August 1894, S.R.O., CH2/171/12; F.C.P.G., MS minutes, 7 August 1894, S.R.O., CH3/146/42; R Flint, "The Churches' Call to Study Social Questions", in Scottish Church Society Conferences, First Series, [papers and proceedings], 1894, p 72.
147. G.U.T.C., Annual Report, 1909-10 (1910), p 33; A McGregor, "Glasgow Parish Council. Work of the Labour Group", in British Trades Union Congress, Glasgow Souvenir (1919), pp 36-7.
148. G.U.T.C., Annual report, 1899-1900 (1901), p 15; ibid., 1901-2, p 18; ibid., 1902-3, p 22; A K Chalmers [M.O.H.],

- "Public Health Administration and its results", in British Trades Union Congress, op. cit., pp 32-5.
149. D Watson, Chords of Memory, pp 86-7; idem, The Social Expression of Christianity (1919, London), pp 171-2.
150. D C Smith, "The failure and recovery of social criticism in the Scottish Church, 1830-1950", Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1964, pp 401-4; D H Bishop, "Church and Society - a study of the social work and thought of James Begg, A H Charteris and David Watson", Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1953, pp 198-209.
151. For a general review of Christian-socialist organisations in England at this time, see P d'A Jone, op. cit., passim.
152. Wickham describes the rise of the labour movement after 1880 as evidence of a "social cleavage" in British society, "in which the churches were found almost wholly on one side of the break"; Wickham, op. cit., p 161. Thompson found Anglican clergy involved in the Christian-socialist movement in London, but added that: "There was no similar general movement among Nonconformist ministers." P Thompson, Socialists, Liberals and Labour: The Struggle for London 1885-1914 (1967, London and Toronto), pp 22-3.
153. "A small group of [Anglican] clergy can be distinguished, whose conviction it was that the improvement of human conditions should have a higher priority than the filling of pews or the preaching of the Gospel." R Peacock, "The Church of England and the Working Classes in Birmingham 1861-1905", M.Phil. thesis, University of Aston in Birmingham, 1973, p 217.
154. Wearmouth, op. cit..
155. On the "social gospel" on both sides of the Atlantic, see

for instance P A Carter, The Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel: social and political liberalism in American Protestant Churches, 1920-1940 (1956, New York); J-Y Calvez and J Perrin, The Church and Social Justice: The social teaching of the Popes from Leo XIII to Pius XII (1878-1958) (1961, London); P Coman, Catholics and the Welfare State (1977, London and New York).

156. There appears to have been wide differences in attitude towards the labour movement and the welfare state on the part of the Catholic Church.
157. H Pelling, A History of British Trades Unionism (3rd. ed., 1976, Harmondsworth), p 100.
158. D Watson, The Social Expression of Christianity, p 48.
159. Wickham, op. cit., p 241.
160. K S Inglis, "English Nonconformity and Social Reform 1880-1900", Past and Present, 1958, vol. 13, p 86.