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T H E S I S

THE SCOTTISH EVANGELICAL REVIVAL OF 1742 : Arthur Fawcett

S U M M A R Y

The thesis begins by showing the dichotomy apparent in the Revolution Settlement in the Church of Scotland between the "new presbyterians" and the more evangelical "sons of the Covenants". Political events in the early eighteenth century disturbed the uneasy truce, especially the Act of Union of 1707 and the Oath of Abjuration, the Act of Toleration and the Patronage Act of 1712. Theological differences also widened the breach, in particular the controversy in 1720 about the doctrine of "The Marrow". Finally in 1733, there came the Secession of the Four Brethren. Many, especially among the laity, agreed with their point of view on church government, and joined them; a large-scale drift from the established church had begun.

The environment of William M'Culloch in Galloway is noted, and also his own disposition; he eventually was ordained minister at Cambuslang in 1731, in spite of a dispute with the patrons lasting for six years. Conditions in the parish were very unsatisfactory owing to the sickness of the previous minister, the long-delayed settlement and pressure from a group of extremists. In 1740, almost all his elders were deposed by the presbytery of Hamilton, and many of his congregation were regularly attending the Seceders' meeting in Glasgow.

The part played by the Societies for Prayer in Scotland is outlined and an enquiry made into the extent and nature of the people's reading. Also note is taken of such natural calamities as the great hurricane of 1739 and the famine of 1739/1740 which served to prepare the ground for the revival.

M'Culloch, aroused by news of revivals in New England, began, in 1741, to preach on regeneration and the visit of George Whitefield to Glasgow in September 1741, strengthened his purpose. He also published the first religious newspaper in Scotland in December, 1741, printing news of revivals and Whitefield's journeyings.

In February 1742, the revival broke out at Cambuslang, and for six months, great crowds flocked to that village from all parts of Scotland. Two great communion seasons were held in that summer, attended by Whitefield and other ministers, and, at the latter in August 1742, at least 30,000 people.

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The spread of the revival into other parts of Scotland is traced, especially to Kilsyth, Muthill, and the North-east ; the impact made on Holland is also noted.

Criticisms of the movement, viz. neglect of ordinary business, stress on visionary experiences, fanaticism, the motive of fear, and spiritual pride, are examined and shown to be greatly exaggerated in the light of the personal testimonies in the M'Culloch manuscripts. The enquiry made by James Robe in 1751 revealed the much good was enduring the test of time. Immediate and individual results as revealed in the case-histories, are examined, viz. outward reformation, heightened appreciation of beauty, intellectual awakening, ethical sufficiency, sincere brotherliness and a practical altruism.

Another major result of the revival was the halting of the popular drift to the Secession, helped to some extent by the virulent opposition of the Seceders themselves. The effect of the Moderate policy in settlements is seen to have hindered the revival's growth both with respect to individual ministers, students and churches. But some men were influenced to enter the ministry of the established church and some laymen were inspired to Christian service. The revival of 1742 is shown to be linked with the Disruption of 1843, the friendship between M'Culloch's grand-daughter and Chalmers.

Finally, the revival stimulated the missionary interest embodied in Robert Millar's book and the Scottish S.P.C.K. and led to a sincere catholicity and co-operation among evangelical Christians of various denominations. It was the revival leaders who began the Concert for Prayer of 1744, taken up and publicised by Jonathan Edwards in America in his "Humble Attempt". Fifty years or so later, this book by Edwards was forwarded by John Erskine to some Baptist ministers in the English Midlands. It inspired the Prayer Call of 1784, Carey's "Enquiry &c" and the formation of the Baptist Missionary Society. Similar societies were adumbrated in Scotland under the influence of John Erskine in 1796. Another more personal link between the 1742 revival and world missions is to be found in the work of Claudius Buchanan, the great encourager of missions in India and the grandson of one of the converts at Cambuslang.

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THE SCOTTISH EVANGELICAL REVIVAL OF 1742

(With Special Reference to Cambuslang)

Rev. Arthur Fawcett, M.A., B.D.

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**A thesis presented to the Faculty of
Divinity for the Degree of Ph.D. in
the University of Glasgow.**

April 1952.

" There is no expeditious road
To pack and label men for God,
And save them by the barrel-load "

Francis Thompson
(Epilogue to " A Judgement in Heaven.")

" No heart is pure that is not passionate ;
No virtue is safe that is not enthusiastic. "

John R. Seeley
(Ecce Homo.)

" The pressing need today is for a spiritual revival
to combat the dark and dynamic challenge of
materialistic creeds which threaten civilisation.
The final battle against these destructive
forces can be won only in the hearts of men. "

The Queen.
(Address given by her as the Princess Elizabeth,
and President of the Church of England Youth
Council, 1950.)

P R E F A C E

Not unto many is it given to realise their dreams. For fully twenty-five years I hoped for the privilege of a little leisure in which to pursue congenial studies, unhampered by any demanding claims. Most gladly then do I take advantage of this opportunity to express my gratitude to those who have enabled me to see this ideal become actual fact.

In the summer of 1949, the Senate of the University of Glasgow, at the recommendation of the Faculty of Divinity, awarded the Faulds Fellowship to me, thus enabling me to live at close quarters with my theme for three years. To them I offer my sincere thanks. If they should complain that I have not travelled very far in this time, I can only answer that it has, nevertheless, been a delightful experience to journey at ease through the spacious and leisurely eighteenth century, and to admire so much on the way.

Not only has my work been research into the past ; it has also been an adventure in living friendship. How many have come so readily to my help! That master of the apt word and the telling phrase, Dr. John Foster, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Glasgow, has helped me constantly with acute and kindly suggestion.

My special debt is to the salt of the academic world, the librarians. Many a time have I appealed to them, rarely to be disappointed. Dr. W.R. Cunningham, formerly librarian to the

University of Glasgow, along with his staff, has helped me more than I can say. The Rev. James Mackintosh, librarian of Trinity College, Glasgow, has patiently and assiduously answered my many calls. New College Library generously allowed me the prolonged use of the M'Culloch manuscripts. The services of Mr John Dunlop, Depute Librarian to the City of Glasgow, and his keen and competent staff at the Mitchell Library are above all praise.

From many places in England and Scotland, ministers and laymen alike, and kirk sessions, have responded willingly to my requests for information. It has been equally surprising that Sir James Fergusson, Keeper of the Scottish Records, and the indefatigable Professor G.D. Henderson should give of their time and knowledge to me, as that some country labourer, having heard of my interests, should invite me to look at his handful of books, or come in person to the University, bringing a volume in his hand. If the contribution to academic learning was at times negligible, the friendly gesture was heartening.

My greatest misfortune and handicap was the inability to trace the whereabouts of the Cambuslang Session Records, although fullest use has been made of any quotations that have been found printed in various books. Many enquiries have been made and over a long time, but without success. The records were last used by Dr. James A. Wilson when he wrote his "History of Cambuslang" in 1929, but both the doctor and his wife are now dead.

One word more. On the very day when I had planned to begin typing this thesis, family misfortune called me away from Glasgow for almost a week. Two of my friends, Dr. A.B.M'Naught and Mr. R. McMahon, both of them leading extremely crowded lives in their respective professions, came at once to my help and undertook much of the work. They will know how grateful I am, but it helps me to say so.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- M'C MSS : "Examinations of persons Under Spiritual Concern at
Cambuslang, during the Revival in 1741-42; By the
Rev^d William Macculloch, Minister of Cambuslang."
2 vols. pp. 615 and 680.
- K.R.S. : Kirk Session Records.
- Pres. Recs : Presbytery Records.
- Fasti : Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae - Hew Scott, 1915 ed.
- Anal. : Analecta, or Materials for a History of Remarkable
Providences &c. " Robert Wodrow. Maitland Club
edition. 1842.
- D.N.B. : Dictionary of National Biography 1885/1901 eds.
- S.C.H.S. : Scottish Church History Society

I N T R O D U C T O R Y

Of the past five centuries of church history in Scotland, the eighteenth has been the most neglected. Each of the others has its own colourful and predominating interest. The sixteenth is overshadowed by the granite figures of John Knox and Andrew Melville, clearing away much rubbish and striving to lay the foundations of a new national church. The struggle against royal theories of Divine Right, and the imposition of an unwelcome episcopacy, with armed violence, Covenants and additions to the noble army of martyrs, filled the seventeenth century. The nineteenth resounds with the uncompromising demand for the spiritual independence of the Church of Scotland with Thomas Chalmers and the long procession winding out from the meeting of the General Assembly in 1843.

The few historians who have examined the religious life and thought of the eighteenth century speak no smooth words. With characteristic vehemence, Thomas Carlyle apostrophised it as "the age of lying, of sham, the fraudulent, bankrupt century, the reign of Beelzebub, the peculiar age of cant." Principal Tulloch says of the Church of Scotland in this century that "she failed to realise the greatness of her mission as a National Church. She failed to witness as she ought to have done/

/done to the living love of a Divine Saviour." (1)

And yet it was, in Scotland, the age of such leaders as William Carstares, William Robertson and John Erskine; of such doughty contenders for the claims of the individual conscience as Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine, of Thomas Gillespie and James Baine. Principal John Cairns made this century one of his own special studies and concluded: "There is an impression in many quarters that the eighteenth century was barren and exhausted. This is the view of Mr. Carlyle, often stated by him with some thing like denunciation... I cannot follow him... Much that was shallow and artificial, doomed to a just end... But the century was also, in many directions, one of new beginnings." (2)

New beginnings! In all walks of Scottish life that was true. The new political situation brought about by the Union of England and Scotland in 1707 had opened the door to great economic advantages. The prosperous tobacco lords walked securely on the broad pavingstones near Glasgow Cross; new manufactures were being introduced and developed; improving landlords, such as Lord Kilkerran in Ayrshire and Grant of Monymusk, (3) were revolutionising agriculture. Contact with the south had introduced a multitude of new social habits, of/

(1) W.J. Couper, "Scottish Revivals", p.12 quoted.

(2) J. Cairns, "Unbelief in the Eighteenth Century", p.283.

(3) Vao. James Fergusson, "Lowland Lairds"; "Monymusk Papers", S.H.S.

/of varying worth. The century was on the move.

Religious thought and life existed within this developing situation, affected by the process of change, making its own contribution to it. The first four decades of the eighteenth century were to see the emergence of deep division within the established church, and secession from it. This was throughout Europe the Age of Reason, of scepticism, of Deism; the chilling winds of the Aufklärung were lowering the spiritual temperature in every land. Such churchmen as Bishop Butler in England were discouraged almost to despair: "It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted by many persons, that Christianity is not so much a subject for enquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious". In Scotland, the rise of Moderatism stressed the religion of "taste and feeling", the cult of Good Manners, of, first and last, polish. Presbyterianism must now be shown as a religion fit for gentlemen.

It was also the age of revivals, the century of Jonathan Edwards, George Whitefield, Howell Harris and the two Wesleys, who set against the frosty indifference of much of the nominal religion of that day the zealous ardour of their dedication. Not the philosophical reasonings of Butler, but the fruits of evangelistic field-preaching saved the day for religion. This was no easy enterprise for the open-air apostles with their message of regeneration. The fastidious John Wesley had a

/a real struggle before he ventured to "become more vile" and preach in this irregular fashion out-of-doors. Perhaps the most detested word in the eighteenth century was "Enthusiasm" and at least one Archbishop of York advised a clergyman that "He would be better employed preaching the morality of Socrates than canting about the new birth."⁽¹⁾

When Goethe saw the French success at the battle of Valmy in 1792, he perceived that this raw, citizen army "had captured the real secret of power, which is never a function of mechanism, but always an ardour of the soul." It is our purpose to show how, amid the tensions and exasperations of this first half of the eighteenth century, an "ardour of the soul" possessed an unprepossessing parish minister in the West of Scotland and then warmed others through him. Then that small flame kindled into a great blaze; changed the course of the history of the Church of Scotland; influenced other lands; and became one of the inspirations of the modern missionary movement.

We shall see how, at the actual time, the movement beginning at Cambuslang aroused bitter controversy, and echoes of this have barely died away yet. One of the leading Scottish historians in the nineteenth century writes:

"In a southern parish called Cambuslang, there had arisen one of those strange and melancholy exhibitions called religious revivals with which, fortunately, Scotland has been but rarely and but casually visited. The 'Cambuslang Wark', heretofore presided over by Mr. M'Culloch, the minister of the parish,

(1) Augustine Birrell, "Res Judicatae", p.16.

parish, exhibited the usual phenomena of such orgies - the profuse fits of weeping and trembling, the endemic epilepsies and faintings, the contortions and howls, with terrible symptoms of contrition emitted by old obdurate sinners awakened with a sudden lightning-flash to all the horrors of their condition. But another and more potent spirit was invoked when Whitefield joined the reverend local leader, and his cluster of zealous country divines. The spiritual tempest was worked up to its wildest climax, when, in an encampment of tents on the hillside, Whitefield, at the head of a band of clergy, held, day after day, a festival, which might be called awful, but scarcely solemn."⁽¹⁾

Fortunately we have an amazing amount of information about these days, both printed and manuscript, and these bear witness to an extremely high sense of responsibility among those ministers, chiefly William M'Culloch of Cambuslang and James Robe of Kilsyth, who gathered together the facts, for accurate and detailed reporting. Before we turn to our story, it will be good to say a little more about these sources.

In 1742, the same year in which the revival began at Cambuslang, the minister began to compile a written record of the testimonies of those who had come under the influence of the/

(1) J. Hill Burton, "The History of Scotland", viii. pp.413/4. Burton becomes less formidable when one notes his ignorance of the preaching-tents which were made of wood and canvas to shelter the preacher when out-of-doors.

/the revival: "they gave me very particular accounts of God's dealings with their souls in their first awakenings and out-gates, with their following soul-exercises...distresses, deliverances, and comforts." This was done also in 1743 and 1744, "and some of them continued these accounts to 1748." (1) M'Culloch goes on: "And I set down very many of these from their mouths, always in their own sense, and very much also in their own words: and many of these accounts have appeared to competent judges, to whom they have been shewn, and who have perused them with care, to be very rational and scriptural, and worthy to see the light; which perhaps may be done hereafter." (2)

It is highly probable that M'Culloch was encouraged to undertake this formidable task by his older colleague and friend, the Rev. James Robe of Kilsyth, who had made such a record about his own community. In the preface to his book, "A Faithful Narrative of the Extraordinary Work of the Spirit of God at Kilsyth &c.", Robe laments the absence of details about earlier revival movements. "The Omission of our worthy Forefathers to transmitt to Posterity, a full and Circumstantial account of the Conversion of 500 at the Kirk of Shots in the Year 1630... I have heard much complained of and Lamented." (3)

Robe/

(1) Attestations of 1751 in Robe's "Narrative" (1789 edn.) p.312. (2) "Narrative" p.312 (3) "Narrative" preface. xxi.

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Robe describes his own method of record: "I have kept a Book, wherein, from Day to Day, I wrote down whatever was most Material in the Exercise of the Distrest. This may appear an unsupportable Labour at first View, especially where the Number of the Distrest are so many. Yet I found it to be very easy, it saved much Time to me. An Index I kept, brought me soon to the part of the Book, where the Person's Case was recorded. I had then a full View of their Case, as it was when they were first with me: I saw what Progress their Convictions had made, and knew where I was to begin with them, without examining their Case every Time from the very beginning anew." (1)

Many of these personal case-histories set down by Robe were printed during the years 1742/1744, but M'Culloch's half-hesitant suggestion about publishing the accounts he had gathered did not materialise for over a hundred years. In 1845, under the aegis of the Free Church of Scotland, there was published "The Revivals of the Eighteenth Century, particularly at Cambuslang &c." by the Rev. D. Macfarlan, D.D., of Renfrew and the title page states that the Book was "compiled from Original Manuscripts and Contemporary Publications."

The manuscripts were chiefly two volumes of these case-histories mentioned earlier, compiled by M'Culloch and/

(1) Robe: "Narrative", p.61.

/and presented by his granddaughter, Mrs. Coutts, to the Free Church Library in 1844. In his book, Dr. Macfarlan gives extracts from twenty-three out of the total of one hundred and six cases, not hesitating to change the pithy vernacular of the original record into a somewhat more unctuous and Victorian mode of religious style. His primary motive in publishing the book seems to have been hortatory, to quicken religious enthusiasm within the newly-born Free Church, rather than to attempt an objective historical assessment. As we shall see, his omissions are significant.

M'Culloch's manuscripts consist of two small quarto volumes, bound in calf. The first volume contains forty-six cases and a report of an interview between two of the converts in the revival at Cambuslang and the two Secession leaders, Ebenezer Erskine and James Fisher, set out in dialogue form. It has 615 pages: the names of the reporters are all concealed by initials and there is an index of sixty-one names, from A.B. to C.H. at the end of this volume, with a few biographical details. The greater part of the handwriting is uniform, probably that of M'Culloch himself.

Volume two comprises sixty cases, written in different handwritings of various degrees of legibility. It has 680 pages, and an Index of "those ministers and others who were useful" numbered from one to eighty-eight: thus Wh - d is /

/is always mentioned in the body of the text as "(12)", and M'Culloch as "(26)". There may have been certain spiritual satisfactions in this passion for anonymity, but they add to the complications of the historian's task.

Also in this second volume, there are five cases, written in different hands, which are also to be found in M'Culloch's hand in volume one, with a few changes and deletions. It is obvious that paper was provided for the various men and women to tell their own stories, within the framework of some kind of questionnaire, eight pages or a multiple of this number to each. Some, with cramped letters, used up the whole space, and then asked for more; others, less voluble, could tell their tale on four, and even on three, pages.

After these had been rewritten, the names changed into numbers, along with other alterations, and they were sent to the "competent judges" spoken of by M'Culloch. Dr. Macfarlan is at fault in asserting that "Mr. James Ogilvie examined the cases first, writing his criticisms and then returning it."⁽¹⁾ Undoubtedly, in most of the cases, Dr. Alexander Webster of Edinburgh was the first to make his comments and suggest deletions; probably Thomas Gillespie of Carnock, later to be

(1) "Revivals &c.", p.109

/be founder of the Relief Church, was next; then came John Willison of Dundee, and James Ogilvie of Aberdeen. These were outstanding ministers, noted for zeal and wisdom, observers of and participants in the awakening at Cambuslang.

The accounts are of 35 men and 71 women; seven men and 31 women being twenty years of age or under, and 18 men and 27 women aged from twenty-one to thirty years. They represent many trades and classes - gentlemen's daughters and ex-soldier colliers, baillies and packmen's daughters, and they come from widely-scattered places - Kilmarnock and Greenock, Cardross and Garmunnock, Shotts and Lesmahagow.

Within these pages there is contained a wealth of information about education and habits, popular superstitions, customs and worship.

***** **** *****

CHAPTER 1

THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN SCOTLAND

The "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 marked an epoch in the history of the established church in Scotland. The Stuarts, infatuated with theories of Divine Right, and insisting on episcopacy, had gone, with very little stir; the inevitable coercions and intolerances bound up with their concept of Kingship went with them and the faithful could breathe again freely. Before sailing from Holland to seek his new kingdom, William had sent a Declaration to Scotland, offering to protect civil liberty and the Protestant religion.

William himself desired a religious settlement that would serve to bind England and Scotland together as closely as was possible - a retention of episcopacy in Scotland, but modified to include presbyterianism also. In his native Holland there had existed a medley of varying sects - arminian, pelagian and socinian, along with many other persecuted remnants - and toleration had been necessary to achieve state prosperity.

This scheme of comprehension proved abortive - Scotland had suffered too much and too recently - and so presbyterianism was/

/was established again, but with a difference. The Covenants were tacitly ignored and excommunication was deprived of its civil penalties. It was enacted that the "first meeting of the General Assembly ... be at Edinburgh the third Thursday of October next to come." But who was to constitute this body?

There were serious objections to any proposal to hand over ecclesiastical government to the whole body of clergy in the kingdom. Lord Crawford wrote that it was a strange notion to give equal authority to conforming and non-conforming ministers alike, since prelacy was abolished. He goes on: "Can it be imagined we shall have Presbytery established, or that government continued, when the management is in the hands of men of different, if not opposite principles, but being three to one for number, would certainly in a short time cast out such as were not of a piece with them." (1) Such a decision would be to fly in the face of history.

But what of the uncompromising adherents of the good old way, the men into whose souls the iron had entered in recent days of bitter suffering? Would they not be disposed to extreme measures if they were entrusted with effective power? Parliament decided eventually that only those who had been "outed" for nonconformity since 1661 should exercise authority - only sixty were left - and they had the power to co-opt such ministers/

(1) Cunningham: "History..." ii, p.287

/ministers and elders as they thought fit. As the time of Assembly drew near, prominent noblemen, as the Earl of Crawford and others, wrote urgent letters to the most prominent ministers, pleading for restraint and caution.

On the 16th. October, 1690, after an interval of thirty-seven years, the General Assembly met, and Lord Carmichael, His Majesty's Commissioner, presented the royal message, short but succinct. "We expect that your management shall be such as we shall have no reason to repent of what we have done. A calm and peaceable procedure will be no less pleasing to us than it becometh you. We never could be of the mind that violence was suited to the advancing of true religion; nor do we intend that our authority shall ever be a tool to the irregular passions of any party. Moderation is what religion enjoins, neighbouring Churches expect from, and we recommend to you." (1)

It was an impressive body of 163 men that met in St. Giles' Church: "men were there who had carried gun and sword at Rullion Green and Bothwell Bridge; men who bore branded on their bodies the marks of the rack and the thumbscrew, and who could tell of the horrors of Dunnottar and the Bass; men on whose heads the government ... had set a price." (2) There, back again from Holland, was the saintly Thomas Hog of /

(1) Acts of the Gen. Ass. pub. Church Law Society 222. quoted Cunningham ii, p.289. (2) A. Smellie, "Men of the Covenant", p.508.

/of Kiltearn and Henry Erskine, father of Ebenezer and Ralph, exile and fugitive for his unflinching determination to preach the gospel. Chief among them all was that greatest of churchmen serving Scotland, William Carstares, diplomat and disciple, his thumbs marked by the agony of the torturing screws.

Principle and policy alike dictated to William III that the many former Episcopalians of the days before 1688 must be, if at all possible, retained within the national church. Three hundred curates had been "rabbed" out of their manses and parishes in the first flush of presbyterian victory. He could not afford to have so large a number driven out into dissent and starvation, thrown willy-nilly into the machinations of Jacobite intrigues. Therefore those who took the oath of loyalty to the government, and submitted to presbyterian polity, were secured in their livings and admitted to the Church courts. From these earliest days there was a serious cleavage within the national church, a dichotomy which was to separate the two sections still more widely as the eighteenth century advanced.

Gilbert Burnet has described in caustic terms the ministers who replaced the ejected presbyterians after the Restoration: they were "generally very mean and despicable in all respects. They were the worst preachers I ever heard: they were ignorant to a reproach; and many of them were openly vicious. They were a disgrace to orders, and the sacred functions; and /

/and were indeed the dreg and refuse of the northern parts. Those of them who arose above contempt or scandal, were men of such violent tempers, that they were as much hated as the others were despised. This was the fatal beginning of episcopacy in Scotland." (1) Some of these men who had been put into the priest's office for a piece of bread were among the ministers who came into the established church that emerged after 1690.

Yet another episcopalian, Sir Walter Scott, no great lover of the covenanting tradition, had put into the mouth of David Deans what many were feeling: "Out upon your General Assembly and the back o' my hand to your Court of Session! What is the ane but a waeft' bunch o' cauldrie professors and ministers, that sate bide and warm when the persecuted remnant were warstling wi' hunger, and cauld, and fear of death, and danger of fire and sword, upon wet brae-sides, peat-haggs, and flow-mosses and that now creep out of their holes, like blue-bottle flees in a blink of sunshine to take the pulpits and places of better folk - of them that witnessed, and testified, and fought, and endured pit, prison-house, and transportation beyond seas? A bonny birk there's o' them." (2)

James Hog of Carnock, exiled in Holland during the days of/

(1) Burnet, "History of My Own Time", quoted Scottish Diaries 1550/1746 p.283.

(2) "Heart of Midlothian".

/of persecution but returned to take his place as one of the outstanding evangelical leaders in Scotland, tells of his astonishment and disappointment in his colleagues: "We came to be crowded with a set of new presbyterians, who had gone all the lengths of compliance in the late times. They with others who had sheltered under the indulgences of the last reigns... had, notwithstanding, a mighty influence in these days. Our temporary Presbyterians and sundry old persecutors who swayed with the times, were much caressed."⁽¹⁾

These men sought with all their power to esconce themselves in the leading courts of the church, and never failed to be at the General Assemblies, although Hog maintains that "they utterly neglected inferior courts, and took no inspection of the congregations to which they belonged ... Thus old sufferers came to be borne down."⁽²⁾ The old and the new were in conflict, but the struggle was to some extent obscured as yet.

Lamartine once summed up the contemporary situation in his native land by the phrase, "La France s'ennuie"; if Scotland was not bored, she was at least tired of the incessant controversies that had filled the seventeenth century with angry words and violent blows. Respite was needed so that the national life /

(1) Memoir in Edin. Christian Instr. 1838, p.454.

(2) Memoir of Hog of Canrook.

/life could develop. New opportunities were opening up for trade and commerce and men preferred to divert their energies towards material progress rather than ^{to} controversy about the niceties of ecclesiastical government. Hume Brown sums up the situation thus: "Subsequent to the Revolution, religion no longer constitutes the warp and woof of the story of the Scottish people, and becomes but **one** of the diverse strands of which the entire web is composed." (1) The age of secular interests had dawned.

A marked change had come over the intellectual atmosphere, too. In 1689, John Locke, one of the greatest ~~xx~~English names in philosophy, wrote the first of his four famous letters on Toleration, the "Epistola de Tolerantia" at Gouda in Holland. This was a powerful argument for the right of separate religious groups to have freedom of worship undeterred by civil penalties, and continued the cogent pleas of Locke's own teacher, that great Puritan divine, John Owen. It was rapidly translated into Dutch, French and English; the close ties between Holland and Scotland must have made the book known in the latter kingdom, where many could not help but be impressed by the philosopher's enlightened pleading.

This/

(1) Hume Brown, "History" iii, p.185.

This new spirit of toleration found a welcome from many in Scotland on the ground of its expediency. "The heavy yoke of persecution by a chain of wonders was now taken off, and hereby many were inclined to easy courses; and an excessive aversion from what they apprehended might be irritating, and bring us into trouble, proved a snare...our settlement was in a weak and infant state; (1) our adversaries were many and strong; hence, such methods were thought advisable, that we might not too much provoke them." (1)

Prudence demanded compliance and compromise to ensure stability in church and state. But this uneasy truce of the first decade of the Revolution Settlement was not to last; the age-long separation between progressives and conservatives was soon to be made plain, especially since no outward pressures were compelling unity. The century which followed was to see the competing claims of the inviolability of the individual conscience set over against the over-riding authority of the supreme court of the established church. The contending parties were each so right - and, alas, so wrong!

Political issues tended to widen divisions. At the Union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland in 1707, although the bells of St. Giles' in Edinburgh played, "Why should I be/

(1) Hog Memoirs (Edin. Christian Instr., p.456.)

/be sad on My Wedding Day?" and Chancellor Seafield noted, "Now there's an end of an auld sang", for many it was a day of mourning rather than of joy. Many pulpits resounded with angry condemnation of this unholy alliance with the prelatical neighbour across the Border, and under the eloquent peroration of James Clark's "Therefore be up and valiant for the City of God", the people of Glasgow threatened the authorities and actually took possession of the city for some days. (1)

In 1712, there followed the Oath of Abjuration by which all ministers were compelled to swear "that they would support, maintain, and defend the succession of the Crown...as settled by the English Parliament." Many of the Presbyterian ministers had covenanted to abolish unscriptural episcopacy; how could they do this, if they swore to protect it in the very Crown? Tremendous controversy was aroused, especially in the West, and at least one third of the Scottish clergy refused to take the prescribed Oath.

Once again the disruptive forces that lead to schism were set loose, and there was much heart-searching. Thomas Halyburton was asked on his death-bed for his opinion about the oath and replied that the peace of the church was the all-important matter. (2) "With/

(1) James Clark, minister of the Tron Parish Church, Glasgow, from 1702 to 1723 - Fasti iii.474. (2) Thomas Halyburton, professor of divinity at St. Andrews in 1710. Died in 1712, aged 38. Known as the "holy Halyburton" "Memoirs" conjointly published by George Whitefield and John Wesley in 1739. ("Wesley Bibliography": R. Green. p.13).

"With respect to the difference that is likely to ensue among ministers, with the greatest earnestness I say, My dear brethren ..difference is a hot thing. There must be condescension, forbearance and tenderness; we must not fly at the ball...Follow peace. Peace is worth much. I would not have a hand in wounding the church of Scotland for a world."⁽¹⁾ In his last sickness, Halyburton dictated a note to his family: "Whereas we have a prospect of divided times, beware of interesting yourselves in that difference or entertaining prejudice against ministers on the one hand or the other. There will be faithful ministers on both sides, and on either hand, they will act according to their lights sincerely."⁽²⁾

Elizabeth Mure speaks of the remarkable change in manners that was to follow as a result of this increasing intercourse between England and Scotland, with the casting off of many restraints. Young people met together in clubs and "there they pulled to pieces the manners of those that differed from them; everything was matter of conversation: Religion, Morals, Love, Friendship, Good manners, dress ... The subjects were all new and all entertaining."⁽³⁾ From many sources, we learn of the amazing growth of these clubs.⁽⁴⁾ Robert Wodrow, throughout the/

(1) Memoirs of Halyburton - Free Church pubn. p.238. (2) p.255.

(3) "Some Observations &c. 1700/90", Eliz. Mure: "Scott. Diaries 1746/1843", pp.72,76.

(4) Ramsay of Ochtertyre, quoted Morrens Annals 1739/52, p.300.
Scott. Diaries 1746/1843. p.165

/the year 1724 expresses deep concern about the news concerning the young divinity students in Glasgow. Some years earlier he had known personally of seventy-two meetings for prayer in Glasgow, "and these nou..are sunk to four or five." (1) These young ministers and students of divinity were "falling in with the English fashionable way of preaching .. and love to call grace virtue .. which differ much from our good old way in this Church." (2) In October, 1724, Mr. Wallace of Moffat, later one of the leading Moderate ministers in Edinburgh "made a noise" by his sermon on "Faith without works is dead." (3) The following year, Mr. Telfer of Hawick made another furore at Glasgow. Wodrow after noting that such ministers as Mr. Wishart copied their sermons from Tillotson, adds drily, "Mr. T - 's sermons are thought to be his own make, and loose, generall, incoherent discourses, with some turns out of Shaftsbury, the Tatlers and Spectators, and such off common-places for Ministers!" (4)

Students are ever prone to speculation and opposing the status quo, and such affirmations as that of Mr. John Miller, son of Wodrow's friend and neighbour, the Rev. Robert Miller of Paisley, that "there was a set of young men coming up that would shake off the shakles of their education.. and he hoped some of them in a feu years would stand before Judicatorys, and make/

(1) Anal. iii.129/130

(2) Anal. iii.155

(3) Anal. iii.167

(4) Anal. iii.240

(1)
 /make glorious appearances for truth" sound familiar enough to-day, though they distressed Wodrow greatly. Wodrow diagnoses the problem as arising from the absence of the divinity professor from their unfettered discussions. "The origo mali is suffering these raw, unripe youths, to meddle with what they are unequal to, without a preses to keep them right; which was never allowed in my father's time." (2)
 Wodrow's father was the first professor of Divinity after the Revolution Settlement, (3) followed by John Simson, whose novel speculations fevered the students and made him for so long a centre for charges of heresy in the church courts.

In 1729 the General Assembly deposed Simson and this sentence was continued until his death in 1740. Wodrow comments that Mr. Simson draws his salary "and the youth are without a teacher." (4)
 With first such unsettling teaching and thereafter no teaching at all in theology for almost twelve years, things were far from well for the students of divinity in Glasgow. Of them Wodrow notes yet again: "ther is nothing like meetings for prayer ... and many meet in other clubs, and for drinking." (5)
 Jupiter Carlyle limns a picture of convivial life as a student in Glasgow, anticipating Thomas Carlyle's outburst on him as "that/

(1) Anal. iii. 179.

(2) Anal. iii. 181.

(3) Divinity Professors &c. H.M.B. Reid, pp.171/203.

(4) Wod. Corr. iii. 467, 469.

(5) Anal. iii. 514.

/"that pot-walloping Sadducee."

It was one of Simson's students who became professor of philosophy in the University of Glasgow and by his teaching became the "father of Moderatism" in the church of Scotland. Francis Hutchison set out to "put a new face upon theology in Scotland,"⁽¹⁾ Doctrinal exposition was not encouraged, nor any stirring appeal to conscience; instead, the Christian religion was set forward as a system of ~~the~~ highest morality, offering some hope of an immortality of bliss, "but providing no pardon to the poor sinner anxious about the past."⁽²⁾ The new teaching took full account of ignorance but had little sense of sin; it did not offer enough!

But there can be no question about the great popularity of Hutchison with the students who crowded his classroom to hear him lecture in English - the first professor at Glasgow to do so - as he walked to and fro in the room.

Just as this Moderate section of the church was coming under new moulding influences, so the more Evangelical group was undergoing a process of change. A new note could be heard in their preaching; something warmer and more welcoming. Awed by the Calvinist conception of the Divine Sovereignty, with its emphasis on Election and the subtleties of Predestination, Orthodox/

(1) Letter of Hutchison, 31st. May, 1742, quoted J. M'Cosh,

"The Scottish Theology", p.64.

(2) M'Cosh, p.64.

/orthodox faith had too often been hardening off into a kind of fatalism. Man was absolutely impotent before the inevitability of the hidden Decrees of the will of God. There were many who questioned the morality of this theology, and especially the episcopalians, who were strongly arminian in Scotland.

Duncan Innes, an Edinburgh shoe-maker who had left the church of Scotland and become an episcopalian, wrote several polemics on this subject. One of his reasons for this decision was his rejection of the "absolute, unconditional, irreversible and eternal Decree of Election of some, Reprobation of the rest and far greatest Part of Mankind."⁽¹⁾ He avers that this doctrine only serves "to fill the Heads of some with groundless and presumptuous Hopes, fancying themselves to be among the Number of that happy Few ... it is equally destructive to such as may have a melancholy Turn of Mind ... by instigating them to despair of GOD's paternal Goodness, as not being among the Number of the Elect."⁽²⁾ This scheme of salvation is like "that of a State-Lottery where there are a great many Blanks, but very few Prizes; where every one must venture, but only a certain Number can be successful..."⁽³⁾

(1) A Letter from a Layman to a Lay Deacon of the Kirk of Scotland, Containing the Reasons for his dissenting from the PRESBYTERIAN, and joining the EPISCOPAL Communion &c. MDCCLXII. A Defence and Vindication of his Action by D - I - (Rosebery Pamphlets, Nat. Lib. Scotland). (2) Ibid. p.6. (3) Ibid. p.8.

Innes goes on: "I shall only beg the favour of you .. how you'll reconcile your Election and Reprobation Scheme with these tender and passionate Calls and Invitations of our blessed SAVIOUR." (1) In a later pamphlet, he sets out to find the number of the Beast, given in Rev. xiii. 18 as Six hundred, Three-score and Six. Counting all the words in the Solemn League and Covenant, he sees that they add up to 666 and the problem is solved. Or almost, for he sums up: "Now this is but a Conjecture, but then it is as reasonable a Conjecture as any other that was ever offered." (2)

But this rigid system which so annoyed Innes was undergoing modification. In 1645, at the time of the Westminster Assembly, a book was published in London entitled, "The Marrow of Modern Divinity", consisting chiefly of extracts from the writings of reformed theologians, such as Calvin, Beza, and Luther, Reynolds Hooker, Goodwin and others then considered modern. Its aim was to show the complete freeness of the gospel salvation, and to lead the guilty sinner straight to the Saviour's mercy. It was written by E.F., often assumed to be a Gloucester gentleman, Edward Fisher, although the evidence for this is by no means conclusive. (3) Within three years, seven editions of the book/

(1) D e I - : "Letter from a Laymen &c.", p.9.

(2) "The Sequel of a Letter from a Laymen &c.", p.26.

(3) Vde "The Marrow of Modern Divinity, ed. C.G. M'Grie, pp.xvi/xix for a discussion on this point.

/book were issued; at the beginning of the eighteenth century,
 (1)
 it began its notable influence in Scotland.

Thomas Boston was ordained to the charge of Simprin,
 Berwickshire, in 1699, although dissatisfied with his personal
 religious experience. He began an eager search for something
 better. "Meanwhile, being still on the scent, as I was sitting
 one day in a house at Simprin, I espied above the window-head
 two little old books; which, when I had taken down, I found
 entitled, the one The Marrow of Modern Divinity ... These I
 reckon had been brought home from England by the master of the
 house, a soldier in the time of the civil wars..." (2) He
 brought the book away, and eventually purchased it for himself.
 "I rejoiced in it, as a light which the Lord had seasonably
 struck up to me in my darkness." (3) This spark was soon to
 kindle a mighty flame in the land. Boston's advocacy of the
 book to his ministerial friends set them hunting for copies and
 in 1718 the Marrow was reprinted, with a preface by James Hog
 of Carnock.

It has been pointed out that the ruling conception of the
 theology of the seventeenth century was of God as arbitrary, an
 autocratic sovereign, granting the favour of eternal life as he/

(1) Samuel Rutherford may have read the book when in London and
 odd copies had certainly been brought to Scotland.

(2) Memoirs of Thomas Boston, ed. G.H. Morrison, p.169.

(3) Ibid.

/he deemed best, and argued that this stern creed was better suited to an era of tyranny and strife than any stress on the fatherhood of God. H.F. Henderson then suggests that the doctrine of the Marrow was a bridge from the days of persecution to a more humane creed. (1)

The doctrine of the Marrow was Calvinism; it had nothing to do with universal redemption, as its opponents were constantly asserting, but "while it is substantially the old Calvinistic theology, it is certainly more." (2) In it "there is more of a desire to put the gospel near to human souls." (3)

Puzzled about the range of the redemptive work of Christ, Boston read that Jesus Christ had commissioned his disciples to preach the gospel to every creature, "that is, go and tell every man without exception that here are good news for him, Christ is dead for him, and if he will take Him and accept of His righteousness he shall have Him." (4) When Neophytus asks whether such boldness would not really display pride and presumption, the Marrow makes Evangelista reply: "To come to Christ by believing that He will accept of you, justify and save you freely by His grace, this is neither pride nor presumption. For Christ having/

(1) H.F. Henderson, "Relig. Controversies", p.21.

(2) J. Walker, "Theology and Theologians", p.57.

(3) Ibid p.58

(4) "The Marrow" ed. M'Crie, pp.112/3.

/having tendered and offered it to you freely, believe it, man, it is a true humility of heart to take what Christ offereth you."⁽¹⁾

Boston and the Marrow-men were trained in a school that denied the universal death of Christ but they were led to maintain the universal gift. Boston, in his sermon "Christ gifted to sinners", asks the question to whom Christ is given and answers: "to mankind sinners indefinitely. It is not to the elect only but to sinners indefinitely... sinners of the race of Adam without exception, whatever they have been, whatever they are." Quoting John iii.16, he adds: "You see here it goes as wide as the world of men...if you are not one of the devil-kind, but of sinful mankind, it was for you...is not this love?"

Walker notes that "Boston and the Marrow men, first of all among our divines, entered fully into the missionary spirit of the Bible; were able to see, that Calvinistic doctrine was not inconsistent with world-conquering aspirations and efforts."⁽²⁾ It was this faith that sustained Thomas Boston, "the unforgettable" as he has been well styled, and constrained him to pour out his whole life for his eighty-three parishioners in Simprin, and his/

(1) "Marrow", ed. M'Crie, p.122.

(2) Walker's "Theology and Theologians", p.60.

/his later flock at Ettrick. From Boston there issued a stream of influence that was to have tremendous consequences. This was the faith of the two Erskines also. It was Ebenezer who stood up in the synod of Fife when some were denying that salvation was for all mankind and said: "Moderator, Our Lord Jesus says of himself, My Father giveth you the true bread from heaven. This he uttered to a promiscuous multitude; and let me see the man who dares to affirm that he said wrong." (1)

Professor Hugh Watt has pointed out that the influence of Martin Luther is very obvious in the "Marrow of Modern Divinity". (2) He is ranked as equal with Calvin: "So that we may assuredly conclude with Luther... indeed, as Calvin saith", and in the first section of the book, Luther is cited 46 times, more than twice as often as Calvin. (3) Luther's Commentary on Galatians was "among the first parcel of books" received by Boston, and remembered with gratitude; both Fraser of Brea and Adam Gib were helped by this same book. (4)

(1) Donald Fraser, "Life of Eben. Erskine", p.242.

(2) Art. "Influence of Martin Luther on Scottish Theology in the Eighteenth Century": H. Watt, SCHS Recs. vi.147/160.

(3) "Marrow", ed. M'Crie, pp.63/4.

(4) Another example of this Lutheran impetus in the revival movements of the eighteenth century may be quoted of John Wesley: "Wednesday, May 24 (1738)...In the evening I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine,...I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death." (The Journal of John Wesley, stand. ed. i. pp475/6).

Among the Laing Mss. in the University of Edinburgh, there are some of the sermons of Robert Jardine, minister of Lochmaben (1732/49)⁽¹⁾. On 10th. July, 1737, he notes: "We had twelve Tables, 82 at every Table, but 30 at the last. all about 930. Preached Jno. xxi.15." We have the manuscript of this sermon:

"What is your motive to Love? Do ye love him for himself or only for his benefits? To love him only for these is a mean self-love, like the multitude in John 6 which followed Christ for loaves, and like some marriages among men, where not the person but the portion is the object of affection.

"Do ye love Christ wholly? Is everything in the blessed J(esus) desireable and amiable to you?...Do you love him not only as your prophet and teacher, as your sacrifice and advocate but as your L(ord)...I have a message from my L(ord), my M(aster) to you, to every one of you, even to tell you, that the great Lord of heaven and earth hath an only begotten Son to whom he has given all power in h. and E...this glorious one is willing to enter into a mar(riage) Covt. with the blackest and vilest sinner...and all he seeks is your love and affection and that you'l give him your hearts.

"I ask/

(1) Father of Dr. John Jardine, one of the most prominent ministers in Edinburgh and one of the royal chaplains.

/ask you in his name, will ye love him or not? Can ye find in your ht. to refuse so reasonable a demand? Mind, it is his cause I'm pleading for him. I ask your love. Slight, despise me his unworthy servt. as you will but O do not despise him. Revile contemn me as you please but only give Christ your hearts and I have got my errand. Love him and I have gained my design.

"Lastly, what reason can ye give why ye will not Love him? What can ye object against him? ... Testify your love to him by sitting down at his table...it will blow up in thy heart a
(1)
triumphant flame of love to a crucified Jesus."

But there were some who objected violently to this new emphasis and in 1720, the General Assembly passed an Act, naming the "Marrow of Modern Divinity" as being contrary to the Holy Scriptures, the Confession of Faith and the Catechisms, and all ministers were prohibited from recommending it by preaching or by printing and were to warn their parishioners not to read or
(2)
use the same.

This sweeping condemnation was challenged at once and a Representation was drawn up requesting that the Act be revoked. This document was signed by twelve men, known as "the Marrow men" or jestingly as "the Twelve Apostles"; they refused/

(1) La. Mss. Div.11.(471)

(2) The fullest account is in the Edinburgh Christian Instr. 1831/2; articles by T. M'Crle.

/refused categorically to accept the decision of the Assembly, in spite of rebuke and admonition from the Moderator in 1721. Deposition might have followed this defiance but for the intervention of government, who were apprehensive about invasion.

The Marrow-men trembled on the very brink of secession, but that step was made incredibly difficult by the historic assertion that there was but one kirk in Scotland. James Durham, who was beloved of all the earnest-minded presbyterians for his courage - had he not defied Oliver Cromwell to his face? - and for his piety, had successfully healed a serious breach in the church during the seventeenth century by his vehement pleadings.

"Never did men run to quench fire in a City, lest all should be destroyed, with more diligence than men ought to bestir themselves to quench this in the Church. Never did mariners use more speed to stop a leak in a ship, lest all should be drowned, than Ministers especially, and all Christian men, should haste to stop this beginning of the breaking in of these waters of strife, lest thereby the whole Church be overwhelmed."⁽¹⁾

But/

(1) James Durham, "The Dying man's TESTAMENT to the Church of Scotland, or a Treatise concerning Scandal", Edin. 1659, p. 313. Durham died at 36 years of age.

But although there was no open schism at this time, victimisation and discrimination followed the intransigence of the supporters of the Marrow doctrine. The leading protagonists were hampered when they sought to move to other parishes. Ebenezer Erskine's projected translation from Portmahomack to Kirkcaldy in 1725 was refused because it would augment his influence in the church.⁽¹⁾ Boston wished to move on account of his poor health and all seemed well "till I fell under their displeasure in the affair of the Marrow, which I reckon to have staked me down in Etterick."⁽²⁾

Harsh treatment was administered to candidates for the ministry who were suspected of similar leanings. Ralph Erskine says "whenever any student or candidate was supposed to be tinctured with the Marrow, that is, with a Gospel spirit...There was no quarter for such; queries upon queries were formed to discourage them, and stop their way, either of their being entered upon trials or ordained unto churches...many pious youths...had the door of entrance into the ministry quite barred against them."⁽³⁾

(1) D. Fraser, "Life and Diary of Eben. Erskine", pp. 325/326.

(2) Quoted "Life and Diary of Eben. Erskine", p. 325.

(3) A similar official imprimatur was evidenced in the case of Howell Harris, a truly apostolic figure, in Wales. Whitefield, his friend, says that Harris was twice refused admission to holy orders on the pretence that he was not of age. "He is now above 25 years of age. Above a month ago he offered himself again, but was put off." (Tyerman's Life of Whitefield, i. p. 188)

Matters came to a head over an Act passed by the General Assembly in 1731 which provided that in the business of calling a minister, Protestant heritors and elders were to "elect" instead of "name and propose", and the congregation was embodied in the heads of families only came into the process in order to concur.⁽¹⁾

This was a return to the procedure of 1690, and Ebenezer Erskine led the opposition against it. On May 16, 1732, he spoke in the Assembly: "I know of no ecclesiastical authority under heaven, but what is derived from Christ, the exalted King of Zion...His authority as a King, is the alone foundation of all church government and discipline."⁽²⁾ On October 10th. of that year, he preached as Moderator of the Synod of Perth and Stirling on the Stone rejected by the Builders; he spoke strongly against this "new wound given to the prerogative of Christ and the privileges of His subjects."⁽³⁾ This so annoyed his brethren that they judged him deserving of a formal rebuke. Supported by three other ministers, Erskine appealed to the General Assembly of 1733. Angered by the tone of this protest, that body ordered the four brethren to withdraw, and upon their refusing, the Commission of Assembly first suspended and then deposed them from their ministerial functions. The same/

(1) ~~Thomas~~ A. J. Campbell, "Two Centuries of the Church of Scotland", p. 53.

(2) D. Fraser, "Life and Diary of Eben. Erskine", p. 358.

(3) Eben. Erskine, "Works", i. p. 472, ed. Fraser.

/same year on 5th. December - the Four Brethren, Ebenezer Erskine of Stirling, Alexander Moncrieff of Abernethy, William Wilson of Perth and James Fisher of Kinclaven, met at Gairney Bridge and formed the Associate Presbytery, closing their first Testimony with the words: "And we hereby appeal to the first free, faithful and reforming General Assembly of the Church of Scotland."

There were many who felt that the General Assembly had gone too far, and for six years attempts were made to heal the breach. The sentence of suspension was repealed; the offending Act of 1731 was repealed - but all to no purpose. The Seceders had evidently determined to separate unless they could secure wide-reaching measures of reform. Finally, on 15th. May, 1740, Ebenezer Erskine and his colleagues, now eight in number, were solemnly deposed.

If the Seceders had anticipated that such of their colleagues as John Willison of Dundee and Currie of Kingslassie, who had supported their effort to remedy grievances, would join with them, they were disappointed. But it was different with the laity. From all parts of the country groups of people, especially members of societies for prayer, wrote asking for sermons. (1) The demand for a more spiritual ministry was far greater/

(1) McKelvie, "Annals and Statistics", p. 3

/greater than could be supplied.

Inside the established church there remained a small group, who were in the church but not of it. They supported the aims of the Seceders, but conceived it sinful to become schismatics. Henry Davidson of Galashiels and his friend Gabriel Wilson of Maxton, both Marrow-men and close friends of Thomas Boston, never again dispensed the Lord's Supper in their congregations. They formed a small group of supporters, akin to independency, and for over twenty years observed the sacrament with them. ⁽¹⁾

Around the year 1740, the situation was critical for the church of Scotland. Within its borders was a new and growing generation of ministers who were more concerned about culture than conversions; a group of "Senecan" clergy who spoke of their Covenanting forbears with contempt and amusement. Outside the established church there were the extremist Cameronians, but their appeal was very limited. But now there was this other attraction. An active, popular group of ministers of earnest evangelical spirit, the first Seceders from the church of Scotland, although they maintained that they were only withdrawing from "the prevailing party", answered a very real need and demand. Their success was considerable. Within/

(1) Memoir in Letters of Henry Davidson.

/Within a quarter of a century, it was estimated(in the Schism Overture of 1766), that there were 120 meeting-houses with 100,000 members in ⁽¹⁾the country. The issue would have been very different indeed had it not been for the revival that broke out in the parish of Cambuslang in 1742. It was this event, and the associated movements that spread over Scotland, that rallied the evangelic al ministers and inspired the hesitating laity to stay within the borders of the church of Scotland and serve her by the will of God. It is the story of a little leaven which permeated the church of the future.

(1) Morren Annals 1752/1766, p.307 ff.

CHAPTER TWOM'CULLOCH COMES TO CAMBUSLANG

On January 26, 1731, Mr. Henderson, the minister of Blantyre, reported to the Presbytery of Hamilton that he had carried out their instructions to him "to convene the Paroch of Cambuslang and try Their inclinations with respect to a Settlement." He told his brethren "that a great many had declared their inclinations to have Mr. M'Culloch to be Their Minister." After hearing a deputation from that parish, most of whom concurred, it was decided to call a meeting at that place "for Electing and Subscribing a Call to one to be Their Minister, and that upon Thursday the 18th of Febry Next."⁽¹⁾

On Thursday, April 29, he was duly received by the parish of Cambuslang as their minister, and the following month John Summers was chosen as elder to represent the parish at the Presbytery, an office he had held in March, 1725, more than six years earlier. During that time there had been no representative. Thus was brought to an end the long, drawn-out struggle by the people of Cambuslang against the principal heritor in the parish, his Grace the Duke of Hamilton; at long last they had secured their claim to have no minister but one of their own choosing. The previous minister, the Rev. A. rehibald Hamilton, had been/

(1) Hamilton Pres. Rees.

/been unfit for his duties for several years before his death in 1724. An assistant had been employed by him from October, 1721, and on Sept. 3, 1723, Hamilton intimated to the Heritors and Session "that he was willing, upon their choice of a good and well-qualified person, to demit his charge, and to quit one half of his stipend to the intrant that should succeed him."⁽¹⁾

While negotiations were proceeding for a suitable man, the valetudinarian minister died. On March 30th., 1725, the Presbytery records state: "Compeired Thomas Hutton Writer in Hamilton and signified My Lord Duke Hamilton's inclinations with respect to the Settlement of Kambuslang." The heritors and elders from that place presented a petition, requesting the Presbytery to "deal with His Grace..to concur with them for a comfortable settlement of the Paroch." Two ministers interviewed the ducal patron but reported on 22nd. February, 1726: "he declared Himself firm to His first choice of Mr. Thomas Findlater to be Minister of Kambuslang."⁽²⁾

Thomas Findlater was the son of the minister of Hamilton, who had become the centre of a controversy in the church courts about this time. In October 1725 Wedrow mentions this "unhappy affair of Mr. Findlater at Hamilton, his scandal of adulterous/

(1) Camb. K.S.R. Quoted Porter, "Cambuslang & its Ministers" p38
 (2) Hamilton Pres. Recs.

/adulterous carriage breaks out." (1) A year later the people who had offered to provide evidence against him withdrew their charges "which they say came from the Duke's / of Hamiltoun / gra tifying them about some lime." (2) The great majority of Findlater's session maintained that he had not visited his parish for at least eighteen years, and his open Sabbath-breaking was notorious. (3)

Whatever truth there was in these complaints, the parish of Cambuslang were resolute in refusing to have his son to be their minister, even with the fullest backing from the patron. Deadlock was the result. In July, 1728, the Duke of Hamilton gave the parish of Cambuslang "a peremptory answer, that he would give no other to them than Mr. Finlater's son, his Minister. The people have withstood him these five or six years, and will never come in to him...I know not a parish in the West-of Scotland in such a taking as Cambuslang and Hamiltoun. Cambuslang has been, on the matter, vacant these fourteen years; and I am told ther is not one under sixteen years who ever has been catechised...Promises have been made for Mr. M'Culloch, the people's choice, and matters are still stayed off." (4)

(1) Anal. iii. 237
(3) Anal. iv. 5

(2) Anal. ~~iii~~, 334
(4) Anal. iv. 5

This state of impasse went on for another two years after this, and no way was found out of it until Mr. Findlater, the unwanted presentee to Cambuslang, was forced upon the parish of West Linton, in the Synod of Lothian, in January, 1731. This could only be achieved by sending out a posse of soldiers who took six or eight of the parishioners as prisoners to Edinburgh. (1) Wodrow comments sadly: "This is turning a common thing...Our troubles are growing as to settlements...I am affrayed, if things continue at the rate they are, Presbitry and Ministers lose the affections of the common people by their settlements...and when we lose the inclinations of the people, we are not much to lean to the affections of the noblemen and gentlemen, men whom we now strive to please." (2) How prophetic were these forebodings!

Although this meant loss for West Linton, it brought gain to Cambuslang, for in that same month of Findlater's forced induction, the Duke of Hamilton "has now condescended to Mr. McCulloch's settlement there, whom the people were for. But now Westburn draws back." (3) But in spite of this opposition by the most influential resident heritor in the parish of Cambuslang, an antagonism kept up for more than twenty years, William McCulloch, at forty years of age, was ushered in to his first charge, the charge where he was to close his days forty years/

(1) Robert Small, "History of the U.P. Church", 1. p.563.

(2) Anal. iv.188

(3) Anal. iv.188.

/years later.

The earliest description of the rural parish to which, after long waiting, William M'Culloch had been inducted is that of Mr. Hamilton of Wishaw, "an Antiquary of no little fame". He writes in the first decade of the eighteenth century: "Cambuslang...lyeth upon the south-west syde of the river of Clyde... It is a pleasant and fertile soill, with a good salmond fishing ...the lands of Greenlees...where there is coal considerable. There is al⁽¹⁾sk...the lands of Coatts, Chapel and Moriston... good coal."⁽¹⁾

Dr. James Meek, successor to M'Culloch as minister of Cambuslang (1774/97) supplied the description of the parish for the First Statistical Account of Scotland in 1793, in which he compares local conditions in 1750 and 1790 in some detail and thus furnishes an excellent picture of the community about the mid-century.

The kirk, he notes "is 5 miles S.E. from Glasgow and 6 miles W. from Hamilton", standing ~~an~~ in a district of beautiful scenery, with a number of hills and velleys and fertile land. From the top of the "hill of Dichmont, there is certainly one of the finest inland prospects in Scotland." The pellucid Clyde/

(1) Wm. Hamilton, "Description of the Sheriffdom of Lanark" ~~26~~ xii; 19/23.

/Clyde flowed from the upper ward of Lanarkshire, passing through the extensive woods and plantations near Hamilton and bounded the parish for almost three miles. It was from 200 to 250 feet wide, but easily forded. Quite a number of those who came to Cambuslang during 1742 speak of walking over the river. (2)

The main road passed through the parish from east to west; it was "narrow and rough, scarcely passable with carts in summer, and in winter so deep as to be hardly passable with horses." (2)

In 1753, legislation was enacted to improve the deplorable state of this road, maintained by statute work. (3) This was, however, an improvement eleven years after the revival/

(1) Statistical Account, ed. Sir John Sinclair, 1793: vol. v. pp. 242/243. Of this period and district Janet Hamilton sets down her grandfather's memories that "salmon were then so plentiful in the Clyde, and were so much used as an article of food in the farmers' houses in its vicinity, that servants ... made it a part of their hiring stipulations that they should not be required to eat salmon more than once a day." (Poems of Purpose, &c. Janet H., p. 177)

(2) Old Stat. Acc. 253.

(3) "the road leading from the village of Gorbals to a place called the Chapel of Cambuslang, in the county of Lanerk... much frequented by travellers... of great consequence to the commerce of the country, and the convenient marching of his Majesty's troops, and the foresaid roads, by the deepness of the soil in some places, and the narrowness and ruggedness of the road in others, are in many places become impassable in winter for wheel carriages and horses, and very dangerous for travellers". Authority was vested in trustees with power to levy tolls .26 George II c. 28. Quoted in "Glasgow Burgh Records 1739/1759" Vol. vi. p. 590.

/revival days, and travelling conditions in 1742 were deplorable.

Although the property of the parish was divided among eleven heritors, two-thirds of it belonged to the only non-resident heritor, his Grace the Duke of Hamilton, who also received the produce of considerable coal-workings.

The population numbered less than a thousand people, with about two hundred separate families,⁽¹⁾ and these were engaged mainly in agriculture and the expanding industries of coal-mining and weaving.

Most of the farms were worked on the run-rig system, with wasteful balks between the various ridges, full of stones and bushes. As yet there were very few enclosures. Such feudal customs still obtained as the obligation of a tenant "to lead his landlord's coals, and give him some days' work in seed time and harvest."⁽²⁾ Wheat and potatoes were not planted in the open fields until about 1760.

But although the greater part of the inhabitants were employed at farming, there were many colliers and weavers. The coal seams were many feet deep at the river, out-cropping to the/

(1) The census taken by Dr. Webster in 1755 reported 934 persons in the parish.

(2) Old Stat. Acc., p.252.

/the surface almost a mile and a half away. There were no pumping facilities and so the coal had to be wrought when wet, the work being "laborious, hazardous and disagreeable."⁽¹⁾

Added to the hardships of their toil was the further degradation of slavery. Until 1799, all colliers and salters in Scotland belonged to the owner of the workings where they laboured, passing, along with any other property, to the new owner. Wives, daughters and sons continued in this humiliating condition, forming a separate and avoided tribe, with language and habits all their own.⁽²⁾ Some of them were compelled to wear brass collars around their necks as the badge of their servitude.

There were many such in Cambuslang, yet even this despised community came within the reach of the church's activities and we have reports of the conversions of "Mary Lap, daughter of George Lap, collier, of David Logan, an old soldier, now a Collier in Cambuslang." One of the elders in the session was John Arbuckle "coal hewer in Coles."

The other main industry in the parish was the weaving of holland or fine linen, begun about 1730: "the weavers bought the yarn, wove it into cloth, bleached the cloth and carried it to market."⁽³⁾ There are frequent references to young women/

(1) Old Stat. A cc. 257

(2) John Erskine, "An Institute of the Law of Scotland", Book 1. Tit. vii. 2. 61.

(3) Old Stat. Acc. 258.

/women reading their Bibles whilst "at the wheel."

It was in such a place and within such a community that the new minister began his life-work in 1731. It is now time to look at his own background and try to envisage the influences which were moulding his early days.

William M'Culloch was born in 1691 at Whithorn, in the countryside hallowed by the famous Candida Casa of St. Ninian; his father was the parish schoolmaster, who had⁽¹⁾ once lived in Anwoth, where Rutherford was minister, but in later years lived in Wigtown. Many branches of the M'Culloch family were to be found in Galloway during the seventeenth century but by 1701, "the M'Cullochs...who had figured in the Ragman Roll, had di-⁽²⁾ appeared from the list of proprietors."

Of William McCulloch's own childhood, we have only meagre information; his son, in a Memoir prefixed to a posthumous volume of his father's sermons,⁽³⁾ tells us that "he received the rudiments of his education from his father, who perceiving his studious disposition, sent him to the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow."

But there can be no doubt that the early years spent in remote and rebellious Galloway left their stamp upon the/

(1) Anal. iii. 132, 134.

(2) Agnew, "History of Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway", p.478.

(3) Sermons on Several Subjects, W. M'Culloch. Memoir by Robert M'Culloch.

/the studious youth, whose adult disposition was ever "to look too farr into things." All around him were evidences for his eyes to see and experiences for his ears to hear of his native people, who had resisted episcopacy to financial ruin and the martyrs' graves. Only six years before his birth, David Greham, brother of the infamous Claverhouse, reported to the Scottish Privy Council that "there were as many elephants and crocodiles in Galloway as loyal and orderly persons."⁽¹⁾

"Kirkcudbright and Wigtonshire were the Jerusalem and Judea of the Covenant," wrote Andrew Symson, editor of the "Register of the Synod of Galloway. From October 1664 to April 1671", and his records make plain the resistance of ministers and people to the episcopal regime. Letters of horning were put into execution against many of the former ministers who were still dwelling in the diocese.⁽²⁾ "Several ministers within the Presbytry of Kirkcudburgh are defective of Sessions by and through the unwillingness of their parishioners to joyne with them."⁽³⁾ And Symson himself, "a man of learning, ability and kindly disposition",⁽⁴⁾ complains that his own congregation had dwindled to one and he lost his life by a fall from a horse in March, 1682. In a "funeral Elegie" to his friend, Symson/

(1) Agnew, p.425.

(2) Register &c. pp.34, 37, 49.

(3) Register p.55.

(4) Agnew, p.407.

(1)

/Symson mourns:

"He, HE alone, WERE my parishioners,
 Yea, and my constant hearers! Oh! that I
 Had pow'r to eternize his memory.."

William M'Culloch, when a boy, must often have listened to stories in his home that both chilled and thrilled his heart. The decade before his birth was crammed with memorable incident.

On January 19, 1682, John Graham of Claverhouse was appointed Sheriff of Wigtown, and the next month outlined his policy to his superiors: "I will threaten much, but forbear severe execution for a while."⁽²⁾ But he soon began, with ruthless efficiency to apply his policy of "thorough."

From the beginning of 1685 conditions became almost intolerable for the people of Galloway, who were treated with all the severity that might have been expected had they been rebels in arms. Soldiers were billeted throughout the countryside, the riff-raff of the people, and searched the homes of the people, and such open-air refuges as mountain cave or forest shelter, seeking to discover and destroy the covenanters. Suspicion spread over the district like a pestilence and normal intercourse of man with man was brought to an end. Says the historian of Galloway: "Multitudes were murdered every/

(1) Agnew, p.407

(2) Agnew, p.392

/every month, without the tedious formality of a trial; for inter arma silent leges. Hanging, shooting, drowning, torturing, and cutting off the ears were works of constant recurrence. Some were sent to Jamaica and sold as slaves, whilst others were immured in unwholesome dungeons, where watchful soldiers stood in endless succession to keep them from sleeping. The highway and the desert, the fruitful field, and the barren moor, were alike subject to danger."⁽¹⁾

Field-preaching was punishable with death, and the sentence was to be carried out within three hours after judgment;⁽²⁾ at the drumhead courts-martial which served as tribunals to enforce church attendance; "the possession of a Bible was, it is said, accepted as direct evidence of the owner's nonconformity."⁽²⁾ On January 23, 1685, James Dun and five other men of the parish of Minnigaff, about eight miles from Wigtown, were surprised by a party of soldiers whilst engaged in prayer and shot out of hand.⁽³⁾ Less than four months later, "Margaret M'Lachlan of Kirkinner paroch, a woman of sixty-three years of age... was taken off her knees in prayer and carried to prison."⁽⁴⁾ A young girl of eighteen, Margaret/

(1) Wm. Mackenzie, "The History of Galloway", ii. pp.261/2.

(2) Agnew, p.396.

(3) Mackenzie, p.265.

(4) Session Records of Penninghame, quoted Agnew p.427 et seq.

/ Margaret Wilson, who had been hiding on the mountains with her sixteen-years-old brother and sister of thirteen, was also taken at the same time. The judges "sentenced them to be tyed to palisadoes fixed in the sand, within the floo-d-mark of the sea, and there to stand till the flood (1) overflowed them and drowned them."

This sentence was carried out on Wigtown sands on May 11, 1685. There can be little doubt that William M'Culloch must have met many who saw this judicial murder, for, as one eye-witness averred, "the hail sands were covered wi' cluds o' folk, a' gathered into clusters here and there, offering up prayers for the two women while they were being put down." (2)

One of the Kirkeowan elders, Gilbert Milroy could have told of the days when he fled from the parish and his wife had lighted matches placed between her fingers. He only escaped having his ears cut off because the surgeon passed him by as a dying man, and then was shipped in fetters to Jamaica and sold into slavery, until the events of 1688 (3) restored him to liberty and home. Margaret Gordon, the/

- (1) Session Records of Penninghame, quoted Agnew p.427 et seq.
- (2) Agnew, p.431.
- (3) Mackenzie, p.278/9.

/the Lady of Arioland, with two other women, was also ban-
ished to the plantations for giving shelter to her two sons.⁽¹⁾

The young boy's ears must have been filled with such harrowing stories; there were also tales to tell of the adventures of the field-preachers. John Welsh of Irongray, the son-in-law of John Knox and the "first of the field-preachers",⁽²⁾ preached at New Luce in Wigtonshire before he fled to London after Bothwell Bridge in 1679. That strange mystic, Alexander Peden, the most celebrated of them all, was minister of that same parish of New Luce (1659/86).⁽³⁾ In his outdoor preaching one day, he encouraged his harried parishioners: "A poor believer gets never a bonnier blink of Jesus Christ than when the cross lies heaviest between his shoulders, for suffering is the ready way to glory."⁽⁴⁾ The wistful, ardent James Renwick, the last of the martyrs, being executed in February, 1688, at twenty-five years of age, was a native of Minnyhive in Dumfriesshire.⁽⁵⁾

Not only were evil men resisted in the south-west of

Scotland, but the rights were defied. Not far from M'Culloch's/

(1) Agnew, p.412.

(2) Fasti ii.287.

(3) Fasti ii.345.

(4) J. Johnstone,

(2) Fasti ii.201.

(3) Fasti ii.345.

(4) J. Johnstone, "Alexander Peden, the Prophet of the Covenant", p.207.

(5) Mackenzie, p.290.

/M'Culloch's home was the parish of Kirkcolm, haunted by the ghost of Galdenoch, who set the thatch on fire, "washed grannie in the burn, and laid her on the dyke to dry" and resisted all efforts of neighbouring clergymen to lay it. But the stentorian Alexander Marshall, minister of Kirkcolm (1700/1743) pitted his mighty lungs against the ghost and sang the psalm-tune, Bangor, through the whole night until "an unearthly voice, husky and weak, whined, 'Roar awa, Marshall, I can roar nae mair.'" Thus did the minister triumph and secure
(1)
peace for his flock.

Such an exploit rang round the countryside; there were other stories that could only be whispered. In 1698, the seven-years-old son of the schoolmaster at Whithorn would hear of the burning near Kirkcudbright of Elspeth M'Ewen the
(2)
witch.

Everywhere there were places made sacred for any serious boy by hallowed names: Anwoth, ever associated with the seraphic Rutherford; and Stranraer, scene of the labours of the saintly John Livingstone, to whose communion occasions and evening devotions boat-loads of worshippers came from Ireland.

Not/

(1) Agnew, pp. 457/460.

(2) Mackenzie, pp. 342/3, also Appendix 37/40.

Not all the struggles were past history, however; for there were living leaders, extremists and rebels against church authority, who were active in Galloway as M'Culloch grew up. John Hepburn, minister of Urr in Dumfries (1680/1723) was the inspiration of a large number of scattered Hebronite societies who met for prayer and fellowship.⁽¹⁾ Nearer than Urr was the parish of Balmaghie in Kirkcudbrightshire, with its minister John Macmillan (1701/10) who stayed in the district to minister to the Cameronian Societies until⁽²⁾ 1727.

All around M'Culloch were the living influences of the warring present and the recent past. On all sides were to be seen, pondered and remembered:

"Grey, recumbent tombs of the dead in desert places,
Standing stones on the vacant wine-red moor,
Hills of sheep, and the homes of the silent vanished races,
And winds, austere and pure."

And he would have well understood the wistful words of another Scot, sick and exiled in distant Samoa,

"Be it granted me to behold you again in dying,
Hills of home! and to hear again the call;
Hear about the graves of the martyrs the peewees crying,
And hear no more at all."

When but a boy of seven, M'Culloch began to be serious about religion, and remembered later how he was brought into further concern when about thirteen years of age under the /

(1) William Macmillan, "John Hepburn and the Hebronites".

(2) H.M.B. Reid, "A Cameronian Apostle."

/the preaching of Mr. Ker, minister at Wigtown (1701/1729).⁽¹⁾

About this time he became a communicant.

At the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, he laid the foundations of sound learning, graduating from the latter on April 26th., 1712. In an obituary notice, it is said that "he was a man of uncommon abilities", excelling in languages⁽²⁾ and mathematical subjects, and his son speaks of "his uncommon skill in Hebrew." For a time he taught numerous classes of young men in Glasgow, constructing his own models for the classes in astronomy and geography.⁽³⁾ Dean Stanley pays tribute to M'Culloch's gifts and disposition: "he was no wild fanatic, but a learned, unostentatious scholar, a slow, cautious and prudent parish minister."⁽⁴⁾

But although his scholarship was above the average, he had little gift for the pulpit. His son writes "that he was not a very ready speaker: though eminent for learning and piety, he was not eloquent...his manner was slow and cautious, very different from that of popular orators."⁽⁵⁾ He was given the nick-name of a "yill" or ale, minister; for when he rose to speak, many of the audience left to quench their thirst in the change-house.⁽⁶⁾

He/

(1) Anal. iv. 279.

(2) Prefaced to vol. 1 of the M'Culloch Mss.

(3) McCulloch, "Sermons on Several Subjects" Memoir.

(4) A.P. Stanley, "The Church of Scotland", p. 137

(5) M'Culloch, Sermons, pp. 15/16

(6) New Stat. Acc. 1845, vi. 426.

He was licensed to preach the gospel by the Presbytery of Wigtown in 1722, but lived mainly with Mr. Hamilton of Aikenhead, Cathcart, where he served as chaplain and tutor. This was a familiar and convenient arrangement whereby probationers supported themselves whilst waiting for a call to minister in some parish. (1)

In 1723, Mr. Paul Hamilton, a planter and church official in Carolina, came to Glasgow, seeking for two ministers who would be willing to labour in that state. At first, there was great difficulty in finding anyone and "on 6th. Feb. 1724, Mr M'Culloch offered himself to be ordained also to this overseas work", but two candidates, John Deans and William, Maxwell, had already been ordained for this work and he was not accepted. (2) The Presbytery of Glasgow were unwilling to ordain ~~him in the absence of Glasgow were unwilling to ordain~~ him in the absence of any definite vacancy in Carolina in spite of "his great inclination to go abroad." (3) Speaking seven years later about this episode, M'Culloch told Robert Wodrow "that he was made very much to question matters, and came to a peremptory resolution to leave the country, and go wher he was not knouen ." But when he opened the Bible at/

~~(1) Thomas Boston was with the Bruces of Kennet, Leechman with the Mures of Caldwell.~~

(1) Thomas Boston was with the Bruces of Kennet, Leechman with the Mures of Caldwell.

(2) Anal. iii.131/2; Glas. Pres. Rees. Jan. 22, Jan.23, Feb.6, 1724.

(3) John Wesley a few years later went to Georgia.

/at the first chapter of Jonah, he was dumbfounded and abandoned his purpose.⁽¹⁾

In the following year, 1725, M'Culloch was singled out for honour. Thomas Crawford of Crawfordsburn had endowed a yearly sermon to be preached by a probationer named by the ministers of Glasgow. This discourse, "A Sermon against the Idolatrous Worship of the Church of Rome, Preach'd in the New-Church of Glasgow, the Fifth of November 1725", was the only one issued by M'Culloch himself, and was "done entirely in Compliance with the Unanimous Desire of the General Session of this City; without which all Private Sollicitations of Friends had been to no Effect."

Printed by Robert Sanders of Glasgow, the sermon has for its text, "Then Jesus answered and said, Get thee hence, Satan; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." (Matt. iv.10) It has 48 printed pages. M'Culloch begins by drawing attention to the 'Popish Pretender, sitting under the Pope's Nose at Rome/

(1) Anal. iv. 279. M'Culloch's only son, Robert, turned to the mercantile profession and went to America where he lived for a short time before returning to Scotland to complete his suspended studies in divinity. So writes his daughter. (Memoirs &c., of Mrs. Coutts, p. 10).

/ Rome, who does not want his Powerful Friends abroad, and...
 too many Well-wishers among ourselves, and our unhappy Divisions, Parties and Factions have not a little strengthened that
 (1)
 Interest."

The sermon is extremely moderate in tone, in view of the times, and without biting invective. The fine distinctions made between "latria" and "dulia" are discussed and extensive quotation made from prominent Roman Catholic writers, Bellarmine, Cajetan, Thomas Aquinas and others, with several lengthy excerpts from the Council of Trent. In truly modern style, he argues from philology: "'Tis true indeed, the word ONLY is not in the Hebrew Text from whence our Saviour cites this Law...But the order of the words in the Original require this Addition...that the reader may be apprized of this peculiar force. Accordingly, not only the Seventy but the (2)
Vulgar Latin read the words there, as our Saviour does here."

After lamenting that "many Disputes and Controversies among Protestants, that have been managed with undue Heat and over-eager Contention", he comes to a conclusion that is characteristic, in its appeal to reality in practice. In/

(1) A Sermon against Idolatrous Worship &c., p.3.

(2) Ibid. p.34.

/In ~~par~~the last paragraph he warns his hearers that although they might detest popish idolatry, they should also take heed "they be not involv'd in another sort of Idolatry, no less ruining and destructive to the Soul. A Man may renounce Romish idolatry and may seemingly have a great deal of Zeal for Gospel Purity, and be often talking of the Pattern in the Mount, and yet, if he have the World set in his Heart, if he say to Gold, Thou art my Hope, and to fine Gold, Thou art my Confidence: if he trust in uncertain Riches, and not in the Living God, he is as rank an Idolater as the Papists that worship Saints and Angels; nay, as the Pagen that bows to
(1)
Stocks and Stones."

One is left to wonder what the captains of industry and the leaders of the city's life, growing richer every day by the lucrative tobacco trade, and other industries, thought of the peroration. It does reveal in the preacher utter sincerity and courage, one who could speak the truth, but speak it in love.

It may ~~be~~ well^{be} that this printed sermon drew the attention of the parish of Cambuslang towards the preacher, for on April 8 1726, the Presbytery of Hamilton, noting that the "Paroch of/

(1) Ibid. p.47.

/of Cambuslang...having applied for a hearing of Mr. M'Culloch
Chaplain to Aikenhead...did invite the sd. Mr. M'Culloch to
preach before Them at yr next meeting at Hamilton and to bring
His Testimonials with him."⁽¹⁾

Five years later, after being a probationer for nine
years, M'Culloch found himself at the threshold of his life's
work as minister of Cambuslang. He could never have foreseen,
nor could any have predicted what were to be the fruits of
this long-deferred task.

(1) Hamilton Pres. Recs.

CHAPTER THREE

PROBLEMS OF THE PARISH

When the new minister entered upon his duties in the parish, it was in the face of formidable difficulties. We have already seen how the feeble health of his predecessor had led to widespread neglect of the spiritual interests of the place and the bickering which preceded M'Culloch's settlement, which had antagonised his leading heritor, was followed by continuing friction.

For the first three years, he did not dispense the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the parish and when the Presbytery investigated this matter, his defence was that he had not sufficient elders in 1731; in the following year, he deemed it necessary to instruct his flock and get to know them better; in 1733, he was sick. (1) One writer suggests that "his excuse reads rather lamely", (2) but we do know that in 1733, he suffered from a "sore Rheumatic fever" (3) and two years later, a committee of masons and wrights reported about the state of the manse at Cambuslang that it "needed the/

(1) J.T.T. Brown, "Cambuslang &c.", p.46.

(2) Ibid. p.46.

(3) Cambuslang KSR, quoted Wilson, "History &c.", p.101.

/the Low floor next to the kitchen paved, and the windows needed storm-shutters to keep out rain." (1)

The neglected state of the parish must have had a depressing effect upon him and we have a very full record of how, four months after his ordination, he unburdened himself to Wodrow, the minister of Eastwood. Tortured by doubts about his own fitness for the sacred office, he sought out the older man in August, 1731.

"He asked me whither I thought it warrantable and laudfull ...for a Minister who knew he was not called of God, and who was nothing but a hollow hypocrite, to demitt his Ministry, and to give way to another, who might be usefull. He opened his mind very fully to me." The main problem was that "since his ordination, he has been preaching on Conversion, and the nature of it...and now he thinks he is perfectly a stranger to this great work."

Wodrow "presumed to say he had more of a call to the Ministry than severalls had attained to; and I took him to be of a thinking, melancholy disposition, and ready to dip too farr into things" (2) and pointed out to the troubled enquirer that /

(1) Hamilton Pres. Recs., Nov. 12, 1735.

(2) Anal. iv. 279/281.

/that it was thoughtful, studious persons who were chiefly haunted by doubts.

In his pastoral duties, M'Culloch had been compelled to examine his own integrity. "He is also much damped in conversation with his people, and their telling him experiences he has been a stranger to....I hope the Lord has good to do by Mr. M'Culloch, and is training him to be useful."

It is easy to sneer at the "miracle-mongering minister of Eastwood", and dismiss him, as the prejudiced Henry Grey Graham does as "an inquisitive, garrulous, credulous man whose ears were erect at every tale of wonder."⁽¹⁾ But is there not something almost prophetic about this opinion on so unpromising an evangelist, whose success Wodrow never saw?

Nor can we doubt of the wisdom of Wodrow's advice to his troubled colleague, who was suffering from "a violent pain in his hind-head with the rack of thought and contrary tydes. I advised him to riding-exercise...but that, it seems, he much declines and gives himself too much to thought and solitude."

Five years after his ordination, M'Culloch married Janet⁽²⁾ Dinwoodie, daughter of a Glasgow merchant; William Hamilton, /

(1) Social Life of Scotland &c., H.G. Graham, p.347. For an unbiassed appreciation of Wodrow, vide articles by W.J. Couper in Rees, SCMS III, 112/134; v.238/250.

(2) In the Register for the Widows' Fund, Presby. of Glasgow, she is known as Janet Dinwiddie. McCulloch was admitted as a burgess and gild brother of Glasgow, Sept 14, 1744 (Burgh Rees. VI 184)

Hamilton, son of the former minister of Cambuslang, and minister of Douglas, in the Presbytery of Lanark, (1721/1769), was married to Christian, also a daughter of Robert Dinwoodie, merchant, Glasgow. He was to be one of the band of ministers who helped his brother-in-law during the revival days.

The parish of Cambuslang had had a long connection with evangelical religion, and the new minister would find in the records of the kirk session and the history of the parish much to remind him of the price paid by ministers and people of that place. On all sides, he would meet the very namesakes and direct descendants of former sufferers for the truth.

There was the bold John Howison, minister of Cambuslang (1580/1618), a champion of the popular cause who, when Moderator of the Presbytery, preached in Glasgow Cathedral in June, 1582. At the behest of the provost, he was dragged from the pulpit, "smote on the face, pulled by the beard, one of his teeth beat out, and put in the tolbuith lyke as a theefe by the provest, and bailzies and their complices." (1) Two years later, preaching this time in Blackfriars, Edinburgh, he attacked the "Tulchan" bishops and affirmed: "There is/

(1) Brown, "History of Camb." quoted, p.22.

/is ane heid of the kirk made; there being nae heid but Jesus Christ, nor cannot be. Stinking and baggis heidis! an excommunicate Sanger!" Then, warming to his subject, "...For my ain part I ken I will be noted, I regard not, What can the king get of me but my heid and my bluid?"⁽¹⁾ For his outspokenness he was imprisoned in Falkland Palace. So bold a man could not fail to mould his parishioners, amongst whom he was to die in 1618. Nor did his reputation depend entirely upon fearless polemic. Under his dour boldness was a kindly heart. He founded the first public school in Cambuslang; in 1613 he endowed a bursary in the University of Glasgow to help deserving students, which still continues the work he thus began.

Upon the shelves in M'Culloch's library, we may be sure there was a copy of "The Fulfilling of Scriptures", published at Rotterdam by a former minister of the parish, Robert Fleming. He had come to Cambuslang in 1653 as a sickly youth of twenty-three, and was one of the many ministers "outed" in 1662 for refusing to abjure the Covenant. Conventicle preacher, prisoner and exile, he was "a devout and pious man...full of love and of a peaceable temper."⁽²⁾

The/
 (1) Original in MS State Paper Office; Accusation of Howison, quoted Brown, p.26; Fasti III 234/6.
 (2) Fasti III.237: vide Steven, "History of...Rotterdam", p.113

/The episcopalian minister who took Fleming's place, David Cunningham, found the parish in an almost continuous state of uproar and during his incumbency (1666/1688) there (1) were no minutes of any meeting of session.

The era of persecution had begun and in 1662 two of the leading members were fined £600 and £1,000 Scots and the latter of these, Gabriel Hamilton of Westburn, in 1676 was committed to prison and fined 1,000 merks "for keeping conventicles". He was still in prison seven years later.

Two of Fleming's elders were brought to account. In 1664, John Corsbie (or Crosbie) in Easter-cotes was driven from his home for refusing to assist the new minister in cases of discipline. Robert Hamilton in Spittal in 1666 was "put to (2) the horn" and his house searched and spoiled. At the first meeting of session, June 15, 1690, after the re-establishment of presbyterian church government, these two were named as elders. (3) With them is one John A rbuckle, a name associated with the eldership of Cambuslang for ~~xxx~~ over an hundred years.

In 1678, fifty men and two officers of A thol's/

(1) Wilson, Camb. p.85.

(2) Robert Wodrow, "History of the Sufferings &c." ii, p.3.

(3) Quoted Wilson, p.88.

/Athol's "Highland Host" were billeted on John Corsbie for eight days and twenty-two on James Jackson, another name found in the list of elders in 1742. In 1679, more soldiers were settled at Cambuslang for five weeks and levied \$861 from the parish. (1) M'Culloch's ministry began among a people who had had direct and, in some cases, personal experiences of suffering for their faith.

This long-continued resistance to civil and ecclesiastical tyranny brought some less desirable consequences in its train and a legacy of extremism was left behind to trouble the life of the parish. The ministry of M'Culloch's immediate predecessor, A rehibald Hamilton, would do little to discourage this spirit.

The flames of ecclesiastical controversy, which had been damped down a little during the reign of William III, blazed out again in the closing days of his successor, Anne, by the imposition of the Abjuration Oath in 1712. We noticed earlier how this measure became a source of violent discord throughout the land.

Robert/

(1) Brown, p.32.

Robert Wodrow was a declared non-juror and wrote on Nov. 5, 1712, that it would be sinful for him to take the oath; he was honest enough to say that he dared not go the length of condemning his brethren who thought otherwise. "I firmly believe them men of conscience, and of the same principles with me, and many of them live and lie much nearer God than I do... If you think me lax and latitudinarian, I cannot help it. O scientia charitas!"⁽¹⁾

But he does express strong dissatisfaction with the somewhat irresponsible conduct of many who, like him, refuse the oath, and especially the minister of Cambuslang. The last day for subscribing the Oath was October 28, 1712, but on the 30th. October, Hamilton read out from his pulpit the reasons why he could not take it. "This makes some noise here, and I wish had been forborne."⁽²⁾ Wodrow conjectures that this will be misconstrued as an attempt to curry favour with the people.⁽³⁾ "I am informed some of his hearers were much satisfied."

There were more inflammatory influences at work in the west of Scotland than Mr. Hamilton. Mr. Addison (or Adamson), a/

(1) Wod. Corr. 1.330; Vde also 340 f-m.

(2) Wod. Corr. 1.339/340.

(3) Ibid. 1. 350.

/a Perthshire catechist came into the Hamilton presbytery in April, 1713. Preaching upon the blind man who came to Christ and cast away his garments, he told his audience what garments they ought to cast away. He "began with the garment of the Union, that of the Patronages, that of the Tolleration, that of the Oath of Abjuration! These are his common topicks, and render him very popular."⁽¹⁾

This peripatetic enthusiast created a sensation in the West. He refused to take the collection gathered for him when preaching, apart from as much as was needed to get a new suit of clothes.⁽²⁾ At Kilbride, Addison declared: "that as among the twelve Disciples there was one Judas, so now among twelve Ministers there would be found eleven Devils! he cries out against the Revolution as built upon a heap of dirt."⁽³⁾

Almost two years later, in July, 1714, "Mr. Adamson is raging like a madman in his sermon, in Hamilton, Lanerk and Air, Presbytery. He is so violent, he cannot continue long."⁽⁴⁾ Eventually this "wild work in the bounds of Glasgow and Hamilton ...nauseous stuff"⁽⁵⁾ was brought to an end when Addison refused to appear before a Commission of the Assembly, and/

- (1) Anal. 11.242/3.
- (2) Anal. 11.244.
- (3) Anal. 11.263.
- (4) Anal. 11.285.
- (5) Wod. Corr. 1. 529.

/and turned Independent.

The fanaticism of Addison and the impetuosity of Hamilton had its own peculiar appeal to the ultra-Covenanting faction, with an almost anarchic defiance of authority. In 1720, a Protest and Testimony was handed in to the session of Cambuslang by Hugh Cumin. He inveighs against "all defections contrary to the Word of God and our Covenant engagements, National and Solemn League and Covenant", and protests about the character of some "scandalous persons" who had been made officers in the kirk. If things were rectified, Cumin concludes: "I promise to hear the Gospel in this place, as witness my hand at Coates the twentieth of April, 1720."⁽¹⁾

Hugh Cumin became an elder at Cambuslang, and was Presbytery elder in 1733 and 1737; he was to be a storm-centre for several years. It was Cumin, and other extremists in M'Culloch's session who eventually brought about a crisis that culminated in an open breach in 1739. Couper, writing in his "Scottish Revivals", says: "It is now impossible to discover what was the subject of dispute or to follow the proceedings taken. About 1745, when a better day had dawned, the session considered that it would/

(1) Quoted Porter, pp.37/8.

/would not 'answer any valuable purpose of edification to transmit to posterity the remembrance of that unhappy breach' and destroyed all the papers connected with the matter, especially as 'all partys...signified their desire that it might be buried in oblivion.'⁽¹⁾"

Fortunately for the historian, the session was unable to mutilate the records of the Presbytery of Hamilton, and within its pages there is a very full account of these events. And if we bring to view again what these good men wished to obliterate, it will serve to make even plainer something of M'Culloch's problems with his strong-minded leaders, and also show what a reconciling power was inherent in the revival of 1742.

On February 26, 1740, John Bar, Presbytery elder for Cambuslang, gave in to the Presbytery of Hamilton a "Petition and Complaint against His Brethren Elders of the sd Paroch." After asserting that he had behaved inoffensively towards all men since his ordination as an elder at Cambuslang seven years before, Bar tells how he visited the Mearns Sacrament on May 27, 1739.

"To/

(1) Couper, "Scottish Revivals", pp.41/2, quotation from Camb. KSR, vol i.

To take up Bar's own story: "upon the Thursday following being the fast day preceeding the sacrament in Cambuslang my Brethren Elders being mett in Session charged my being att Mearns as an high disdemonour a breach of office, a Crime worthy of Censure and declared Their resolution of deserting Their office if I should officiate...Upon the Sabbath when the Minister desired the Elders to do Their duty They refused and kept their seats till I conscious of no crime worthy of such treatment, purely for the peace of the Congregation and Decency on such occasions left the Church and went to the Tent to the great grief of my mind and scorn of many beholders."⁽¹⁾

The petitioner then went on to tell of his long search for some "happy expedient" to bring peace and almost nine months had passed since the boycott at the Sacrament - yet all to no purpose, for "no concession by me, pains by others or length of time can prevail, but on the contrary by some pretended sentence or supposition of a sentence of my Brethren, I am either deposed or suspended from my office by Them without ever the least conviction of a Crime."⁽²⁾ Bar

(1) (2) Hamilton Pres. Recs.

/Bar therefore laid his case before the Presbytery, asking that he might suffer suitable punishment if adjudged criminal and "if innocent, I may be acquit and my innocency appear and I do Protest that this my complaint does not flow from any resentment or Divisive Design."

Certain elders from Cambuslang were cited to the next meeting of Presbytery, viz. Archibald Couper, Hugh Cummin, Archibald Fyfe, John Strang and Andrew Fyfe. On April 10, 1740, these men gave in their written reply, complaining that John Bar "refused to give a satisfying answer" when someone enquired whether he had been at Mearns. His going there was "Invading the Elder's office" & he had helped to gather the collection for the poor - and had given offence to the congregation and session at Cambuslang.⁽¹⁾

Immediately after this complaint, apparently so trivial, the elders reveal stronger objections: "Therefore We desire the Presbytery may let us see that Patronage is agreeable to the word of God or else we can not in conscience Joyn with John Bar Psalm 74.5,6 but now they have broken down the Carved work with axes and hammers", and they go on to declare that they had been denied a free voice in the session at/

(1) Hamilton Pres. Recs.

/at Cambuslang. Apparently at the sacrament when the breach became evident, M'Culloch had called on the ministers present, Mr. Connell of East Kilbride and Mr. Henderson of Blantyre to bear witness should any elder draw back through needless scruples. "There he", goes on the written reply, "reckoning that to be needless scruples which others reckon matter of conscience We let the Presbytery know ~~that~~ we are not wearied of our Master's service but Lament we cannot exercise government in God's house. We could keep Session with our Neighbour ministers if the Presbytery appointed one to Moderate with us."

After a long discussion with the elders, who remained of the same mind, the Presbytery unanimously asserted the innocence of John Bar and declared that their Moderator should administer a "Very Particular Rebuke" to the elders who were "introducing various disorders and confusions in this church, contrary to the Spirit of peace, holyness and Love." But the obdurate elders "refused to submit to the Rebuke and Appealed to the Tribunal of Christ."

The kirk session, including John Bar, was appointed to meet on Thursday, May 8, but M'Culloch had to report that only John Bar and James Jackson had attended, and the latter had/

/had said that "in his own mind he had no difficulty as to His sitting in Session with John Bar yet being afraid of the Glamour of the People of the Paroch he declined to sit in Session with him at this time." Evidently there were rigorists in the congregation as well as in the session. On June 24, the Presbytery deposed the objecting and recalcitrant elders from their office.

On July 29, 1740, a long paper was brought to the Presbytery by Archibald Coupar on behalf of the deposed elders; he asked permission for it to be read and inserted in the records, which was done. In it they speak of "the affair betwixt Mr. McCulloch and us and also betwixt John Bar and us" and complain that the Presbytery had ignored their previous request "to let us see that Patronage is agreeable to the Word of God."

Reference is made to the resistance shown by the parish to the proposed settlement of Mr. Findlater and the binding obligation of the Confession of Faith and to both our National and Solemn League and Covenants. Any deviation from these would be a betrayal "of our late Sufferers and even to any at present whether Ministers or Christians that are setting up for reformation principles."

"If we should go in with the guizers of the time as/

/as they now occur to us we must necessarily go contrary to our own light and likeways to both publick and private Engagements...Therefore we desire through Grace to own all our Covenanted Principles and Especially Christ's Headship in His own House and we reckon whatever invasions be made by any Judicatory upon His Kingly office must be Void and Null in itself."

After this there is reference to the defections of the times and the denial of Presbyterian Principles..."so that we being driven to this extremity by Ecclesiastical oppression and considering that so many honest Ministers are Deposed for owning the same Reformation Principles we cannot think that those Decisions can possibly agree with the Word of God and our approved standards."

In the final paragraph of this lengthy justification, they deny and defy the prerogatives of the Presbytery as a superior court. "We further Protest that this unwarrantable sentence shall no wayes alienate our office and Character as Elders and office-bearers in the Church of Christ...and we have as full liberty and Power to exercise the same when called thereto as if no such sentence had been passed, and that our office and Character shall no more come under the/

/the Cognizance and inspection of the Presbytery untill
 They come to own Reformation Principles...we hereby Decline
 Them as not acting as a Lawfull and Right constitute Court
 of Christ the alone King and Head of His own Church...and
 we hereby may Apply or Appeal unto the first Lawfull and
 Right constitute Court of Christ for redress...Sic Subts

Archibald Couper How Cummin Archibald Fyfe

James Turnbull I.S. (John Strang?) Andrew Fyfe."

In the following year, 1741, there was no elder appointed to Presbytery from Cambuslang and the next mention is not until April 22, 1742, after the revival began at that place, when there came before the Presbytery, "Archibald Fyfe...and professed his Dissatisfaction with what he had done." Both M'Culloch and the Laird of Westburn sent letters pleading for him, and the sentence of deposition was accordingly relaxed.

Embodied within the "reasons of Protest, Declinature and Appeal" given in by the deposed elders are further evidences of another of the problems facing M'Culloch. The reference to "Ecclesiastical Oppression" and that "so many honest Ministers are deposed for owning the same Reformation Principles" points directly to the controversy around the Secession of 1733. Here are the very echoes of Ebenezer Erskine's famous sermon already/

/already noticed. The eight Seceding brethren had been solemnly deposed by the General Assembly on May 15, 1740, only two months before the protest of the Cambuslang elders. And adherents to them were already meeting in Glasgow.

At first there was no fixed place for those who sought fellowship with the Seceders to assemble. One place is designated Rochesay, the property of William Letham of the Barony parish; others are Bogton, near Cathcart; Balscagrie, the modern Balshagray; Petershill in the Springburn district; and Dildue, now Daldowie. These places are named in the minutes of ~~the~~ societies for prayer who were later to form the first Secession church in Glasgow. ⁽¹⁾

In June, 1739, a sympathiser, William Thomson, Esq., of Corshill in the parish of Cathcart, offered the lease of a piece of ground where public worship might be regularly held. A session was formally constituted in February, 1740. To this spot there travelled continually many members of the Cambuslang congregation. In a later chapter we shall examine in more detail how marked was this drift towards the Seceders. The three daughters of the elder already noted in Bar's case, James Jackson, were all in the/

(1) "Historical Sketch, Greyfriars, ^{Church} p. 28.

/the habit of going "to hear the North Country Ministers at Corsehill", of whom they "had a great opinion." Mary Mitchell went to hear the Seceders "because I saw Many others going."⁽¹⁾ This must have given M'Culloch some anxious thought.

Yet in spite of the many problems facing him, the disruptiveness of extremists and the counter-attractions of the Seceders, there were also many things to warm his heart. It was during the first decade of M'Culloch's ministry that the new winds of revival began to blow in several countries, in some measure providing an answer to the indifference begotten of that age of light without love.

At Freehold, New Jersey, in America, there began an awakening in 1730; this was the first place in ~~the~~ East-Jersey to be settled with a gospel ministry and "this was owing...under GOD to some Scots People, that came to it, among whom there was none so painful in this blessed Undertaking as one Walter Ker; who in the Year 1685 for his faithful and conscientious Adherence to GOD and his Truth as professed by the Church of Scotland, was there/

(1) M'C. Mss.1.94.

/there apprehended, and sent into this Country, under a Sentence of perpetual Banishment...He is yet alive (October 11, 1744)...being in his 88th Year."⁽¹⁾

Four years later, there came the Great Awakening at Northampton under the leadership of Jonathan Edwards. From about 1730, Wales heard and sang the new music of the gospel as brought by men like Griffith Jones, Daniel Rowlands, Howell Harris and Howell Davis. George Whitefield was converted about Whitsun, 1735, and soon began his apostolic labours; John Wesley's heart was strangely warmed on 24 May, 1738.

There was a breaking-out of new life in many places; it was a spiritual Springtide. News of these unusual events was carried far and wide by printed pamphlets and there never was such an age for voluminous letter-writing. It is not easy to trace any definite connection between these movements in their origins, and the little Lanarkshire community, and yet there is something infectious about such happenings and earnest men must have longed and prayed for some new throbbing of power in their own spheres.

We have hinted at the probability of Robert Fleming's book/

(1) Letter in "The Christian History", ed. T. Prince 1744, pp. 298/9.

/book, "The Fulfilling of Scripture", being in the manse at Cambuslang; in it there was much to inspire, with its record of similar spiritual awakenings. In its pages, M'Culloch would read of "that large measure of the Spirit, and outletting thereof which did convincingly follow the Gospel and ministry of the word in these last times...no lesse ⁽¹⁾ ~~xxxx~~ than in the first planting of the Christian church." Fleming was writing in 1669.

First he tells of events about 1625, during days of persecution, which "by the praphane rabble of that time was called the Stewarton Sickness." At "Irwine and Stewarton", under the ministry of Mr. Dickson, "many where choaked and taken by the heart...that in hearing of the word, they have been made to fall over...who after proved most solid and lively Christians." Many then alive recalled that "few Sabbaths did passe without some evidently converted."

How the heart of the earnest pastor at Cambuslang must have stirred as he read on: "and truely, this great spring tide which I so call of the Gospel, was not of a short time, but for some yeares continuance, yea thus like a spreading moor-burn, the power of Godliness did advance from one place to another." ⁽²⁾

Fleming then goes on to tell of "that solemn Communion/

(1) Fleming's "Fulfilling &c.", p.241. (2) Ibid p.243.

/Communion at the Kirk of the Shots June 20 1630 at which time there was so convincing an appearance of God, and downpouring of the Spirit...that it was known, which I can speak on sure ground, near 500 had at that time a discernable change wrought on them. of whom most proved lively Christians afterward, it was the sowing of a seed through Glidesdale, so as many of the most eminent Christians in that countrey, could date either their conversion, or some remarkable confirmation in their case from that day." ⁽¹⁾ The account of John Livingston's reluctance to preach, the many hundreds spending the whole night in prayer, and the testimony of Livingston that success was mainly due "in getting his heart brought into the right disposition" must have made a powerful appeal to one of M'Gulloch's temperament.

This account by Fleming of the fruitfulness of the "out-lettings" at Stewarston and Shotts was also corroborated by another contemporary of M'Gulloch, Patrick Walker (1666/1745) the "Cameronian pedlar", the packman writer of vivid simple prose. In his book, "Six Saints of the Covenant", he tells of his friend, George Barclay, a Covenanting preacher, as saying that "above all places in Scotland, he found the greatest gale upon his spirit upon the water of Glide: which/

(1) "Fulfilling &c.", p. 244.

/which he attributed much to the plentiful successful prayers of some of the old Christians, and their offspring, who got a merciful cast of free grace, when casts were a dealing at the Kirk of Shotts, the 20th of June 1630, which perfumed and gave a scent to the overward of Clydesdale above all other places, but, alas! is now much gone." (1)

All M'Culloch's own experience would lead him to endorse this judgment of Walker's, for Cambuslang itself was in Clydesdale and had its own witnesses to the continuity of that work of an hundred years earlier. And his brooding, earnest spirit would have accepted Walker's verdict, set forth in the Preface to his Life of Peden, "being persuaded that if ever the Lord pity this weather-beaten Sardis, Laodicean Church, and send forth a thaw-wind, and spring-tide day of the gospel, to thaw the frozen face of affairs as was at Stewartoun, and spread through the west of Scotland as muir-burn...a hundred years since, and at the kirk of Shotts five years thereafter...many things that now are wersh and unsavoury, will come in request again." (2)

One thing at least was certain: in these former classic examples of powerful movements of the Spirit, prayer was/

(1) P. Walker, "Six Saints &c.", i. p.337.

(2) Ibid. i.41/2.

/was central in each situation. Fleming had instanced John Welsh, associated with M'Culloch's own native south-west^{west} John Welsh, associated with M'Culloch's own native south-west, ^{who} had given eight hours out of every twenty-four to prayer, spending days and nights in fasting and intercession. "It was his use on the coldest winter nights, to rise for prayer...he hath been found lying on the ground weeping, and wrestling with the Lord...once, overcharged with grief, he told his wife he had that to presse him which she had not, the soules of 3000 to answer for, whilst he knew not how it was with many of them." (1)

This was one step that could be taken by both minister and congregation, and so we are not surprised to learn that the societies for prayer were being revived in Cambuslang. M'Culloch himself remembered in 1751 that: "in 1731, when I came to this parish, there were three of these meetings in it. In 1742, they increased to a dozen or more." (2)

It is time for us to investigate these societies for prayer, to see their composition and practice and make some assessment of their place in the revival of 1742.

(1) Fleming, "Fulfilling of the Scripture", p.250.
 (2) Robe, "Narrative", 1789 edition: Attestation by M'Culloch.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SOCIETIES FOR PRAYER

The Renaissance emphasis on the value of individualism was taken over by Luther and other Reformation leaders in the sixteenth century, emerging as the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, "the one great religious principle which lies at the basis of the whole Reformation movement", as Principal Lindsay once said.⁽¹⁾

Luther himself was helped greatly by the Brethren of the Common Life and other groups of mystics; breaking with the ecclesiastical hierarchy, he found strength in, and gave help to, the laity. Says the historian of the Reformation, quoting Luther: "All believing laymen 'are worthy to appear before God to pray for others, to teach each other mutually the things that are of God.' Even in the celebration of the holiest rites, there was no distinction...At the Eucharist ...' we all kneel beside him (our priest or minister) and around him, men and women, young and old, master and servant, mistress and maid, all holy priests together...We are there in/

(1) Lindsay, "History of the Reformation", i. p.444.

(1)
/in our priestly dignity.'"

Luther proposed to establish religious societies throughout Germany, consisting of small groups of believers, enrolled by name and meeting for prayer, reading the Scriptures, administering the sacraments and engaging in works of charity. No elaborate liturgy was laid down, but Christian laymen, with "short and proper means" directed "all in common to the Word and prayer and charity."⁽²⁾ The aim was to nourish inward religion.

In the following century, Lutheran orthodoxy ossified into a narrow formalism. Philip Jakob Spener (1635/1705) called his congregation in 1669 to seek after a righteousness greater than that of mere conformity to externals. Soon large numbers of his people were meeting in small groups in various private homes to discuss practical religion. They were the "ecclesiolae in ecclesia."

In his "Pia Desideria", which appeared at Frankfurt in 1675, Spener advocated the earnest study of the Bible and the cooperation of laymen in the spiritual guidance of the congregation as means to the reviving of religion. This new school of "pietists" established their influence in the ~~newly~~ University of Halle, founded 1694, to which one of/

(1) Lindsay, 1. p.444.

(2) J. Köstlin, "Life of Luther", p.349.

/of their leaders, Francke, was appointed as professor of theology. Thousands of students flocked there from all parts. Francke promoted in Halle ragged schools and orphanages, which were to inspire George Müller to a similar venture in Bristol; to Halle, the king of Denmark sent men to be trained as missionaries and the great work at Tranquebar began in 1704; the Moravian leader, Zinzendorf, was Spener's godson and pupil, who organised the Unitas Fratrum in 1727. When the two Wesley brothers sailed for Georgia in October, 1735, there were twenty-six Moravians on board, whose courage in the storm impressed John Wesley greatly. On November 6, he began to read a new book, the "Pietas Hallensis" by A.H. Francke, with his friends. (1)

Similar movements to this in Germany were taking place in other European countries, and especially in Holland, which had provided asylum for so many religious refugees in the latter half of the seventeenth century. One group of exiled ministers met weekly for prayer, containing Mr. Howe, famous as a man of prayer. About 1686, at one of these gatherings, it was Mr. Howe's turn to pray; he did so with such fervour "that the sweet heled down. Mrs. Hou his wife, knowing his manner, and/

(1) The Journal of John Wesley, i. p.116.

/and that it would not divert him, in the time of it, stepped to him gently, took off his wig, and with her napkin dried the sweet, and put on his wig again."⁽¹⁾

James Hog, later of Carnock, writing under the name of Philomathes in his memoirs, tells of his studies at one of the Dutch universities, and meeting with those who "conversed together about the great salvation, and poured out their hearts unto the Lord in prayer with one accord."⁽²⁾ As a tutor in a noble family there, he associated with "excellent ones of the earth," who "met in societies...several of considerable quality."⁽³⁾ Acknowledging the real value of these societies, he finds fault with them for allowing all to attend and hear because "some assumed too far, and encroached upon ministerial work by stated discourses." These "aspirings beyond their station", Hog found, "to be as alarming as the presumption of Korah, Dathan and Abiram." He points out that this was really due to ignorance "and such meddlings are very ordinary in foreign places."⁽⁴⁾

Similar religious societies, meetings for prayer and/

(1) Anal. iii. 303.

(2) Memoirs of James Hogg, ed. Bruce 1798, p.10.

(3) Ibid p.22.

(4) Ibid p.22.

/and Bible reading were to be found in England during the seventeenth century. When Robert Baillie was in London for the Westminster Assembly, he wrote home to Scotland on August 10, 1645: "Truely the godly here are a praying people", and he notes that many meet often in private houses. Writing about eighty years later, in 1724, Wodrow speaks of news from his friend, Mr. Kemp, who lived in London. There "he joynd in a privat fellouship-meeting, who convened every Munday, about six of the clock, and spent some hours in prayer and conference, where he was much refreshed. He adds, that ther are multitudes of these meetings, both of young men and elder persons in London."

In 1727, Wodrow records with sorrow that his friend "Mr. John Stirling, Principall of the Colledge of Glasgou" had died. For seventeen years, they had ridden together three times ~~xx~~ a year to Assemblies and Commissions in Edinburgh. In the library of the University of Glasgow there is a slim volume, "An account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies in the City of London. By Josiah Woodward, D.D., Minister of Poplar, 3rd. Edition. Printed in 1701." It is a very full and exact account of the/

(1) The Letters and Journal of Robert Baillie, ed. D. Laing, ii. 305.

(2) Anal. iii. 371.

(3) Anal. iii. 444/6.

/the remarkable growth of societies for prayer in London. Written in ink on the title-page is "Ex Libris Bibliotheca civitatis Glasg: Empt prop Acad sumpt 1702 Jo: Stirling Principal." Was this little book ever in the pocket of saddlebag of the principal of the university as he jogged along with Wedrow to do the business of the church in the capital? These societies of which Woodward writes began in London about 1678, although there were some in other places "who knew nothing of these London-Societies."⁽¹⁾

Similar groups had brought great benefits to the "Sister-⁽²⁾ Kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland." "Dr. Frank, Professor of Divinity in the City of Hall in Saxony" had written on Jan. 21, 1700 to inform Woodward that his book had been translated into German and that encouraging news was to hand from France, Switzerland, and the Rhineland.⁽³⁾

The inspirer of this development in London, was Dr. Anthony Horneck (1641/97), who came from Heidelberg to England about 1661, and was appointed preacher at the Savoy. Some young men who were disturbed by his preaching, discussed/

(1) Woodward, p.4.

(2) Ibid 6.

(3) Ibid 7/9.

/discussed the matter with him, and drew up some rules of conduct "whereby Poor Families have been reliev'd, some Poor People set into a way of Trade, sundry Prisoners set at Liberty, some Poor Scholars furthered at the University, several Orphans maintain'd." (1)

During the reign of James II they paid for public prayers to be said at St. Clements Danes every evening and when persecution became more intense, rather than endanger their friends "they adjourn'd to some Publick-House where they could have a Room to themselves; and under the Pretext of spending a Shilling or two, they conferr'd seriously together as formerly." (2) Evangelistic in spirit, they resolved to try and bring one friend each to their fellowships and Woodward records (3) that there were forty distinct groups at the time of writing.

Some criticised this development as the beginning of a sect, but every member of the societies had to confess himself of the Church of England, frequent communion was obligatory upon them, nothing was permitted without the express consent of their minister and they had the blessing of the Bishop of London. They were active supporters of the "Honourable Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge...setting up/

(1) Ibid 23/24
(3) Ibid 40

(2) Ibid 28/9
~~xxx~~

/up about 40 Schools in this City and Suburbs...where over a
 thousand children were taught freely!"⁽¹⁾ Hearing of "the
 Reverend Doctor Bray's pious Intentions of improving the
 Knowledge and Practice of the Gospel in our Plantations",
 they had "readily contributed One hundred Pounds."⁽²⁾

Similar societies had been set up in Oxford and Cam-
 bridge;⁽³⁾ about twenty years later, the two Wesleys were at
 Oxford, where the "Methodist" society was set up. Whilst
 admitting the deep influence exerted by Henry Scougal of
 Aberdeen upon John and Charles Wesley, it is probably going
 too far to assert, as Butler does, that "in spirit and
 conception, the Oxford Club owed its inspiration to Henry
 Scougal, and that the early origin of Methodism is to be
 found in the northern university town."⁽⁴⁾ As we have seen,
 such societies were already in vogue at Oxford before the
 "Methodist" undergraduates arrived there.

In a recent study of Samuel Walker and the revival
 movement in Cornwall, G.C.B. Davies has revealed how much
 this work was inspired by prayer societies on the pattern/

(1) Ibid 95.

(2) Ibid 94.

(3) Ibid 46

(4) D. Butler, "Henry Scougal and the Oxford Methodists". p.142.

/pattern described by Woodward. At Truro the minister himself took charge of a group of mature Christians and taught them first; then they acted as lay-leaders to teach others in companies of five to eight persons. John Martyn, father of the famous missionary, Henry Martyn, was a member of Walker's society.⁽¹⁾

When Principal Stirling read of these societies in London, and their work, he would have no difficulty in recognising their kinship to a parallel movement in Scotland's own story, and a factor in the religious life of his own day.

The Lollards of Kyle had met towards the end of the fifteenth century to read a vernacular edition of Wycliffe's translation of the Bible, made by Murdoch Nisbet.⁽²⁾ Later, copies of Tyndale's translation were smuggled into the Scotland by merchants trading chiefly from Leith, and read at dead of night in private houses.⁽³⁾ John Knox discloses how real was the value of small groups meeting together for fellowship. Writing in 1538, he declares that despite the tyranny of "the Papistical Kirk...the knowledge of God did wonderouslie increase within this realme, partlie by reading, partlie/

(1) "The Cornish Evangelicals 1735/1760", G.C.B. Davies passim.

(2) The New Testament in Scots S.T.S. x/xiv.

(3) Life of John Knox, ed. T. M'Orrie, p.17.

/partlie by brotherlye conference, which in those dangerouse
 dayis was used to the comforte of many."⁽¹⁾

In 1556, Knox was called to Geneva to pastor the church there; from the Continent, he wrote a letter on July 7, 1557, to be circulated in the places where he had preached. First he pointed out that "the use of Godis hailie word" was as necessary for them as nourishment and sunshine..."And thairfoir, deir brethrene, yf that you luke for a lyfe to cum, of necessitie it is that ye exercise yourselves in the buke of the Lord Your God. Lat na day slip over without sum comfort reassavit fra the mouth of God. Opin your earis... Clois not your eis."⁽²⁾

Family prayers are enjoined at leastonce a day for "within your own housis, I say, in sum cassis ye are bishopis and kingis, your wyffis, children, and familie ar your bishoprik and charge...thairfoir, I say, ye must mak thame partakeris in reading, exhortation, and in making commoun prayeris."

He then goes on to speak of "assemblies of brethren... whilk I said were anis a week" and offers several practical instructions. A fter opening in prayer and invoking the help/

(1) Knox's Works, ed. Laing, i. p.61.

(2) This Letter is printed in full in Life of Knox, M'Orrie 349/352.

/help of the Holy Spirit, "than lay sum place of scripture be planelie and distinctlie red ... while endit, gif any brother have exhortation, interpretatioun, or dout, let him not feir to speik and move the same, sa that he do it with moderatioun, either to edifie or be edifeit ... Multiplicatioun of wordis, perplext interpretatioun and wilfulnes in reasonyng is to be avoydit at all tymes."⁽¹⁾

In the Book of Common Order, commonly known as John Knox's Liturgy, under the heading "Interpretation of the Scriptures", it is laid down : "Every weekonce the Congregation assemble to hear some place of the Scriptures orderly expounded. At the which time it is lawful for every man to speak or enquire, as God shall move his heart and the text minister occasion, so it be without pertinacity or disdain, as one that rather seeketh to profit than to contend."⁽²⁾ Even at this larger meeting of the congregation, the same aims were to be served as in the smaller fellowships. The First Book of Discipline, under the section "For Prophecyng", limits the speakers at the Weekly Exercise to three, but goes on: "And every man shall have liberty to utter and declare his minde and knowledge to the comfort and consolation of the kirk."⁽³⁾

During the bitter struggle to establish the first/

(1) M'Crie, Knox, p.351.

(2) Book of Common Order John Knox's Liturgy; ed. Sprott, p.19.

(3) First & Second Booke of Discipline, printed 1621, p.61.

/first Reformation in Scotland, the leaders announced in 1558: "It is thought necessare, that doctrin, preacheing, and interpretatioun of Scriptures be had and used privatlie in qwyet houssis, without great conventionis of the people tharto, whill afterward that God move the Prince to grant publict preacheing be faithfull and trew ministeris." (1) In that same year, Knox, facing opposition from the Queen Regent and the prelates began to seek for some remedy, and decided "that the Brethren in everie toun at certane tymes should assemble togidder, to Common Prayeris, to Exercise and Reading of the Scripturis." (2)

This method proved to be so successful that within a few months, elders were appointed to guide these groups for "at that tyme we had na publict ministeris of the worde; onlie did certane zelous men . . . exhorte thare brethrein, according to the giftes and graces granted unto theme." Knox singles out five by name for special mention. Laing in his footnote at this place adds: "These early and zealous friends of the Reformation, who undertook the office of Exhorters, were all laymen, with perhaps the exception of Robert Hamilton." (3)

Thus, from its earliest days, the reformed church in/

(1) Knox, "Works", 1. p.275/6.

(2) Ibid. pp 299/300

(3) Knox's Works, ed. Laing. p.300, footnote 2.

/in Scotland drew strength and inspiration from meetings for fellowship, which included prayer and Bible study, where all might contribute, if they were so minded, and where laymen of tried gifts taught with acceptance. If we have dwelt on the influence of John Knox, both in precept and practice, at some length, it is because his shadow falls across the whole course of Scotland's religious development.

In the troubled years of the seventeenth century, the small group served as a mainstay in time of stress. Thomas Hog was born in Ross-shire in 1628, to be later venerated as "Hog of Kiltarn", a saintly man who prayed "tanta reverentia, ut si Deo, et tanta fiducia, ut si amico."⁽¹⁾ It was under his inspiration that the ecclesiastically unofficial, but religiously recognised order of evangelical laymen, the "Men",⁽²⁾ came into being.

It was while Hog was a student at the university of Aberdeen, boarding in a private house, that he "joined in worship daily" with his fellow-boarders. One of these was a probationer for the ministry, who acted as leader. "After reading a portion of scripture, he used to propose/

(1) Memoirs of Mrs. William Veitch, Thomas Hog &c., p.88.

(2) McInnes, "Evangelical Movements &c." pp.211 ff.

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/propose questions and difficulties to the rest from what they had read ... He frequented praying societies." (1)

Henry Scougal (1650/78), the saintly Professor of Theology in King's College, Aberdeen, memorialised in the University Chapel, where he lies buried, as "caeli avidus et caelo maturus", had a somewhat similar experience to that told by Hog. Fer~~ve~~nt presbyterian and pious episcopalian are at one here. George Gairden, his colleague and friend, who preached his funeral sermon, informs us that "It being the custom of the youth to have private meetings about the ordering of their commencements ... he, i.e. Scougal, was made constant president among his fellows." (2)

A similar development was also taking place in the south of Scotland to that in the north-east. Praying societies became an expression of popular religion and a stimulus to it. There were some of the leaders of the church who sought to prevent them, fearing Independency; but the support of Samuel Rutherford, Robert Blair, David Dickson and John Livingston prevented the Assembly of 1639 from taking too severe measures against "religious exercise/

(1) Memoirs of Hog, pp.71/72.

(2) Life of God &c., 1747 ed. p.274.

/exercise in families."

During the persecutions of the later Stuarts, the small groups meeting for prayer played a noble part in sustaining faith and courage. Religion was compelled more and more to become personal and inward. Alexander Peden, preaching in the open air at Glenluce in 1682, declared: "He is not worth his room in Scotland the day that prayeth not the half of his time... O sirs! ye must pray ploughing, harrowing, and shearing, ~~and~~ ay and at all your labour." At another similar occasion he said: "Sirs, I'll tell you where the Kirk of God is - wherever there is a praying lad or lass at a dyke-side in Scotland ... a praying party shall go through the storm."⁽¹⁾

For many these were the oracles of God, and the popular heroes were the men who practised this preaching. The reputation of such ministers as Peter Kid, imprisoned on the Bass Rock for sixteen months (1685/6)⁽²⁾ has been handed down in the epitaph carved in the churchyard at Carlisle:⁽³⁾

"A faithful, holy pastor here lies hid,
One of a thousand, -- Mr. Peter Kid:
Firm as a stone, but of a heart contrite,
A wrestling, praying, weeping Israelite."

- (1) Johnstone, "Alexander Peden", pp.187, 199.
- (2) Fasti iii. 285.
- (3) Anal. iii. 720.

John Welch of Irongray wrote his pamphlet, "Fifty and Two DIRECTIONS" to advise his congregation in days of persecution.⁽¹⁾ In Direction xiii, he urges that the time which used to be set apart for worship on the Sabbath and other days should now be devoted to worship at home: "seeing Publick Opportunities of hearing Preachings is taken away from you; lay a Law upon yourselves, that what Time ye were used to spend in going to the Kirk, sitting in it, and going home, that ye spend that Time betwixt God and you in secret, and in your Families, either in Prayer or Reading the Scriptures, or Book of Martyrs."⁽²⁾

Many of these societies that passed through the fires of persecution were to follow the lead of Cameron, Cargill and Renwick, to become the "United Societies" as the intransigent Cameronians were pleased to call themselves. These persisted into the days of the Revolution Settlement of 1689, and refused to merge their identity in a church that had not sworn the Covenants.

But there were many other less extreme groups who chose/

(1) "Fifty and Two Directions &c." It was reprinted at Glasgow by Alexander Miller, and Sold in his Shoop opposite to the Well Salt Marcat" c.1740.
 (2) Ibid. p.24.

/chose to remain within the established church, holding their regular meetings in private houses on weekdays unless the minister of the parish was considered unworthy, a conformed episcopalian or an unevangelical presbyterian. Of them it has been finely said:

"It is not hard to picture the men and their meetings. A lonely thatched cot on the moor, reached by miry roads and uncertain paths - the long trudge through the darkness, with hearts lifted up at the sight of the distant yellow light which marked their destination - the grizzled men, bowed with the weariness of unending labour, and the strong, silent women, still wearing the plaids which had sheltered them from the rawness of the night air - the humble furniture, and the dim light of the cottage, and the reverence which sat on every face and shewed itself at every word and in every gesture. When they met, they hardly greeted, and when they parted it was with the dryest words of farewell. For strangers they would have even a scantier welcome. They had not met for social amenities. The business which had brought them from distant homes was prayer and the searching of Scripture and the discussion of the points of pure doctrine. Their theology was Calvinism, tempered by the tenderness of the theology of the Marrow, and their aim was personal/

(1)
/personal holiness."

Many of the prayer societies must have conformed to this description, but it is far too sweeping a generalisation: Every kind of social class was to be found within them. A group of ministers, the "Carriek Glass", had existed from the "establishment of Presbytery in Scotland" and was continuing in 1845. (2)

Robert Wedrow says of the Presbytery meeting in November, 1729, that "we agreed that Ministers should meet for prayer, with their Sessions, monethly... We agreed to set up our classicall meetings for prayer among ourselves." (3)

In the diary of Alexander Johnstone (1723/1726) we have the chronicle of this "overseer" of roads in eastern Stirlingshire. A prominent layman and an elder in Bothkennar Church, he sat in the General Assembly. On Wednesday, September 3, 1723, his entry reads: "Met with the society for prayer, who had appointed this day from ten in the morning to six at night, to be spent in religious duties... The members present were Mr. Michael Manzie, advocate, Mr. John M'Cartney, Mr. George Andrew, merr, Tho: Elliot, writer, Mr. Halbert Munro, Mr. Charles Logan, student of divinity and myself." Here were men from the professions, some of the social leaders/

(1) Prof. J. Davidson, art. U.P. Magazine, 1899, p.253.

(2) New Stat. A cc. v.375.

(3) Anal iv.92

(1)
/leaders of the district.

Although both the sexes must have been present in some districts, the custom grew up for men to meet with men, and women with women. Further divisions are made at times between married and single persons, and there is abundant evidence of meetings of children, run by the children themselves. John Erskine was connected with a society meeting weekly for prayer, during his student days at Edinburgh University. It consisted of about twenty members, some of them belonging to families of considerable rank. (2)

The primary business of the prayer societies was of a devotional nature, to read the Scriptures, to discuss practical doctrine and to pray. But often there were other developments; action took place at the level of aspiration.

In 1731, Wodrow pays tribute to John Dundas of Philpston, "Clerk to this Church twenty-eight years", who was ill with jaundice, and with his name couples that of Niccol Spence, his colleague in the management of church business. "These two, with Sir. H. Cunningham, Sir Francis Grant, Afterward Lord Cullen, James Steuart, Clerk of Edinburgh, Commissar Broady, Dr. Dundas, Sir Francis Pringle, Mr. George Meldrum, and some others, wer members of a Praying Society...about 1698." (3)

(1) Rees. SCHS iv.266/272, art. Rev. T. Miller.

(2) Christian Repository 1819, pp.420/5. Review of Life of Erskine, &c.

(3) Anal. iv. 235.

"This privat meeting laid the first foundation of that noble designe of reformation of manners in King Willliem's time ...About ten years after, they gave the first beginnings to the Society for Propagation of Christian Knoledge and Reformation of the Highlands and Islands, which has come to so great a lenth. Hou great a matter doth some times a little good fire kindle!

"They concerted subscriptions, they formed the charter to be expedie by (the) Queen, and brought the matters to an excellent bearing; and all as a little weekly society for prayer and conference upon Christian purposes! There wer but eight or ten members, leuere...nou and then, some of the Ministers of Edinburgh met with them, and all they did was in concert with them, joyned with prayer,"⁽¹⁾

Sometimes they took action concerning current affairs in church and state. In June, 1712, Wodrow writes: "I find a-ddresses propagating up and down the country; there is one from the Societys in Kilbride, Cambuslang, Carmonock, Gorbells, and Govan, in correspondence. One from the Praying Societys/

(1) Anal. iv. 235. Wodrow speaks of a manuscript record of their weekly meetings and hopes to examine this and transmit the facts to posterity. This has still to be done!

/Societys in Glasgow, James Aird is at it; another there from Rugland (f-n, Rutherglen). Thir two last are very plain in declaring the Oath of A bjuration contrary to our knouen principles."⁽¹⁾

If the societies sometimes were constrained to make protests about the action of government, there were also homely domestic ministries rendered by them. Janet Hamilton writing of the period around 1733 relates how, in cases of unusual suffering or distress, neighbours would assemble at the home of the sufferer, if this was convenient, and then, moved by strong compassion, each one would pray in turn for the one in need.⁽²⁾

In the second decade of the eighteenth century, the government of many of these societies was tightened up by the setting down of definite rules to cover the admission of members, the subsequent discipline and guidance about topics for discussion.

On October 29, 1714, Ebenezer Erskine, the session clerk, and fifteen others, signed a list of Rules drawn up to regulate the praying society at Portmoak. Meetings were to be held on the 15th. and the last day of every month; a Moderator/

(1) Anal. ii. 55.

(2) Janet Hamilton, "Poems &c.", p.188.

/Moderator was to be chosen each half-year to take care of procedure. Privy censures, usually the work of the kirk session, were instituted; excuses had to be made by members in the case of absence from the meetings and several absences, without due cause, involved expulsion. "For admission into our Society, we shall not be too strict, nor too large," says Rule 7 and so the weak in gifts were welcomed, whilst the unsound in principle and practice could be kept out.

Should the numbers increase, the society would divide into two groups. All meetings were secret and nothing must be divulged. Rule 11 laid down: "The members of the Society shall pray by turns, according to the alphabetical order of their names: and at every meeting three, and at most five or ~~ix~~ six, shall pray; except when Providence calls for more than ordinary wrestling."

In each meeting there was to be reading from the Scriptures and a chapter from the Confession of Faith, as subjects for ~~ix~~ discussion. Also a question of practical divinity was to be proposed for the next meeting to discuss, or a controverted point, a case of conscience or some difficult place in Scripture.
(1)

An almost identical set of rules was adopted by a young/

(1) D. Fraser, "Life & Diary of Eben. Erskine", pp.523/6.

/young men's society which met at Kinesswood, preserved by one of the members, David Pearson, of the Bruce-Logan

(1)
controversy. Three years later, on May 11, 1717, a Praying Society was organised at St. Andrews, 84 members signing their
(2)
names to the foundation.

Meetings were held weekly: "none of us shal absent or withdraw ourselves fm our meetings, except in cases of necessity" and then a stated reason was obligatory at the next meeting. "For keeping our society fm ~~being~~ pested with persons that ought not to be admitted", examination and trial were incumbent upon all who wished to join.

qIn the small manuscript volume of its records there is a list of all the questions proposed by members to the society; 571 in all are enumerated. The first was: "What advantage is to be had in, and what warrant is there for waiting on God in fellowship-meetings?" Others were: "Q.13 + What are the most proper means for attaining assurance? Q.55 - What are the reasons why the petitions of God's people were more remarkably answer'd of old than now? Q.82 + What's meant by conversion? Q.168 - How shal a person attain to true and sa ving faith?" The last question was recorded in/

(1) U.P. Mag. 1899, p.253 and footnote.

(2) Art. by D. Hay Fleming, "The Praying Society of St. Andrews", Original Secession Mag. Jan.1879, pp.38/50.

/in 1733.

After the Secession of 1733, the main support for the Associate Presbytery came from members of Praying Societies up and down the land. On December 13, 1738, a petition was signed by 83 persons, members of such societies in and about Glasgow and out of this the first Secession church in Glasgow was formed February 9, 1740. In Buchan, the praying societies were closely organised before 1733. Each society investigated a "fama" against any of its ~~ex~~ members and new members had to join the society for their own district. The meetings were often presided over by elders. The great majority adhered to
(1)
the Seceders.

In view of the invaluable support given by the societies to the Associate Presbytery, it is not surprising to find that body recommending the formation of such societies in one of their first Acts, 1740. In 1756, they issued a pamphlet under their imprimatur "Rules and Directions for Fellowship-meetings, by the Reverend Mr. John Hepburn, Late Minister at URR in Galloway." Hepburn, founder of the Hebronites, died in 1721.

These rules were definite and even more coercive than the others we have noticed. A fixed place was prescribed, equally distant for all the members. Questions were to be proposed/

(1) J.T. Findlay, "The Secession in the North", pp.6/8.

/proposed from the Confession of Faith or the Shorter Catechism ... "let no jars or needless debates get place." Should this, however, happen, "it is fit they break off, and go to prayer again!" The members submitted to an even more rigorous discipline: "No member should take on him any public office... nor yet go to law, without acquainting the meeting, and seeking their advice and consent." Two or three delegates were to (1) interview any prospective members.

One of the major centres of the 1742 revival was Kilsyth, and we are fortunate in having with the records of the kirk session of that town a complete list of rules, drawn up to govern the proposed prayer societies.

"An Overture for the Setting Up of Societies in the Congregation" was read, considered and approved by the session on December 5, 1721, whereby it was "Enacted by the Session, That Societies for prayer and Christian conference be Sett up in the Congregation...." We give them almost verbatim:

1. That praying persons of a blameless conversation be pitched upon and divided in Several Societies thorou the parish. 1. Accordingly the Minr gave in a list of persons, which was approved.

2. That they meet at least once in the month... that they/

(1) Orig. Sec. Mag. Feb., 1934, art. by Hugh Watt, pp. 49/53/2
"The Praying Societies of the Early Eighteenth Century."

- /they begin with prayer.
3. Where it can be conveniently done, a part of a psalm be sung..
 4. Then let one pray.
 5. Then let them read a portion of the Lord's word, at least one Chapter beginning at the new Testament.
 6. After reading, let another pray.
 7. After this, let one of the Society ask three or four questions out of Vincent's Catechism, which the Society are to be advertised of at their former Meeting to prepare to answer.
 8. Upon the back of this, One of their Number having prayed, if any present desire the Advice of the Meeting anent their own Spiritual State, or anent what may be sin or duty...let it be kindly given, and if the Society observe any thing exceptionable in any member, let them admonish the sd. member thereof in tenderness and love.
 9. Let no curious questions be proposed that are either above the capacity of the Society, or do not tend immediately to the advancement of practical Religion...
 10. It would also be helpfull in the way of duty to confer either now or at any other time during the meeting anent the sins of the congregation in general...that they may be bewailed and mourned over before the Lord.
 11. That no member talk abroad any thing spoken or done in the Society.
 12. That absent members give an account of the reason of their absence, which, if not sustained, are to Submit themselves to the admonition of the Society...
 13. That each Society make choice of one of their Number Monthly to Correspond with the Minrs. Society.
 14. That non afterwards be admitted into these Societies without express allowance from the Minrs Society and that non but members be allowed to be present at these Societies. (1)

(1) Kilsyth K.S.R.

One striking feature of this organisation at Kilsyth was the central place held by the ministers' society, who seem to have acted as an executive, controlling all the others. There are also very real dangers of inquisitorial action and censoriousness.

When we come to look at the revival in Kilsyth, we shall see how these societies set up in 1721 flourished, then died away, but were quickened once more about the time of the awakening in 1742.

These prayer societies were widespread and their activities inspired Christian thought and practice. Their very vigour served to draw upon them opposition and criticism.

Lord Elchies, writing to his factor on January 10, 1728, says: "I have heard a complaint that Wm. McKondachie keeps a meeting-house, forsooth! in his house, and, as I'm told, drains the Kirk pretty much; and I doubt not it may have that effect: mankind is commonly given to novelties, and for the most part likes what is forbidden them. However you'll discharge that practice in time coming; ther must be no meeting-house in my ground; and wherever else it is, all my tenants must keep the Kirk."⁽¹⁾ Lord Elchies sought to put down the praying societies by the method of the strong hand, religion by coercion; there were others who sought by mild ridicule or superciliousness to damn/

(1) Letters of Lord Elchies, p.36. McConachy was one of the two most important tenants on the estates. vde p.226.

/damn the movement with faint praise.

Dr. Robert Wallace, minister of Greyfriars Church in Edinburgh, wrote a treatise, "Christian piety Illustrated and certain Mistakes concerning it Detected" (now among the Laing manuscripts in the university of Edinburgh), in which he
(1)
attacks enthusiasm.

"Many of you are much disposed to erect your selves into little societies or fellowship meetings as they are called... they are thought mighty usefull in advancing piety." But he doubts "whether it is proper...for the young, the weak, and unexperienced to enlist themselves...Whether it is suitable to that modesty and humility which ought to shine in their Behaviour." Even had these young people "sound and distinct notions", which he clearly thinks is improbable, they are not able to express distinctly what they think. "Their hearts are much better than their heads."

Therefore, instead of correcting each other's errors, they only confirm them; "they raise unnecessary doubts and perplex one another." Realising that not all the members of these societies were as unlettered and ignorant as he hinted, Wallace points out that he "knew one of these societies which was composed of persons who meant as well and from their education and circumstances might have been presumed to know as much as most who/

(1) La. ii. 976.

/who are members of such societies at present...I could never perceive that they increased in knowledge on the contrary."

Should any charge him with raillery, then all he could say was that "you deserve it in some degree for your preposterous gravity and engaging in projects which are above your strength. I mean nothing but your real advantage and to save you from the ridicule of some who will not make so many allowances for you as I can do."

And yet, in spite of the dangers inherent in such fellowship, and that they were very real the evangelical ministers well knew, and in spite of the professional denigration of these religious "amateurs" by Moderates like Wallace, these groups scattered over the country were not without significance. These men and women from every rank of life, questing after personal holiness and endeavouring to watch for each other's souls, did much to warm the spiritual atmosphere of the land. They were preparing a highway for the Lord.

**** **** **** ****

CHAPTER FIVE

BOOKS AND THE PEOPLE

Before turning to consider the rise and development of the Cambuslang Awakening in 1742, it will be worth our while to look at the intellectual influences that were shaping the opinions of ministers and people throughout the west of Scotland. What were the people reading in 1742?

There is a fairly widespread belief that the Scottish people in the eighteenth century were, in the main, illiterate; this has been fostered by the dicta of social historians like Henry G. Graham, who states that at the beginning of that century, "the inhabitants to a vast extent were unable to read or to write."⁽¹⁾ This is a gross exaggeration.

"Jupiter" Carlyle (1722/1805) informs us that he was taught to read by an old woman who kept a school. She had accomplished her task so well that one day, shut out from his father's church at Prestonpans because of the large crowd that had gathered, and finding a dozen old women also outside the door, he offered to read to them. They lifted him up on to a tombstone where, says he, "I read very audibly to/

(1) "Social Life of Scotland &c." p.423.

/to a congregation, which increased to about a score, the whole of the Song of Solomon."⁽¹⁾ One wonders which created the greater stir - the erotic cadences of the ancient Hebrew love-story, or the clever reading of the minister's six-years-old laddie! Robert Rieccaltoun, another Scottish boy, born in 1691, could read the Bible distinctly before he was five years of age.⁽²⁾

But it was not only the children of ministers, and ministers-to-be, that were able to read. Janet Hamilton tells of her maternal grandfather, born in 1704 and orphaned early in life, who was taken to be a "herd laddie" by a farmer in Cambusnethan when ten years old. A lready the boy had been taught to read by his father and this was maintained by "the pious and careful teaching of the goodwife of Carbars, who, when the cows were driven in from the pasture at 'twal-hours', for some time during the heat of the summer-day, never failed to set him a chapter or two to read from the Bible."⁽³⁾ True piety has ever been the spur towards intellectual advance.

Nor does this accomplishment of early reading seem to have been rare, as we may learn from the men and women who/

(1) Autobiography &c. pp.4/5.

(2) Works of John Newton, vi. p.448.

(3) Janet Hamilton, "Poems &c." p.180.

/who supplied M'Culloch with details about their histories. Thus one of them testifies: "I could read the Bible by the time I was six years old"⁽¹⁾ and then goes on to name various books she had read, including Watson's Body of Divinity! Another: "I was taught by My Father to read the Bible by the time I was six years of age"⁽²⁾, whilst a young male weaver from Anderson writes: "When I was put to School, I inclin'd so much to reading that I would oftentimes have stay'd of my own accord, with the Master that taught me reading, after the School was dismissed."⁽³⁾

For those who lived in the more remote areas, often there were serious difficulties in the way of learning. Says Archibald Bell: "I was born in the High-Lands: and My Parents living far from any place where there was a School, I was not put to it, nor could I read any till I was about fourteen years of age: and then, in time of My Apprenticeship, I got lessons from some about: and so came at length to learn to read the Bible."⁽⁴⁾

Daniel McLartie, son of a weaver in "Naptal parish, or/

- (1) Anne Wylie, an unmarried woman of 32, M'C. Mss. i.39.
- (2) Elizabeth Dykes, 16 years of age, from Garnale. Ibid i. 208.
- (3) Robert Hamilton, 29 years of age. Ibid. ii.75.
- (4) Ibid. i.398.

/or kirkmichal, Inverluss in Argyleshire", the present-day Knapdale, writes: "When I was about 12 year old, I was put to School, and was taught to read the Bible in English and the Psalm Book in the Irish, or the High-land Language, being taught first from My Infancy to speak Irish."⁽¹⁾

There were others who learned to read even later: so Margaret Clerk, "Spouse to John McGlass, Day-Labourer in Givan" aged 42, stayed at home from church when a young woman "because I could not read, and I was much ashamed that I could not make use of the Bible in the Kirk as others about me did. And therefore I got about learning to read, when I was about 18 years of age, having never learn'd to read any before that: and it was one of the Terms of my Agreement with these whom I serv'd, that I should always get a Lesson every day: and by following it out in that manner,⁽²⁾ I came to be capable to read the Bible."

It is equally certain, judging from these manuscript records, that there were many who could write; there are degrees of legibility, but none is wholly indecipherable. Spelling, however, is another matter; and the widest latitude seems to have been allowed. There was some system of contractions used in setting down some of these narratives, closely/

(1) M'C Mss. 11.158.

(2) M'C Mss. 11.447.

/closely analagous to modern shorthand. But this should not really surprise us, for it is on record that at Portmoak, many of Ebenezer Erskine's hearers took down his sermons in shorthand; the minister coöperated so far as to give public hints to direct these diligent "scribes". Later on the Sabbath evenings, the discourses of the day were read over to friends and neighbours.⁽¹⁾

After the unsettled and tumultuous days of the seventeenth century, so unpropitious for educational progress, there came with the Revolution Settlement a sincere concern for the institution of schools and libraries. An Act of 1696 ordained:

"That there be a school settled and a schoolmaster appointed in every parish not already provided...And for that Effect, That the Heritors in every Parish meet and provide a commodious House for a school, and settle and modify a Sallary to a Schoolmaster, which shall not be under one hundred Merks, nor above Two hundred Merks, to be paid Yearly at two Terms..."⁽²⁾

The schoolmasters were, in the main, ill provided for; it was far easier to legislate that heritors should make adequate financial arrangements for the schoolmasters' salaries than to turn the fine ideal into actual achievement. And since the/

(1) Life and Diary of Eben. Erskine, pp.196/7.

(2) Act of First Parliament, William III, c.xxvi.

/the dominie must live, he had at times to augment his scanty pittance by odd means. At one school, at Candlemas, every boy had to bring a fighting-cock and a shilling. The schoolroom floor became a cockpit and the master's diet was enriched for some time by the bodies of the slain combatants. Should any bird seek safety in flight, he was branded as a "fugie", fixed to a post in the schoolyard, and done to death at a halfpenny a shot.⁽¹⁾ Thus was the work of education subsidised!

Here and there, generous-minded men were helping on this work of education by legacies and bequests. In 1723, Mr. John Patrick, a merchant in London but a native of Kilsyth, made a bequest "to the use of the school in Chapel-green or Bridgend, in the parish of Kilsyth...the interest or product of sixty pounds sterling... for the only use and benefit of poor children... to be educated in useful learning." By wise investment, this sum was yielding £22 per annum towards the teacher's salary in 1823.⁽²⁾ James Warden, minister of Cadder parish, left 1000 merks at his death in 1745 for⁽³⁾ supplying a school in his native village of Auchinairn. James Stirling, minister of the Barony, Glasgow, at his death in 1736, bequeathed 3000 merks to encourage the schools in/

(1) Murray, "The School at Cardross", p.15.

(2) Edinburgh Chr. Instr. April 1838, p.177.

(3) Fasti iii. 374.

/in his parish and to buy Bibles and catechisms for the
 poor.⁽¹⁾ Andrew Taite, minister of Carmunnock, who died in
 1742, left £100 sterling "to buy as many copies of Alleine's
 'Alarm to the Unconverted' as would give a copy to each family
 in the parish."⁽²⁾ About this same time, John Mill, minister
 at Dunrossness in the distant Shetlands, was "procuring many
 copies of Crawford and Vincents" catechisms to distribute to
 his people.⁽³⁾

One of the main sources for this growing interest in
 education, to whom adequate tribute has yet to be paid, was
 James Kirkwood, the friend of Bishop Burnet, and the advocate
 of parochial libraries.⁽⁴⁾ Born at Dunbar in 1650, he became
 acquainted with the needs of the Gaelic-speaking peoples when
 he was chaplain to the first Earl of Breadalbane. Moving to
 England, he became associated with the wealthy philanthropist,
 Robert Boyle, who gave him financial help in sending "Irish"
 Scriptures into the Highlands.

Kirkwood was the author of a tract which appeared
 anonymously in 1699, "An Overture for Founding and Maintaining/

(1) Fasti iii. 393.

(2) Fasti iii. 379.

~~Dix~~

(3) Diary 1740/1803 S.H.S. p.12

(4) J. Millar, "History of Dunbar", 207/9; D.N.B. xxxi.225/6.

/Maintaining Bibliotheks in every Paroch throughout the Kingdom! It was a comprehensive scheme whereby the parish minister's books were to form the nucleus of each library, and the schoolmaster was to act as librarian. The General Assembly approved the scheme, but did nothing, although in the year after his death, it passed an Act for the establishment of a public library in every presbytery throughout the kingdom.

From the foundations laid by Kirkwood there rose the Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, better known as the S.S.P.C.K., which received its royal charter in 1709. Caring for schools and teachers, by 1732, it employed 109 schoolmasters. One of its experiments was the providing and despatching of travelling libraries, which consisted of boxes containing about forty books, under the supervision of the parish minister.

In 1716, Allan Ramsay (1686/1758) founded the first regular circulating library in Scotland, but his hedonistic

"Be blythe, and let the world e'en shog
As it thinks fit.."

and his

"Grip fast the hours which hasty hurl,
The morn's the morn"

Horace's & "Carpe Diem", reissued in the Doric, was anathema to orthodox presbyterianism. In May 1728, Wodrow/

/Woodrow complains that "all the villanous profane and obscene books and playes printed at London by Curle and others, are gote down ... by Allan Ramsay, and lent out, for an easy price, to young Boyes, servant weemen of the better sort, and gentlemen." After some difficulty, Lord Grange persuaded the magistrates to inspect "his book of borrouers"; this so alarmed them that they sent a deputation to examine the books but Ramsay "had nottice an hour before, and had withdrauen a great many of the worst, and nothing was done to purpose."⁽¹⁾

It is clear that by 1740 there was a growing hunger for reading, and the printing-presses of Edinburgh and the Salt-mercat in Glasgow were kept busy turning out books and pamphlets of every possible kind.

The first place in the affections of the reading public was held, unquestionably, by the Bible; its influence is to be seen on every hand, moulding and shaping habits in thought and deed. It was pre-eminent both for ministers and congregations. And no wonder; for the Bible was inextricably intertwined with the religious development of the Scottish people from the dawn of the Reformation.

In 1670, Archbishop Leighton sent six episcopalian/

(1) Anal. iii. 515.

/episcopalian divines to preach in the vacant parishes in the West, and one of them, Gilbert Burnet, later to be Bishop of Salisbury and historian, has given an interesting picture of their reception. The people came to listen to them although not in great crowds. "We were indeed amazed to see a poor commonalty so capable to argue upon points of government, and on the bounds to be set to the power of princes in matters of religion. Upon all these topics, they had texts of scripture at hand, and were ready with their answers to any thing that was said to them. This measure of knowledge was spread even (1) amongst the meanest of them, their cottagers and their servants."

Throughout the dark days of persecution, the Bible was cherished as the sustainer of faith and the provider of comfort. That strange but colourful figure, Alexander Peden, pays tribute to this in one of his sermons: "There was a poor widow in Clydesdale, as I came through...when she was asked how she did in this ill time, 'I do very well', she said, 'I get more good in one verse of the Bible now than I did in it all, langsyne. He hath casten me the keys of the pantry-door, and bids me take my fill.'" (2)

When Daniel Defoe, Dissenter, novelist and prime of/

(1) Burnet's "History of My Own Time", ed. Airey, 1.524.

(2) "Alexander Peden the Prophet &c." p.200.

/of reporters, accompanied the English commissioners to the Union in 1707, he noted with some care the attitude of the people in Scotland at public worship. How earnest the congregations were to hear the preaching! It was as though they wished to eat the words as they left the minister's mouth. Defoe goes on to add one thing more ("a hint to English hearers"): "In a whole church full of people, not one shall be seen without a Bible...if you shut your eyes when the minister names any text of Scripture, you shall hear a little rustling noise over the whole place, made by turning the leaves of the Bible."⁽¹⁾

George Whitefield comments on the same thing. When he made his first visit to Scotland, in the summer of 1741, he preached in Ralph Erskine's meeting-house "to a very thronged assembly. After I had done prayer, and had named my text, the rustling made by opening the Bibles all at once, quite surprised me - a scene I never was witness to before."⁽²⁾

Not only was the Bible the indispensable accompaniment to public worship; it was read, studied and loved in private. John Willison of Dundee has summed up this attitude: "We should look upon it as a golden epistle, indited by the Spirit/

(1) Defoe, "History of the Scottish Church", p. 355 (1844 ed.)
 (2) Tyerman, "Whitefield", i. p. 508.

/Spirit of God; we should receive it as a love-letter from heaven, opening up God's love to our souls; we should go to it as for our daily food and subsistence, and daily enquire in it for the will of God... We should read with faith, reverence and application to ourselves.... and in reading every part, we should still keep Christ in our eye, as the end, scope and substance of the whole scriptures." (1)

As we should expect, there was a devout reverence for the Bible among those whose stories have been preserved by M'Culloch. Central in the almost universal habit of family prayers, it was often associated with the work of the day.

One of the daughters of a Cambuslang elder tells how, in her distress, "I ... sate down to My Work in My Fathers House, as I span at My Wheel, I read on My Bible upon My knee." (2)

Another, narrating how she did this selfsame thing, adds: "which is My usual custom." (3) James Jack was advised by the minister "that when I was at work, I should keep My Bible beside Me, and read over the 51 Ps. (taking a verse only at a time) and put it up in a way of Ejaculatory prayer to God." (4)

Charles Lamb, in his own whimsical fashion, makes a plea/

(1) Quoted G.D. Henderson art. Puritanism in 18th. Century Scotland. Evangelical Quarterly xix.221.

(2) Janet Jackson M'C MSS 1.25.

(3) Elizabeth Brechom. Ibid 1.564.

(4) Ibid. 1.500

/plea for saying grace for blessings other than meals, when setting out for a ramble by moonlight, or meeting with friends..."Why have we none for books, those spiritual repasts - a grace before Milton...before Shakespeare?" (1)

He had, in fact, been anticipated more than seventy years earlier by the eighteen~~years~~-old daughter of a Greenock ship's carpenter, Mary Shaw, who picked up the Bible, and "I ask'd a Blessing on what I was going to read in the Bible, that the Lord would give Me the sanctifyd use of it." (2) Henry Davidson of Galashiels~~x~~ advised his people "that when they opened their Bibles to read, they should always lift up their hearts to God." (3)

The Bible was the standard by which many puzzled enquirers judged the strange happenings at Cambuslang. Archibald Smith, a middle-aged mason from Kilbride, heard conflicting reports and decided to make first-hand investigation. "I put my Bible in my pocket on a week day, saying I should see what ~~x~~was among them ere I came home." (4), Sarah Gilchrist, the daughter of the schoolmaster of Cardross, Dumbartonshire, was quite sure that a Quaker spirit was possessing the people/

(1) Essays of Elia - Grace Before Meat.

(2) M'C MSS 11.26.

(3) "Letters to Christian Friends" vii.

(4) M'C MSS 11. 442.

/people at Cambuslang, but soon altered her opinion "seeing them make so much use of their Bibles, and looking out for places there,"⁽¹⁾

When concern began to increase shortly before the outbreak of the revival at Cambuslang on Thursday, February 18, 1742, eight or nine young people met in Jean Galbreith's house in that village, under the guidance of Mr. Duncan, a licensed minister of the church of Scotland; an elder John Bar; and Ingram More, one of the lay leaders. Duncan advised those in distress "not to read so much on other practical Books, as on the Bible" and this served as a rebuke for some who had been reading more sermons and other religious books than the Bible.⁽²⁾

At times, the Bible is regarded as something in the nature of a talisman: one young woman who was visited by the minister's son, would not let him take the book from her hand, "saying it was Gods holy word, I would not part with."⁽³⁾ Another unmarried woman of thirty-two, under scandal for some sexual offence and therefore barred from the Sacrament, read in the Bible from Isaiah 54: "At reading these words, I felt/

(1) M'C MSS ii. 137.

(2) M'C MSS i. 29.

(3) Isabel Matthie of Kilbride. Ibid. i. 525.

/felt them applied to Me with great power, that banished all My griefs and fears, and filled Me with great joy, particularly at reading these words, Thy Maker is thy Husband, so that I could not forbear kissing my Bible." (1) Gillespie and Webster, when editing the manuscript volumes, suggest that these two quotations be deleted.

A great number were reading the Bible and it appears to have been read in most of its pages; from Genesis to Revelation, people quote its words and reveal an amazing familiarity with each of the books, including much that would now be considered as of mainly antiquarian interest and of little value for the devotional life.

It is not possible to evaluate the tremendous significance of the metrical psalter; almost all the subjects of the revival whose stories we have, quote from it. Again and again, it is from the remembered lines of its pages that light flashes into gloomy darkness. One young servant girl of twenty speaks of walking twelve miles into Stirling to hear the Seceders, before coming to Cambuslang. This so angered her master that he cursed her with great vehemence, saying: "We were a parcel of Mad people that went there; and we would/

(1) Anne Wylie Ibid. i.143.

/would never rest till we would get a parcel of Dragoons to scatter us." In great depression of spirit she was about to give up hope, "But hearing My Mistress reading the Psalms, that word she was reading beside Me, while I was spinning at the wheel

Assuredly he shall ~~xxxxx~~ thee save
And give deliverance

came with such power that I was filled with joy." (1)

One light-hearted young man of twenty-three delighted "in going to fairs and markets and Weedinges (sic), where young people drink and make merry with one another." (2) But he "was made to see... the evil of carnal delights of getting songs and ballads by heart and whistling and singing them over and hearing them plaid on Viols and the like, the matter of these Songs not being very chaste oftentimes, and at best but trifflingtherefore I broke off these practices... got some Psalms by heart, or some parts of them, and often sung them when I was following my work ... I found my self as much in My Element in praising God in this manner, as in whistling and singing before." (3)

Although the Bible stood as the highest and best for the/

(1) Jean Robe. M'C. MSS 1. 183.

(2) John Parker, 23, a "Walker and Dyer in Busby Garmunok", M'C MSS 11.662.

(3) Ibid 11. 668/9

/the questing soul, the veritable "holy of holies", yet the records show that the man who came to Cambuslang was by no means "a man of one book." There was a wide range of serious theological literature that was known and used. One young woman mentions that she "got Shepherd's Sincere Convert,... Craigs Poems...a book called the Spiritual Life...Watson's Body of Divinity, where he speaks of the New Creature...and Vincent's Catechism."⁽¹⁾ One is somewhat surprised to read of a young woman of twenty, going to the well to draw water and "coming by the Tree, I could not forbear taking out Vincent's Catechism to read a little, because I could get no other time for reading." Turning up ~~in~~ I Peter ii. 19,20, the words "filled Me with so much joy, that I could not forbear skipping for joy".⁽²⁾ Such exuberance must have been thought unseemly by the editors, for Webster, Willison and Gillespie mark this closing phrase for deletion!

The most popular works of devotion, judged by frequency of mention, were Vincent's Catechism - several ministers including John Hamilton of the Barony, Glasgow, and John Mill of Dunrossness, had given copies of these to their parishioners ~~and~~ - Watson's Body of Divinity, the Life of Elizabeth Waste or /

(1) Anne Wylie i. 39/75

(2) M'C MSS 1.542 Janet Reston

/or West, and, easily the most popular, "Guthry's Tryal."

William Guthrie (1620/65), a "Scottish Traherne or Henry Vaughan" as John Buchan styles him, was one of the most attractive religious leaders of the seventeenth century. In that day of bitter theological disputation in public worship, he could exhort his congregation to praise God, "if you have noe more, for this good day, and sunshine to the lambs,"⁽¹⁾ Retaining an enthusiastic devotion to such field sports as hawking, hunting and fishing, yet untiring in his evangelistic labours, he made the village of Tenwick (sometimes called Finnick or New Kilmarnock), where he was minister for twenty years, the spiritual centre of the West of Scotland. People went regularly from Glasgow, Hamilton and Lanark to hear him; and his contemporary, John Livingston, tells us that so eager were these visitors, that "they turned the corn-field of his globe to a little town; every one building a house for his family upon it, that they might live in the enjoyment of his ministry."⁽²⁾

His book, "A Short Treatise of the CHRISTIAN'S Great Interest", was divided into two parts, and was better known by the heading of the first of these sections, "The Trial of a Saving/

(1) Anal. i. 137

(2) "Christian's Great Interest" 1828 edition. Quoted in Introductory essay by Thomas Chalmers. p.43.

/Saving Interest in Christ." In his preface he assures his readers: "I have purposely used a most homely and plain Stile, lest ... I should be above the Reach of the Rude and Ignorant, whose Advantage I have mainly, if not only, Consulted: I have likewise studied Brevity in every Thing ... consistent with Plainness and Perspicuity; knowing that the Persons to whom I address my self herein, have neither much Money to spend upon Books, nor much Time to spare upon Reading."⁽¹⁾ There is abundant evidence that such excellent aims were realised in a most fruitful fashion. Speaking of Guthrie's literary style, J.H. Millar asserts: "There are no rhapsodies; his writing is clear, pleasant, almost matter-of-fact, and the use of the Scots idiom lends it a distinctive flavour."⁽²⁾ What a pity that this homely tang has been lost in the re-phrasing of the nineteenth century edition of the book!

Written for the common folk, the book found its way into the hands and hearts of the greatest in the land. William Carstares gave a copy to Queen Mary and "sometime thereafter he enquired how she relished the little swatch of Scots Presbyterian writings? She said she admired it, and should/

(1) Preface Guthrie's Trial &c. p.111 1724 edition.

(2) Scottish Prose in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, J. Hepburn Millar, p.48.

(1)
 /should never part with it while she lived." The famous
 divine, Dr. Owen, "pulled out Guthrie's 'Saving Interest'
 out of his pocket", and declared that the author, "has been
 one of the greatest divines. I carry this still about with
 me. I have written folios, but that contains more than they
 all!" (2)

A Deputation that went to London from Scotland in
 1714 and called upon Bishop Burnet reported that "he spoke to
 them of Guthrie's Saving Interest, and told them he had re-
 printed it for the use of his diocese; that he reckoned it
 one of the best books that ever was writt, and to contain a
 vast deal of Divinity in it, and gave every one of them a gilded
 copy of it." (3)

The common people for whom the author wrote
 (4)
 also received the book gladly and in M'Culloch's/

(1) P. Walker, "Six Saints of the Covenant, i. p.270.

(2) Anal. i.336. (3) Anal. iii. 296/7.

(4) D. Hay Fleming, who edited Patrick Walker's "Six Saints of
 the Covenant" in 1901, estimated that Guthrie's book had gone
 through at least sixty editions. (ii.175, note 53). He notes
 the tribute of C.H. Spurgeon and refers to a revival of rel-
 igion that broke out because a shepherd lad took a copy ~~to~~ to
 his minister.

Mid-way through the nineteenth century, the author of a
 series of articles on "The Religion of the Highlands" (Orig.
 Sec. Mag. vol xviii. p.15) records: "I have often noticed in
 the houses of poor crofters and cottars, a little shelf of
 books all odorous of peat reek. Some on examination would be
 found to be two centuries old...a poor Highland peasant would
 regard half a dozen 'best Books' as nearly sufficient, and his
 selection would be (in addition to the Bible and Shorter Cat-
 echism) the Pilgrim's Progress, Guthrie of Fenwick's Trial,
 Rutherford's Letters, Boston's Fourfold State, the Scots Worthies,
 and Willieson of Dundee on the Shorter Catechism...If you
 talked with the humble owner of these faded volumes, you would
 find that he had 'read, marked, and inwardly digested them.'"

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/M'Culloch's manuscripts, there are many references to it. One young woman writes: "about the 12th. of Feb: 1742... I heard My Father read on Guthrie's tryal of a Saving Interest in Christ, and by what was read from that book, My convictions and distress increased."⁽¹⁾ John Wier, a young man of twenty-one years of age, had to face strong opposition because he was attending the services at Cambuslang. "The Gentle Man in whose ground I lived..threatning he would arreist our crop and turn us out of his Land if we went to Cambuslang...and particularly abused Mr. Whitefield, calling him a Mountebank and Damn'd Rascal, who was putting all the People mad."⁽²⁾ But reading in Guthrie's Trial that "a sincere soul would go through seas of blood, or if it were through hell at the nearest to be at Christ, I thought I would go through all these...to get to Christ."⁽³⁾ Had not the author accompanied his cousin, James Guthrie, to the scaffold in June, 1661?

One, tormented by the thought that she might have committed the unpardonable sin, read the book and found comfort;⁽⁴⁾ another was encouraged to dedicate herself to/

(1) Janet Jackson, M'C MSS 1.24.

(2) M'C MSS 1.310 (3) Ibid 1.313

(4) Eliz: Brechom Ibid. 1.561.

(5) -Bessie-Lyon, -23-

/to God in preparation for the approaching Communion through
 (1)
 its pages.

How effective must these words of Guthrie's have been to those who had been brought to serious concern about spiritual matters: "ordinarily the Lord prepareth His own way in the soul by a work of humiliation, and discovereth a man's sin and misery to him, and exerciseth him so therewith, that he longs for the Physician, Christ Jesus."

This was also the age of pamphlets and cheap literature, scattered broadcast throughout the land, and the enthusiastic had not neglected the opportunity. "The Marrou people... print and scatter papers and sermons very cheap throu the country, and are popular", Wodrow reports in November, 1726. (2) Two years later, Erskine of Grange informed Wodrow of his intention to encourage the printing of selections from the writings of Joseph and Richard Allein, in a 6d or 8d pamphlet. (3)

These cheaper forms of reading were distributed by the chapmen or "flying stationers", who were often the only merchants in rural districts. The few bad roads, the absence of wheeled transport in many areas, the non-existence of any cheap post and the distances of small country hamlets from a market, /

(1) Bessie Lyon, 23, daughter of a Cooper in Blantyre Ibid 11254.

(2) Anal.iii.360.

(3) Quoted from Erskine's MSS letters in the Edinburgh Christian Instr. 1838, p.67.

market, made these itinerant salesmen a necessity. Success depended on good manners and genial conversation and if he could "entertain the good-wife with all the latest news and 'clish-ma-claver' of the countryside at the same time that he disposed of his wares, then John Cheap was a welcome and important personage at every fireside."⁽¹⁾ Such chapmen as Dougal Graham (fl.1724/1779) and Peter Duthie (fl.1721/1812) were known the country over.

One of the most successful chap-books was "Janet Clinker's Orations"; one of these itinerant vendors declared, "This piece never fails."⁽²⁾ It offers this picture of the chapman's wares: "Janet Clinker aye ken'd when Sunday came round ...every body ran to the kirk that had ony thing to do, gin it were to buy saut or shune, for the chapmen chiels set up a' their creims at the kirk door, and the lassies w a'd a' get keeking glasses, red snoods, needles, pins ..and black saep; forby sweetie wives' things, and rattles for restless little ones."⁽³⁾

Of their uniformly-sized chap-books it has been written:/

- (1) John Fraser, Humorous Chap-Books of Scotland, p.181.
- (2) Wm. Harvey, "Scottish Chap-book Literature", p.64.
- (3) Quoted Fraser's "Humorous &c.", p.76.

/written: "each volume...a twenty-four page single sheet, duodecimo, execrably coarse in texture, dirty gray or whity brown in colour, illustrated by one or more rough wood-cuts and printed in a rude unfinished style of typography."⁽¹⁾

There were pamphlets for every kind of taste : "Jockie and Maggie's Courtship" or, for those who wanted more serious reading, "The Life and Prophecies of Alex. Peden", or Ebenezer Erskine's sermon, "The Plant of Renown". Some of them were full of appeals to superstition, with accounts of witchcraft and astounding prophecies. In 1737, there was published at Glasgow, "The Wonderful Scotch Prophecy, or the Whole Visions, Discoveries, and Warnings which were revealed to John Porter of Crossibeg to this very day &c." The blind old man had been seeing visions for about eight years, and his little bookd had a wide circulation in the West of Scotland. None other than Jupiter Carlyle gives testimony to the effect of a similar, and even better-known, pamphlet, "Peden's Prophecies."

In March, 1744, he was at New Port-Glasgow, with a friend, waiting at an inn for dinner, when they were alarmed by the loud weeping of about half a dozen women servants in the kitchen. When he went to investigate, Carlyle "learnt from the calmest among them that a pedlar had left a copy of Peden's 'Prophecies'/"

(1) Ibid. p.2.

/'Prophecies' that morning...they found that he had predicted woes of every kind to the people of Scotland; and in particular that Clyde would run with blood in the year 1744."

Carlyle, however, was able to quieten them by pointing out
(1)
that they had really misread the pamphlet.

The early eighteenth century was also the age of journalism. The "Edinburgh Evening Courant", edited by Thomas Ruddiman, began in 1718 and in 1720 the "Caledonian Mercury", edited by James McEuan, started. Each paper appeared three times a week and outlived the period, but the "Glasgow Courant", although beginning in November, 1715, ~~onlyxxxxxx~~
(2)
ran, tri-weekly, for only six months.

In January, 1739, there came a 48 page, octavo volume priced sixpence monthly; it was "The Scots Magazine and General Intelligencer", modelled on the "Gentleman's Magazine", started in 1731 in London. It purposed to give more adequate space to Scottish affairs "that the Caledonian muse might not
(3)
be restrained by want of a publick echo to her song."

It became exceedingly popular; in the early issues one/

(1) Auto. of A. Carlyle, p.89.

(2) R.M.W. Cowan, "The Newspaper in Scotland", p. 7.

(3) W.J. Couper, "The Edinburgh Periodical Press", pp.71/83.

/one could read about foreign affairs and the problem of Spain; or of how the notorious horse-stealer John Palmer, under the name of "Richard Turpin...look'd impudently round him, and after speaking a while to the topsman, flung himself off and expired in about five minutes." ⁽¹⁾ In 1742 there was the disturbing news from Edinburgh that "the unjustifiable practice of stealing corpses out of their graves was become too common here." ⁽²⁾ As a result the mob broke many of the surgeons' windows and burned down the house of a beadle suspected of complicity.

By far the largest column-space in the early issues was given to "the preaching of a very young man named Whitefield", beginning in the second issue, February, 1739. For months every kind of abuse was heaped upon him. Appeals were made to "our Christian magistrates" that probably Jesuits in disguise would mix up with these enthusiasts. This man, and others like him, must be stopped. For six months the campaign of vituperation went on.

In June, 1739, a lengthy letter was inserted "to the more celebrated A postle WH-TE-D" proposing an alliance between him and the Quacks of Kennington-Common. Were their aims and methods not the same? "Do you pocket the fee when/

(1) Scots Mag. April 1739, p.185.

(2) Scots Mag. March 1742

/when 'tis offered? I do the same; are the mob your customers? they are mine likewise...No body, I thank God, can upbraid me with devouring widows' houses, leading captive silly women, ruining the peace, preaching up Christ and playing the devil...squeezing out the last mite out of the pockets of the poor...to make room for that fiend Enthusiasm; blind, undistinguishing Enthusiasm! What have we, to do with innocence? - Gain, I take it, is your godliness, as it is my publick spirit; for gain, I practice, and you preach...let us fairly divide the mob between us; the fleece is large enough for us both...when your zeal becomes madness, send your lunatics as fast as you can make them to me."⁽¹⁾

These, and many similar charges were spread throughout Scotland through the pages of the Scots Magazine, and many must have learned to loathe and fear the young English preacher without any kind of real information about his work or character. His aims were suspect from the first and the charge of using the collections he obtained for supporting the Orphan-House he had founded in Georgia for personal gain was to linger for a long time.

In May, 1741, he was described as "an ~~in~~ incomparable master of the ~~groan~~"⁽²⁾; in June, loud ribaldry is directed/

(1) Scots Mag. June 1739, p.250.

(2) Ibid May 1741, p.218.

/directed against "Tom Ticle-Text,...more ready at words than ideas..He plays on the surface of things and raises a froth.. let him pump, let him thump, let him flounce and trouble the waters, till he raise a tide of devotion, and set the people afloat, ~~till he raise a tide of devotion, and set the people~~ afloat, and the old women a see-sawing like steeples when the bells are rung." ⁽¹⁾ In the very next issue, July, 1741, was the announcement that Whitefield had arrived in Edinburgh and was preaching every day.

Not all the people in Scotland, however, were prepared to accept the judgment of the correspondents of the Scots Magazine as the last word. Some, who were familiar with his writings, were awaiting his ministry with expectation. Thus, Mary Scot, a woman of twenty-four years of age, with a most unusual style of spelling and calligraphy reports: "In reading Mr. Whitfilds 2 ~~latter~~ letters to Bishop Tillitson I was much affected with yr last, so I had a strong inclination to hear him." ⁽²⁾ Another young woman wrote: "When I read Mr. Whitefields Journals before he came to Scotland, I was glad that God had raised up so remarkable an Instrument of good to many...and I thought that if I might hear him, I might get/

(1) Scots Mag. June 1741, p. 269.

(2) M'C MSS. 11.244 / ~~11.234/5~~.

/got good also." (1)

There was a close and long-established association between America and Scotland, both by printing, personal letters and emigration across the Atlantic, and revival news from New England was often connected with the labours of Whitefield who first~~xxx~~ went there in the summer of 1739. But even before the young evangelist went there, news of the Great Awakening of 1734 at Northampton in New England, under the ministry of Jonathan Edwards, was being received with joy in Scotland. In 1735, Edwards wrote, "A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in the Conversion of many hundred souls in Northampton" and this was circulated in Scotland. Henry Davidson wrote to Edwards some years after this, informing him: "My acquaintance with you commenced in that remarkable period of the century, the 35th, and since that time it has been maintained by the perusal of a great many of your letters to your worthy correspondents in Scotland; and by reading all of your printed pieces that are come over here." (2)

The laity as well as the ministers had learned of the/

(1) Margaret Richardson, daughter of a wright in the Gorbals.

Ibid. ii. 334/5.

(2) Davidson's Letters &c. p.126.

/the revival in New England. Margaret Richardson, whom we have already shewn to be conversant with Whitefield's Journals, also says: "About five or six years ago, when I heard Mr. Edwards Narrative of ~~xx~~ the Surprizing work of God at Nothampton read, I was very glad to hear that there was such a work of conversion in these far distant places." (1)

M'Culloch at Cambuslang was greatly moved by these reports from New England and made it his practice to take such reports into the pulpit during worship and read to his congregation what was taking place overseas. (2) In the autumn of 1741, one of his congregation, "hearing a minister (M'Culloch) on a fast day, after sermon, read some papers relating to the success of the Gospel abroad; I was greatly affected at the thought that so many were getting good, and I was getting none." (3)

Some few weeks later, the Cambuslang minister took another step to arouse still greater ~~xx~~ interest - Whitefield had been at Glasgow in September 1741 for a few days. On November 18, 1741, there was printed on the back of a pamphlet containing letters from Gilbert Tennant in America, /

(1) M'C MSS 11.333.

(2) Old Stat. Acc. v. 267.

(3) Elizabeth Jackson, M'C MSS 1.103.

/America, "Proposals that a paper be printed Weekly
 (Providence favouring and a sufficient Number of Subscript-
 ions coming timeously in) And the several subscribers or
 some by their Order shall once a Week, call for this Paper
 at William Duncan's Shop in the Salt-Mercat of Glasgow,
 James McCoul's Shop in the Trongate or (Blank) Shop above
 the Cross: and pay a Halfpenny at the Receipt of it and
 continue to do so for a Year, from the First of December 1741.⁽¹⁾"
 The appeal must have been successful for in December, 1741,
 there was issued the first number of the first religious
 periodical ever to be published in Scotland and its editor
 was William M'Culloch.

"THE WEEKLY HISTORY: or A n Account of the most
 Remarkable Particulars relating to the Present Progress of the
 Gospel. By the Encouragement of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield.
 Glasgow. Reprinted by W. Duncan &c." was thus begun. Each
 issue was of eight pages, and it was a compilation of reports,
 letters, poems and selections from devotional writers. At/

(1) Vde art. "The Glasgow Periodical Press", W.J. Couper in
 Recs. Glasgow Bibliographical Society viii. 106/7.

/At first, it was mainly a reprinting of matter from a London journal, "The Weekly History", begun on April 11, 1741; but the revival which began at Cambuslang in February, 1742, and spread so rapidly through the land, soon provided more than enough material of purely Scottish interest. The paper ran for exactly fifty-two issues, before M'Culloch
(1)
discontinued it.

It was to an informed people that the Cambuslang revival came; they had been reading about such events elsewhere, and prayerfully wishing it might happen with them. And it did!

**** **** ****

(1) After the "Weekly History" ceased publication, the Rev. James Robe began a somewhat similar venture, "The Christian Monthly History" in November, 1743. Something larger, its price was 6d. for copies on fine paper and 4d only on coarse. It brought revival news and continued for two years. (Couper, "Edin. Period. Press", pp. 86/9)

CHAPTER SIX

"THE CAMS'LANG WARK"

There can be little doubt that the anarchy in the Cambuslang kirk session, leading to the drastic breach and suspensions of most of the elders in 1740, must have greatly disturbed the introspective M'Culloch. A bout this same time, there were some unusual phenomena in the world of nature, which seemed to reflect the violence and disorder within the church. It was cumulative evidence of the divine displeasure and discipline.

The first number of the "Scots Magazine", in January, 1739, reported a storm of almost unexampled violence, following the eclipse of the 13th. January; extensive damage had been done to shipping and property. Glasgow did not escape. In the civic records, it is stated: "By the late violent storm and hurricane which happened in the night betwixt the thirteen and fourteen days of January j^mv1j^o and thirty nine, severall of the turrets of the speir of the Church (i.e. the High-Kirk or Cathedral) and battlements surrounding the same were throun down, part whereof fell down upon the roof of the church and broke throw and damnified the roof... other parts...covered with lead and sclate was/

/was uncovered...several other parts of the church chattered and disordered and the top of the speir made to decline and bow down, which will cost a considerable expence for repairing thereof and putting the said cathedral in any tollerable condition." Also "the spear and piremide of the tollbooth steeple... was thrown down by the storm."⁽¹⁾

Janet Hamilton has left us a graphic record of the adventures of her grandfather on this "windy Saturday"; of thatch stripped from the roofs, falling rafters and tumbling gables, and of a journey of five or six miles which took him several hours to make. Often he was compelled to lie down at the bottom of grassy slopes to shelter from the fury of the gale. It was "ever after spoken of by my grandfather as the most eventful and terrible day, or rather night, that he had experienced during his lengthened life."⁽²⁾

So singular an event could not fail to impress M'Culloch, who like most of his contemporaries, saw transcendental purpose in every unusual happening in the world of nature. One young resident in Cambuslang, a young man of 21, records what happened: "In all my Life, I never found any thing I ~~heard~~ read or heard come home with any Power to my Conscience or/

(1) Glasgow Burgh Records 23 May 1739, 27 June 1739.

(2) Hamilton, "Poems of Purpose &c." pp. 191/4

/or heart, till on a Fast day in the Parish, a little after the great Hurricane on the 13th of January ... when hearing a Minister (26, i.e. M'Culloch) preach on that Text Fire, hail, snow, vapour, stormy wind, obey his word, that Sentence he had in his Sermon, Will neither the Voice of God in the Tempests in the air, nor in the threatenings of devouring fire and everlasting Burnings awaken you, came home to me with a powerful Impression and made me see it as a Message sent from God to me."

In a footnote he adds: "N.B. On the very day when that great Tempest or Hurricane happened, that had been the Text, Who shall dwell with devouring fire who shall abide with everlasting burnings. Isai" Reading from his Bible in February 1742, he goes on: "that word that had been before sent to Me, came home to me again with fresh Power, Will neither the voice of God in the Tempests of air...awaken you", and a new concern about spiritual affairs was created in him. (1)

After the catastrophic anger of the hurricane there came weary, famine-stricken months of dreadful hardship. During 1740, there was widespread distress throughout the/

(1) M'C MSS ii.320/1: Andrew Falls, or, Faulds in Macfarlane.

/the United Kingdom, with hungry mobs attacking the wagons taking grain to the ports. Cold and hunger reigned
(2)
supreme.

Similar conditions obtained in Scotland about the same time and for similar reasons. On August 5, 1739, Lord Elchies wrote from Shank to his factor at Tammore in the north: "If you are burnt up with heat, wee are drown'd with rains, in so much that I believe harvest will hardly be begun in this countrey this month." (2) On January 17, 1740, he writes again: "I doubt not prices will rise, tho' not higher, I hope, than they are just now, on occasion of this long continued frost, which is the most intense I ever saw in Scotland, and has rais'd the meal to from 9 to 10d the peck." (3)

By November 11th of that same year, oatmeal was sold in the Edinburgh market at 15d per peck. (4) In the Scots Magazine that quotes this price, there is an account of rioting at Leith, Edinburgh, Mussleburgh, Prestonpans, &c. when troops (5) fired on large mobs. Legislation was enacted forbidding the hoarding of corn or raising the prices of victual. All corn had to be threshed out before the 1st May or be/

(1) Vde R.F. Wearmouth, "Methodism and the Common People of the Eighteenth Century" pp.20/22, 51/55, for a picture of conditions in England.

(2) Letters of Patrick Grant Lord Elchies; H.D. Macwilliam, p.110.

(3) Ibid 123. (4) Scots Mag. Oct. 1740, p.487.

(5) Ibid pp.482/4.

/be forfeited to the king.

In December 1740, the "Scots Magazine" disturbed at the increase of distress, with provisions scarcer and the number of beggars vastly increased, put forward a scheme for licensing beggars, complete with badges, collecting-boxes and inspectors. Within a few days, the magistrates of Edinburgh adopted this scheme, and upwards of 260 badges were given out, in addition to weekly allowances provided for over 500 beggars by the churches.⁽¹⁾

It has been estimated that above 2,000 persons perished of hunger and cold during the great famine of 1739/40, when the frost was too severe for peat mosses to be dug and the inland waters were so frozen that wood and coals could not be carried. Labouring men earning 4d a day had to pay up to two shillings a peck (about 9 lbs. weight) for their staple diet of oatmeal; potatoes were not in general use and wheaten flour was a luxury.

In the parish of Cambusnethan, when the long-delayed spring began to burst the buds and unfold the leaves, "bands of haggard and emaciated women and pale, skeleton-like children, creeping slowly among the trees, stripping the branches of the beech/

(1) Scots Mag. January 1741.

/beech of their tender leaves, returning to pick them day by day" could be seen. Little children searched among the miller's husks, hoping for some stray grains of corn, gnawing the stems of vegetables from the dunghill.⁽¹⁾

James Robe, the minister of Kilsyth, wrote: "Under the late Dearth the People suffered greatly, the poor were numerous, and many especially about the Town of Kilsyth, were at the Point of starving."⁽²⁾ Upon June 1, 1740, the session in that parish appointed a day of fasting and prayer later that month "upon account of the Dearth and Drought."⁽³⁾ It may be well to note that the elders collected through the parish in that very month for "William Scot...lying in Prison in a Starving Condition."⁽⁴⁾ The chief thing that ~~impressed~~ impressed Robe was: "I could not see any one turning to the Lord who smote them, or crying to him because of their Sins, while they Howled upon their Beds for Bread."⁽⁵⁾

On June 4, 1740, the Presbytery of Glasgow, "considering the Extraordinary Drought, which at this time threatens both men and beast with famine, Thought proper to appoint, and/

- (1) Janet Hamilton, "Poems &c." pp.194/6.
- (2) "Narrative of Kilsyth", p.28.
- (3) Kilsyth KSR
- (4) Kilsyth KSR
- (5) Robe's "Narrative", p.28.

/and hereby appoint Thursday the Twelfth instant as a Day of Solemn Humiliation, Fasting and Prayer, to be observed in all the Churches of this Presbytery."⁽¹⁾

Challenged by the many problems that surrounded him and inspired by the news of revival that streamed in from New England, M'Culloch set himself to educate his congregation to seek after similar results in their own community. On Sabbath evenings after sermon, he "frequently read to his hearers, missives, attestations and journals, he had received from his correspondents, giving an account of conversions, which had taken place in different parts of the world, especially in New England under Mr. Whitefield's ministry."⁽²⁾

A new note was also heard in his preaching: "in his ordinary course of sermons, for near a twelvemonth before this work began (i.e. from about February, 1741) he had been preaching on these subjects which tend most directly to explain the nature, and prove the necessity of regeneration, according to the different lights in which that important matter is represented in holy scripture", says the first reporter of the revival.⁽³⁾

(1) Glas. Pres. Recs.

(2) Old Stat. Acc. v.267.

(3) A Narrative of the Extraordinary Work at Camb. in a Letter to a Friend, dated May 8, 1742, with preface by M'Culloch. p.2.

It has been suggested that both M'Culloch and Robe "were influenced by Doddridge's 'Letters on Regeneration', which were at that time in the enjoyment of a considerable popularity."⁽¹⁾ This, however, could hardly have been the case for Doddridge's "Practical Discourses on Regeneration &c."⁽²⁾ were not published until 1742.

It is not, however, necessary to postulate any influence from outside Scotland to explain this preoccupation with preaching concerning regeneration. In 1726, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge reprinted a little book, "The Life of God in the Soul of Man" by Henry Scougal. This was one of the most influential books in the early eighteenth century; "one of the few productions by Scottish divines which has attained to the rank of a religious classic."⁽³⁾ From the first edition, published in 1677 in London, until 1733, six

- (1) Couper, "Scottish Revivals", p.52; Anton's History, ~~etc~~
 (2) In his Preface, written November 7, 1741, the Northampton divine speaks of treating the subject "more largely than I had ever done before; knowing in the general how important it is, and observing that several controversies had about that Time been raised concerning it" (Preface vi.) He acknowledges the help of some of his friends who had taken notes "after me in Characters" (Ibid viii). Among those who took down Doddridge's discourses in shorthand was Thomas Gillespie, who became minister of Carnock in 1742 and was closely associated with the 1742 revival.
 (3) Preface to "The Life of God &c.", James Cooper, Aberdeen, 1892. pp.15/16.

/six impressions appeared.

Naturally enough, this book by the son of Bishop Scougal, the friend of Leighton and Burnet, was highly prized by the episcopalians. Susanna Wesley recommended it to her two sons, Charles and John, as "an excellent good book ... an acquaintance of mine many years ago."⁽¹⁾ It influenced both of them greatly. Charles, founder of the Holy Club at Oxford, gave this book to a perplexed young undergraduate there, George Whitefield. We have the latter's own account of his visit to Charles Wesley; he had been diligently going the round of such pious duties as fasting, watching and praying, and receiving the sacrament, "yet I never knew what true religion was till God sent me that excellent treatise by the hands of my never-to-be-forgotten friend." He goes on:

"At my first reading it I wondered what the author meant by saying 'that some falsely placed religion in going to church, doing hurt to no one, being constant in the duties of the closet, and now and then reaching out their hands to give alms to their poor neighbours.' 'Alas!' thought I, 'if this be not religion, what is?' God soon showed me; for/

(1) Dr. Clarke, "Wesley Family", ii. 103.

/for in reading a few lines further, that 'true religion was a union of the soul with God, and Christ formed within us', a ray of divine light was instantaneously darted in upon my soul, and from that moment, but not till then, did I know that I must be a new creature."⁽¹⁾

Many years later, in 1769, recalling Charles Wesley and the loan of Scougal's book, Whitefield confessed that "whenever I go to Oxford, I cannot help running to the spot where Jesus Christ first revealed Himself to me, and gave me the new birth." Whitefield remembered his former feeling of apprehension about the book, like a pauper facing imminent revelation of bankruptcy and his questionings: "Shall I burn this book? shall I throw it down? or shall I search it?" Following the latter course, "O what a ray of divine life did then break in upon my soul!"⁽²⁾ Thus did a quiet Scottish teacher in Aberdeen, who died at the age of twenty-eight, mould the life and inspire the preaching of the greatest pulpit orator of the eighteenth century. It was this message of the New Birth that Whitefield proclaimed everywhere; it was his clarion-call in Scotland.

The book was also appreciated by Scottish/

(1) Tyerman, "Life of Whitefield", i.17.

(2) Eighteen Sermons preached by the Rev. George Whitefield, revised by Dr. Gifford, p.359 quoted Butler's Scougal ppl04/5.

/Scottish presbyterians; Principal William Wishart, writing from the "College of Edinburgh, April 26th, 1739" gave his warm approval to a proposal for a cheap edition of the book, to be published by Thomas and Walter Ruddiman "price 6d. or 5s. a dozen for giving away."⁽¹⁾ May it not be that one of these cheap copies came into the hands of M'Culloch and Robe and inspired their preaching?

The theme of ~~xxx~~ regeneration was not a new one for M'Culloch. One of his parishioners, who set down her experiences in 1743, recalled that "about 9 years ago, a minr. (26, i.e. M'Culloch) coming thro the Parish visiting, took me aside by my self, and among other things told me . Except you be born again, you can never see the kingdom of heaven; that word for a long time haunted me of ten & came frequently into my mind, but I knew not what to make of it."⁽²⁾

Even before the revival of 1742, the conscientious faithfulness of M'Culloch was not entirely unfruitful. One young woman writes: "Some years before the Wakening came, I was in service in a Ministers (M'Culloch's) family, who took a great deal of pains upon Me to instruct Me". As a result/

(1) Cope's Preface to "The Life of God &c." p.17.

(2) Janet Struthers, a married woman about 32. M'C MSS 11.558.

/result she became more impressed by the need to perform outward religious duties. "About five years ago, at a Communion Occasion, when I saw some Young folk coming to my Master about their soul concerns...I wondered what it was that affected them... Next Year, 1739, when the Communion came about, something of a concern about My soul revived in Me... Only I thought it would be well enough with Me, if I carried as I saw other Douce folk carry: and so I kept up a form of duty, but rested there."⁽¹⁾

It was at this same sacrament in 1739 that the minister of Bothwell, Mr. Hamilton, preached on Rev.22,17, "The Spirit and the Bride say Come." This puzzled one of the young people from Cambuslang..." like Nicodemus, I never knew that there was such a thing as a New Birth. My thought all this while was, that I could grow good of Myself."⁽²⁾ On June 1, 1740, M'Culloch preached at Cathcart on the text "Wherefore He is able to save to the uttermost" and in the audience was a young woman from Cardross who was "distinctly made to close with Christ Jesus in all His Offices as an All-Sufficient Saviour."⁽³⁾ Faithfulness, even of a pedestrian fashion, was laying the foundations for still greater things.

(1) Janet Jackson, Ibid. i.17/20.

(2) M'C MSS i.103.

(3) Ibid. ii.134.

Next summer there came a visitor to Scotland, whose vivid and passionate preaching aroused tremendous interest. A press notice announced from Edinburgh that "the famous Mr. George Whitefield arrived here from England about the end of July. He preaches every day when in town to very numerous audiences." Then follows a new note, after all the harsh criticisms that had been printed in earlier issues: "This gentleman recommends the essentials of Religion, and decries the distinguishing punctilios of parties."⁽¹⁾

On August 15, 1741, Whitefield wrote to a friend in London: "It would make your heart leap for joy to be now in Edinburgh. I question if there be not upwards of 300 in this city seeking after Jesus. Every morning I have a constant levée of wounded souls... At seven in the morning, we have a lecture in the fields, attended not only by the common people, but persons of great rank. I have reason to think several of the latter sort are coming to Jesus... Congregations consist of many thousands. Never did I see so many bibles, nor people look into them, when I am expounding, with such attention... I preach twice daily, and/

(1) Scots Mag. July 1741, p.331.

/and expound at private houses at night, and am employed (1)
in speaking to souls under distress great part of the day."

Towards the end of August, Whitefield made a preaching-
(2)
tour of the Scottish provinces; coming to Glasgow, he
preached ten times in five days, chiefly in the High-Church
(i.e. the Cathedral) yard from Friday to Tuesday. (Sept. 11/15).
The congregations were very large and many were deeply
moved... (3)
With great regret we parted."

Some little time later, M'Culloch wrote to Whitefield
about this visit: "it is a matter of great Joy and Thankful-
ness to God, who sent you here, and gave you so much Counten-
ance, and so remarkably crown'd your Labours when here at
Glasgow with Success... I am well informed by some Ministers
and other judicious and experienced Christians, that there
are to ~~be~~ the Number of 50 Persons already got notice of in
and about Glasgow, that by all that can be judg'd... are
savingly converted by the Blessing and Power of God,
accompanying your ten Sermons in that Place, besides several
others under Convictions." (4)

He then describes the great difference made in the
behaviour of many young people and a new zeal they were
displaying for the conversion of others. This "great

(1) Letters i. 315/6.

(2) Details in Gillies, "Life of Whitefield", pp. 78, 96/7
of the places.

(3) Letters i. 319. (4) Glasgow Weekly History No. 13.

/"great visible Change" had aroused widespread interest; also the newly-converted "have all a great love to one another, and all good Christians."⁽¹⁾

When M'Culloch was collecting his reports from men and women who had been influenced at Cambuslang, he found still more definite evidence of the impressions made by this first visit of Whitefield to Glasgow. At least fourteen people declare that they were present at the services in the "High-Church Yeard." One "heard nine sermons of him in Glasgow and fouer in Paisly";⁽²⁾ another "was impatient to hear him...my great concern was to experience what it was to be born again."⁽³⁾ A young woman from Greenock also heard this "Stranger-Minister...preaching concerning conversion ...I thought he was just speaking to me, and was going to name me out...I was afraid I would cry out, and rather than do so, I choosed to withdraw from among the people and did so and heard him no more."⁽⁴⁾ The preacher's words "came with a dint" on the heart of one young man..."I felt my heart turn hot and melt and overboil in tears."⁽⁵⁾

There were those who would have liked to hear him, but/

(1) Ibid.

(2) Mary Scot M'C MSS 11.243.

(3) Margaret Richardson. Ibid 11.334/6.

(4) Mary Shaw Ibid 11.28/29.

(5) John Parker Ibid 11. 664/7.

/but could not attend. Agnes More of Carmunnock tells a pathetic story. Servant at a minister's house, she became the mother of an illegitimate baby. "Often wishing to be turn'd", she heard of Whitefield's coming to Glasgow. "I long'd much to hear him preach, having heard that he spake much of Conversion....but having a Child on my breast, and being in low and straitning Circumstances, I could never get the Opportunity to hear him." (1) But she did in the next year, to her great happiness.

Whitefield's visit confirmed M'Culloch in the decision he was already carrying out..."preaching much on regeneration" and his people testified on the effect of this reiterated theme upon them. One "thought that My own Minister preached much better than He used to Do." (2) A young man, a weaver in the parish, declares that "the first time that I heard the word with power, was on a Sabbath, about Martinmas 1741." M'Culloch's sermon was on John 3,5 on the New Birth. "That was the first time I heard the call of the gospel come home to Me in particular. And that day I thought, (3) Either The Minister or I was changed."

One could wish that Dr. Robert M'Culloch, when he edited/

(1)Ibid. ii.110.

(2)Janet Jackson M'O MSS 1.21

(3)John Aitken Ibid 1.461.

/edited and published some of his father's sermons posthumously, had included certain ones which were made memorable for many listeners, especially that one preached in December 1741 from 2 Cor.vi.1,2 &- "We then as workers together with him beseech you also that Ye receive not the grace of God in vain." Many refer to it later, one of whom thought "he was preaching to Me...pointing at Me as directly and distinctly as if he had named me out before the Congregation, so that I was like to cry out in the Kirk."⁽¹⁾

An air of expectancy was increasing throughout the parish of Cambuslang as the winter of 1741 wore on. One was "much and oft taken up in praying for a Revival of Religion, ~~xx~~ that I seemd in a great measure to forget my self and my own concerns."⁽²⁾ John Aitken, when "on a journey going to the East country...dream'd I saw a great Multitude of people about Cambuslang kirk." When he told this to his companion next morning he informed him: "Yes, there will be a general Meeting there very soon, and this happned, I think, in the first week of Jan. 1742, which was about six weeks before the Awakning broke out."⁽³⁾ This coming together of the various societies for prayer in the district ~~x~~ would not/

(1)M'C MSS. i.21.

(2)M'C MSS ii.343.

(3)Ibid. i.463.

/not diminish the sense of some good thing at the very threshold.

On January 31, 1742, M'Culloch preached to his own people on "The abundance of divine consolation" with 2 Cor. ~~xxx~~ 1.3,4 as his text. In his closing paragraph, he declared; "When I look around me, blessed be God, I see marks of more apparent concern about Salvation, than in times past, among some of you. Beware of a noisy or ostentatious religion; and, at the same time, take heed that you run not to the opposite extreme, by endeavouring to stifle the convictions you may feel. 'Follow on to know the Lord...and he shall ~~come~~ unto us as the rain, as the (1) latter and former rain unto the earth.'"

The showers were not far off now. One who had listened to M'Culloch through the whole winter preaching on regeneration became very troubled but decided that this was folly. "People about Me will think I'm grown light in the head, and I may cast My Self into some sickness or distemper, and what will come of Me then, having no body to take care of Me." On the first Sunday in February 1742 she heard him once again on the same theme, "about the Necessity of Regeneration". At the close of his sermon, M'Culloch charged the people "to go home to a retired place,/"

(1) Sermons &c. p.241.

/place, and fall down upon our bended knees before God, and with all possible earnestness, as for life, to get of him his Holy Spirit to renew and change our hearts and Natures, and take no Comfort in any thing worldly till We got it." (1)

Some of the most prominent laymen in the parish decided that this "more than ordinary concern about religion" called for unusual and additional methods of ministering. About the end of January 1742, Ingram More, a shoemaker, together with Robert Bowman, a weaver, both converts of Whitefield's preaching, went from door to door with a petition which was to request M'Culloch to give a weekly lecture. Ninety heads of families subscribed the document, almost half of the total of the households in the parish. Thursday was settled on as being the most suitable day and a start was made on February 4th. (2)

The first two lectures produced no extraordinary results, although one young woman, speaking of the second meeting on 11th. February, informed M'Culloch: "I had such a thirst after the Word...that I sate up a good part of the night before, spinning at my Wheel, to make up the time at my Work/

(1) Mary Mitchell, M'C MSS 1.95/96.

(2) Old Stat Acc.v.268; Narr. of the Extraordinary Work at Camb. p.3.

/Work that I was to spend next day at the Weekly Lecture, that so my Master and Mistress might have no ground to complain that I neglected my Work with them... tho' this was not what they required of me." (1)

On the following Sabbath, 14th. February, the kirk was full, "and many standing for want of seats." (2) M'Culloch preached yet once more on "Except a man be born again", John iii. 3, 5, "on which he had been insisting for a long time before." (3) Catharine Jackson became extremely distressed, and, with her two sisters, was taken to the manse by Mr Duncan, "a Preacher", and "another Person, now an Elder, viz. Ingram More." (4) It was this incident, in all probability, that proved to be the spark to touch off the ensuing blaze. A full account of what happened that night was written down next morning by M'Culloch, "drawn up from his own Memory, and that of the other two persons just now spoken of... and the truth of it can also be attested by many others who were then present." (5) Because it is so typical of what was to follow, we shall set it down fairly fully. M'Culloch, who wrote a very detailed record, seems to have been impressed by this event as being more significant than was usual.

In the manse, /

- (1) M'C MSS 11.266.
- (2) Ibid. 1.26
- (3) Ibid. 11.266
- (4) Ibid. 11.267
- (5) Ibid. 11.267

/manse, she cried out three times, "What shall I do," and he halled on her to "believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved." Bitterly weeping, she declared that her sins were so many that he would not receive her. ~~xxx~~ "Aye, but he will, said the Minister, If you be willing to come to him and accept of him; I can assure you in his name, he is willing to accept of you: Whatever you have been, whatever you have done, come to him and he will not reject you. When there is a Willingness on both sides, he is willing, and you, I think, are willing, what should hinder the concluding of the blessed Bargain, the match between Christ and your soul." ⁽¹⁾ To each of her many semi-hysterical outbursts, M'Culloch replied with some word of promise from the Scriptures.

"Come, said the Minister, Shall we pray for a Pull of Gods almighty arm to draw you to Christ. O yes, yes, said She, and got up on her feet. Some of the company said, She would not be able to stand (for that was the Posture design'd) in time of Prayer: There is no fear of that, said one standing by, I will take care of that...and so took hold of her arm." During this prayer, "She told the Person who was supporting her, Christ says to me, He will never leave me nor forsake me,

(1) Ibid. ii.268/9

/me, repeating it over and over; and immediatly after, she said... He is telling me, He hath east all my Sins behind his back."⁽¹⁾

There were many people present in the room, including several young women who were her personal friends, weeping and crying out. Pointing to them, M'Culloch said to her: "You see that there are several Daughters of Jerusalem there...Have you anything to say to commend Christ to them, She immediatly turn'd to them, and said in the most moving and feeling manner, My Beloved is...the chief among ten thousand, yea he is altogether lovely. O Sirs, will ye come to Christ... If ye cannot cry to him, O long after him... At this time there was a great Stir... The joys of some were plainly transporting and almost too strong for them to contain....and there was a sound of weeping among others, that might be heard at a considerable distance."⁽²⁾

Then M'Culloch called on the company to compose themselves and they all sang together the first eight verses of Psalm 103 before separating. We are told that these events in the minister's closet lasted "above three hours" and the days ahead were to see many more hours spent on/

(1) MCG MSS 11.270/1
(2) Ibid. 11.272.

/on similar attempts at soul-surgery. M'Culloch wrote out the story in full next morning and this was "read over by him to a General Meeting of the Societies (sic) for Prayer in the Parish that met at his House that day, they were greatly affected in hearing it."⁽¹⁾

On that Monday evening, Janet Jackson, sister ~~km~~ of Catharine whose story we have just retold, "went to my Experienced Christian Acquaintance's house (i.e. Jean ~~Galkxxx~~ Galbreith) where there were present about eight or nine young people, that had before that fall'n under trouble of mind." Also present were Duncan, John Bar and Ingram More "that had been awakned at Glasgow the Harvest before."⁽²⁾ Also, that same night at family worship in the house of Bartle Somers, when he gave out the 130th Psalm, "O who shall stand if Thou O Lord Shouldst Mark iniquity", "they struck Me with terror, and Made me weep", says one of his young weavers.⁽³⁾

On~~x~~ the following evening, Tuesday, 16th February, there was another meeting of "several serious Christians" at the Manse for prayer⁽⁴⁾ and a similar meeting at the schoolhouse, conducted by Jonathan Bar. One who left this latter meeting, /

(1) M'C MSS 11.274.

(2) Ibid. 1.28/29

(3) Ibid. 1.77. John Macdonald a weaver.

(4) Gillies Hist. Coll. 11.340.

(5) M'C MSS 1.77.

/meeting, "going away to a Relations house ... could not forbear bursting out into tears and breaking out before all in the house to speak in commendation of Christ." When many of the neighbours came flocking in, she continued to speak at length and with great freedom to them all. "I was before this time ashamed to open my mouth, and speak anything almost before others: But now I thought if a whole Congregation had been present, I could not have been able to hold my peace."⁽¹⁾

Still a third meeting was held that week, on Wednesday evening at the Manse, when M'Culloch preached on "He shall feed his flock like a shepherd." But it was the next day, Thursday, 18th. February, that became memorable, the day of days, commemorated in the parish and beyond, for many years afterwards. M'Culloch, and probably many of his parishioners could not have failed to recall that it was on the 18th. February 1731, also a Thursday, that the parish of Cambuslang had met to elect and subscribe a call to him as their intended minister.⁽²⁾

The sermon was preached from Jeremiah 23, 6: "And this is the Name whereby he shall be called, the Lord our Righteousness." There is no record of it, but we know of some/

(1) Elizabeth Jackson, Ibid. i.107/8.

(2) Vde. p. 88 ch.2.

/some of its effects. One "thought that sermon was, as it were, a new Gospel to me"⁽¹⁾ a young man "wept almost all the time"⁽²⁾; and a young woman "was so affected... that the tears ran down My Cheeks, all the time I was hearing."⁽³⁾ Mary Mitchell also wept and adds: "my heart beat so violently, that I tho't it would have leapt out at My side." But "I did not cry out in the Kirk, nor did any there cry out that day."⁽⁴⁾ In the closing prayer after he had lectured, M'Culloch exclaimed: "Where are the fruits of my poor labours among this people?"⁽⁵⁾ He had not long to wait now!

After the lecture ended, a number of men and women, who were in considerable distress, went to the dining-room in the manse for prayer and conversation with the minister. Several "had some difficulty to get into the hall, there was such a croud of people there."⁽⁶⁾ The total number was about fifty and M'Culloch's exhorting, psalm-singing and talking with individuals went on throughout the night, but there were only about 15 who that night got any outgate or relief from their soul distress."⁽⁷⁾

When news of the happenings at Cambuslang on this night/

(1) M'C MSS 1.30. (2) Ibid. 1.77. (3) Mary Lap Ibid. 1.9
 (4) Ibid. 1.97 (5) Old Stat. Acc. v.268 (6) ~~Ibid.~~ 1.98
 (7) Ibid. 11.101. M'C. MSS.

/night became known, hostile critics began immediately to rush into print and condemn the work. Within three weeks, one of them asserted that at this lecture, some of the people "expressed their Agony not only in Words, but by clapping their Hands, beating their Breasts, terrible Shakings, frequent Faintings and Convulsions; the Minister often calling out to them, Not to stifle or smother their Convictions, but encourage them."⁽¹⁾

These are not the words of an eye-witness, and we have already seen that M'Culloch closed the lecture with a cry almost of disappointment and failure. John Erskine, writing in October 1742, alludes to this pamphlet as "malicious..."

This for some Time prejudiced People at a Distance, till Persons of Credit, who had gone there, declared it was a Bundle of Lies."⁽²⁾

q Another objector, writing in the Scots Magazine, affirmed that the people "were brought into the house fainting and screaming in a very astonishing manner."⁽³⁾ To which, M'Culloch aptly replies that "they were not brought but all of them came without help of their own accord: there were none of them screaming nor crying, and they could not come in a/

(1) Letter from a Gentleman in the West Country &c. pp.4/5.

(2) J. Erskine, "Signs of the Times Considered", p.21.

(3) Scots Magazine, May, 1742

(1)
/a faint."

After this eventful night, crowds of people began to flock to Cambuslang from all quarters, and sermon had to be provided for them almost daily. M'Culloch, aided by two probationers living in the district, James Young and Alexander Duncan, and several neighbouring ministers, laboured day and night, teaching and exhorting the ever-growing crowds. In spite of his fifty-one years, he seemed "to
(2)
renew his strength."

Not only did the local ministers join whole-heartedly in the onerous task of promoting the work of revival in Cambuslang; ministers of the highest repute travelled from distant parts of the country to see for themselves what was taking place. Many of these sent written attestations to M'Culloch, which he published in order to disarm suspicion and dispel false rumours.

John Willison of Dundee ~~1680~~ (1680/1750) was one of the most prominent of all the ministers in Scotland. When Whitefield first came to the country in 1741, he gave him a warm invitation to visit Dundee and the youthful evangelist promised to do so at the first opportunity. In this/

(1) M'C MSS 11.101.

(2) "A True Account &c.", p.6.

/this selfsame letter, Whitefield administers a gentle rebuke to his venerable correspondent: "I wish you would not trouble yourself or me in writing about the corruptions of the Church of England. I believe there is no church perfect under heaven."⁽¹⁾

The promise was redeemed in September 1741 and Whitefield wrote back to Willison: "Blessed be God for any good done at Dundee... I do not despair of seeing Scotland like New-England."⁽²⁾ Willison, in his reply, thanks God for the many tears he had seen during Whitefield's preaching in Dundee and for many young people who had joined societies for prayer. There was some persecution, "But O if Christ would Smile no matter tho' the Devil Roar."⁽³⁾ In the Preface to his book, "The Balm of Gilead", written in January, 1742, Willison speaks of revival as having already begun, and urged ministers in particular to try and arouse their churches.⁽⁴⁾

News of the revival at Cambuslang must have filled him with joy, and soon he was making his way south "to enquire and get satisfaction about it."⁽⁵⁾ On April 15, 1742, he was/

(1) Whitefield, "Letters", i.310.

(2) "Letters", i.319. (3) Glas. Week. Hist. No.xi.6/7.

(4) Quoted Macfarlane, p.110.

(5) Gillies, "Hist. Coll.", ii.344.

/was one of the ministers who sent to M'Culloch attestations about the revival. "Having resided several days in Mr. M'Culloch's house", wrote Willison, "I had occasion to converse with many who had been awakened...some who had been very wicked and scandalous, but now wonderfully changed...very rude and boisterous before, they now had the mildness, and meekness of the lamb about them...Tho' I conversed with a great number both men and women, old and young, I could observe nothing visionary or enthusiastic about them...Upon the whole, I look on the work at C -- g, to be a most singular and marvellous out-pouring of the Holy Spirit." (1)

Among the first to receive news about Cambuslang was Whitefield himself. On March 4, 1742, he notes: "In Scotland, the awakening is greater and greater" (2) and on this same day, writes to Mr. A -- at Heriots Hospital, Edinburgh: "I hope, at my return to Scotland, to see greater things than ever." (3) On March 22nd. he replies to a letter from M'Culloch: "I rejoice to hear of the great work begun in Scotland, and doubt not of its continuance." (4)

On April 1st, Mr. A.T. sent an urgent plea to Whitefield that he should seek to return to Scotland. He quotes from/

(1) Narrative of Cambuslang Attestation p.9/11.

(2) "Letters", i.3705.

(3) "Letters", i.377.

(4) Glas. Wkly. Hy. xvii.1.

/from a letter of M'Culloch to him of 18th. March which says: "I have the greatest Regard to that dear Servant of Christ Jesus, Mr. Whitefield... I go on to preach every Day ... I daily see new Instances of Conviction and Conversion ... about an hundred and thirty Souls here have been wounded with a deep Sense of their perishing Condition ... of which about eighty have been comforted. I suppose there was between thirty and forty distress'd Souls in my House this Night, of which three received Comfort. One of them a great Debauchee; Another a Moral young Woman; Another a Boy about eight Years of Age. The first Week this Work of God was chiefly among the People of this Parish, but these ten Days past, it has been particularly among Strangers that resort here." (1)

The writer tells Whitefield that because there had been a lull in the work, M'Culloch decided to tell the people that there would be preaching only on Sundays and Thursdays, but that very evening, "such an extraordinary Awakening came among the People, that above thirty were convicted." As a result, daily preaching was continued. And then he ends ~~xxx~~ his letter: "O, Mr. Whitefield; Why are you so long a coming to poor Scotland again? How many say, When is he coming? For the Lord's sake do not lay aside Thoughts of coming,/"

(1) Glasgow Wkly Hy. xxli. 4.

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(1)

/coming, what ever Work you may have in England."

Later in that same month, 28th. April, M'Gulloch himself wrote to Whitefield, pointing out that he had been employed daily in the Lord's work and had not the leisure to write as often as he wished. "But I cannot forget you one day... I believe that in less than three months past, about three hundred souls have been ~~awakening~~ awakened... more than two hundred of whom are, I believe, hopefully converted ... Some have computed the number present hearing, the last two Lord's-days, as nine or ten thousand... We continue still to have a sermon here every day. I long much to see you here. Let me know by the first opportunity when you think to be with us." (2) There could be no greater attraction for Whitefield than to hear such news; like the warhorse sniffing up the smells and knowing the sounds of battle, he longed to hurl himself into the fray.

**** **** **** ****

(1) Ibid xxii.5.

(2) Quoted Macfarlane pp. 58/60.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE TWO COMMUNIONS AT CAMBUSLANG

It will be unmistakeably clear that the revival had begun at Cambuslang, and was going on from strength to strength before Whitefield arrived to move the crowds by his amazing eloquence. The work was no foreign importation, but had issued directly from the faithful preaching and labours of a somewhat colourless parish minister, assisted by his brethren as the labours became more abundant. To say this is not to under-estimate the value of the contribution made by Whitefield. His first coming to the West of Scotland in the summer of 1741 provided a much-valued inspiration, and his second coming in the following summer proved an irresistible magnet for ~~the~~ the multitudes.

During May, 1742, Whitefield had embarked on a new enterprise of preaching to the great crowds who thronged Moorfields in London, patronising the many booths, with every kind of mountebank, players, puppet-shows and such like. His own estimate of the numbers was between twenty and thirty thousand. His success angered "Beelzebub's agents", and he was honoured, as he says, "with having a few stones, dirt, rotten eggs, and pieces of dead cats/

/cats thrown at me." A merry-andrew, balanced precariously on the shoulders of another man, tried several times to lash him with a heavy whip, but without success. A recruiting sergeant, complete with drum, marched right through the listening crowds, which opened up to give him passage at Whitefield's invitation. One young rake tried hard to stab the preacher with his sword, but a bystander struck up the weapon with a cane. Another climbed a tree near to the pulpit, and "shamefully exposed his nakedness before all the people" and thus provided the evangelist with an illustration for his theme. Amid all the tumult and bestiality, men and women knelt seeking ~~or~~ for pardon and peace. (1)

Immediately after this field-preaching in London, "fighting with wild beasts" in very truth, Whitefield embarked on the "Mary and Ann" for Scotland, expecting "great things" (2) there and arrived on June 3rd.

Five days later, he wrote to M'Culloch, rejoicing at the continued progress of the work at Cambuslang..."I believe you will both see and hear of far greater things than these. I trust that not one corner of poor Scotland will be left unwatered by the dew of God's heavenly blessing. The cloud is now only rising as big as a man's hand; yet a little while, and we shall hear a sound of an abundance of gospel rain/

(1) "Letters" i. 384/8. (2) Ibid i. 398.

/rain...God willing, I hope to be with you ~~xxx~~ at beginning
 of next week."⁽¹⁾

Exactly one week later, he was met at Glasgow and
 welcomed "in the name of twenty thousand...By three o'clock
 this morning (16th. June), people were coming to hear the
 word of God. At seven, I preached to many, many
 thousands."⁽²⁾

On Tuesday, July 6th., 1742,⁽³⁾ he came to Cambuslang
 at mid-day, and preached at two, six and nine o'clock at
 night. "Such a commotion surely never was heard of, espec-
 ially at eleven at night. It far out-did all that I ever saw
 in America." For about an hour and a half there were scenes
 of uncontrollable distress, like a field of battle. Many
 were being carried into the house like wounded soldiers.
 "Mr. M ('Culloch) preached after I had ended, till past one
 in the morning, and then could scarce persuade them to
 depart. All night in the fields, might be heard the voice of
 prayer and praise."⁽⁴⁾

Writing to his steward in Georgia, Whitefield describes
 the awakening as unspeakable, akin to an experience they had/

(1) "Letters" i.401/2.

(2) Tyerman's Life ii.5.

(3) Not June 19th. as in Tyerman (Life ii.5). We might also
 note Tyerman's habit of rewriting Whitefield's letters or
 touching them up!

(4) "Letters" i.405.

/had once shared at Foggs-Manor in Pennsylvania..."I never
 was enabled to preach so before."⁽¹⁾ In writing that same
 day to his wife, he tells her that this far out-does all that
 he had ever witnessed in America. "...I am persuaded the
 work will spread more and more."⁽²⁾ Invited by M'Culloch to
 assist at the annual communion services, Whitefield wrote to
 Willison at Dundee: "On Friday, God willing, I go to Cam-
 buslang, where I expect to see greatdays of the son of man."⁽³⁾

Arriving on Friday, 9th. July, he preached on the
 following day to more than twenty thousand people. Of the
 next day, the communion Sabbath, he declares that "scarce
 ever was such a sight seen in Scotland."⁽⁴⁾ The sacrament was
 observed in the fields, a custom which contained nostalgic
 memories of the days of persecution. Whitefield observes
 elsewhere that "a brae, or hill, near the manse at Cambus-
 lang, seemed to be formed by Providence, for containing
 a large congregation. People sat unwearied till two in the
 morning to hear sermons, disregarding the weather. You could
 scarce walk a yard, but you must tread upon some."⁽⁵⁾ Apparently
 services were frequently held out-of-doors about this time,
 because the kirk was too small and out of repair. The place/

(1) "Letters i.405. (2) Ibid. i. 405. (3) Ibid. i.407.
 (4) Ibid. i.409. (5) Gillies, "Life of Whitefield", p.124.

/place chosen was "a green brae on the east side of a deep ravine near the church, scooped out by nature in the form of a amphitheatre...sprinkled over with broom, furze and sloe-bushes."⁽¹⁾

Two wooden preaching-tents were set up and the communion-table; throughout the long summer day, a group of ministers, which included Alexander Webster of Edinburgh, served the tables and preached to the multitudes. Writing on 14th. July, M'Culloch reckons that the total of communicants, judging by the tokens gathered in "was above £ 1700." Some people had estimated that the congregation exceeded 30,000, but "Mr. Wh -- d, who is used to such Things... made them about 20,000." In this same letter, the minister of Cambuslang believes that "above 500 Souls ... have been savingly brought home to God ... Nor do I include these who have been awakned by Means of Mr. Whitefield's Sermons in this Place," (he had preached seventeen sermons in Cambuslang) "because I cannot pretend to compute them."⁽²⁾

In the evening, when the sacrament was over, "at the request of the ministers"⁽³⁾ Whitefield preached again for about an hour and a half to the whole congregation. His text was from Isaiah liv.5: "Thy Maker is thy husband; the Lord of/

(1) New Stat. Acc. vi.426. (2) Glas Wkly Hy. xxx.1/2.
(2) "Letters" i.409.

/of Hosts is his name." This was the sermon more frequently referred to than any other by the converts, as the M'Culloch manuscript volumes show. The theme of a marriage-contract would be understood by all and provided him with a magnificent opportunity to plead for the consent of his hearers.

One of Whitefield's biographers complains that "we look in vain for a single passage of interest or power in it. The thought is ~~ex~~ meagre, and the language tame; there is a total absence of the dramatic element which abounds in all his treatment of narrative and parable."⁽¹⁾ But surely this is to overlook completely the preacher's habit of illustration. The printed sermons of Whitefield, as of M'Culloch and others, were really outlines, frameworks into which was fitted anecdote and illustration to drive home the argument.

We may find glimpses of his approach. "He said He was sent to take a wife for his Masters Son, asking if there was any there that wanted to take Christ for their husband, and bidding them come and he would marry them to Christ, after which he laid out the Terms and I found my heart made Sweetly to agree", says one young man of twenty-one.⁽²⁾

A married man of 30, also found help in this sermon: "where/

(1) J.P. Gledstone, "The Life and Travels of George Whitefield", p.286.

(2) M'C MSS ii.325. Andrew Falls.

low
/"where he described the articles and terms of a marriage agreement between Christ and Beloivers".⁽¹⁾ A single young man of twenty-one, almost cried out for joy at the sweet offers of Christ as a husband to his soul and "I was ready to strike hands on the Bargain."⁽²⁾ Meeting another young man whom he knew, he threw his arms around him and said that Whitefield had married his soul to Christ. Men were as attracted by this appeal as the women. When Margaret Borland heard the plea and invitation "I thought, Willing! who would not be willing?"⁽³⁾ Sixteen-year-old Margaret Carson recollected vividly the alternative; not to be married to Christ was "to have the Devil for your Husband and you sleep all night in the Devils arms."⁽⁴⁾

It seems obvious that Whitefield had fastened on the story of Abraham's steward Eliezer, journeying east to seek a wife for his master's son, Isaac, and the ready assent of Rebekah to agree to the terms and go with him. And the same analogy is strengthened by Paul's conception in the letter to the Ephesians of the Church as the Bride of Christ.

Throughout that night, "in different companies, you/

(1) M'C MSS 1.7 William Baillie.

(2) Ibid. ii.163 Daniel McLarty.

(3) Ibid ii. 541. (4) Ibid ii.500.

/you might have heard persons praying to, and praising God.
 The children of God came from all quarters.⁽¹⁾ The weather
 does not seem to have been altogether favourable as may ~~be~~ be
 seen from one delightful reference in the account of Daniel
 McLarty. He lay down on the brae, filled with the love of
 Christ, and wishing that he might die on the spot, if it
 should be the Lord's will, "yet, rain coming on, I thought
 it was not my duty to ly still there, but went ~~to~~ a House
 for Quarters."⁽²⁾

On the Monday morning, Whitefield preached to a crowd
 almost as large as that of the Sabbath and wrote to John
 Cennick: "such an universal stir I never saw before. The
 motion fled as swift as lightning from one end of the aud-
 itory to another. You might have seen thousands bathed in
 tears. Some at the same time wringing their hands, others
 almost swooning and others crying out."⁽³⁾

Many of those who sat down at the Lord's Table, had
 overcome great difficulties to do so. One young journeyman
 weaver from Glasgow, after listening to the preaching at
 Cambuslang on the Saturday, went "away with Haste to Glasgow
 and got a Line to get a Token and came back with it to Camb.
 that evening and ~~gave~~ got one, and spent all that night in
 prayer."⁽⁴⁾

- (1) "Letters" i.410. (2) M'C MSS ii.163.
- (3) "Letters" i.409/410.
- (4) Duncan Alge. M'C MSS ii. 38.

Tokens were not given out easily. When Janet Struthers came to M'Gulloch to ask for a token, "he bade me look to it, that it was not to be seen of men and to get a name for Religion or for any other base selfish end."⁽¹⁾ Even coming to the Table could be very difficult. Anne Wylie tells of her own apprehension about coming forward. "When the 2d Tables was to be served The people being slow to come forward to it, A Minister (26 i.e. M'Gulloch) saying, to excite them, 'Is this your kindness to your Friend', I felt My heart Melted down and made willing to come. But not having access, because of the Great Crowd, My fears returned. At length I said within My self, with the Lepers, If I stay here, I perish, and if I go forward I'll but perish, and so I came to The Table."⁽²⁾ But she had spoken earlier in her account of having got a token, although under scandal for uncleanness. All the four editors note this, and take exception to the absence of any information about public repentance.

So impressive was this first sacramental-occasion, that, there and then, Webster moved that another similar communion should be observed very soon at Cambuslang. Whitefield seconded this without delay. This was altogether against normal practice; "a thing not practised before in Scotland", says Whitefield.⁽³⁾

(1) M'O MSS 11. 564.

(2) Ibid 1.68

(3) "Letters" 1.413.

"It hath not been known in Scotland that the Lord's Supper hath been given twice in a summer in any congregation before (1) this revival", wrote James Robe.

M'Culloch favoured the idea, and justified the unusual proposal by the extraordinary nature of the events of that year. "Care was therefore taken to acquaint the several Meetings for Prayer with the Motion, who relish'd it well... (2) The Session met next Lord's Day". After considering the Scriptural injunction to celebrate the ordinance often, the great benefits that had accrued from the recent sacramental occasion, and the fact that many who had intended to participate had been hindered from various causes, the session resolved that the sacrament should be dispensed again in the parish of Cambuslang on 15th. August.

Special meetings were held for united prayer at the manse, and, when this place proved to be too small, in the church. Among the matters mentioned in prayer were "the Seceders and others, who unhappily oppose the work here."

On this occasion, the crowds were enormous, greater than ever. "None ever saw the like since the Revolution in Scotland, or even any where else, at any Sacrament Occasion:

(1) Christian Monthly History Nov. 1743, p.28.

(2) Glas. Wkly Hy. xxxix 1/2.

Occasion: Some have called them fifty Thousand; some forty Thousand; the lowest estimate I hear of... makes them to have been upwards of thirty Thousand."⁽¹⁾ In a letter to Georgia, Whitefield confirms this statement. It is easier to grasp the significance of this, when one recalls that the total population of Glasgow in 1740 was estimated by the magistrates to be only 17,034.⁽²⁾

The size of the crowds may be gathered from the details of the collections, as noted in the Session records, in Scots money. A normal Sabbath-day offering ranged between £3 and £12; the first communion-sabbath brought in £117 12s and the second £194 2s. The money collected from February to December, 1741 was £146 13s 9d; for the same period in 1742, it was £144 17s 9d.⁽³⁾

From near and far, the people flocked to Cambuslang: there were 200 from Edinburgh and the same number from Kilmarnock. They must have walked for there was only one stage-coach weekly between Glasgow and Edinburgh at this time. A hundred came from Irvine and 100 from Stewarton; strangers were also present from England and Ireland. M'Culloch lists the names of the ministers who assisted. In addition to Whitefield, there was Mr. Webster from Edinburgh, Mr. M'Laurin and Mr./

(1) Glasgow Wkly Hy. xxxix.4.

(2) James Pagan, "History of Glasgow", p.101.

(3) Session records quoted Souper, "Scottish Revivals", p.47, footnote.

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/Mr. ~~Mitx~~ Gillies from Glasgow, Mr. Robe from Kilsyth, Mr. Currie from Kinglassie, Mr. M'Knight from Irvin, Mr. Bonnar from Torpichen, Mr. Hamilton from Douglas, and three of the Neighbouring Ministers, viz. Mr. Henderson from Blantyre, Mr. Maxwell from Rutherglen, and Mr. Adam from Cathcart."⁽¹⁾ There were also present "Several Persons of considerable rank and Distinction who were Elders" and who assisted in serving the tables, including "the Honourable Mr. Charles Erskine, Advocate, Bruce of Kennet, Esq; Gillen of Wallhouse, esq; Mr Warner of Ardeer, and Mr Wardrope, Surgeon in Edinburgh."

The number of communicants was about three thousand, and this is no haphazard guess, for a man sat near to the table with a pen in hand and carefully marked each table; and again there were many who could not get tokens. M'Culloch estimates these at about a thousand more. Margaret Borland of Bothwell would have given much for a token, and was uneasy until someone besides her "bade me sit down and settle myself; God would accept of the will for the Deed."⁽²⁾ Jean Hay of Lesmahagow could get no token and "beg'd the Lord that He might make up that loss another way."⁽³⁾ Elizabeth Dykes of Carmyle, having no token, sat on the brae and "thought if I had wings, I would have flown over the heads of the People to have got to the Table."⁽⁴⁾

(1) Glw. Wkly Hy. xxxix3 (2) M'C MSS ii.542 (3) Ibid i.267
(4) Ibid. i.212.

Worship began at 8.30 on the Sunday morning and the last table was being served at sunset, "the Precentor having so much Daylight as to let him see to read four lines of a Psalm."⁽¹⁾ About 10.0 p.m. Whitefield exhorted in the churchyard, but without any particular text. When he had been serving the tables, it had been noticed that he appeared to be almost carried away in an ecstasy.

Services were held again on Monday, large crowds still attending, and more than twenty-four ministers and preachers were present. One of them is specially mentioned by Whitefield - "good old Mr. Bonner."⁽²⁾

John Bonar (1671/1747) was noted for piety. He was one of the "Twelve Apostles" who presented the petition to the General Assembly of 1721 defending the "Marrow of Modern Divinity".⁽³⁾ He was minister at Torpichen for over fifty years, and became the scion of one of the most distinguished evangelical families of the nineteenth century, Horatius, John and Andrew all being direct descendants.

He had written a short letter "On the Duty and Advantages of Religious Societies" in 1740 for a small group in Edinburgh, warmly encouraging union among Christians. It is not surprising to find him in close contact with M'Culloch soon after /

(1) Glw Wkly Hy. xxxix.5/8.

(2) Gillies, "Life of Whitefield", p.124.

(3) supra p.32.

/after the awakening began at Cambuslang. On March 16, 1742, he writes to him, declaring that he had known "for some weeks the refreshing news... We heartily pray for a continuance of it with you, and that we and many others may be partakers of it in a large measure... Pray let me hear if it be true that there are so many converts among you... that I may be more enabled to rejoice with you, and to pray for you."⁽¹⁾

Writing again in the same month, he expresses the hope that the converts would so live that no ill-wishers could speak evil of the work and adds, "I would gladly have visited you, and preached with you, but am neither able to ride nor walk: it is a burden to me to go to church on the Lord's day."⁽²⁾

The stirring news of the first communion season at Cambuslang must have given the venerable minister a new lease of life for M'Culloch writes that "old Mr. Bonner, tho' so frail that he took three Days to ride 18 Miles from Torpichen to Cambuslang, yet his Heart was so set upon coming here, that he could by no Means stay away, and when he was help'd up to the Tent, preach'd three Times with great Life; and return'd with much Satisfaction and Joy."⁽³⁾

(1) Printed Edin. Chr. Instr. 1838, August. p.362.

(2) Ibid. (3) Glw Wkly Hy. xxxix.3.

Standing on the stairhead at the manse when he was about to leave Cambuslang, he said his goodbye in the Nunc Dimittis (1) of another aged priest, Simeon.

This second communion at Cambuslang represented the high-water mark of the revival; of these unforgettable days Whitefield wrote: "Such a passover has not been heard of." (2) He had spent his days among revivals yet he testified that this was the greatest he had ever witnessed. "Our Saviour loves to let us see yet greater things." (3) M'Culloch closes his account of the day: "May our exalted Redeemer still go on from Conquering to Conquer, 'till the whole Earth be filled with his glory." (4)

The youthful John Erskine, later to become the famous minister of the Old Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh, and leader of the evangelical party, was so impressed by what he saw and heard at Cambuslang that in the autumn of that same year, he published a pamphlet of 36 pages, entitled, "Signs of the Times Considered, or the high PROBABILITY, that the present APPEARANCES in New England, and the West of Scotland, are a PRELUDE of the Glorious Things promised to the CHURCH in the/

(1) K11. Narr. 1789, ed. pp. 297/8. Vde also Glw Wkly Hy xxxix. 6.

(2) "Letters" i. 428/9. (3) Ibid i. 429.

(4) Glw Wkly Hy. xxxix. 6/7.

/the latter Aggs." In the Preface, dated October 28, 1742, he avows it to be his aim to show that the "work now carrying on at Cambuslang" is but a prelude of greater things to come. Whilst denying any knowledge of the exact times and seasons for the fulfilment of the Scriptural prophecies, he argues that certain signs contained therein are being seen on every hand.

He concludes one of his major sections by a fervent prayer, prophetic of his own future concern to forward the cause of overseas missions. "It is to be hoped that this Work will not only go through our Land in the Length of it and the Breadth of it, but spread from Kingdom to Kingdom, till all the Kingdoms of the Earth shall become the Kingdom of God and of his Christ."⁽¹⁾

It is now time to consider the progress of the revival throughout Scotland and beyond the seas, watching the ever-widening circles which arose from the awakening at Cambuslang.

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(1) "Signs of the Times considered", p.18. Another effect of Cambuslang upon Erskine was probably his concern to promote more frequent communion services. In 1749 he published a pamphlet, "A Humble Attempt to promote frequent Communicating", suggesting four times a year. (Vide. Life by Moncrieff-Wellwood, pp.147/157). But he also suggested fewer sermons at each occasion and that all the churches in a presbytery should have the communion on the same day - an highly unpopular suggestion.

CHAPTER EIGHTKILSYTH -AND BEYOND

Reports of the awakening at Cambuslang spread rapidly through the country and the crowds flocked from all quarters to that parish, from a variety of motives. On March 9, 1742, within three weeks of the memorable outbreak, Colonel James Gardiner, an outstanding Christian and soldier, wrote to the Rev. John M'Laurin, minister of the Ramshorn or North West parish church Glasgow, requesting him "to let me know what truth there is in this wonderful account we have had... in the conversion of so many in the parish of Cambuslang... I am very willing to believe the truth of it....

But I should be glad to have it confirmed by so good a hand as

(1)

yours." On March 17th. Alexander Gillon of Wallhouse wrote to

M'Culloch asking for definite news "which cannot be had with equal certainty from any other." His letter closes with the hope that

"our gracious God.. may not confine his mercy to your corner of the

only ; but graciously visit this, and every corner of the land

(2)

with a like plentiful effusion of his spirit."

John Hamilton, minister of the Barony, Glasgow, wrote to the Rev. Mr. Prince of Boston, New England, on Sept. 13th., 1742, about the unusual/

(1) Printed Edin.Christ.Inst. 1839 p.336.

(2) Printed Edin.Christ.Inst.1838 p.219.

usual nature of the scenes accompanying the revival at Cambuslang bodily agonies, faintings and outcries. "This made the Report of it spread like a Fire...in less than two Months after the Commencement of it there were few Parishes within twelve Miles of Cambuslang, but had some more or fewer awakned there...and many at a much greater Distance...The same Work is spreading...particularly at Calder, Kilsyth and Cumbernauld, all to the North and North-east of Glasgow...Since the middle of February...there are upwards of two Thousand Persons awakened. " (1)

Many places are known to have been affected, in greater and lesser degree, by the work at Cambuslang ; Irvine, Stewarton and Kilmarnock in Ayrshire ; Bothwell, Blantyre and East Kilbride, each adjacent to Cambuslang ; Glasgow and the nearby parishes of Calder, Baldernock, Kirkintilloch and Campsie. With the extension of the revival however there emerged certain places of more than ordinary significance. If Cambuslang was the focus of the movement, it is equally true that certain places became the loci of analogous developments.

On August 9th., 1743, M'Laurin wrote to New England : "the Corners where the Revival has appeared most remarkably are (1) Cambuslang... (2) Kilsyth/

(1) Prince : "Christian History " 1743 . p.77/8

(2) Kilsyth... (3) St. Ninians and Gargunnoch... (4) Muthil... (5) Torryburn and Carnock.... also a Corner about 100 Miles North from
 (1) Aberdeen." We shall seek to examine the movements as they are centred in Kilsyth, Muthil and Nigg, before glancing overseas.

Kilsyth is situated about nine miles from Glasgow and was the birthplace on June 21st., 1603, of "That burning and shining light, worthy and warm Mr. Livingstone, who used to preach as within the sight of Christ", so intimately associated with the revival at the Kirk o' Shotts in 1630. It was at Kilsyth too that Montrose on August 15th., 1645, inflicted the heaviest defeat ever sustained by the Covenanters. "That August afternoon, the claymore, the dirk, the clubbed musket and the Lochaber axe did a fearful and bloody work..." the sturdy Highlanders, clad only in their shirts, and fleet of foot, left 6,000 dead on the field of battle. The parish historian pertinently comments concerning the revival of 1742; "The parish of Kilsyth, being of all the parishes of Scotland the most heavily drenched with Covenanting blood, there is a certain spiritual propriety that it should have been the scene of the richest outpouring of the heavenly Grace."
 (3)

James Robe became the parish minister in April, 1713, and continued in the charge until his death at the age of 65, in ~~the~~ May, 1753.

(1) Prince: "Christian History" 1744 pp. 353/4

(3) Anton: "Kilsyth - a Parish History." pp 106, 122.

(2) So wrote his contemporary Robert Mcward in 1677 (quoted Stevens: "History of the Scots Kirk in Rotterdam", p. 53)

We are very fortunate in the source-material available for studying the revival that broke out within his parish, when he was a mature and experienced minister, 54 years of age.

Scholarly, industrious and methodical, he was impressed by the necessity of publishing the fullest possible account of the work in the parish and throughout the land. His compilation "A Faithful NARRATIVE of the Extraordinary Work of the SPIRIT OF GOD at Kilsyth and other Congregations in the neighbourhood" published at Glasgow in July, 1742, is an amazing quarry of facts about these days. In the Preface, he states that his intention is to awaken ~~the~~ praise in the godly, to allay prejudice and fears in others and that posterity should also reap some benefit. (1) His sole concern was to be with fact, and a strict regard to truth and exactness. "A polished Stile is not to be expected from one, who must redeem time from Eating and Sleeping to carry it on. To write intelligibly is all I aim at." (2)

In addition to this ample, printed, contemporary evidence, there are the session records covering the whole of his incumbency. Beneath his name on the opening page is the appropriate motto :

"...Et ordinem
Rectum evaganti. Fraena licentiae
Injecit emovitque culpas." Hor. Liber 4, Ode 15.

(1) Pref. xxii.

(2) Pref. xxiii.

Robe sets down for us the fluctuating religious history of his parish of "above eleven hundred examinable Persons ". At first they appeared to benefit from his ministry . We have already noted the session proposal to set up Societies for Prayer in 1721. On June 14th., 1722, agreement was reached whereby " the Isle loft should be built and seats therein ".⁽¹⁾ There was a demand for increased accomodation.

But there were more melancholy factors present also. In the summer of 1723, an overture was brought by the minister to the session " against consulting the Devil's servants, or Instruments, anent stollen goods, fortunes, health or recovery from sickness ", and it was agreed that a congregational rebuke should follow such misdemeanours.⁽²⁾ This arose out of the disclosure that Margaret Grahame, relative to one of the session, Robert Grahame, had consulted " the Dumbie..at the wood," giving him twelve pennies to gain information about " who stole her cloaths."

Many a week, the session met three times, for there was much to do. Again and again, James Ronald the local flesher had to appear and be rebuked for profanity, selling drink on the Sabbath, "lying Drunk like a Dead man upon the street ", and incorrigible character.⁽³⁾

(1) Kilsyth Session Records.

(2) Ibid June 30, 1723

(3) Ibid Feb. 28, 1734, Jan. 18, 1736, Sept. 20, 1736, Oct. 10, 1736 et al.

There were violent men like "James Livingstone in Brea" who after pleading guilty of cursing and blasphemy was rebuked sessionally and "fell into a great Rage and Passion...stamped with his feet, and shook and wagged his staff in the face of the Session." (1) Or

Alexander Forrester, an elder and later baillie-depute of the town, who in an argument about land ownership, called John Hamilton "a Damn'd Eternal Lyar a Villain and a Rascall...in the presence of the magistrate of the place, in the face of the sun, in the publick street." (2)

There was also the ever-recurring problem of fornication, when the "midwife Janet Bankier" with a panel of three women examined cases of suspected pregnancy under the surveillance of the session. Often their negative reports were contradicted by babies some months after. (3)

Pestilence brought at least sixty burials within three weeks in January, 1733, including "the most religious and judicious Christians". (4) Robe visited his people every day from morning till night. In June of that year, a dreadful storm of hail and rain wrought extensive havoc, "as no Man living had ever seen". (5) The societies for prayer dwindled away and the "unhappy divisions" connected with the Secession of 1733, aroused a spirit of contention on every hand. We have seen already the effects of the dearth of 1740.

(1) Kilsyth Session Records May, 19, 1734.

(2) Ibid. Dec. 12, 1735

(3) Ibid. Sept. 3, Nov. 5, 1738 Case of Elizabeth Pennie.

(4) Robe: "Narrative" p.26

(5) Ibid. p.27.

In this same year, 1740, Robe began to preach a course of sermons "upon the Doctrine of Regeneration" just as M'Culloch was to do (1) a little later. He gives a complete outline of his scheme and wistfully remarks that his hearers listened attentively and approved but no visible change was to be seen in their behaviour.

Then, early in 1742, came the amazing news from Cambuslang; Robe found fresh cause for hope and tried to interest his congregation but in spite of all his efforts, "few of the People under my Charge went to Cambuslang." (2) One encouraging result emerged; the societies for prayer, long abandoned, began afresh.

On Thursday, April 15, John Willison wrote from Glasgow to M'Culloch, with whom he had been staying for a few days, expressing his satisfaction with what he had observed at Cambuslang. He ends by regretting that he cannot stay to give any further help "but my business and circumstances oblige me to return homewards." (3) That same evening, he arrived at Kilsyth, and Robe prevailed upon him to preach the following morning when "a great Multitude of People met tho' the warning was very short." (4) Many were to date their first real concern about spiritual things from that sermon.

- (1) Robe : "Narrative" p.29
- (2) Ibid.30
- (3) Camb.Narr.Attest.1789 ed.Pp.9/11
- (4) Robe : "Narrative".p.31.

Robe frequently went across to Cambuslang to help in the work, and riding home from that place on the morning of Friday, May 14th., he was constrained to travel by a little-known but nearer path. Calling at a friend's home, he found several servants in distress, twelve in all, and talked and prayed with them. His friends said it was providential ; he "must needs go through Samaria."

The following Sunday, May 16th., he preached with unusual power ; many, including "some strong and stout men" cried out among the many who were distressed. These latter were sent along to Robe's barn which proved to be too small to hold them, and so they came back to the church. Psalms were appointed to be sung and two or three elders were instructed to pray with the distressed, but were forbidden to exhort or speak in the congregation. Robe decided to interview the troubled, as he says, "in my Closet one by one", and sent for Mr. John Oughterson, minister at the neighbouring parish of Cumbernauld, to come and help. Altogether about thirty people were spoken to by the ministers, twenty of them from Kilsyth.

The following Wednesday, May 19th., there was preaching for the first weeknight, the Rev. John M'Laurin, having come, at Robe's special request, to undertake this. By July, Robe estimated that above 200 of his parishioners had been awakened. Out from Kilsyth the revival spread to Kirkintilloch, Gargunnock and especially St.

Ninians/

Ninians ; and the track between Kilsyth and Cambuslang was well worn by the coming and goings of the summer months.

The revival at Kilsyth came later than that at Cambuslang, and Robe was well aware of the objections noised abroad by opponents of the whole movement. The loud cries and bodily distresses to him "appeared unpleasant, yea even shocking" (1) and he planned to have any who so behaved removed from his audiences to a place made ready for them. Elders were detailed to "carry them off" but experience taught him that more disturbance was made by removing them than by letting them stay. Also their example of acute distress was a pointed reminder to others, undisturbed as yet.

At first Robe planned to have preaching only on Wednesdays, so that the daily work might not be hindered, but eventually he had to "embrace every opportunity of stranger ministers coming to the place to give Sermon to the People." He worked on the principle he suggested to one of his friends : "While the Wind blows fair croud on all the sail you can." His own people "needed rather a Bridle than a Spur in hearing" and so the mid-week services were held usually in the evening when toil was over.

On Tuesday, June 15th., Whitefield wrote that he had preached twice at Kilsyth "to ten thousand; but such a commotion, I believe, you/

(1) Robe : "Narrative" p.44.
 (2) Ibid : p.53.

you never saw . O what agonies and cries were there ! " It ought to be noticed that, as at Cambuslang, so at Kilsyth, the revival had been in progress a month before Whitefield came. Before he even arrived in Scotland, the penitents at Kilsyth numbered nearly a hundred.

(2)

The session set apart Wednesday June 30th. for "solemn Public Thanksgiving...for the Extraordinary out-pouring of the Spirit of God, upon this and other Congregations in the Neighbourhood." The fields were indeed ripe unto harvest and Robe heard, as he said, the Lord of the Harvest commanding him to put in his sickle and reap. He appointed each weekday except Wednesday and Saturday for the awakened to come to see him; "looked upon my Pulpit-work, tho' great, as but a small part of my Task ", and although he begrudged giving up his Saturdays, the anxious were not sent away if they then came.

(4)

Ministerial friends assisted in the work and "of all others, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Gillespie, Minister of the Gospel at Carnock was most remarkably God's send to me." Both were kept busy from morning to night. Some well-wishers cautioned the overworked minister to slacken his hand and take care of his health.

(1) Tyermans Life 11.5.

(2) Ibid 11.3.

(3) Kilsyth Session Records June 27, 1742.

(4) Robe: "Narrative".p.55.

But believing that God had promised needful strength for the doing of his work, Robe "resolved not to spare myself. It became soon the pleasantest work ever I was engaged in...Tho' I was wearied when I went to bed...I was fresh by the Morning." After four months of incessant labour, he gratefully rejoices that his bodily ills
(1)
were in no wise increased.

Embodied within Robe's Narrative are the individual accounts of many who awakened and converted at Kilsyth. These follow much the same pattern as those preserved by M'Culloch, which we shall be looking at in a later chapter.

The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was observed at Kilsyth on July 11th., the same day as the first communion at Cambuslang. There is no record of anything unusual at this time. Robe attended the memorable second communion at Cambuslang on August 15th.: M'Culloch suggested to him privately that something similar might be a good thing at Kilsyth. Robe demurred: he had "never thought of it" and he "had a rooted aversion at any thing that looked like
(2)
affecting Popularity." To do such a thing twice within three months would leave him open to misunderstanding, and so he was unwilling to acquiesce in M'Culloch's proposal.

(1) Robe : "Narrative".p.57.

(2) Ibid.p.100.

One of his elders, whom he greatly respected, brought forward the same proposal in a private conversation with Robe and the matter was then discussed at the session meeting and passed on to "several Societies for Prayer, to seek light and Direction."

On September 2nd, the Session, at the General desire of the Parish unanimously agreed, that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper be given a second time in this place, the first Sabbath of October, and for several weighty Reasons -- particularly the Extraordinary (1) outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon Numbers here, "

Although Autumn, with its shortening days, had arrived, many of the services were held in the open fields; many ministers came to help, including M'Laurin of Glasgow, Gillespie of Carnock and M'Culloch of Cambuslang. On Sunday October 3rd, great crowds (2) gathered, including "Strangers from a great Distance." Public worship began at 8-30 in the morning and continued without a break for twelve hours. There were twenty-two services and about 1,500 communicants.

Robe's account of this second sacramental season is plain, completely unadorned; reading it, one would hardly anticipate the enthusiastic testimony of Whitefield on October the 6th. "The work in the west still goes on and increases. Last sabbath-day, and/

(1) Kilbryth Session Records

(2) Robe : "Narrative" p.103.

and Monday, very great things, greater than ever, were seen in at
 Kilsyth. There is a great awakening also at Muthil.. (1) Five days
 later : "The work is still increasing in Scotland, especially in
 Kilsyth.. Surely we shall see great things ere long. Dear friend,
 (2)
 my soul is on fire."

A countryman, living about fourteen miles from Kilsyth, wrote
 to Robe about this memorable week-end : "O Lord, never let my soul
 forget, what I did see at Kilsyth and Cambuslang...on Saturday's
 night before the Sacrament, I did not go to seek lodging with the
 rest of our town's people that were there...I went to the braehead
 Eastward, and looked around: the candles were burning in every place;
 that blessed echo of prayers, and sweet singing of songs, made me
 (3)
 almost faint for joy."

But the flame spread out beyond Kilsyth. On June 14th. 1742,
 Willison wrote from Dundee to Robe, rejoicing that the work had
 spread so many miles on this side of Glasgow to Kilsyth. Wistfully
 he speaks of the need of his own locality. "Ah! our ground is very
 dry, but blessed be God, the Shower seems to point Northward."
 He pays tribute to the good work done by the "Weekly History",
 (4)
 scattered up and down the land.

(1) Letters 1,446/7

(2) Ibid. 1,449

(3) Robe : "Narrative" 1789 ed. p.193.

(4) Robe : "Narrative" 57/8.

In southern Perthshire, another awakening found its centre at Ruthil, four miles north-west of Auchterarder. William Halley was called to this charge on August 4, 1704, by the Presbytery, jure devoluto; he had to be ordained in the churchyard because the parishioners, devoted to episcopacy, resisted with swords and staves, and stoned the presbytery. Seven months later, he managed to gain the use of the church. (1) It is said that he was chosen to be minister as much for his physical strength as his spiritual (2) graces.

Not a very promising start, but he eventually secured the affection of his people; he had been minister for 38 years, and was 65 years of age, when the Cambuslang revival began. In several letters to Robe and others, Halley gives an account of the awakening in his parish; he was "averse from publishing any thing about it, fearing it might savour too much of Ostentation and Vain-glory" but he did so rather than "run into another Extreme, viz. smothering the Redeemer's Glory." (3)

Writing on September 28, 1742, he testifies that "for about a Year hence, there has been an unusual Stirring...through this Congregation." (4)

(1) Fasti iv.285; McFarlane p243.

(2) Cunningham: "History" ii.312.

(3) "Letter from the Rev. Mr. Halley to a Gentleman at Edinburgh, as transmitted hither in the last Ship from Scotland."

Prince: "Christian History" 1744 No.79 pp.183/4.

(4) Robe: "Narrative" p.103.

The first Sabbath of January 1741/2 - at just about the same time that matters were coming to a head at Cambuslang - was a stormy day. Expecting a small congregation, Halley abandoned his prepared discourse and "changed my Text". He found such freedom in his preaching that day, that he continued with his substituted theme. Deep concern was created and contact was made with the awakening at Kilsyth. On July 5, 1742, Robe wrote to M'Laurin : "I had with me on Saturday an honest man from Muthil... who informs me there have been, since March, fifty awakened in that parish."⁽¹⁾

Expectation mounted until the third Sabbath of July, the Sunday following the first communions at Cambuslang and Kilsyth, when the Lord's Supper was dispensed at Muthil. Says the minister : "God was in the Place... Many were brought to the Conqueror's Feet."⁽²⁾

From this time onward, "unusual Power hath attended the Word preached every Sabbath-day since."⁽³⁾ The evening services were especially successful, and immediately after these were over "such crowds of People come to the Manse as fill the House and the Close before the Doore", silencing the minister's voice by their ories.⁽⁴⁾ For hours afterwards, Halley was occupied in "dealing with them". Formerly there were only two praying societies in the parish ; within a year there were eighteen, many flocking in to them.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Gillies Hist. Coll. II. 364.

(2) Prince : "Christ. Hist." 1744 No. 75. pp. 183/4.

(3) Robe : "Narrative" .p. 105.

(4) Ibid. p. 106.

(5) Ibid. p. 107.

About twenty-seven members of Halley's flock travelled down to the second Communion at Kilsyth in 1743, walking the distance of almost thirty miles. On the way back they were overtaken by Mr. Porteous, minister at Monivaird near Muthil, Mrs. Erskine and Mr. David Erskine (son of Ebenezer) who were enabled to help them (1) by spiritual counsel. By this time, the Sabbath evening exercise could not be contained in the manse for almost the whole congregation stayed on in the kirk. Says their minister "Many of them not regarding the difficulty of travelling (sic) through a long dark Moor, under Night." (2)

News of these astonishing events at Cambuslang, Kilsyth and Muthil travelled still further north, and there were some who came to see for themselves. Amongst these was Dugald Buchanan (1716/63) the greatest of all the Gaelic religious poets. (3)

Mistressed about his spiritual condition, in 1741, he came to believe that his "sins were pardonable". He went along to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper at Muthil in July, 1742, where Mr. Halley "was wonderfully helped to speak home to the hearts of the hearers", speaking on the flight into the City of Refuge. (4) "Hearing a great noise about the work of God at Cambuslang" (5) he journeyed there.

(1) Robt : "Narrative" p.108.

(2) Ibid : p.109.

(3) Vide Dr. John Macinnes "The Evangelical Movement" ..pp.280/3

(4) "The Diary of Dugald Buchanan, with a Memoir." Edin. 1836. pp.96/7.

(5) Ibid. p.100.

At Cambuslang he "was greatly comforted to hear the people speaking of their experiences to one another. On the Sabbath there was a great multitude gathered together. Such a sight I never saw before." (1) A little later, he went to Kilsyth, hoping "that the Lord would knock off my fetters...and came away rejoicing." (2) Dugald Buchanan later became one of the schoolmaster-evangelists employed by the S.S.P.C.K. and was settled in 1755 at Rannoch, where he laboured with eminent success until his death in 1768.

John Porteous (1704/1775) "a preacher of great eloquence..and a man of deep piety", for over forty years the well-loved minister of Kilmuir East, visited Kilsyth in 1742. (3) Doubtless many others made the journey who have left no written record.

News of the awakening in the Lowlands would serve to add fuel to a flame already burning in the North. John Balfour, appointed to the parish of Nigg in 1729, became the acknowledged leader of the revival movement in Ross-shire and beyond. About 1739, a "most considerable concern appeared" among his people, though there were no unusual bodily symptoms to be seen. (4) After five years, he informed Robe that "not one in forty, who have been awakened, have fallen off..or given open scandal."

(1) Dugald Buchanan: Diary. p.102.

(2) Ibid. pp.117/9

(MacInnes p.156)

(3) Fasti vii.28 ; "Days of the Fathers in Ross-shire" J.Kennedy. pp.39/4

(4) Gillies Hist. Coll. ii.381 : Robe : "Monthly History" 1744. No.2. p.41

Numerous societies for prayer were established, the members all undergoing examination by the minister and some of the elders before being admitted. Practically every family practised family worship. "The civil magistrate has had no crimes here..for many years "; and (1) the kirk session had very little to do by way of discipline.

This revival at Nigg owed nothing to Cambuslang in its origins; it antedated it by about three years, but it did draw added strength from contact with the southern movement. M'Laurin wrote to Cooper of Boston on August 9th. 1743, about some ministers from "a Corner about 10 Miles North from Aberdeen " who attended the General Assembly in May 1743, after first visiting Muthil, Kilsyth and Cambuslang. They were surprised with what they saw of bodily agitations something new to their experience, but were full of admiration for "a praying Society of young Ones in the parish of Muthil" meeting (2) two miles distance from the manse.

In 1744, Balfour wrote to Robe, commending the earnest way the converts were trying to learn to read the Scriptures and giving themselves to prayer. "Surgunt indocti, et Coelum rapiunt. The men of letters dispute Heaven, these live it...I beg the help of (3) your Prayers still."

(1) Robe: "Monthly History" 1744 No.2.p.45. Gillies H.C.11.382.

(2) Prince: "Christian History" 1744 p.355.

(3) Robe : "Monthly History "1744 vi.39 ; Gillies H.C. 11.383.

Into the nearby parish of Rosekeel "there came a surprising revival (1) and stir among the people" about the end of October, 1742. Daniel Bethune, or Beton, was inducted in 1717, following an episcopalian, and had to surmount great opposition. Celebrating his first (2) communion in 1721, only six or seven people were admitted. One of his converts, and an elder, was formerly leader of the shinty players; he stopped his former companions from playing shinty on Sundays, (3) and brought them to church under threat of physical violence.

Good reports were soon to hand of awakenings in several other places in the presbytery of Tain and round about ; "Rosemarky, Logie (4) Alness, Kilearn, Cromerty, Kirkmichael and Avon."

North of the Fornech Firth, Golspie became another northern revival centre. A stronghold of episcopacy, the post-1688 "pioneers (5) of Presbytery had a stern and difficult task". John Sutherland became minister of Golspie in 1731. One day he overheard the catechist and some others praying that their minister might be given the Holy Spirit. He asked to be allowed to attend the same meeting and join in the prayer ; this was granted ; he found a new (6) spiritual power and "so the taught became the teacher."

(1) Robe : "Monthly History" .vi.45 ; Gillies H.C. 11 383.

(2) Macfarlane/Revs. 251.

(3) MacInnes p.44

(4) Robe : "Monthly History".vi.47 ; Gillies H.C.11386.

(5) MacInnes 39.

(6) Couper's "Scott, Revs." 68.

With mingled hopes and fears, Sutherland informed his people of the "wonderful success of the gospel in the British colonies of America ...I likewise communicated to them the displays of divine mercy as known at Kilsyth, Cambuslang and other places," (1) Returning from the General Assembly of May, 1743, he tried to stir up his people by first-hand reports about Cambuslang, Kilsyth and Muthil, which he had visited, but without success..

Bemoaning his lack of success to Balfour whilst assisting at the sacrament at Nigg in August, 1743, he was told that societies for prayer lay behind any good achieved at Nigg. He then set up three distinct societies in Golspie, meeting each Saturday evening. After a year of earnest intercession, "upwards of seventy persons" (2) had been awakened and consulted the minister.

Dr. John MacInnes, in his recent admirable study of evangelical developments in the Highlands during this period, points out that Ross-shire was the "scene of the roughest and most bitter episode in the Post-Revolution struggle of Episcopacy and Presbytery." (3) He makes clear that the revivals associated with Nigg, Golspie and the surrounding districts were of pre-eminent importance in capturing the whole of the Northern Highlands for evangelical religion, establishing Ross-shire as the home of the "Ethere", the Holy Land of/

(1) Robe : "Monthly History" 1745 v.130 - Gillies H.C.11.387.

(2) Ibid :

(3) MacInnes : "Evang. Develops." p.28.

(1)
of Highland Evangelicalism .

M'Culloch and Robe were indefatigable correspondents, writing all over Scotland and throughout the British Isles, as well as overseas. On June 19th. 1742, a minister in Dublin acknowledges M'Culloch's letter to him, containing news of Cambuslang. (2)

On October 26th of the same year, a Dissenting minister in Wales sent news about the state of religion in that country to the minister of Cambuslang. (3)
A very voluminous correspondence was kept up with ministers in New England. Alexander Webster's pamphlet "Divine Influence &c." was sent to the Moravian leader, Jacob Hutton, in London, who forwarded it to Augustus Spangenberg in Yorkshire. He wrote to M'Culloch in Latin, which the latter printed, along with an English translation. Spangenberg gives cautious approval, adding that "we always rejoice with Trembling" and advising humility upon those who had been used in the work of revival. (4)

There was a close connection, both economic and religious, between the eastern seaboard of Scotland and Holland; it was intimate and of long standing, for the Scots were the first foreigners to settle in the enterprising city of Rotterdam, the Cuninghams (5) emigrating from their native Dumfries to settle at Veere.

(1) Macinnes : "Evangelical Developments &c." p.28.

(2) "Glasgow Weekly History" xxx.3.

(3) Ibid. x.48 1/8

(4) Ibid. 47/5-7

(5) Stevens : "History of the Scottish Church at Rotterdam" p.1; also "The Journal of Thomas Cuningham of Campvere" 1640/54.

They took a keen interest in the welfare of the Scottish Church at
 (1) Veere and in 1643, a "church for the Scottish nation" was
 established at Rotterdam, through the friendly help of the Presby-
 tery of Edinburgh. (2)

In the troubled days that vexed Scotland through so much of
 the seventeenth century, Holland became an haven for persecuted
 ministers and laymen. William Garretson, later principal of the uni-
 versity of Edinburgh was the confidant of William of Orange; (3)
 Robert Fleming torn from his flock at Cambuslang, became minister of
 of the Scots Church at Rotterdam in 1672; John Livingstone, of
 Kirk O' Shotts revival fame, died at Rotterdam in 1672. (4)
 Prominent (5)
 laymen also sought asylum in Holland, amongst whom was Colonel
 John Erskine of Carnock, grandfather of John, the leader of the
 evangelicals in the latter part of the eighteenth century. (6)

In 1697 there were 450 Scots students at the University of
 Utrecht, (7) and when Jupiter Carlyle went to study at Leyden in 1745,
 he found himself one of a band of 22 British students, several of
 whom were Scots. (8) Frequent mention is made in the records of the
 presbytery of Hamilton to students of divinity who have studied
 abroad, usually in Holland, "upon His Grace the Duke of Hamilton's
 mortification."

(1) "Journal of Cunningham &c. xi

(2) Stevens p. 3.

(3) Ibid. 106

(4) Ibid. 84.

(5) Ibid. 53.

(6) Journal of the Hon. John Erskine &c. of Carnock 1683/87 ed J.
 Macleod S.B.S. pp. 108/114, 160/201.

(7) Wodrow Mss. QUOTED EDIN. CHRIST. HIST. 1839 p. 169

(8) "Auto" 167.

Writing to Robert Woodrow on Feb. 4, 1728, Lieut.-Colonel Erskine sent to him some requested information about church government in Holland. There was a strict censorship upon all theological books. He goes on : "What looks likest ~~ER~~astianism in ye church of Holland is the power ye Magistr^{ac}y of a town has to reject the election of a Min^r made by the Consistory...before he's called, the Burgomasters must be acquainted...If they regret the choice, the Consistory must
(1)
proceed to a new one."

Less than ten years later, such a problem vexed the Scots Kirk at Rotterdam. During a space of fifteen months, three elections were made from short lists that included Henry Lindsay of Bothkennar, Thomas Mair of Orwell, Robert Riecalton of Hobkirk, John Balfour of Wigg, all outstanding evangelical ministers of Scotland, and all were rejected by the burgomasters. Finally, in April 1737, they agreed
(2)
to the choice of Hugh Kennedy of Cavers. Stevens asserts that "the dominant party in the Assembly" of the Church of Scotland, not content with manipulation at home, "privately exerted their influence to thwart the measures taken by the Consistory to obtain
(3)
a minister of evangelical sentiments."

Hugh Kennedy was born of Scottish parents in Northern Ireland in 1698 and was "one of the best pulpit-men" in Scotland. In 1742 he was invited to leave Holland and succeed Ralph Erskine at Dunfermline.

(1) Quoted Edin. Christ. Inst. 1828 p.264.

(2) Stevens &c. p.161/171.

(3) Ibid. p.169.

It is not surprising to learn that news of the revivals at Cambuslang and Kilsyth quickly reached Holland. Hugh Kennedy informed a friend in Edinburgh that he had "got by accident a Narrative of the Work at Cambuslang with the Attestation ; which is printed in Dutch" (1) He confessed to having been deeply moved.. "it is as Life from the Dead " (2) and himself wrote a Preface in Dutch for a new edition, in which he himself points out that he is acquainted with the ministers who have attested the narrative, and they are "worthy of all credit." Other friends in Scotland "of unquestionable Capacity and Integrity" had also visited Cambuslang and had written approvingly of Cambuslang to him.

" The Lord seems to have some great Event upon the Wheel just now", writes Kennedy in prophetic vein, " and I would fain hope, the Glory of the later Days is not far off. The present Convulsions and Reelings among the Nations, as well as the Stirring among the dry Bones in Scotland, America and other Places, confirm me more and more in this Opinion." (3)

He ends by earnestly requesting that all who read the Narrative would pray for the success of the work in Scotland which "is begun and going on, and also for a notable Reviving to the Lord's/

(1) Glasgow Weekly History. 43.1.

(2) Ibid. 3.

(3) Ibid. 7.

Lord's Work in these united Provinces...that Ministers may be made
(1)

divinely Wise to win Souls to Christ." This preface was issued
at Rotterdam and dated July 26th. 1742. The Narrative itself was
translated into Dutch by three members of Kennedy's session, and
(2)
went through six editions.

On December 22, 1744, Robert Wightman, Dean of Guild in Edinburgh wrote to H'Gulloch and in his letter mentions that "This week I had the copy of a letter sent to me, which came from Rotterdam, dated the 15th. of October, giving an account of the great revival of religion in the town of Tergoes in the island of Zeland...He
(3)
says Mr. Robe's Narrative has been of use towards it."

Within eight years of his commendatory preface, Kennedy was forwarding encouraging news to his "Correspondents in Scotland and at London". These " were read publicly to a numerous Company of Christians purposely met together at one of their appointed Seasons, for learning what concerns the Success of real...Christ-
(4)
ianity, in any Part of our own Island, or up and down the World."

The story is prefaced by asserting that "God sheds forth his Spirit abundantly...from Friesland to Zealand, as hath been in Scotland and England."
(5)

(1) Glasgow Weekly History. 43/3

(2) Stevens History &c. 199 f-n.

(3) Printed Edinburgh Christian Inst. 1839 p. 340.

(4) "A short ACCOUNT of the Rise and Continuing Progress of a remarkable Work of Grace in the United Netherlands. In several Letters from the Reverend Mr. Hugh Kennedy, Minister of the

GOSPEL IN THE SCOTS CONGREGATION IN ROTTERDAM. PUBLISHER'S PREFACE.
(5) 1717 IV. V.

Writing from Rotterdam on October 2, 1750, Kennedy tells of an awakening at Nieuwkerk, which began under the ministry of Gerardus Kuypers in 1748. He had been an assistant in Amsterdam in 1744, where people cried out during his preaching. (1) At Nieuwkerk, he began a system of weekly catechising and set apart some time "for a sort of Fellowship Meetings," held in private houses. Kennedy comments that these were similar to private meetings of Christians held in Scotland for prayer and religious exercises. (2)

At these meetings, Kuypers questioned the members about the "truths delivered in public." Hundreds frequented these meetings after their daily labour was over. On Monday November 17, 1748, as Kuypers was catechising in church, there was a general outery and many fell down upon the ground. The following day, from early morning until late at night, the minister and some trusted private Christians, went from house to house, giving counsel. The work increased and spread beyond all description; Kuypers can only compare it to the Day of Pentecost. (3)

Kennedy concludes his "Short ACCOUNT &c." by pointing out that this work "is in substance the very same work which was some years ago carried on so remarkably in your happy corner of the Lord's Vineyard." (4)

(1) I am indebted to Professor G.D. Henderson for information about the early days of Kuypers at Amsterdam.

(2) "Short ACCOUNT" p.11/12.

(3) Appendix to Gillies Hist. Coll. p.23. Letter of Kuypers to Gillies

(4) "Short ACCOUNT".18.

On January 5, 1751, Kennedy rejoices that the work was still spreading to Alton, Rheed and Groningen. He is not able to finish his story because the bearer of the letter "tells me his ship must leave this Harbour in a little time," but he does pause to underline the fact that "the Narratives of the Great Work of God in Scotland... are blessed to Multitudes in these Provinces and through Germany." It is an exact resemblance to the work in Scotland, and the friends of the work in Holland "tell the World so : Therefore the Opposers do their utmost to bring the Work in Scotland into discredit." (1) In a later chapter we shall see how this challenge called forth a reply from Scotland.

Kennedy becomes lyrical in his tributes to the amazing change that has come over the people affected by the revival ; ignorance was being dispelled and the Scriptures studied, people "infamous for Brutality, differing little from Hottentots" were now moral and sober ; churches, recently empty were well attended. He is happy to say that violent bodily distresses had ceased and ends : "In a word, the Saxatunian Subjects of this work are made another sort of People than ever they were before... They who don't think that the Spirit of God is truly the Cause of this happy change, ought to tell/

(1) "Short ACCOUNT" pp. 26.

tell us fairly, soberly and rationally what other Cause is proportionate to such blessed Effects." (1)

It would be too much to assert that the revival in Holland was inspired directly from Scotland and would not have occurred had there been no awakening in this latter country. But it is plain that through Kennedy, in his influential position at Rotterdam, the work at Cambuslang and Kilsyth was made to be widely known in the Netherlands, and the literature that came from M'Culloch and Robe could not have failed to inspire many who were also waiting for some such outpouring in Holland.

Both friends and foes of the work in Holland recognised it as being akin to that of Cambuslang in 1742 ; we shall see later that there was considerable interest taken by many in the West of Scotland in it and those who were banded in the Concert for Prayer made mention of this revival in Holland in their intercessions.

We have traced, rather sketchily, the spread of the influence from Cambuslang into the four corners of Scotland, initiating, inspiring, confirming revival movements, and also something of its impact upon Holland.

(1) Kennedy : "Short ACCOUNT &c." pp.30/32.

Previously we have noted how vital was the impact of the awakening in New England upon the whole movement that originated in and associated itself with , Cambuslang. In return, Cambuslang, and all that it stood for contributed generously to the quickening of Spiritual life in New England, especially through the concept of the Concert for Prayer and the religious journalism of Thomas Prince of Boston. This must be noted more particularly later.

CHAPTER NINEDANGEROUS POINTS.

It is now time to examine something of the results that emerged from the revival days at Cambuslang. But before doing so, it seems preferable to notice some of the by-products of the unusual events of 1742 which were not altogether healthy and which, but for the vigilance and authority of the ministerial leaders, might have resulted in disorder and disgrace. Fortunately a very adequate curb was put upon them, and little harm was actually done.

Critics of revivalism have frequently pointed out the close connection between spirituality and sensuality ; the excited state of mind that issues from heightened religious emotions, and the inevitable lack of control, is supposed to throw open the door for sexual licence. There is not the slightest evidence to support such a conclusion with regard to the movement which we are considering. The facts suggest rather the opposite result.

Eroticism there was in plenty - nor is this to be wondered at in a generation that claimed as one of its favourite religious writers James Durham on "The Song". The amorous language of the ancient Hebrew love-idyll had been given a hidden, allegorical meaning, and its ipsissima verba were constantly upon the lips of preachers and people as they sought to express their devotion to Christ.

married

Thus, one young woman of eighteen years of age says :

"when I would sometimes have gone to Bed, I thought I would have had Christ between My arms ; He was a Bundle of Myrrh to Me and sweet to My soul." (1) But this young lady often expresses herself in this fashion. "I was helped to give up my whole sould and Body to him... My Heart was in a flame of Love to him." (2) Highly coloured language, which today would be considered offensive, was the religious fashion among those who crowded to Cambuslang, and we may safely be sceptical of any extreme Freudian interpretation.

There were some attendant circumstances which might have aroused suspicion, especially the fairly common practice of both men and women spending the whole night out in the fields. References are frequent. One young girl of seventeen "lay all night in the Church-yard by my self." (3)

(1) M'Culloch, Mss. - Catherine Cameron, i. 327.

(2) Ibid. i. 335.

(3) Ibid. ii. 474. - Jean Wark.

On another occasion, she, with two other young women, stayed out in the fields praying and singing psalms from 10 o'clock until 6 o'clock in the morning. (1) Young people of sixteen years of age kept late hours, some all night at the manse, others until one o'clock in the morning. Here at least was opportunity for license. ~~and~~ Yet no breath of any such scandal touches the revival movement to bring sorrow to its friends or jubilation to any would-be detractors.

Only once is even the indecorous mentioned in the case-histories. One young married woman of twenty-three, overjoyed by a sense of relief after her sore distress, "could not forbear getting up...and taking the Minister in my arms and crying O My Dear Minister, and then shaking hands warmly with all the company. (2) M'Culloch himself has deleted this phrase before sending out the story for editing.

With this type of criticism in mind, the records of the Presbytery of Hamilton for the ten years 1741/50 have been examined with care. During this period there were 83 cases of presbyterial discipline for sexual offences: 25 from Hamilton, 16 from Avendale, 13 from East Monkland, but only one case from Cambuslang - and he was the servant of M'Culloch's persistent adversary, Hamilton of Westburn!

(1) M'Culloch MSS.11.479

(2) Ibid: Mary Mitchell, i. 100.

One charge laid specifically, and with slightly more warrant, against the converts was that of "idleness and neglect of civil affairs". M'Culloch himself speaks of "numbers of idle boys in Glasgow, apprentices and others, who...came often out to Cambuslang, as they pretended, to hear and join in prayer in the fields together...and they brought much reproach on the work here, by so often leaving their masters' work, and strolling idly through the fields." Q1

Sir John Clerk of Penicuik wrote to his brother-in-law, Moncrieff, one of the four Succeeding Brethren of 1733, finding fault with Whitefield for inducing men to neglect their business and "goe a gadding after conventicles as they doe at present", estimating the loss to the nation of one day's work in the week at "eight millions (2) of sixpences."

There were certainly some who felt that secular responsibilities, if not irrelevant, were certainly "not the better part". One who lost her situation made no secret of her delight, "thinking I would have the greater liberty to come to the Preachings at Cambuslang." (3) Webster deletes this passage, with the marginal comment "as giving some Continence to the Charge against the Subjects of this work as if they were bad servants."

(1) Kilsyth Narrative. 1789 edn. pp.300/301.

(2) Clark of Penicuik : His Memoirs. 1676/1755 .S.H.S. p.248. In this same letter he says "I wish you would only imitate him in the main thing - to wit, in a peaceable charitable disposition."

(3) M'Culloch MSS.1.53 . Anne Wylie.

Many must have been taxed by the long distances they walked to the services and the late hours at which they left Cambuslang. A boy of fifteen " was enabled to walk home with a Comrad to My Fathers House about five Miles of way from that place, about Sun rising

(1)
Next Morning." Another, this time a young woman, spent all night in the fields with a companion, talking and praying. Alas, the next

entry says so much: "Next day I intended to have spent all next night in prayer ; But when night came I fell asleep." (2)

These people were but human after all! An aged widow of 65 writes :

"For six weeks I was oblidge to leave off everything by which I us'd to win My bread, and I could not apply My self to any Worldly business at all." (3)

Repeatedly the story is told of lack of sleep, no appetite, of fasting, once for sixty hours, of weariness and exhaustion. The leaders however were well aware that a price had to be paid for such maltreatment of the body - and paid in other than physical coin. One girl of eighteen went for two months with little sleep and ate very little too "for meat would not go down with me then... But hearing some People telling me, Satan would take the advantage of My bodily weakness, occasioned by My fasting, I essayed to take some." (4)

(1) M'Gulloch MSS. 1.173. - Alexander Rogers.

(2) Ibid. 1. 182. - Jean Robe.

(3) Ibid, 1.114. - Sarah Strang.

(4) Ibid. 1.576/1 - Jean Dickieson.

Yet the tasks of the countryside were not seriously hindered by the revival. Dr. Webster in his book "Divine Influence the True Spring of the Extraordinary Work at Cambuslang &c." written in 1742, set himself to answer this accusation, among others. He points out that persons stricken by conscience could hardly be expected to enter wholeheartedly into the business of daily life; "we don't find Paul making Tents when lying on the Ground through (1) the o'erwhelming Influence of the heavenly Vision." Webster affirms that when the violence of the convictions are over, the converts "go in their respective Callings with uncommon Cheerfulness and Alacrity." Revivals are assets, not liabilities!

Meetings for prayer and fellowship had been so organised as not to interfere greatly with duty to employer and family, "of which their present plentiful Crop is sufficient Evidence." (2) As a Parthian shot, he notes that many of the critics can "spend away whole nights" in sensual excesses.

On June 22, 1831, the Rev. John Robertson, minister of Cambuslang wrote a lengthy letter to the press, in which he charged his predecessor, Dr. Meek, with bias in the account he had written of the Cambuslang revival for Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account. (3)

(1) "Divine Influence" p.25.

(2) Ibid. pp.25/26

(3) Edin.Christ.Inst.1831 August pp.552/4 Letter "On the Work at Cambuslang".

A certain John White was the oldest man who remembered the revival, and his wife recalled the beginning of M'Culloch's ministry ; he lived next door to Dr. Meek, who had asked him many questions about parochial interests. He affirmed " that Dr Meek never put to him
(1)
a single question respecting the work at Cambuslang "

Dr. Robertson goes on : " When I came to the parish in 1785... I found one uniform tradition prevail among the old people, who then distinctly remembered the work, viz. that the labour of the parish was never in a more forward state than in 1742 ; and that the poor's roll was far from being enlarged by the events which tookplace in the course of that season. " This was due, to some extent, by making up on later days the hours that had been spent at the services beforehand, and " in harvest, the reapers would, in the evening, have come to church with their sickles on their shoulders. "

In his 1751 Attestation, M'Culloch reveals that the time of the Thursday evening lecture was altered at harvest, and " the reapers
(2)
come running from the fields, where they had been toiling all day." We read of others sitting at their tasks through the night, stealing time from sleep in order to attend meetings.

(1) Edin. Christ. Instr. 1831 p.553 (2) Robe's Narr.1789 ed.p.315

Robe says of Kilsyth that the work done by the labourers in the (1) fields and workshops was better than that known before the revival.

Another dangerous tendency which aroused violent opposition, coupled with the charge of delusion, was the temptation to lay stress upon visions, revealed by some of the converts, and the varying eccentricities that went with such claims. This irrational behaviour was a scandal in an Age of Reason - and there has ever been with most people a deep-rooted dislike of the unlike.

In the sphere of religion, the greatest danger to be avoided in the eighteenth century was Enthusiasm, a term equivalent to our modern Fanaticism, or even stronger. There was sufficient evidence to provide good ground for caution about unbridled subjectivism, and especially the crop of new and extravagant cults which were thrown up in the days of the Commonwealth.

George Fox, with his doctrine of the Inner Light, and his high ethical standards, had gathered around him the earnest Quakers ; so many people were tired of words, and wanted deeds. But the stress on inwardness led, in some cases, to anarchy, and this found its ultimate expression when James Nayler rode into Bristol in 1656, and was hailed as the Messiah by a few excited women. Brought to trial/

(1) Anton : "Kilsyth &c. p.138

trial for blasphemy, he was pilloried, whipped through the streets, branded with a "B" on his forehead, and his tongue bored through. This was an indication of popular repugnance at such claims, and, for most people, it was but a short and easy step from Quakerism to Naylerism.

When the revival began at Cambuslang, it was suspected of this heresy. One visitor was astonished to hear people crying out in time of prayer and "got up again off my knees in great fear." The report she had heard, "that a Quaker spirit was got in among them" seemed to be true, but she soon altered her opinion when she saw⁽¹⁾ them making so much use of their bibles. Another, trembling and overcome with despondency, was sitting in the house when "a Mighty and heart-overcoming power and a sweet light shining into My Mind, brighter than the sun" brought peace. She stayed in this trance-like state for an hour, and then "began to think that that was the way the Quakers were, and what I had met with was not from God,⁽²⁾ but That the Spirit they spake of was come upon me." That thought was enough to thrust her once more into the Slough of Despond.

(1) Sarah Gilchrist, M'C MSS. 11.137

(2) Anne Wylie M'C MSS 1.44/45

Some time later, hearing M'Culloch preach, she surmised that someone must have told the minister about her, for he said : " They that had got a light within them, and joy and trusted therein, more than in Christ's righteousness, were free to shake hands with the (1) Quakers. "

Often we read of trancelike experiences. Alexander Bilsland was so pre-occupied coming home from the Monday thanksgiving service that " when I came to the Close where I live, I mistook it and went (2) into another." Such absent-mindedness is not very dangerous. That same day, he was in such an ecstacy that he " thought My soul would have taken its flight on high...and My body was almost taken off (3) from the place where I was." This state lasted for at least two hours and neither he, nor his wife, had any " mind or need of bodily refreshment. "

Towards evening, he became utterly exhausted and had a vision of dead men's bones, similar to the one narrated by the prophet Ezekiel. These turned into " living Men, walking about Me..strong Country Men with Staves in their hands, runing to Churches...After which I thought there was a sweet and thick white and soft refresh- (4) ing shower, falling about Me...Manna. " Needless to say, all the editors who read these case-histories, delete this story.

(1) M'C MSS 1.55 (2) Ibid. 1.135 (3) Ibid. 1.136 (4) Ibid. 1.137

Mystical tendencies, a conviction that nothing more was needed but immediate illumination by the Holy Spirit, were to be found among the converts. One, who walked from Shotts to Cambuslang, and there found great blessing, went home rejoicing. " I began to think with My self, This blessed Bible that I carry with Me, where everything I now see there is so plain and sweet, will tell me all things I need know : and therefore I need not care tho' I never come back to Cambuslang again, or go to publick Ordinances elsewhere...the Lord
(1)
soon made me sensible of my folly. "

This belief that extraordinary spiritual experiences make normal means of acquiring knowledge unnecessary, a perverted interpretation of the Johannine dictum : " Ye have no need that any teach you ", is a constant attraction to subjects of unusual religious phenomena. Long ago, Tertullian dismissed philosophical enquiry by a pungent epigram : What has Athens to do with Jerusalem ? We already know ; why then try to learn ? We have arrived ; why talk of travelling ? Throughout the centuries, talkers in unknown tongues, dabblers in glossolalia, have been convinced that knowledge divinely given, is far superior to knowledge painfully and assiduously gained by hard endeavour.

(1) Agnes Buchanan M'C MSS 11.193

Some were tempted to believe that prophetic gifts had been given to them. Alexander Bilsland, on the morning when news reached Glasgow of the victory over the French at Dettingen in June 1743, (before anything was known to the public) read from Psalm 18 and thought of Pharoah's drowned host. " I immediatly said to My wife, Surely the Lord had been doing some great things..to our Armies abroad. And within about ane hour after, My wife happ'ning to open the Window...she heard the Musick-Bells ringing...within a little, a Man came and told me that..the Bells were ringing for that victory of Dettingen ; but he did not believe it : I told him I had got notice of it another way and did beleive it. " ⁽¹⁾ Such a story would have greatly impressed many, but Webster and Gillespie in their editing, rejected it completely.

Had the revival leaders not set their faces firmly against these visionary proclivities, the damage would have been irreparable. Religious opinion in Scotland was resolutely bound up with the Bible and Psalter, the Shorter Catechism and definitive written formulas of belief; devotees of the mystic way, hearers of the inaudible and such as saw mysterious lights were regarded with suspicion. Everything must be tested by and brought to the plain words of Holy Writ.

(1) M'C MSS. 1.130/1

During the early years of the eighteenth century, another movement of similar genre to the Quakers had created considerable discussion in Scotland. The Flemish Pietist, Antoinette Bourignon (1616/80), seeking for a fuller spiritual life amid the arid wastes of superstition, formalism and dogmatism, had gained many adherents on the Continent. Her teaching crossed to Scotland and was particularly successful between 1695 and 1715, when "religion was singularly
(1)
dry, harsh and pedantic."

About 1700, her teaching spread around Aberdeen "like a
(2)
devouring fire", and received the enthusiastic support of Dr. George Garden, the close friend of Henry Scougal. In 1701, the General Assembly took Garden to task and deposed him, declaring A.B.'s (the customary designation for Antoinette Bourignon) doctrines to be "impious, pernicious and damnable." This did not check the movement and in 1711, the questions addressed to ordinands of the Church of Scotland, included : "Do you disown all
(3)
Popish, Arian, Socinian, Arminian, Bourignonian and other doctrines ?

As late as April 1738, Francis Hutcheson was "surprised to find some people of very good sense, laymen more than clergy, here not/

(1) MacEwen, A.R. : "Antoinette Bourignon" p.209.

(2) Ibid. p.8. (3) Ibid. p.16 : This question continued to be asked of all intending candidates for the ministry until 1889.

not a little pleased with some of the notions of the foreign mystics ". Hutcheson informs his friend that his curiosity is roused, and he intends to pursue the matter further : " I am going to read Madame Bourignon when I have leisure. " (1)

Opponents of the revivals sought to link them with yet another imported movement which followed closely behind the one inspired by Antoinette Bourignon, the Camizards or French Prophets. These were an extreme group of French Huguenots who had become notorious for their convulsions, prophecies and speaking in tongues.

In November 1710, Wodrow notes : " We have had the Prophets of Stirling and Glasgow...I have heard it remarked, that none of any sense have been gained by them, but either these that wer Bourignian or Jacobites ". Five years later, he says : " The Prophets, as they call them..make some noise with their warnings and agitations...at this time in Stirling and other places, as Aberdeen. " (2)

Little was heard in Scotland of the extravagant emotionalism and physical disturbances associated with the Camizards until the revival began at Cambuslang in 1742. Then indeed, there was plenty for/

(1) M'Cosh : "The Scottish Philosophy" p.463

(2) Anal. 1.309 (3) Anal 11.304

for critics to protest about, and for earnest-minded, sober people to reflect upon. Robe, in his "Preface," takes great pains to disassociate the revivals from the charge of being crypto-Camizaxds.

Appearances often favoured the critics. Routine in church services was frequently interrupted; everything was unpredictable. One Sabbath afternoon in April, Jean Robe was on the brae at Cambuslang. She had, with difficulty, restrained herself from crying out earlier but now became so "overcharg'd with joy, that I could no longer contain; but got up on my feet and cry'd out aloud, That Christ had glorify'd himself...in My redemption...and I took the Minr. and all the people witnesses to it; and holding out My bible, (1) I said...that Bible is witness sufficient." To which Gillespie adds, "The this Passage is Good tis liable to be Abus'd ", and Webster concurs, " I agree^t and so it is marked for deletion.

One young woman " was forced to cry out, before the whole Congregation in The Colledge Church, O Praise the Lord, for I could not contain My self. " (2) Another, whilst sitting in Carmunnock Church, " seeing several persons who usd to mock at the Work at Camb: and the crying out there...begg'd of the Lord, that if it were his holy will, I might be kept from crying out in the Congregation, and becoming an Object of derision to them or others." (3)

(1) M'C MSS. 1.185/6 (2) J. Dickieson; Ibid. 1.599

(3) Agnes More: Ibid. 11.121

But it was all to no purpose, for she cried out during the sermon. Some of these outbursts, especially among the throngs at Cambuslang, may be attributed to mass influence and suggestibility, but there are instances of individuals, away from the centres of agitation and most anxious not to exhibit themselves, doing exactly what they wished to avoid.

One of the dangers inherent in this situation was that many were prone to make the unusual the criterion for earnestness and sincerity, with all the torment that this must have involved for sensitive, introspective minds. One young man " Never cry'd out in publick, ..but hearing so many cry out, I have suspected My exercise was not so deep as it should. " (1) Another, this time a woman, confesses that her " Convictions and sense of sin...were not so sudden and violent as with some others...and would have wish'd to have been put to a Necessity of crying as others did. " (2) Obviously, the agitations became associated, among the converts at least, with a spiritual aristocracy, although the unbelievers derided.

M'Culloch, looking back from 1751, sums up his own attitude in this matter : " As to outcries, in the time of public worship, it is best to avoid extremes. " (3)

(1) Thomas Barclay : M'C MSS. 1.353 (2) Janet Reston : Ibid. 1.599
 (3) Robe's Narrative 1789 ed. p.306.

On the ~~other~~^{one} hand, hearers should not give vent to their feelings, if they could possibly avoid doing so, for " they mar the attention of others, and their own, to the word of God's grace." Ministers should beware of trying to excite their listeners to such behaviour. On the other hand, those who can listen with composure should not judge harshly those who cannot contain themselves. M'Culloch points out that some who endeavoured to refrain from crying out in 1742, " fell a bleeding at mouth or nose...for a considerable time. "

These unusual demonstrations did however serve some useful purpose in arousing interest and curiosity throughout the countryside. They also served to impress some with the need for serious reflection about their own spiritual condition. Janet Lennox worshipped with the Seceders in Glasgow, and first came to Cambuslang on a Thursday in March 1742, out of curiosity, as she owns. She heard sermon, " both from the tent, and at night in the Kirk, but was not touch'd with what I heard. I was however somewhat affected to hear and see severals crying out in distress in time of Sermon and after in the Manse...all the way almost as I went home that night to Glasgow, that word haunted my thoughts, We
(1)
have seen strange things today. "

(1) M'C MSS. 11.524

Dr. Meek speaks of the sermons during the revival as being addressed " especially to the passions of fear and hope," and implies that much of the distress arose from " dread of everlasting punishment." (1) Too much has been made of this criticism that people were frightened into piety through lurid descriptions of hell. Not that there was no appeal to such ideas. The preachers at Cambuslang believed in a literal hell, with all its torments, and, thus believing, were too much in earnest not to warn their hearers of imminent danger. And they were understood by many.

A twenty-one year old man at Cambuslang one evening, " thought I saw hell as it were at a distance from Me, as a pit where the Wicked were frying, and the Devils going among them." (2) This is disallowed by the editors. A boy of fifteen, before he fainted away, " thought I saw the flames of hell coming up to Me. " (3) One young woman, with her breath almost taken away by the smell of brimstone, " took it to be the smell of the lake of fire and brimstone in the bottomless pit. " (4)

But in spite of this, there is abundant evidence that fear was not, for many, the strongest motive for their state of distress. Often they state categorically that they " had no dread of hell "; probably frequent repetition had dulled the edge of this stimulus.

- (1) Old Stat. Acc. v.273 (2) John Wier : M'C MSS. 1.309
 (3) Alexander Rogers : Ibid. 1.172
 (4) Margaret Shaw : Ibid. 11.148.

What melted down many was not the thought of rewards or punishments, but the love of Christ. " The awful terrors of the Law..had very little effect upon me : but what then affected me most was the sweet and gracious offers of Christ ", says one of the converts. (1)

On the first Thursday in April 1742, one listener heard M'Culloch say : "Those that loved God servd him out of free choice...and would do so tho there were no rewards or punishments hereafter." (2)

For some, threatenings had the opposite effect from that desired. " In hearing of threatnings, I always find my heart turn harder, but in hearing of the Love of Christ and his Death, my heart is melted down," says one young woman. (3) This time, from a young man : " When I read my Bible and meet with the Threatnings there, I am not at all moved by them : but when I meet with the Promises, I find my heart melted with love and joy. " (4)

Peculiar physical and mental phenomena were sometimes associated with the subjects of the revival. One youth of nineteen "lost all power of walking My self..was not able to speak or scarce to draw my breath...I stayed all night in Camb L " (5) A young woman " fell into such a sweat, that one might have wrung my gown..as if it had been drawn thro' the water. " (6)

(1) M'C MSS.11.139 (2) Mrs Baillie:Ibid.11.575 (3) Ibid. 11.153
(4) Ibid. 11.164 (5) Robert Shearer. Ibid: 11.289(6) Margaret Boyle. Ibid : 11.18

Margaret Clerk, 42 years of age, declared, " I have born several children ", but her pains under spiritual convictions were, in her judgment, equally severe." If I had not got my Cloaths loosed when I found my Side rising, I had been in some hazard of my life....
(1)
all sore and pain'd as if bruised by beating. "

Some of the strange physical results accompanying the revival must have created fresh social problems and tensions within some homes. One wonders what were the repercussions of such an experience as that told by Janet Barry, the wife of a Rutherglen carter. After family prayers, she " was made to roar out twice in hideous and terrible manner... not like a human voice. " Her frightened husband ran out to call in the neighbours, and they had to hold her, for she " was all like to Shake to pieces with
(2)
trembling. "

She goes on to speak of a terrible thirst that " made me drink water much and oft ", and of a deep loathing for her own body, so that she " could not endure My Husband should come near me. " Often she detected a smell, " like the Stinking Smell of hair when it is burning, which I took to be the Smell of the
(3)
bottomless Pit. "

(1) M'C MSS. 11.453 (2) Ibid. 11.91 (3) Ibid. 11.94

As we might expect, there were also the feeble and unbalanced of mind present at Cambuslang, who found much in the excitement to fire their fancies. Some sat at home, hearing voices although no one could be seen, or ^{were} startled by ringing bells and beating drums. The devil was never far away. One morning, before daybreak, Jean Hay " saw something like a Brown Cow with a White Face, look'd in at Me ". It could be none other than the devil. ⁽¹⁾ Another, under terror, saw Satan, " whom I tho't I saw at the side of the bed as a rough tautie dog " ⁽²⁾ A neighbour who was called in to console her pointed out that the night was ordained for sleep but what would he think of the revival that produced such fantasies ?

Amid so much that was curious, it is little wonder that one of the ministers in Lanarkshire, Mr. Lining, told a convert : " If this be the way of the working of the Spirit of the Lord, it is Strange. " ⁽³⁾ The peculiar aberrations that appeared with the revival left behind a legacy of unbalanced extravagance to bedevil the future.

Surely it is not without relevance that most of the leaders, and many of the strange participants in the Buchanite delusion of 1784, when a company of men and women forsook homes and occupations to follow Mrs Buchan, this female Moses, this " Woman clothed with the/

(1) M'C MSS. 1.256 (2) Isobel Matthie. Ibid. 1.522
 (3) Ibid. 1.276

the Sun ", into another Promised Land, should have come from some of the revival centres of 1742 ?

The motley procession started from Irvine, and consisted mainly of members of the congregation of the Rev. Hugh White, the first minister of the Relief Church in that town. He was a native of St. Ninians in Stirlingshire. Several others who joined this fantastic experiment in communism from from Muthill, including the last surviving member of the sect, Andrew Innes. (1) Irvine, St. Ninians and Muthill -- each place strongly influenced by the 1742 revival.

John Barclay, the founder of the Berean Church, was born at Muthill in 1734, and spent his early impressionable years amid the unusual atmosphere of the revival in that place. (2)

Andrew Moir, who became the Seceding minister at Selkirk in 1758, was " expelled and extruded from the University " of Edinburgh, "as being the author of a tract, charging his fellow-students with impious principles and immoral practices ". He was also a native of Muthill. (3)

(1) Vde "The Buchanites from First to Last"-J.Train ; Cannonon : "History of the Buchanite Delusion "

(2) Vde " The Berean Church" J.Campbell, art. S.C.H.S. Records, vi.135ff ; also D.N.B. iii.164/6

(3) Small : "History of the U.P. Congs. ii.441

Turning to yet another of the charges laid against the revival, we are told that it bolstered up false hopes of salvation and tended to foster spiritual pride ; the converts were " vain and self-conceited. " The temper of the times may easily be gauged by the title of a series of sermons preached in 1739 by a well-known English divine, Dr. Trapp : " The Nature, Folly, Sin and Danger of being Righteous Over-Much. " Why could not these people at Cambuslang believe and behave as other folk did ?

There is however, very little indication of any boastfulness; instead, we find hesitation to make definite claims to be converted, self-abnegation and, as is often said, " the fear of a false hope ". M'Culloch and his colleagues, by their own words and spirit, set the standard and strove to maintain it. In his 1751 Attestation, he desired " that the entire glory of the revival should be given to God whose work it was. " Several eminent ministers had helped, both by preaching and conversation with those in trouble, but "ministers are but instruments...no praise was due to the rams'-(1)
horns, though Jericho's walls fell down at their blast."

James Jack closes his account by asserting, " I can lay claim to assurance of God's Love, and peace of conscience, and joy in the Holy Ghost ; but am a little in the dark as to increase of Grace ; tho' it may be, if it were explained to Me, I might also lay Claim to that. " (2)

All the four editors protest at this. Webster and Willison agree that " There is something visionary in this man's experience " and suggest that it be not published. Ogilvie concurs and Gillespie adds that should it be published, " it would do hurt ". There was " not the Humility and Self-Denial one would Wish : and Expect where extraordinary Attainments are pretended. "

Occasionally there are hints of censoriousness, ever the besetting sin of the righteous. Jean Hay heard Mr Steel of Dalserf preach at the Bothwell sacrament " in such a legal strain, that by the time he had done, my heart was as dead as a stone. " ⁽¹⁾ At another time, " sitting in the Kirk thinking on heaven...as soon as Mr. Steel came up to the pulpit, whenever I saw his face...these thoughts instantly vanished...I fell into great distress and was streightway carried out of the Kirk ". Hearing Steel in the afternoon, she "fell into the old confusion again ", but resolved to hear him out "with much pain of heart ". His text : "Well reported of for good works", was " pressed, if I mistake not, in such a legal strain : that there was little or nothing of Christ in the Sermon. " ⁽²⁾

The four editors are unanimous about deleting this also; they were unwilling to have their brethren in the ministry so censured ; but the point of view so represented must have engendered strife.

(1) M'C MSS. 1. 265

(2) Ibid. 1. 274/5

In the main, however, the converts were far too busy fault-minding in themselves to go fault-finding in others ; usually their stories are told with reluctance and reserve. Thus one is " most of all
 (1) afraid of Pride " ; another has a great fear " that I may be soft
 (2) to My self and fall back into my former ways." The minds of many are expressed in such a phrase as : " I have no assurance for ordinary of Heaven and Salvation ; but... I am not without some hopes
 (3) of it : Only I am afraid of a false hope ". One young man marks the change in his attitude thus : " Formerly I went away from a Sermon...How well he preach'd ! but now, I oft go away with that,
 (4) How ill have I liv'd. "

This uncertainty about personal salvation is often found along with very definite claims to some transforming experience. So we read of one who " cannot pretend to a stated Assurance, that I am in a gracious State ; But I would not for a thousand worlds be in the
 (5) State I was " ; another affirms : " My heart is much changed from
 (6) what it was once : but it is not so right as I would have it." A young man writes : " I cannot say certainly whether I am converted or not : but I find a very remarkable change in My spirit & So that in some measure I may say all old things are past away...I do not
 (7) find an inclination too any of these sins I was addicted to before"

- (1) Janet Reston. M¹C. MSS. 1.545 (2) Mary Colquhoun. Ibid 11.352
 (3) Janet Reid Ibid. 1.92 (4) Andrew Falls Ibid. 11.326
 (5) Elizabeth Jackson Ibid. 1.110 (6) Helen Shearer Ibid. 1.473
 (7) James Neil Ibid. 1.519/520

Always present is the fear of trusting to any human effort or merit; salvation must be from God alone, the undeserved, almost unsolicited gift of sovereign grace. Emotion is not decried ; happiness might often be one of the things accompanying holiness. The danger was in the possibility, even the probability, of seeking gifts rather than the Giver. So Margaret Barton concludes : " As for good frames and manifestations of the Love of God, they are very desirable, and what My soul cannot but earnestly pant after and desire more and more of ; yet it is neither the performance of duties nor good frames, nothing either done by me or wrought in me, I desire to rest on as the ground of my hope of the pardon of Sin, peace with God and eternal life...all my hopes of them, I desire to build entirely on what Christ has done and suffered and is still (1) doing in Heaven for his people. "

There were some who put too much reliance upon pleasurable emotions, as Mary Scot, who confessed that " losing my feelings, I (2) lost my Beliving (sic) " but the greater number testify that they have surrendered to Christ as King, irrespective of any thrill ; they were " as willing and desirous to be ruled by his Laws as to (3) be saved by his Love. "

(1) M'C MSS. 11.522 (2) Ibid. 11.241 (3) Agnes Young. Ibid. 11. 598.

It was recognised, more or less clearly, that Christ was the hunger as well as the food ; that he was the goal and the way on which progress could be made towards that goal. John Parker heard Whitefield at Glasgow in September 1741, exhort the people " to come and cast themselves at the feet of his mercy...where never one had
(1)
perished yet " , and found this to be good news.

That very night, in his prayers, he renounced all righteousness of his own and " knowing that I had nothing that was good, and could do nothing but look to that All-fulness treasured up in...the
(2)
Lord Jesus " yielded his life to God. His closing words - and they are also the last entry in M'Culloch's second manuscript volume before his "Finis Coronat Opus" - are well said : " Since that time Sept. 1741, the habitual prevailing bent of my heart is after communion with God in Christ and conformity to him : and tho my heart oftentimes wanders and runs off from God in duty, yet himself knows it, That I am very uneasy when it is so, and that my heart is just like the mariners needle, which tho it may be jogged to the one side and the other ; yet it is never quiet till it point to the North Pole ; so neither does My poor heart ever settle or rest,
(3)
till it fix on God in Christ, and find rest in him. " Perhaps that is as far as Calvinism would wish one to go.

(1) M'C MSS. 11.666 (2) Ibid. 11.667 (3) Ibid. 11.680

M'Culloch reported : " Many attained to the full assurance of
 (1)
 faith " during the revival days. Margaret Shaw of Rutherglen is
 quite explicit on this point. Travelling to Cambuslang, she " essay-
 ed by the way to plead for the Faith of Assurance and the Seal of
 the Spirit and the answer came at length...I had a full assurance
 of My Interest in Christ and of Eternal Salvation by him...And this
 it continued with me... to this day (Janry 21, 1743) I have never
 been left under deadness nor doubt and fears, except for some
 (2)
 little time for a day or two or so. "

Such definiteness is however extremely rare. In spite of
 Whitefield's reiterated exhortation that " it was great presumption
 for any to rest in the faith of Adherence, and not seek after the
 (3)
 faith of Assurance ; few would claim so much. M'Culloch says in
 1751, that when he speaks of those who have persevered since 1742,
 he does not "pretend to determine that all these are converted. "
 Assurance is sometimes given, and that infallibly, " yet this is
 not the attainment of every true believer neither, nor perhaps of
 (4)
 the greatest part of believers." Willison had said in his sermon
 at Cambuslang on the communion Sabbath that " the believer had to
 climb to heaven between the two sharp rocks of presumption and
 (5)
 despair. "

(1) Robe's Narr. 1789 ed.p.297 (2) M'C MSS. 11.154 (3) Ibid. 11.513
 (4) Robe's Narr. 1789 ed.p.310 (5) M'C MSS. 11.385

Herein lies one of the major differences between the revival in Scotland and the contemporary Methodist revival in England, led by John Wesley and his colleagues. In the north, the Calvinistic emphasis upon the Sovereignty of God, Election and Final Perseverance stressed something given, unconditionally and absolutely. Since the recipient played no part in this transaction, he could never know whether he had fulfilled any pre-requisite conditions, There were, in fact, none to fulfil !

Wesley, with his Arminian background, believed that the good news he proclaimed was for all, " outcasts and sons of men " everywhere ; he spent his days " Offering Christ to the people ", as his Journal tells us so often. Salvation was a gift, only needing to be taken ; never deserved, it could none the less be appropriated. Assurance came, when the " Spirit witnesseth with our spirit. "

Out of this evangelism was born the central Methodist doctrine of Assurance, creator of such care-free abandon of joy. It was extremely unlikely that any Calvinist could sing,

" My God, I know, I feel Thee mine, " or

" Now I have found the ground wherein,
Sure my soul's anchor may remain," or

" And my heart it doth dance at the sound of his Name. "

And to have sung such words as -

" That sinner am I,
Who on Jesus rely,
And come for the pardon God cannot deny "

would have seemed at best, presumption ; at worst, blasphemy.

But thus did the Methodists make music and turned England into a
" nest of singing birds. "

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CHAPTER TENRESULTS : INDIVIDUAL AND IMMEDIATE

From the beginning, the revival at Cambuslang, and the associated movements, aroused both detractors and defenders to vehement zeal ; one of the most bitter controversies known in Scotland emerged. Pamphlets, for and against, were issued in abundance, following each other in hasty succession.

(1)

(2)

There were three main groups of opinion, says Dr. Meek. Its supporters, " the high party of the Church of Scotland ", ascribed the revival to the operations of the Holy Spirit. Opponents, like the Seceders and other extremists, denounced the whole movement as of diabolical origin, a " delusion of Satan, attending the present awful work upon the bodies of men, going on at Cambuslang." The " Moderate party ", to which Meek belonged, discounted all supernatural explanation, attributing the unusual incidents to natural causes. " We are disposed", says he, " to imitate the actions of others. "

(1) In the New Stat. Acc. vi.428, there are listed 58 different books and pamphlets on the subject, all except seven having been written before 1751 - and the list is by no means complete.

(2) Old. Stat. Acc. v.271/4

(3) Act at Dunfermline, July 15, 1742

The strictest set of presbyterians, the Cameronians, obsessed with the supreme necessity to live and die by the Covenants, with their declared antipathy to episcopacy, bustled into the fray with " A Declaration, Protestation and Testimony of the Suffering Remnant of the anti-Popish, anti-Lutheran, anti-Prelatic, anti-Whitfieldian, anti-Erastian, anti-Sectarian, true Presbyterian Church of ~~Scotland~~ Christ in Scotland, published against Mr George Whitefield and his encouragers and against the Work at Cambuslang and other places."

Whitefield was " a limb of ~~Satan~~ anti-Christ...an abjured prelatic hireling " ; his friends and followers were " drinking even the poisonous puddles of Prelacy and Sectarianism...as far forsaken of God, and as far ensnared by Satan " as the Children of Israel dancing around the golden calf. The whole affairs " looks like the time wherein the devil is come down to Scotland."⁽¹⁾

A later Cameronian historian writes : " It is a matter of regret that such declarations were given forth by Christian communities against a work which...is all but universally acknowledged to have been a genuine spiritual awakening. "⁽²⁾

(1) Quoted in Burton : "History of Scotland" 2nd ed. 414/5 f-n.

(2) Hutchison : " The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland 1680/1876. p.179

In addition to the strong criticisms and misrepresentations that were filling the country, M'Culloch also had to face opposition inside the parish, principally from Hamilton of Westburn, the man who had opposed his coming as minister in 1731.

On June 26, 1744, Hamilton complained to the presbytery that M'Culloch was not "preaching regularly in the Kirk", and requested that an ad hoc committee should meet at Cambuslang "that Misunderstandings Might be Removed, the peoples priviledges ascertained and manifold Disorders Rectified". The matter was sent back to him for "More Special Condescensions", but he does not appear to have made his charge any more explicit, for no more was heard of it. (1)

Early in 1749, a Committee of Presbytery reported about its examination of the Cambuslang records, "with respect to the poors money." There were some very slight errors, due to converting Scots money into English, totalling "only to two shillings five pence five twelths sterling in which they have overcharged themselves". It is suggested that "by gone interest be demanded at least every two years and not delayed for twelve years...as in the case of Westburn." They conclude that the management of the poors money by the minister and session of Cambuslang "appear to us careful and honest." (2)

(1) Hamilton Pres. Recs.

(2) Ibid. Jan. 31, 1749

Hamilton of Westburn came back again to the attack, bringing an action against M'Culloch and his session, which came before the Court of Session in July 1752. He protested about certain payments from the poor's money : " In 1742 there was an article of two guineas for having a field to preach in, an article to a Constable to keep the peace and 17 shillings for repairing a dyke that the congregation had broken. "

To these charges, it was answered that " the church could not hold the tenth part " of the crowds that resorted thither and " there was no other remedy than to preach in the fields " ; " the poor, instead of losing, were great gainers by that expedient, in so much that their stock, from £500 Scots, that it was before 1742, is now increased to £3000 Scots."

Lord Elchies, from whose record of judicial cases we learn these facts, comments that " Some of the Lords highly condemned the practice of preaching in the fields and proposed that we should put a mark of disapprobation upon it " ; he objected that this was ultra vires, and that their only concern was with the poor's money. (1)
The Court of Session gave a majority verdict in favour of Hamilton.

(1) "Decisions of the Court of Session : Patrick Grant of Elchies one of the Senators of the College of Justice." ii. 238/9

It is useful to remember that while M'Culloch was spending himself in forwarding the revival in his parish and elsewhere, he had to face this interminable and petty persecution by litigation.

What, it may be asked, were the results of this revival ?

Dr. Meek, by no means in sympathy with the aims, methods and results of the awakening under his predecessor wrote : " The Cambuslang work continued for about 6 months, that is, from the 18th. February till the second communion. Few or none were convicted (1) or converted after this last period. "

It is certainly true that many of the most unusual features of those stirring days, physical convulsions, loud outcries and similar phenomena disappeared - the leaders of the movement had never set great store by them, and would have preferred to be without them from the start. They were much more of a liability than an asset. Also, the attendances at communion in Cambuslang decreased year by year, although they still remained very large, greatly exceeding the numbers before 1742. M'Culloch supplies the figures. They " used to be but about 400 or 500, before 42...at the second sacrament...in 42..was reckoned 3000 ; in 43, about 2000 ; in 44, about 1500 ; in 45, about 1300 " (2)

(1) Old Stat Acc. v.270

(2) Robe's Narr. 1789/ ed. p.297

But it would be quite misleading to assume that the results of the revival were as ephemeral, or negligible, as Meek suggests. In M'Culloch's case-histories, there are accounts of conversion as late as 1748. But there were many who had disappointed. Whitefield, who kept in constant touch with his friends in Scotland, wrote on July 23, 1748 : " As for poor Scotland, what shall I say... Awakening times are always like the Spring. Many blossoms appear, and perhaps but little solid fruit is produced after all. O that the Lord of the harvest, if I am to see Scotland again, may send me to call some backsliders to return." (1) Not an encouraging letter !

Later that same year, he revisited Scotland, and on September 28th., wrote from Glasgow : " Great multitudes in Scotland flock to hear. Some of my spiritual children, I hear, are gone to heaven, and others come to me, telling what God did for their souls when I was here last." (2) On October 1st, he wrote : " Many come to me, telling what the Lord did by me the last time I was in Scotland, and also the time before." (3)

Eight days later, he wrote from Cambuslang itself : " At present I am in the place where the great awakening was about six years ago. The fruits of it yet remain." (4)

(1) Letters 11.154 (2) Ibid. 11.184 (3) Ibid. 11.189
 (4) Ibid. 11.191. Italics mine.

Perhaps the best evidence as to the extent of the movement, and its value - so far as statistics can take us - is to be found in the closing chapter of Robe's "Narrative &c" ; "Concerning the perseverance of those who appeared to be hopefully changed, during this extraordinary season of grace. " (1)

After observing that many had warned him in 1742 not to be too hasty in approving the work of the revival, or in asserting that people had been converted, Robe states his present purpose of supplying evidence about the results of that awakening. Such a statement as was now offered had been long delayed, and that partly by design. Time tests all things - and nine years had now gone.

His mind had been made up by an entreaty sent by a minister in Holland. There were many false reports circulating in Great Britain and Holland, viz. " that this work in Scotland was all enthusiasm, that it is come to nothing, and that the subjects of it are fallen away and become worse than they were before. " (2) These rumours were being used as a stick with which to attack a similar awakening in the Dutchy of Guelderland, to which reference had been made previously. Hence this " ori de coeur " from Holland for the facts about the perseverance of the converts in Scotland, " to publish something to shew that the blessed work at Kilsyth, Cambuslang, &c. was not abortive ; but the happy fruits thereof endure. "

(1) Robe's Narr. 1789 ed. pp.265 ff. (2) Ibid. p.268

Robe sets down an account concerning his own parish, with corroboration from his session ; there are similar declarations from other ministers about their respective parishes. Although the attestation by M'Culloch concerning Cambuslang is given at the end, the last item in the book, we shall reverse the order and look at it first.

M'Culloch underlines the fact, that in view of the opposition and misrepresentation, he had felt it to be his duty to make " particular enquiry " both about residents in Cambuslang and those from elsewhere, who had been awakened during the revival. Quoting the parable of the Sower (Matt.xiii), he owns frankly, and with sorrow, that a considerable number had backslidden since 1742. Discounting these, and even those who had lapsed but were now anxiously seeking restoration, M'Culloch goes on to speak of those " who bring forth fruit. "

" I do not talk of them at random, nor speak of their number in a loose, general and confused way ; but have now before me, at the writing of this, April 27, 1751, a list of about four hundred persons, awakened here at Cambuslang, in 1742, who from that time, to the time of their death, or to this, that is, for these nine (1) years past, have been all enabled to behave..as becometh the gospel"

(1) Robe's Narr. 1789 ed. p.308

The kirk session, in a confirmatory word, added that " seventy out of this four hundred lived in this parish." Even this figure of four hundred was really an under-statement, for in the returns, " there were no accounts sent up from the West country ", i.e. Kilmarnock, Stewarton, Irvine and other places in Ayrshire, " where we know great numbers of the subjects of the late work lived, and do live. " (1)

Dr. Robert M'Culloch, speaking of the revival during his father's ministry, makes clear that he could " not possibly have the least remembrance of any thing that occurred at that period " - he was only born on July 21, 1740. " Yet having spent about twenty years of my life in that parish, I have had the best opportunity of strictly inquiring into facts." He agrees with Dr. Webster, whom he cites, that faith clearly shows itself by works, and adds that he has seen with pleasure the happy fruits of the ministry of the gospel " in the place of my nativity." (2)

A later minister of Cambuslang paid tribute to the converts of 1742, some of whom were alive when he began his ministry, for they " gave evidence, by the piety and consistency of their conduct of the reality of the saving change that had been wrought in their lives." (3)

- (1) Robe's Narr. 1789 ed. pp.318/320
- (2) M'Culloch "Sermons" Preface 8/10
- (3) Robertson in New Stat. Acc. vi.427

Before we examine in fuller detail further evidence of the spiritual and ethical results of the revival at Cambuslang, we might look at some of the attestations given in response to Robe's enquiry of 1751. First of all, Kilsyth itself.

Robe had issued an attestation about Kilayth in an earlier phase ; on Sept. 5, 1742, the kirk session, fourteen in all, with five of the heritors, headed by Robert Graham of Thomraver, men (1) " who have Access to observe the daily Conversation of the People," paid tribute to the transformation within the parish. Sins of body and disposition had been swept away. Added weight was given to this testimony by Alexander Forrester, Bailie-Depute of Kilsyth, who evidenced the new spirit of friendship now existing by the fact that " there hath been no pleas before our Court for these several Months past : Whereas formerly a great many were brought before me every week. " (2)

In the first issue of his " Christian Monthly History ", November 1743, Robe wistfully compares the present with a year before ; no longer could he talk of harvesting, for it was " only like the gleaning grapes when the vintage is done, and as the shaking of an olive tree, two or three being in the uppermost bough."

(1) Graham was the first man to cultivate the potato commercially in Scotland. Vde Anton : "History&c. p.157"

(2) Robe's Narr. 69/71

The years had brought a winnowing and sifting, and in 1751, Robe acknowledges that some have lost their first love. The records reveal serious problems within the session itself.

John Forrester demitted office as an elder for "several sins
(1)
...particularly Drunkness and Swearing" On May 20, 1745, it was agreed unanimously to depose from the eldership James Rennie, appointed treasurer only two months before, for sexual offences with his maidervant.
(2)
Alexander Forrester was "dropped" for not attending session meetings, "alleged Drunkenness, swearing and other irregularities" on July 9, 1748; two elders were appointed to interview him, and to warn him "not to meddle with any service at the Communion for this Time."
(3)
On June 21, 1748, William Adam, a deacon, demitted office because "the Session would not grant him
(4)
liberty to run uncustomed goods", especially spirits.

There were others who must have brought heart-ache to Robe, such as James Grindlay, "son to Mary Brown Innkeeper in Kilsyth", who, within the space of two months was before the session as the putative father of Mary Chambers' child, for assaulting her with fist and foot, for blaspheming before the session itself, and causing a riot on New Year's Fair night by knocking down several men. Finally, "he, refusing, said he would compear no more."

(1) Kil. K.S.R. Dec.10, 1744 (2) Kil. K.S.R. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid
(5) Ibid. Dec.1, 17, 1749; Jan.7, 28, 1750

Even after all this, Robe still delayed to read the process of the Lesser Excommunication passed upon Grindlay to the congregation, because the culprit had made promises to him to do better.

But the picture was not wholly dark and when Robe came to assess the situation in 1751, he found cause for satisfaction that there were "also some who continue not only living but lively christians." (1) Some of the societies for prayer were defunct, but this could be explained partly by such changes as marriage, removal to work in other districts and amalgamations of societies.

He submitted to his kirk session a list of people converted in the 1742 revival who had been blameless in their lives from that time. All who had fallen into gross sins were omitted, even though they had repented and reformed; the session queried this decision, pointing out that some of those omitted were now in good standing and regular communicants. "But", says the cautious Robe, "I chuse rather to lessen the number of the persons attested, to cut off occasion of cavilling and objection from those, who desire and wait for it." (2)

The minute of the Session runs thus :-

Manse of Kilsyth, March 19th. 1751

THE Session, being met for prayer, according to a former appointment; the minister read unto them the names of above an hundred persons/

(1) Robe's Narr. 1789 ed. p.274 (2) Ibid. p.276

persons who were the most of them brought under NOTOUR SPIRITUAL CONCERN, in the years 1742 and 1743 ; and of whom he had good grounds to entertain good hopes.

The under-subscribing members of the session, elders and deacons, hereby testify and declare, That all those of them, who are now alive, have been, from year to year, admitted by the kirk-session to the Lord's table, since their first admission, either in these fore-mentioned years, or since ; and, in so far as is known to the said members, they have had their conversation such as becometh the gospel ; as also, that four or five of the said list, who are now removed by death, behaved until their ~~removal~~ said
(1)
removal, as became good christians...."

Five of the session appended their signatures on this day, and ten others who were absent, added their agreement on March 24, 1751.

John Warden, minister at Perth, but formerly at Campsie, said of his erstwhile parishioners, that not above four of those whom he had known to be under concern, had fallen from their profession up to the time of his leaving. Of the many others he writes, " I could not but entertain the highest opinion, and the greatest
(2)
hopes...In a word, their devotion is exemplary."

(1) Kil. K.S.R. March 19, 1751

(2) Robe's Narr. 1789 ed. p.279

John Erskine, minister of Kirkintilloch in 1751, wrote two lengthy letters to Robe, paying tribute to his predecessor, James Burnside, who had been minister there during the days of revival. " No man had less of a turn to Enthusiasm...None ever charged him with endeavouring in his pulpit performances to work up people. " On the contrary, he " used the utmost pains to discourage...noisy religion, probably, " adds Erskine, " his caution carried him too far. " He goes on to state that it is no wonder if foolish virgins mix with the wise, and tares resemble wheat, but " is it a not matter of wonder...that so great a proportion of the awakened, (1) should not only hold on their way, but wax stronger and stronger."

On February 22, 1751, Erskine writes again : " My sentiments of the religious concern in this place, are the same, as when I wrote you April 1748. " He praises the spirit and behaviour of his congregation in generous terms, and comments on their teachable disposition, even when he had thought it to be his duty to oppose some of their favourite opinions and practices. " A thorough acquaintance with these people would effectually remove the (2) prejudice of fair and honest minds. "

(1) Robe's Narr. 1789 ed. pp.281/2, Letter of April 25, 1748

(2) Ibid. p.285

On February 26, 1751, William Halley, minister at Muthil wrote,
 " fully persuaded that the gracious fruits of that glorious work...
 abide. " Six of the converts had died " giving a notable testimony
 to the truth and reality of religion. " If trees could be judged
 (1)
 by their fruits, then many had received a saving work.

John Gillies, minister of the College-kirk in Glasgow, told his
 people : " I know there are some melancholy Instances of backsliding.
 ..But that the Revival which was at Cambuslang, and other Places in
 this Country in 1742, has come to nothing, has not been followed
 with any Good Fruit in Peoples Lives...you and I both know this to
 be otherwise. " He then goes on to give instances of awakening
 (2)
 within his congregation in that present year of 1751.

Twenty-five members of the Session in Glasgow wrote to Robe on
 March 26, 1751, " anent the reputed subjects of the late revival of
 religion in anno 1742. " Judging from personal knowledge and
 credible information, they declare firmly that " goodly numbers of
 them, both in town and country...give evidence of their persever-
 (3)
 ance. " From October 1743 onwards, the increase in communicants
 had remained steadily at " about twelve hundred. "

(1) Robe's Narr. 1789 ed. p.287

(2) Gillies Exhortations &c Feb.16, 1751 (Vol.11.No.1. p.11)

(3) Robe's Narr. 1789 ed. p.290

The increase was not merely in quantity, the quality of the new communicants was far better. John M'Laurin, another Glasgow minister declared that this " must far surpass any thing of that kind known here these twenty-eight years, that I have been a minister in this place... and in the memory of any now living in it. " (1)

From the earliest days of the revival in 1742, it had been well understood that not all would endure to the end. M'Laurin wrote to Mr Cooper in New England : " About the Beginning of this Revival, in conferring and reasoning about it ; it was sometimes argued that tho' only the half or third part...should evidence Sincerity by Perseverance ; it ought to be esteemed an extraordinary Instance of the Success of the Gospel. " (2) After nine years, there was much for which M'Culloch, Robe and their brethren could give thanks.

We can now look a little more closely at the changes wrought in the lives of some who gave details to M'Culloch. In his 1751 Attestation, he summarises his reasons for believing that many of his people are converted, giving both negative and positive arguments. The converts are by no means free of common human faults and frailties ; nor are their experiences of equal merit. In some, holiness shines so clearly in their lives, as to provide a " moral certainty/

(1) Robe's Narr. 1789 ed. p.293

(2) Prince : Christian History 1743, p.353

degree certainty, or very high degree of probability... concerning the goodness of their state." Others offer evidence of somewhat less power, although a charitable judgment would include them among the converted. Every one on M'Culloch's list was vouched for by some minister, elder or private christian of well-known character, (1) " who have known them, and their manner of life, from 1742 "

He singles out some obvious changes. Cursers and swearers spoke with new tongues ; those who once spent much of their time in taverns, drinking and playing cards until the morning, now found pleasure in their own homes. " The formerly drunken or tipling sot, that used to lie abed till eight or nine in the morning, till he slept out last night's drunkenness, for these nine years, gets up at three or four in the morning, and continues at reading his Bible and other good books, secret prayer and meditation, till seven or eight o'clock in the morning, that he calls his household together (2) for family-devotions. "

Wives formerly difficult to live with, now abide in much love and peace with their husbands ; should any husband storm against his wife, she hurries to her knees in another room, "asking of God forgiveness and a better temper to the husband, and patience and (3) meekness to herself. "

(1) Robe's Narr. 1789 ed. pp.308/313

(2) Ibid. p.314

(3) Ibid. p.314

The springs of generosity were flowing freely from what had been the stony hearts of selfish and worldly-minded people.

M'Culloch ends with characteristic caution, warning any named in the list of "persevering subjects" against self-confidence and pride. "What was Judas the better for being in the list, and in such repute among the others? Men may approve thee, and God
(1)
condemn thee."

Among these persevering subjects, there were many whose stories were preserved by M'Culloch, and they reveal how thorough-going was the reformation. They had found in the revival the power to transform the individual and thereby to transmute society. We shall finish this chapter by examining some of the individual results produced by the work at Cambuslang.

Some tell of great changes in outward behaviour. Robert Hamilton was a 29 years old weaver from the little village of Anderson, near Glasgow. Vexed with suicidal thoughts, he was a drunkard who had been publicly censured for immorality. "I listed my Self to be a Soldier, but was bought off again." Sinking into bankruptcy and ruin by neglecting his business, he visited Cambuslang. Moral degradation and social failure were done away and a
(2)
new sense of sufficiency and responsibility came to birth.

(1) Robe's Narr. 1789 ed. p.317

(2) M'C MSS. 11. 75/82.

There are others, from many social groups, to set besides him. One of the baillies in Hamilton, full of remorse over "playing at
(1)
Cards and drinking to excess " ; an old soldier aged 51, now a collier in Cambuslang, tells of a neglected childhood and later
" addicted to all Evil, and indulg'd my self in the open practice
(2)
of many vices;" a girl of 17 who confesses that " her former life was but very coarse...scarce a sentence without profane swearing,
(3)
and lying was habitual to me. "

Thomas Foster of Ridley Wood, a man of 40 years of age, tells of " how he began to thrive very fast in the world ". Through a " natural easiness of temper " he was drawn into many harmful ways. When a boy, two men had offered him a penny each if he would drink a cup full of ale, and after that, he " learned to drink better ". Excessive drinking brought rapid degeneration, until he " wrought each lawful day of the week and drank every night...day and night
(4)
without sleeping any at all till Saturdays night. "

Foster heard Whitefield and others at Cambuslang, reduced his drinking for a time, but soon lapsed into his former habits. He would have been written off as one whom the revival failed to help.

(1) Baillie Weir. M'C MSS.11.33

(2) David Logan. Ibid 11.483

(3) Jean Wark. Ibid. 11,471/2

(4) Ibid. 11.51.

But " One day in July 1744, after I had been drinking hard two days and one night, and part of the third day all together without intermission ", he passed through the churchyard at Cambuslang , " stopt a little and look't on a Grave-Stone lying above one I had been acquainted with. " Meditating on this, the certainty of his own eventual death, and the fact of his enslavement to drink, in spite of many struggles to achieve freedom, he decided : "I'll go away to the Minister there, and see if he will say any thing to me that will rouse me and put me from it. "

Finding M'Culloch at dinner, he was invited into the dining-room and given a drink ; when he got it into his hand, he said, " I had little need of drink, for I had been full of drink the day before...both of ale and brandy. " M'Culloch " look'd me broad in the face " and called on all the company to witness this confession. This so distressed Foster, that he ran from the room, troubled at having spoken in this fashion to a minister. Going to a change-house near the manse, he began to drink again and thereafter went from inn to inn, half a dozen or more, seeking to drink away his distress. Eventually, about midnight, he called at the home of
(1)
an elder, where he found help.

(1) M'C MSS. 11. 51/53

There are, however, many other things of value to be noticed in these accounts, besides outward reformation. To many, there came along with conversion the glory of the lighted mind, a fresh appreciation of beauty, a vision of Nature as the vestment of God. Also there was a new sense of moral sufficiency and a warm genuine brotherliness, which reached out to those within the Christian fellowship, and also to that larger environment, as yet not brought into the family of faith.

Many historians have written about religion in Scotland as an oppressive and gloomy thing ; Buckle's caricature is well-known, and the French scholar, Taine, agrees with him to some extent when he says that " it seems as though a black cloud had weighed down the life of man, drowning all light, wiping out all beauty, extinguishing all joy. " A more recent writer, an American, speaking of this period asserts that loveliness was banished and the beauty of holiness blotted out. " From the seventeenth century to the last part of the eighteenth century, he (the Scot) was afraid to enjoy
(1)
anything, even the out-of-doors."

Like all other sweeping generalisations, this says far too much. In this Age of Reason, this Classical Era, before the dawn of Romanticism, there are indications that the revival brought to some/

(1) Notestein : The Scot in History p.177

some a new sense of the value of simple, everyday facts in the world of Nature. One young woman of 32, almost afraid to speak after finding peace in the manse at Cambuslang, told a friend, "my heart was like a bird that had been long in prison in a cage, when it was first let loose...Next morning..everything I look'd at, fill'd me with wonder... the Birds on the trees, I thought, were singing their Creators praise." (1) Another, aged 19, when she "walk-ed in the fields everything looked to Me in another Manner than before." (2)

Jean Hay, aged 26, of " Lismahago" says : " One Night, looking up to the Stars twinkling in the Sky, I began to say within My self, If there be not a God in the Heavens, what could have put the stars there ? and from the stars, I looked down to the spires of grass about Me, and wondered : and from these to My own body." (3) Another young woman from Calder, of the same age, found a message for herself : " One time in the Spring 1743...looking about me and noticing the works of God ; I thought now the grass is Springing, the birds are Singing, all things are reviving after the winter, all things are obeying and praising their Creator, but I, I am daylie and hourly dishonouring him, I am withering and declining in Religion, if ever I had any." (4)

(1) Anne Wylie. M'C MSS. 1.52

(2) Elizabeth Jackson. Ibid. 1.107

(3) Ibid. 1.280

(4) Margaret Barton. Ibid. 11.519

All these witnesses could have sung, with understanding :

" Heaven above is softer blue,
Earth around is sweeter green ;
Something lives in every hue,
Christless eyes have never seen." (1)

In addition to this quickened appreciation of beauty, this aesthetic enrichment, there came also intellectual progress. Latent gifts were discovered ; unrealised capacities were developed. We have already noticed that many of the converts were able to read before 1742 ; there were others who did not even try to learn, until after they had been awakened at Cambuslang.

A young Highlander reveals that he " did not learn to read when I was a Child, nor till I put My self to School, when I was about 18 years of age ; and even then I did not learn Much ; but I am just now (at 28 years of age) gone to school, to learn to read More distinctly." (2) Other cases might be cited, but one more will suffice. Janet Struthers, a married woman of 32, confesses : "I was careless about learning to read till last year(1742) when it pleased/

(1) Jonathan Edwards, that " flinty-minded Calvinist" as one has styled him, tells of a similar feeling to this : " The appearance of everything was altered ; there seemed to be, as it were, a calm sweet cast, or appearance of divine glory, in almost everything. God's excellency, his wisdom, his purity and love, seemed to appear in every thing ; in the sun, moon and stars ; in the clouds, and blue sky ; in the grass, flowers, trees ; in the water and all nature. " (Works 1. 31)

(2) John Medonah. M'C MSS. 1.76.

pleased the Lord to take some dealings with my heart : and then I was much grieved that I had so long neglected to learn to read, and would have given never so much that I had learned to read the Bible : and by applying carefully to learn, I bless the Lord, tho
(1)
I cannot pretend to read it perfectly, yet I can read much of it." So well had she availed herself of her newly-won privilege, that she could find most of the passages of Scripture quoted by the minister, even when he did not mention the actual reference.

Perception and progress were, for some, created by the revival. Purpose too, for the ability to conform to higher ethical standards appeared. A young shoemaker ends his account : " as for My dealings with Men I love plainness and simplicity : and tho' I could sometimes over-reach others, and they not know it ; yet I abhor even the thought of doing so, because it is displeasing and dishonouring to God. "
(2)
Another man, who heard M'Culloch speak on the necessity for restitution, remembered that in his time as an apprentice, he had " kept up to my self some little thing of what I had got for my Master." He became very uneasy and found no rest until he " made offer to him of what I thought was the full value
(3)
of what I had taken, and more. "

(1) M'C MSS. 11.557

(2) Thomas Barclay. Ibid. 1.357

(3) John Parker. Ibid. 11.674.

In the deeper and more vital fellowship created by the revival, contention was swept away and misunderstandings were submerged. We have already seen the unfortunate breach that severed the Cambuslang session in 1740 and how one of the suspended elders, Archibald Fyfe, was reinstated. Several of the converts were employees of Fyfe. There are many references to John Bar, over whom the trouble arose, busy helping in the days of revival.

Often, visitors to Cambuslang were impressed by the warmth of affection and the sense of community found amongst the people.

" Seeing two persons, viz. Sergeant Forbes of Edinburgh and Ingram More of Cambuslang, who had never seen one another before, very lovingly embrace one another, at first sight, " filled Jean Hay (1) with a sense of her own loneliness. She felt like someone outside, looking into the warmth of a home shared by others.

Archibald Smith of Kilbride determined to find out the truth about the revival, and putting his Bible into his pocket, he set off one weekday for Cambuslang. He was convinced that " the Lord was among them, especially by seeing many of them..expressing so much brotherliness and love to one another, instructing and encouraging one another. " (2)

(1) M'C MSS. 1.366

(2) Ibid. 11.442.

Another man, when sitting on the brae in May 1742, listening to M'Culloch, saw his only brother, whom he hated, and " then felt such a love to him, that if I could have got to him at that time, (1)
I would most heartily and lovingly have embraced him. "

This same man seems to have been difficult to live with, for he goes on to tell how, in the middle of the night, he felt impelled to ask forgiveness of his parents, but was diffident to do so as it was one o'clock in the morning. Eventually, he jumped out of bed and went to the other room where they were. " Coming to their bedside, with nothing but My shirt on, all-trembling and shaking, like the leaves of a tree shaken with the wind...beg'd (2)
forgiveness."

Janet Struthers concludes her testimony : " I bear no grudge or ill-will at any in the world. I pray for all, even for Enemies : and earnestly long for the advancement of the kingdom (3)
of Christ. " We shall have occasion in our concluding chapter, to notice this eager out-reaching of so many of the converts, and its implication for evangelism and the growth of the conception of the world-mission of the Church.

(1) James Jack. M'C MSS. 1.499

(2) Ibid. 1. 502/3

(3) Ibid. ii. 571

One cannot read the accounts of these "Cambuslang converts", as they were sneeringly designated by some, without being conscious that something very wonderful had happened to them. Religion had ceased to be peripheral, something attached to the margins of life; now it was inward, focal, dynamic. In spite of many hesitations and qualifications, they were sure of the possibility of communion with a living Saviour, and from that, they derived strength.

One young widow makes it her "constant business to travel betwixt the Redeemers fulness and My Own emptiness." (1) A Glasgow tailor "came oft to Cambuslang" and never came away "without being strengthened to put on new resolutions." (2) The transformation was within. Margaret Borland of Bothwell writes: "Tho the world cannot observe any great alteration in my behaviour from what it us'd to be formerly... yet I find a very great Change in my self, even as great a difference as between Light and Darkness." (3)

The daughter of a Blantyre cooper, Bessie Lyon, declares: "I have no good at all to say of my self... I think I may venture to say this, to the praise of the Lord's free-grace, That I now for these two years past find it better with me when I am at my worst, than ever it was formerly when I was at my best." (4)

(1) Isobel Matthie. M'C MSS. 1.535

(2) Archibald Bell. Ibid. 1.405

(3) Ibid 11. 547

(4) Ibid. 11. 256

We shall end with the account given by Mrs. Baillie, a woman of 45 years of age who visited Cambuslang in April 1742. " From that time to this, Novr. 14, 1743, I have been kept trusting in him : tho I sometimes now and then...fall under clouds and darkness...so far as I remember I have not had any one Doubt or fear of my Interest in Christ. And the Lord has in mercy so sanctify'd and sweetned every Lot I fall into, that nothing now falls amiss to me, because it is the holy will of God...I am now helped to bear with ease and cheerfulness, many tryals that were formerly most afflicting... under which I was often ready to sink. I have now no Cross in the world but a body of sin and death.

So gracious has the Lord been to me ever since, that he never one day leaves me comfortless. Christ is now become all in all to me. I know not how to live without him...I lov'd him for a while, mainly because he has done and suffered so much for me, but now I love him for himself, and because of his own Excellency and loveliness, which he hath discovered to me : the thoughts of Eternity are sweet to me, because then I'll get time enough to praise him and be put in a capacity to do it without any sinful imperfection... I am now afraid of nothing but of offending and dishonouring him by sin.

Death that was a terror to me to think of is now become a pleasure to me : he has been pleas'd (in condescending grace) to make it known to me, that he has taken me (poor deform'd hell-deserving me) for his Spouse... and I now consider Death as a messenger to come and call me home to my Lord And Husband, to be where he is : and, tho' I do not know how matters may alter with me, yet for the present, and for a long time past, the thoughts of Death are as pleasant and delightful to me, as a message would be to a Loving wife to come away home to her Husband." (1)

Here is the authentic mystic note of one who is in touch with the Eternal !

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(1) M'C MSS. 11. 578/9

CHAPTER ELEVENTHE EVANGELICAL PARTY

The last three pages of Robe's " Narrative &c " are taken up with the Attestations of the kirk-session of Cambuslang, dated April 30, 1751, in which the statement of the minister is endorsed, and then some further observations are added. The first of these is :-

" 1. The awakening in 1742, was so far from being a schismatical work, as it has been traduced by opposers, That numbers who had gone into a course of separation and division from their own ministers, and from the communion of the Presbyterian church, established by law in Scotland, returned to their own pastors, and to communion with the national church, acknowledging God was in the midst of her of a truth. And many who were at the very point of deserting the communion of this church, and separating from their own pastors, were kept back from schismatic courses ; and express a most tender regard to all true ministers of Christ, especially to those who were their spiritual fathers in the Lord ; and continue in full communion with this national church to this very day. "(1) We may appreciate the change of emphasis when we recall Hugh Cumming and the deposition of the elders in 1740 !

(1) Robe's Narr. 1789 ed. pp.318/9

One of the most important consequences of the work at Cambuslang was the stopping of a very considerable and growing drift towards the Seceders by some of the most earnest and sincere members of the established church. These people, retained within the fold of that church, became the evangelical nucleus which did so much to leaven it when an Erastian Moderatism was in control of policy. They also have a direct link with the leaders of the 1843 disruption.

Perhaps the gravest criticism we have to make against Dr. Macfarlan, the nineteenth century historian of the Cambuslang revival (and the only other person besides the writer who has consulted the two manuscript volumes left by M'Culloch with any care and spoken of his findings) is that he has made no reference in his book to the effect of the revival upon these sympathisers with the Seceders. Probably anticipating such criticism, he mentions in his Preface, after speaking of the painful controversy between the early Seceders and the friends of the revival in the established church, that " it was thought injudicious to mix up matters of a controversial nature with the historical details of a work believed to be of God, but it was not meant to conceal or suppress them. " (1)

(1) Macfarlan : "Revivals &c. Preface p. v.

Throughout his book, Dr. Macfarlan keeps resolutely before him his declared purpose of seeking to "awaken a thoughtless and sleeping generation." (1) But however excellently the book may serve an hortatory purpose, it is distorting history to omit all mention of a theme running through the major proportion of the testimonies. Did Dr. Macfarlan, writing on behalf of another secession, the Free Church of Scotland, and in 1845, so near to the Disruption, feel that it would be indiscreet to uncover this earlier and similar situation?

It will be necessary for us to retrace our steps. The coming of George Whitefield to Scotland in July 1741, after two years of correspondence with the Erskine brothers and their friends of the Associate Presbytery, put before the Seceders an opportunity and a challenge in the sphere of evangelistic co-operation. Many ministers and members of the established church who had mourned their departure would have rejoiced at the possibility of uniting to support the labours of Whitefield. It is impossible to assess the costliness of the failure of the Seceders to discern and use this occasion. The rift widened all the more afterwards.

Before this time, a certain catholicity had marked the outlook of the Secession leaders. When Ralph Erskine acceded to them in 1737/

(1) Macfarlan : Revivals &c. Preface p.v.

1737, he made it clear that he still considered them to be a part of the established church, witnessing against defections in doctrine and government. He goes on : " By joining with the said brethren, I intend no withdrawing from ministerial communion with any of the godly ministers of this church, who are wrestling against the defections of the times.... I am sensible what a bad tendency division naturally has, and desire to shun all divisive principles and practices. " (1)

It is rightly observed that " there is not one word either of schism or bigotry in these sentences ; how much is there of the spirit of the Christian reformer ! " (2) M'Kerrow owns that these sentiments " were quite in unison with those entertained by all the members of the Presbytery. " (3)

Even as late as August 10, 1740, speaking to his congregation before the communion, Ralph Erskine posits the rhetorical question whether joining with the Seceders implies the obligation never to hear or join again with any in the established Church of Scotland. His reply is categorical and crystal-clear : " I answer, this would, indeed, be a very untender, unmerciful, and unreasonable term/ "

(1) Act concerning the Admission of the Rev. Ralph Erskine and the other Ministers of the Church of Scotland to the Ministry of the Church of Scotland.

(2) Ibid. p. 113

(3) M'Kerrow: History of the Secession Church. p. 112.

from term of communion... This would be to exclude ourselves and others from occasional and providential communion with all the churches of Christ upon earth that are not just of our society. That would be... to cast off all that have Christ's image, unless they have just our image too. We are far from thinking that all are Christ's friends that join with us, and that all are his enemies that do not. (1) No, indeed ! " Alas, within a year there was a change of mood and this stress on free communion was to go.

The invitation so warmly given to Whitefield, an avowed Episcopalian priest, and Ralph Erskine's going into the pulpit of the Canongate Church, Edinburgh, with him reveal how free from sectarianism the early Seceders were.

The young evangelist had made his position quite clear before he came to Scotland. On April 10, 1741, Ralph Erskine wrote : "Come, if possible, dear Whitefield, come. There is no face on earth I would desire more earnestly to see. " Anxious lest Whitefield's popularity should draw crowds to the pulpits of " our persecutors ", he gives his judgment : " I know not with whom you could safely join yourself, if not with us. " (2)

Answering this letter on the day of its arrival, Whitefield is unequivocal : " I come only as an occasional preacher, to preach the/

(1) Fraser: Life &c of Ralph Erskine p.343 Fraser's italics.

(2) Tyerman : Life of Whitefield 1. 504.

the simple gospel, to all that are willing to hear me, of whatever denomination... My business seems to be to evangelize... I write this, that there may not be the least misunderstanding between us.⁽¹⁾ This was to be the theme of Whitefield's whole life ; writing on July 13, 1741, to a friend in London, he says : " I have no freedom but in going about to all denominations. I cannot join with any one, so as to be fixed in any particular place. Every one hath his proper gift. Field-preaching is my plan."⁽²⁾ Few men have seen their vocation so clearly and so early, and fewer still have kept faith with the vision throughout life.

Whitefield spent his first night in Scotland with Ralph Erskine, who wrote to his brother the following day that Whitefield " preached in my meeting-house this afternoon. The Lord is evidently with him.." But then, rather ominously, " he says he can refuse no call to preach Christ, whoever gives it."⁽³⁾

On Wednesday, August 5th., Whitefield met the Associate Presbytery at Dunfermline, " a set of grave, venerable men ". They laboured hard to set him right about church government, and although they did not insist that he should sign the Solemn League and Covenant at once, they did stipulate that he was to " preach only for them till I had further light."

(1) Letters i. 262

(2) Ibid i. 277

(3) Tyerman: Life of Whitefield i. 507

The reason for this was that " they were the Lord's people "; to this Whitefield replied, that perhaps the Lord had other people too, and, in any case, the devil's people needed him even more.

He concludes : " The consequence of all this was an open breach. I retired, I wept, I prayed...Lord, what is man, what the best of men ? But men at the best ! I think I have now seen an end of all perfection. " ⁽¹⁾ From this time, the Seceders disavowed all connection with him and preached openly against him.

Ralph Erskine suggested that Whitefield was "trimming " and temporising in order to raise money for the Orphanage he had founded in Georgia. ⁽²⁾ But it is apparent that the real problem was that Whitefield had no doctrine of the " ius divinum " of any particular form of church government. Each had virtues, and also defects. Writing to John Willison on August 10, 1741, he begs him to refrain from writing about the corruption of the Church of England : " I believe there is no church perfect under heaven... The divisions in Scotland are affecting. " ⁽³⁾ On the same day, he wrote to Ogilvie in Aberdeen : " I find it best simply to preach the pure gospel, and not to meddle at all with controversy... This is my comfort, JESUS is king. He will either heal, or bring good out of the present divisions... O that the power of religion may revive ! Nothing but that/

(1) Letters 1.307/8 (2) Ibid. 1.311 (3) Ibid. 1.310

(1)

that can breakdown the partition wall of bigotry. "

The campaign of obloquy and insinuation against him was intensified as it became evident how successful was his ministry in Scotland. Crescendo was reached when the revival began at Cambuslang. The Seceders had decided, a priori, that God could not bless an uncovenanted Church ; this therefore must be a delusion, diabolically contrived.

James Fisher, one of the Four Brethren who were deposed in 1733, and the first Secession minister in Glasgow - he began there in October 1741 - noted in his " Review of Mr Robe's Preface &c." that this apparent success at Cambuslang, and the absence of similar results among the Seceders was causing many to think " there was no ground for Seceding from the Established Church." With partisan and virulent polemic, he attacked the work at Cambuslang ; only by denigrating that, could he justify himself and his brethren.

(2)

George Paton, a Seceding bookseller at Linlithgow, was to write in 1744, that the work at Cambuslang " had been Proven to be an arrant Delusion of Satan " and says of Whitefield, " This Stranger and Hireling, whom Christ's Sheep are commanded to avoid ...is/

(1) Letters 1.310

(2) Fisher's biographer says it is " deplorable to find a man like Mr Fisher...calling Mr Whitefield a strolling imposter and cheat. " Memorials of the Rev. James Fisher-Brown. p.48 f-n.

(3)

... is chargeable with dreadful Error, flagrant Enthusiasm, gross Delusion, and horrid Blasphemies... filthy Lucre ... seems to be the Thing he chiefly aims at... yet, because he is a fit Tool for suppressing and breaking the Secession, he is extolled as another Apostle Paul. " (1) There's the rub !

Perhaps the worst of all the many bitter attacks made by the Seceders against Whitefield and the work at Cambuslang was that of the implacable and doughty Covenanter, Adam Gib. His " Warning against countenancing the Ministrations of Mr George Whitefield &c ", published June 6, 1742, was described by Robe as " the most Heaven-daring Paper that hath been published by any Set of Men in Britain these hundred Years past. " (2)

Gib asserts that " this foreigner " is " no minister of Christ " ; his " doctrine is diabolical, as proceeding through diabolical influence, and applied unto a diabolical use, against the Mediator's glory, and the salvation of men. This is the awful point whereunto the whole articles of our charge against him are gathered. " (3)

(1) Preface to The Lawfulness and Duty of Separation from Corrupt Ministers, Churches &c. by Fraser of Brea, xxvii; xxxvi/xxxvii.

(2) Robe's Narr. Preface p.xv.

(3) Quoted in Tyerman : Life of Whitefield 1. 512

On July 15, 1742, the Associate Presbytery issued a call for a "Public Fast" on account of the "awful work" going on at Cambuslang, mentioning in particular the "bitter outcries, faintings, severe bodily pains, convulsions, voices, visions and revelations." Had Ralph Erskine forgotten his letter to John Wesley of Sept. 28, 1739? The latter had asked for advice about some of his hearers who had been distressed in "an outward manner."

Quoting the Scriptural instances of the crowd on the day of Pentecost and the Philippian jailor - so often to be used again as proof-cases by the defenders of the work at Cambuslang! - Erskine writes: "We want not instances of this power", especially at sacramental occasions. Then, congregations sometimes wept and cried aloud "till their voice be ready to drown out the minister's, so as he can scarcely be heard." But the real test of the worth of such emotion "we can only know by the fruits and effects that follow."⁽¹⁾

The defenders of the revival appealed often to this empirical test of observable fruit: writes one, "Did ever a Delusive Spirit make a People forsake Sin?... Did ever the Devil of Delusion, as you call it, at Cambuslang, turn Drunkards, Swearers, Whoremongers, Liers (sic) &c., to become new Creatures?"⁽²⁾

(1) Journal of John Wesley. 11. 230/1

(2) A Warning and Reproof with Advice &c. p.4.

Laymen rushed into print to defend the revival and especially Andrew Waddell, a soldier. In one pamphlet, directed against the Fast prescribed by the Associate Presbytery, he points out the inconsistency of extolling Whitefield to the skies a few months earlier and then denouncing him for "failing to join with you. Behold how you open and shut the Kingdom of Heaven by your Anathemas as well as if the Pope had sent you his Keys. " (1)

In "SATAN'S APE DETECTED &c" addressed to Adam Gib, it is pointed out that to deny that Whitefield is a minister because he was ordained by a diocesan bishop has "deposed all the Ministers of our neighbour Church". His peroration is not without point : "God is Love, and are ye like him, when ye are all hatred? His Love a Duty or not? If it be not, then tear it out of your Bibles; if it be a Duty, then tear Hatred out of your Hearts... Are ye sure that God puts the same Value upon your Opinions that ye do ? " (2)

Another tract, written by an Old Dragoon Soldier, again with Adam Gib in mind, is full of vituperation and plays on the name Adam, with great glee. "If he had preached...as he now hath about/

(1) Observations in Defence of the Work at Cambuslang &c.p.4

(2) Satan's Ape Detected &c. pp. 9, 24.

about the Time of Drumclog, or Bothwell-Bridge, or Shirreff-Mure,..
 an old Soldier, the Author of this Advertisement, would cut the
 Lugs out of his Head... and burn'd his Tongue with a hot Iron. " (1)

There was warm feeling on both sides, but the friends of the revival, and especially the ministers, preserved a praiseworthy attitude of conciliation. Robe, who with Webster, was the foremost apologist and publicist of the revivals, addresses himself directly to the Seceders in his Preface : " We pray for you, who despitefully use us. We would lay our Bodies on the Ground and be as the Streets for you to walk over, if it could in the least, contribute to remove your Prejudices... You declare the Work of God to be a Delusion, and the Work of the grand Deceiver. Now, my dear Brethren, for whom I tremble, have you been at due Pains to know the Nature and Circumstances of this Work ? Have you taken the trouble to go to any of these Places, where the Lord has appeared ? Have you ever so much as Written to any of the ministers, to receive information from them...? " (2) This is, at least, a plea for the examined life .

(1) A WARNING to all the Lovers of Christ to be on their Guard &c Preface p.v.

(2) Robe's Narr. Preface xv/xvi.

Whitefield's own conduct and spirit under the bitter virulence of this personal attack is beyond all praise ; never for a moment was he diverted into controversy or self-justification. One wonders which is the more amazing : the rancour of the attack, or the forgiving spirit with which, at all times, it was received !

But, if the leaders of the Secession condemned the revival from afar, without any personal investigation, many of their followers were attracted to a closer contact. Out of the 106 cases contained in the M'Culloch manuscripts, 19 give explicit testimony that they worshipped with the Seceders. Says one : " I heard some of the North Country Ministers at Corsehill, of whom I had a great
(1)
opinion." This is echoed by several others.

For three years before the revival broke out at Cambuslang, one young woman wrestled with the temptation to join the Seceders, often going long distances to hear them " even to the injury of
(2)
my bodily health. " She could never feel free to worship with them on Sabbath days for she " had a Gospel minister at hand. " Another walked " sometimes seven miles and sometimes to Stirling,
(3)
which was twelve Miles from the place where I lived " to hear them, and " chose rather to sit at home, than hear any but them ; thinking/

(1) Janet Jackson. M'C MSS. 1. 22

(2) Isobel Provan. Ibid. 11.201

(3) Jean Robe. Ibid. 1. 176

thinking there were no other sermons right but theirs. "

Often the Seceding meetings became Caves of Adullam, frequented by the disgruntled and malcontented. James Jack went for at least a year and " was never better pleased than when I heard these Seceding Ministers railing upon the Church, " (2) although he continued in his vicious habits.

The daughter of a Shotts' merchant, who went often to hear the Seceding ministers, came to Cambuslang in March 1742, seeking to take back an ill report. " All day resolving that if I saw any Person there any way misbehaving, I ~~should~~ be sure to mind that and to tell that when I went home. " But closer acquaintance with preachers and people made her " quite to alter my mind. " (3) †

Sometimes the very violence of the denunciation drove Seceding sympathisers to Cambuslang. Janet Lennox had " left the Kirk altogether " ; curiosity led her to Cambuslang, but, says she, (4) " I was not touched with what I heard " for. When next she heard Fisher, he " endeavoured to shew, That no Revival of Religion was to be expected, or that God would never return to a people or person in a way of mercy, till they first humbled themselves. " (5)

(1) M'C MSS. 1. 176

(2) Ibid. 1. 497

(3) Agnes Buchanan. Ibid. 11. 183/4

(4) Ibid. 11. 524

(5) Ibid. 11. 527

This was too much for this indoctrinated listener to the undiluted theology of the divine sovereignty, that moves towards men with unmerited and unconditional salvation: " This was what I could not agree to, for I thought that the work must begin on God's part... After this, I went no more back." (1)

Seceding exclusiveness alienated others; one " did not find the Seceders way of Praying agreeable, because they seemd to me to be very narrow in their prayers, and not to extend them to the whole Israel of God, but to confine them in a great measure to themselves." (2) Made very uneasy by the Fast, directed against the revival, she decided, not without many qualms of conscience, to go and see the work for herself. Completely unimpressed, on the way home, she meditated on the Lord's way of dealing with his people ...by the still calm voice of the Gospel, and could not get my heart brought to a liking of the work at Camb: " (3) That was to come later.

Many, both ministers and laymen, hoped that the revival would bring the Seceders and the ministers of the established church together. Whitefield indicates this spirit in his account of how, when Ralph Erskine " went up with me into the pulpit of the Cannon-gate church - The people were ready to shout for joy." (4)

(1) M'C MSS. 11.527

(2) Ibid. 11.201

(3) Ibid. 11.202

(4) Letters 1.307.

A Glasgow tailor, aged 38, went to hear both Hamilton at the Barony and Fisher, to learn wherein they differed and happened to hear each of them deal with a similar subject, to his great satisfaction. " I wondered how it came to pass, that Ministers should so exactly agree in their doctrine, while they disagree'd so much otherways." (1)

When the revival broke out at Cambuslang, he concluded " surely such a good Man as Fisher would fall in with it, and that the Church Ministers, and the Seceders would come all to unite by means of that work." (2) But this man, faced with the sharp antithesis between Fisher's denunciations and the experience of a friend who had been greatly helped at Cambuslang, resolved it only by going, hearing and judging for himself.

One most unusual case is that of a young man, Michael Thomson. Greatly attracted by the preaching of a " Mountain Minister, viz. Mr Macmillan ", he left home and went to Kilsyth to learn a trade. Here, Robe also had a great influence upon him. Returning home, all his friends urged upon him to forsake the established church, and join the " North Country Ministers ". Going to hear Fisher, he was greatly pleased by the sermon, but in his closing prayer, Fisher petitioned " That the Lords people might be kept from the Delusion that was now spread abroad in several places ". In this prayer, Thomson could not join. (3)

(1) Archibald Bell. M'C MSS. 1.399

(2) Ibid. 1.399

(3) Ibid. 1.482

Greatly perplexed as to whether he should separate from the established church, Thomson, meditating on the Scriptures, found guidance. In spite of the gross viciousness of the sons of Eli, God did not command the Israelites to forsake worship ; Jesus himself had continued to worship and preach in the Jewish synagogues and had advised his disciples to give heed to the religious teachers of the day. Thomson concluded, " That it was better for the People of God to abide together and contend for the truth, than to weaken one another's hands by separation and division. " Such illustrations as he found in Scripture made it clear " That it was unlawful to separate from this Church, notwithstanding what was
(1)
wrong in it. "

Burdened with a sense of the sins of the land and of the church, he prays : " That the Lord would heal our woeful backslid-
(2)
ings and divisions, and make us all one in him. "

Bound up within the first volume of the M'Culloch manuscripts there is an unusual account, set out in dramatic form, of a conversation between Alexander Bilsland and George Tassie, two of the converts at Cambuslang and the two Seceding ministers, Ebenemer
(3)
Erskine and James Fisher.

(1) M'C MSS. 1.483/4

(2) Ibid. 1.499

(3) Ibid. 1.154/168

One Thursday in April 1743, it was made evident at a society meeting for prayer, that several " had done themselves hurt " by hearing these Seceding ministers attacking the work at Cambuslang. The following Monday morning, the two laymen went to Fisher's house in Glasgow. Obtaining entrance, they recounted their own religious experiences, but Fisher protested that no possible blessing could follow the ministry of men who had read Porteous's Act and joined in settling ministers against the people's will..." I will not believe any good fruits following the Ministry of such Men as Whitefield, M'Culloch and M'Laurin and others, tho' one that had been in the 3d heavens would say so. " (1)

Discussion moved briskly to and fro, the laymen by no means getting the worst of the argument. Erskine asked the visitors " to join with us to fight the battles of the Lord," but Bilsland answered, " We never got any good by you. The worst evil we wish you, is that ye would come back to the Church of Christ. " Erskine went on to criticise Whitefield in particular, but his hearers testified that he had brought good to them. At this Erskine cried " (lifting up his hands) God save me from Camb: conversions and Mr. Wh -- ds Doctrine. " (2)

(1) M'C MSS. 1.160

(2) Ibid. 1.167

We have noticed how the attitude of the Seceders incited some to personal investigation ; and how others were shocked at their bitter and intolerant invective. Also how that many who had been seeking for spiritual help with the Seceders, under the influence of the work at Cambuslang, were led to renew their attachment to the established church and to dedicate their new devotion to her welfare. In view of this, and the high hopes expressed by many of the ministers associated with the revival that the " Glory of the Latter Days " was about to appear, it may well be asked, why then did not the revival achieve greater results ? Why was it halted ?

In spite of the lasting benefits that emerged, the hopes and expectations of many were unrealised. Within a few years of 1742, Thomas Gillespie, James Baine, Andrew Arratt, and other ministers who participated at Cambuslang were outside the established church. It looked as if disruptiveness and anarchy were inherent within revivals. Why ?

Much of the responsibility for this must be placed firmly on the shoulders of the Moderate party in the church, who were committed unreservedly to support the policy of Patronage. To do so, they had, apparently, no misgivings about thrusting out some of the most pious ministers and ruining some of the most thriving congregations.

It is not denied that the Moderates contained many men of highest character, such as their leader, Robertson ; nor that their love of the liberal arts did much for culture and helped to make Edinburgh the literary capital of Europe. We may lift our eyebrows somewhat sceptically when "Jupiter" Carlyle claims that the Church contains the best historians, philosophers, agriculturalists and so on. The claim is interesting, even imposing - but irrelevant. One of the shrewdest of our modern writers on the subject has concluded : " It is rather by what it left out, whether deliberately or from sheer ignorance, that moderate preaching - I doubt very much if it ever had much of a theology - is to be judged." (1)

The gravamen of the charge against them is their acceptance of a thorough-going Erastianism, whereby, to all practical purposes, they reduced the Church into a Department of State. This they did by the support given to Patronage.

Great land-owners maintained tenaciously that this power of presenting an accredited candidate to a congregation was an inviolable piece of personal property. " Is it not an absurd thing that a tenant or servant who may be removed at a certain term should have a vote in choosing a minister for life to his master ? " wrote Sir John Clerk. (2)

(1) Cairns : art. "Jupiter Carlyle and the Scottish Moderates " in " The Religion of Dr. Johnson &c. " pp.86/7

(2) Memoirs, Clerk of Penicuik pp248

The Moderate attitude to this claim may be summed up in a phrase from the papers of Dr. Robert Wallace, a leading Moderate : " I take this grievance to be remediless and that it is vain to endeavour to have the law repealed...I will yeild intirely to the law as it stands. " (1)

In 1735, Francis Hutcheson, the " father of Moderatism " was aware of the dangers in this system and predicted even greater mischief. Writing in his pamphlet, " Considerations on Patronage addressed to the Gentlemen of Scotland ", he foretells that " instead of studying sobriety of manners, piety, diligence or literature, one or other of which qualities are now necessary to recommend the candidates to the favour of heritors, elders or presbytery, the candidate's sole study will be to stand right in politics, to make his zeal for the ministry of state conspicuous ; or by all servile compliance with the humour of some great lord who has many churches in his gift, whether the humour be virtuous or vicious, to secure a presentation. " (2)

How the foreboding was justified may be seen from such an epitaph as that on the grave of the Rev. Michael M'Culloch, minister of Bothwell from 1767/1801 :

(1) La. ii. 620²⁹

(2) Quoted " M'Cosh : The Scottish Philosophy &c. pp.66/77

" Here lies interred beneath this sod
 That sycophantish man of God,
 Who taught an easy way to heaven,
 Which to the rich was always given :
 If he gets in, he'll look and stare
 To find some out that he put there. " (1)

Nepotism was inevitable under such conditions. George Ridpath, in his " Diary &c" opens a window to show us the system at work. In his entry for Monday, June 4, 1759 he sets down his experiences at the General Assembly. " The company with whom I dined dealt pretty liberally in Bonum Magnum after dinner...Reckonings amounted to 7/6, a very extravagant sum, and which I scarce should have been led into had I not been making a sort of court to Carlisle who undertook very readily to put a Memorial into Baron Grant's hands relating to the vacant stipend of Hutton. " (2) (Ridpath was seeking the Crown patronage to settle his brother Philip there) To secure preferment in the church, it was more useful to be drunk with wine than to be filled with the Spirit !

Expediency characterised much of Moderate policy and practice. Carlyle tells of an incident in the Assembly of 1766, when a keen battle was fought out over the Schism Overture. Voting had begun, when Dr. Jardine collapsed and had to be carried out. The roll-call was stopped and Carlyle left the hall to make enquiries.

(1) Fasti iii.231

(2) Diary of George Ridpath 1755/1761. p.251

The surgeon told him that all was over : Carlyle writes : " I returned to the house and gave out that there were hopes of his recovery...the calling of the roll went on. " (1) And the ecclesiastical prevaricator exults that his party gained the victory.

By 1780, even Carlyle was compelled to admit that this policy had failed : " Young men of low birth and mean education have discovered that livings may infallibly be obtained by a connection with the most insignificant voter for a member of Parliament. " (2)

Even the far-sighted Hutcheson was not above manipulation and intrigue when seeking to secure the appointment of Leechman to the chair of theology in Glasgow. (3) M'Laurin was the other candidate, and Hutcheson prompted his connections to inform the Secretary of State for Scotland about those who " made themselves ridiculous to all men of sense by dangleing after Whitefield and M'Culloch. " M'Cosh comments : " It seems that the advocates of liberality could not tolerate that a man should be favourable to a revival of religion. " (4) Immoderate for moderation indeed !

This Moderate support for the enforcement of the patrons' rights caused friction and brought loss to almost every parish associated with the revival movement of 1742.

- (1) Carlyle: Autobiography p.467
- (2) Graham : Scottish Men of Letters &c. p.99 f-n.
- (3) M'Cosh : The Scottish Philosophy pp 65
- (4) Ibid. p.65

After the death of M'Culloch in 1771, Cambuslang had no minister for three years, owing to a disputed settlement. The Duke of Hamilton presented James Meek, but a memorial was submitted to the presbytery, saying that this " was disagreeable to the whole Session and to the great body of the people. " (1) Not a single elder signed the Call in September 1772, although " Claud Somers, one of the Elders...gave in a paper signed by all the Elders and 50 heads of families opposing Meek, " (2)

The presbytery decided not to sustain the presentation ; since five ministers voted for approval and only three against it, the elders must have provided the majority. On appeal, the General Assembly sustained the call to Meek, but had to repeat this decision twelve months later, for no action had been taken. In July 1774, the Cambuslang elders submitted to the presbytery reasons for their protest.

They objected to Meek's doctrine that " sincerity is the ground of our acceptance with God " ; that he had invited people, however enormous their crimes to the Lord's Table, " if they resolved to do better " ; he had affirmed " that when faith goes above Reason, it is Credulity." (3) The presbytery found these objections to be " frivolous, absurd and irrelevant " and proceeded to admit Meek as minister of Cambuslang in spite of protest, Sept. 1, 1774

(1) Hamilton Pres. Recs. July 21, 1772

(2) Ibid. October 27, 1772

(3) Ibid. July 1774

The eventual issue was that nine of the elders were placed under the sentence of the lesser excommunication by the presbytery as "false and malicious Slanders and defamers" and thereby barred (1) from all sealing ordinances.

Looking back on this period, Meek's successor, Robertson writes : " I am convinced the people of Cambuslang were much attached to the establishment, and that if a person had succeeded Mr M'Culloch, in whose orthodoxy and seriousness they had confidence, though he had been a man of inferior qualities, they (2) would thankfully have submitted to his ministry."

Many of the people of Cambuslang travelled the seven or eight miles out to the Relief Church at Bellshill, and it had been noted that there was no Secession congregation in Cambuslang itself (3) until 1836, almost a century after the revival.

Turning now to Kilsyth, we find conflict here. Robe's successor was John Telfer (1754/89) who supported the unpopular presentee to Eaglesham. When his parishioners expressed concern to him, they were told brusquely to mind their own business. In his irritation, Telfer offered to preside at Clark's ordination and induction to Eaglesham, and did so, with the help of a number of soldiers.

(1) Hamilton Pres. Recs. Jan. 3, 1775

(2) Letter in Edin. Christ. Instr. 1831 p.554

(3) Small : History of U.P. Congs. ii.131

The parish of Kilsyth assembled the next day and decided to organise a Relief Church. When Telfer returned home, he found " nearly empty walls to which he might proclaim his triumph ; and when he summoned a meeting of session, there was only one elder who honoured his call. "

(1)

In the parishes of St. Ninians, Torphichen and Blantyre, each associated closely with the revival of 1742, there was considerable trouble owing to unwelcome and forced settlements.

It was not only congregations that suffered by this high-handed policy ; certain individual ministers were either expelled, or found themselves so uncomfortable that they were compelled to leave the established church. The outstanding example is Thomas Gillispie of Carnock, who laboured with notable success at both Cambuslang and Kilsyth in 1742. He was one of the four editors of M'Culloch's case-histories, a close friend of John Erskine and one of the noblest men of the period. It was his misfortune to become a scapegoat to justify Moderate policy.

In 1751, he was expelled from the established church, because he could not take part in a forced settlement at Inverkeithing : 52 members of the Assembly voted for his deposition, whilst 102 others sat silent and did nothing.

(1) "The Christian Journal " 1833 p.149 ; Fasti iii.479

Ten years later, the Presbytery of Relief was founded under his leadership. Broad-minded and generous-hearted, this church was the first to state its belief in open communion and also "to hold communion occasionally with Episcopalians and Independents." James Baine, who had been minister at Killearn during the days of revival, and afterwards went to Paisley, followed his friend Gillespie into the Relief Church. It will have been noticed that the dissident members at Cambuslang and Kilsyth attached themselves to this church rather than to the narrower Seceders.

Such men as these would have been an incalculable asset to the established church, had they been allowed to keep their consciences and remain. Liberty however succumbed to authority. There were, however, many who were able to stay and who kept alive a spirit of evangelical endeavour and earnestness.

We have thus far seen the revival stopping the drift to the Secession; and although Moderate policy served to nullify much that had been accomplished, a nucleus of sincere men and women, laymen and ministers, was left within their mother-church to preserve the tradition of groups, meeting for prayer and fellowship. We shall conclude this chapter by tracing the development of this evangelical remnant and its connection with the Disruption of 1843.

Among the many hearers of Whitefield during his visits to Scotland were students of divinity, training for their sacred office. Some of the impressions made by the evangelist remained to inspire and guide them in their future work. For others, it was contact with the revival movement that made them consider afresh the question of vocation, and whether they ought to enter upon the work of the Christian ministry.

George Muir, born at Spott near Dunbar in 1723, began work as a clerk to a Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh. Visiting Cambuslang during the summer of 1742, he determined to devote his life to the ministry, reaching this decision after some correspondence with friends at Cambuslang. One of these, J.A., a layman, wrote to him on August 2, 1743 : " I have perused yours enclosed to me and some worthy, old, brave Christians here with me have perused it. And after mature deliberation, we do heartily and cheerfully approve of your laudable purpose... I am glad to hear you counting the cost both of professing and preaching a dear, loving, and yet a despised Jesus...Mr MacLaurin wants much to see and converse with you when you come west this week. "

(1)

Whilst a student at Edinburgh, Muir threw himself into all kinds of religious activities, and especially the societies for prayer.

(1) Warrick : History of Old Cumnock. p.110

On August 8, 1743, Muir wrote to " Mr James Aitken, Schholm-aster in Glasgow " - may this be the J.A. already mentioned ? - about the Religious Societies in Edinburgh, which were in a flourishing condition. He himself was a member of one, " many of whom are
(1)
Divines. "

After completing his theological course, Muir taught for a time in the school at Carnock, where he met Gillespie, John Erskine and Ralph Erskine. In 1752, he was ordained to Cumnock and exercised a notable ministry there, characterised by a wide catholicity. Mr Beffrage, minister of the Secession Church, Falkirk and Mr. Hervey, rector of Weston Favell were his intimate friends. We can see his genuine liberality in a letter sent by him to M'Culloch at Cambuslang on Jan. 2, 1756.

After speaking of the state of religion in his parish, he finds great comfort in " that a few in this town (4 or 5) have some time ago, of their own accord, associated together on the Lord's day evening for prayer and conference, a thing not known in this village in the memory of man. " They had met first on the Sabbath evening to be inconspicuous but now had the courage to meet on a weeknight." It is pretty remarkable," writes Muir, " that a Seceder was the means of it. " This incomer to the parish had sought/

(1) Prince : Christian History 1743. pp. 271/4

sought out others of like mind, who were willing to join with him in prayer, and had taken the trouble " to advise with me in every step he took as to the society. " (1)

When James Baine resigned from the charge of the High Church, Paisley, Muir was called from his country parish to succeed him, being inducted October 30, 1766. His ministry there was notably successful, and when cancer developed in his foot, he insisted on being carried to the church in a sedan-chair, and spoke, seated in his pulpit. He died July 20, 1771, in his 48th. year. (2)

It is extremely probable that it was the revival at Cambuslang which brought John Erskine into the ministry. His father was the Professor of Law at Edinburgh University, and, in accordance with the family wish, Erskine studied law. Everything seemed to point to a legal career of distinction. Why did he enter the ministry?

In a letter from Dr. Doddridge of June 11, 1743, mention is made of this change of career; Erskine had sent his reasons for this step to his father and forwarded a copy to the Northampton divine/ (3)

(1) Printed "Edin Christ. Instr. 1838, pp.211/2

(2) Warrick, in his "History of Old Cumnock", 1899, speaks of several extant manuscript letters by Muir and others about their observations at Cambuslang in 1742. These were in the possession of "Mr. Macrae, late teacher at Dalkeith, New Cumnock." Extensive enquiries have failed to locate them and some of Mr. Macrae's grandchildren are now overseas.

(3) Life of Erskine: Moncreiff-Wellwood. p.30. Vde also Doddridge's Letter of Feb.19, 1743 in "Correspondence &c" 17.207.

divine, who replied : " I hope God will abundantly bless your labours for the good of souls. "Bishop Warburton, another of Erskine's correspondents, wrote on September 26, 1743 : " I heartily felicitate you on your choice of the better part, " meaning the (1) ministry. Erskine had thus changed his career about twelve months after his associations with the revival, and probably owing, in large measure, to its influence. Every revival has served to furnish new candidates for the ministry.

Others there were who did not seek to enter the ministry, but sought for spheres of active Christian service. Laymen had been given greater opportunities for leadership in the revival, helping to talk with people in distress, exhorting small groups in various places, taking charge of the increased number of societies for prayer.

Robe says that " the parish of Badarnock lying North and West from Calder is of all others the most singular and noticeable. " Above 90 people had been awakened by July 1742. For years there had been no minister in the place and they " yet are without a Pastor... The Lord hath honoured their School-master James Forsyth (2) to be greatly instrumental in this good work among them. "

(1) Moncreiff-Wellwood : Life of Erskine p.53/4

(2) Robe's Narr. pp. 38/42

As a result of his instruction to the children at school, there were meetings for prayer set up all over the parish. There was a very obvious place for the apostolate of the laity.

On February 10, 1744, two eminent booksellers in Edinburgh, Thomas Lumisden and Jo. Robertson wrote to Mr. Moorhead in New England, telling of a revival in a remote Highland parish. There was no minister, " but their School-master, who is a pious Man, has travel'd amongst them and instructed them...they have formed Societies in sundry places...There they pray, sing Psalms and instruct one another. Their School-master goes round them ; so that through the Year, he is not a Sabbath of ten at his own House . His Presbytery...allows him to explain the Scripture he reads..he calls also on the People to give their own Thoughts on sundry Passages of Scripture... The Name of this extended Parish is Lochbroom, (1) and the Name of the School-master is Mr Hugh Cameron.

The eldership had proved itself to be of great service during the revival, but the new desire to serve more zealously and extend the Kingdom of God, involved many more men than could be given official sanction by admission to the eldership. Many amateur and would-be evangelists had caught a glimpse of the glory of service.

(1) Prince : Christian History 1744, p.219

John Wesley found himself faced by a similar problem - how to harness the sanctified energies of the many who had come to a living faith under his ministry. He gathered the converts into societies, each under the care of a class-leader, to watch over each other's souls. Many a man of meagre education found a lifetime's ministry in this cure of souls.

Others, who were somewhat better endowed, he enrolled into an order of lay-preachers and exhorters, to whom he gave official recognition. These men became the spearhead of Methodist advance in many districts.

No such "modus vivendi" whereby the enthusiasm of the ardent and gifted layman could be fully utilized was to be found in Scotland as a whole. In the Highlands, there did arise a body of evangelical laymen, venerated for their godliness, the "Men", an influential and extensive brotherhood. Their status was a little more than other laymen, a little less than the minister. (1)

But apart from the "Men", who were peculiarly an Highland order, the only outlet for laymen was through the societies for prayer. There was, in Scotland, a deep-rooted distrust of lay-preaching that remained throughout the eighteenth century and beyond. When the brothers Haldane began their unconventional and peripatetic ministrations, there was a storm of anger.

(1) For a full discussion of "The Men", Vde MacInnes: "Evangelical Movement &c. pp.211/220

All the denominations uttered strong condemnations. One clerical opponent of this novel method admitted, " It would be a very reasonable service, but I am afraid the difficulties and perils of meeting a set of enthusiasts will prevent it. " Liberty was a dangerous thing. Said one : " The whole of this missionary business grows from a democratical root. " The events of the French Revolution had fashioned another bogey.

One can only surmise how far this habit of laymen meeting together regularly for prayer and discussion developed into talk on other themes as the pressures of the Industrial Revolution increased in Scotland. The habit of abstract thought and the custom of verbal expression must have served to develop dormant gifts of leadership and eloquence, just as activity in the class-meetings of Methodism, and lay-preaching, may be traced in the origins of the Labour Party in nineteenth century England

There is at least one example of how a sturdy love of political liberty was to be found in one who had direct associations with the revival at Cambuslang. William Carlile of Paisley was born in 1746, and informs us that his mother often visited Cambuslang during the revival ; " she still speaks of it with enthusiasm. " (3)

(1) Meikle : Scotland and the French Revolution p.209

(2) Laing Mss 500/501

(3) Auto. of William Carlile p.12

Carlile himself became an elder at Paisley, under Dr. George Muir, whom we have noticed earlier as a convert at Cambuslang, when only 21 years of age, and continued so until his death in 1823. He was also a member of a praying-society meeting each week. He became a baillie at Paisley and ^{was} ~~became~~ well-known as a defender of popular rights, a Radical, organising petitions against repressive legislation that prohibited public assembly. The first man to bear the title Provost of Paisley, he was an ardent advocate of many philanthropies, helping popular education and encouraging the newly-formed missionary societies.

One of the strangest and most interesting of the laymen who were influenced by the revival movement of 1742, was William Darney, often referred to in John Wesley's letters. Several of the converts at Cambuslang try to burst into verse, most of it doggerel. Darney too wrote, and published at Leeds, a collection of 214 hymns.

In the inscription before Hymn clxii, he says: " Inthe Year of our Lord, 1742, after I had been Preaching, I began to question my Call to the Ministry, altho' I had a clear call in October before. "

(1) Auto. William Carlile p.20

(2) John Wesley scorns them " as speaking nonsense in verse " Letters iii.31

Nehemiah Curnock conjectures that Darney was converted under the preaching of the Rev. James Robe of Kilsyth and describes him " as a Scot of prodigious size, speaking a broad Scottish dialect, terrible to behold ". About 1742, he suddenly appeared, preaching
(1)
in Rossendale, Lancashire.

Soon, he had established religious societies, named after himself, throughout Yorkshire and Lancashire. He was the main influence behind the conversion of William Grimshaw, the rector of Haworth, meeting him at night for conversations in a quarry. Grimshaw went along to Darney's meetings, where he gave out the hymns and engaged in prayer, being satirised as " Mad Grimshaw,
(2)
Scotch Will's Clerk."

Darney was a man of tireless energy and perseverance; he was often assaulted and even imprisoned for preaching. Becoming one of Wesley's itinerant preachers, he was in frequent trouble because of his determination to preach Calvinism publicly. John Wesley was determined not to allow this subject to become a matter of open controversy within his societies. But of Darney's apostolic
(3)
labours throughout the north of England, there can be no doubt.

(1) Journal of John Wesley ed. Curnock. iii.293 f-n.

(2) Letters of John Wesley iii.30

(3) Many details about Darney can be found in " Methodist Heroes in the Great Haworth Round 1734/1784 "- J.W.Laycock.

Out of the 1742 revivals there came those who received impetus and call for effective service and success in the ministry ; those who battled for public righteousness ; those who were compelled to do the work of evangelists, although in an irregular fashion. There is also one direct link between the revival at Cambuslang and the Disruption of 1843.

Robert M'Culloch was the only son of the minister of Cambuslang and became minister at Dairsie, Fife, in 1771, the year in which his father died. Dairsie manse became a " trysting-place where
(1)
godly ministers frequently met " Dr. Erskine, Mr Walker and Dr. Webster of Edinburgh, and Mr MacLaurin, Dr. Gillies and Dr. Balfour of Glasgow were often there . It was all so reminiscent of the manse at Cambuslang.

On March 31, 1776, a daughter, Janet, was born and she eventually married Robert Coutts, minister at Brechin. After two years together, he died of consumption, and she returned to Dairsie. On February 19, 1811, she wrote to a friend : " On the Fast Day, we had a new miracle of Divine grace, in a Mr. G-halmers of Kilmany, a great philosopher, but once an enemy avowedly to the peculiar
(2)
doctrines of the gospel... Oh, I feel interested in him !"

(1) Hetherington : Memoir and Correspondence of Mrs Coutts p.13

(2) Ibid. p.123.

From that time, there began a correspondence between Mrs. Coutts and Chalmers that went on until his death ; this is not too obvious from Dr. Hanna's biography, but the letters of Mrs Coutts reveal a considerable correspondence. Until he moved from Kilmany to Glasgow, he was often at the Dairsie manse.

In his letters to her, we find indications of the high regard in which he held her. Thus, on January 27, 1815 : " Do forgive this presumption in one who is so far behind you in the school of Christ, and who feels himself at the mere threshold of the subject." (1)
On April 23, 1827 : " I never can forget the Christian kindness and encouragement which I enjoyed under the roof of your excellent father...Dairsie is one of the most memorable portions in my retrospect of the past ; and all the feelings which I had then are undiminished by change of scene or distance of time. " (2)

Mrs Coutts went to live in Edinburgh and became widely-known for her generous support of every evangelical cause. For a time, she was greatly attracted by the enthusiasm of Campbell of Row (1827/9) and the excitement created by speaking in tongues. She was however completely alienated by the extravagances of Irwing and his followers, but her close friend and minister, Mr Tait, was deposed from the ministry in 1833 for his association with the new movement.

(1) Correspondence of Dr Chalmers ed. Hanna p.70 Letter xliv.

(2) Ibid. pp. 82/3 Letter li.

Mrs. Coutts gave unswerving allegiance to Dr. Chalmers and his associates in the ten years of conflict preceding 1843, and after that time, gave unstintedly of her means to further the work of the Free Church. She was the cause for the two volumes of the McCulloch manuscripts being lodged in the library of the Free Church, now New College, Edinburgh.

On May 30, 1847, Dr. Chalmers called to see Mrs. ~~Amelia~~ Coutts, naming her as one of his dearest and oldest friends, before going to his home. Next morning, all Edinburgh was stunned to hear that he had been found dead in his bed.

It is interesting to know that Chalmers found his early evangelical inspiration and encouragement in the home where there were so many memories of, and associations with, the Cambuslang work.

CHAPTER TWELVEFELLOWSHIP : THE CONCERT FOR PRAYER AND THE MISSIONARY MOVEMENT

A mongst the various evidences set forth in 1751 by M'Culloch of a work of conversion among his people were these :

" The former covetous and worldly-minded and selfish, have got a public spirit, and zealous concern for promoting the kingdom and glory of Christ in the conversion and salvation of souls : and, for this end, are careful not only to live inoffensively themselves, but usefully to others, so as all about them may be the better for them : they join cheerfully to their power, and some even beyond it (so that I have sometimes seen it needful to check some of them for too large quotas or offers) in collections for promoting the interest of religion, or for the relief of these straits, in places near hand or far off : they carefully observe the times fixed in the concert for prayer and joining at such times in earnest pleadings at a throne of grace, for the spreading and success of the gospel, and out-pouring of the Spirit from on high on the churches. "

(1)

In a word, they were thoroughly missionary-minded !

(1) Robe's Narr. 1789 ed. pp. 314/5

One cannot read the testimonies gathered together by M'Culloch, without being struck by the eager concern expressed for the conversion of others, and the outreachings in prayer and desire into the whole world. The revival had freed them from parochialism !

One young man's " hearts Desire and prayer to God, is...That the Lord may send a Revival to Religion, in the life, and power of it, to all the Corners of the Land." ⁽¹⁾ Sarah Strang, " Ane Old Widow Woman aged 65...would rejoice, if it were possible, that the Whole World should flock in to Christ." ⁽²⁾ Another habitually prays " That the Lord would revive his word thro' the whole Land, yea thro' the whole Earth. I think I have been much helped to plead with God, That a Work of Conviction and conversion may spread abroad every where, that there may be an ingathering of souls to Jesus Christ. " ⁽³⁾

When Alex. Bilsland was at the Cambuslang communion in August 1743, many scriptures came to his mind, " Particularly that text in Isa.54.5, Thy Maker is Thy Husband the Lord of Hosts is his Name. the God of the Whole Earth shall he be called : Upon which my heart was melted down with love to God ; and with difficulty I got My Self restrained from Shouting aloud for Joy. "

(1) William Baillie. M'C MSS. 1.9

(2) Ibid. 1.116

(3) James Tenant. Ibid. 1.437

He goes on : " What made me rejoice most of all at that time, was the last part of that text ' The God of the whole Earth shall be called ', by which I got a large view of the Extent of the Redeemers Kingdom to become universal over the Whole Earth : which (1) prospect was most agreeable and delightful to Me. "

Several persons bear witness that freedom in prayer only came when they ceased to be self-regarding and pre-occupied about their own concerns ; like Job, they found that the Lord turned their captivity when they prayed for their friends - and, at times, even their enemies. With fervent intercession there also went a forgiving spirit. Thus one account ends : " I can safely say in the Sight of the Heart-Searcher that I have no malice, enmity or ill-will at any Person on Earth. I want and heartily desire that..his Kingdom may be advanced all the world over. On the Monday after the Sacrament at Cambuslang my heart was so filled with love to Christ and the Souls of others that I could have been content (if it had been possible) to have taken all the multitude on the Brae in my arms and to have carried them all up to Heaven. Ofttimes I find my self straitned when I would pray for blessings to my Self: but when I begin to pray for others, and for the Advancing of the Kingdom of Christ, I get much liberty and enlargement of heart." (2)

(1) M'C MSS. 1. 132/3

(2) Agnes Buchanan of Shotts. Ibid. 11. 195/6

The theme is reiterated : one finds " as great concern on my Spirit
 (1)
 for the Salvation of others as ever I had for my own.. "; another
 concludes : " I bear no grudge or ill-will to any in the world. I
 (2)
 pray for all, even for Enemies. " A young man in secret prayer
 found great freedom in praying for revival through the land, " and
 the Spreading of the knowledge of Christ thro' the Whole World : I
 (3)
 was also helped to pray much for Commorades. "

Marion Callander, a married woman aged 44, confesses : "Form-
 erly I had many cares how to gain and gather more and more of the
 things of the world, and these carking cares were a burden to my
 Spirit ; but...Glory to God, he easd and freed my heart of all
 worldly cares...from that time forth my mind was kept stayd on him ;
 and the concerns of his glory and Interest lay nearer to my heart
 than any concerns of my own : I became concernd for the salvation
 of others as much as my own, and prayed as heartily for them as
 (4)
 for my Self. "

We may see this new concern for the extension of the Church
 into all the world as the morning-star heralding the full dawn of
 the missionary movement at the close of the century. At the same
 time, this was but an intensifying and developing of an interest
 that was very much alive before the revival of 1742.

(1) James Park. M'C MSS. 11.310

(2) Janet Struthers. Ibid. 11.571

(3) John Parker. Ibid. 11.670

(4) Ibid. 11. 577.

It was Calvin who wrote : " We should desire to make it at least the subject of our prayers every day that God would gather churches to Himself from all quarters of the world " ⁽¹⁾ Unfortunately he also expressed other, and opposite, opinions. Even had the desire for missionary expansion been much stronger than it was, political conditions, internal and external, would have made any attempt at overseas evangelisation impossible for the people of Scotland in the first century of the reformed church.

Throughout the seventeenth century, the Church of Scotland sought to keep in touch with her sons overseas, expatriate because of persecution, commerce or colonising enterprises. Holland became a gateway to the Continent. In 1647, the General Assembly wrote " to their countrymen in Poland, Swedland, Denmarke and Hungarie " urging them not to forget the pearl of greatest price in their search for worldly riches so far from home.

When the ill-fated expedition sailed for Darien in the last decade of the seventeenth century, ministers were commissioned to go with them so that " those afar among the pagans might not be left as sheep in a wilderness, without a shepherd ; and also, that the light of the Gospel might shine in these dark regions where it never yet shined, and if possible that the poor Heathens might in time be brought to see and walk in the light. " ⁽²⁾

(1) Calvin : Institutes Book iii. xx. 41/42

(2) Mackichan : Missionary Ideal &c. pp. 68/9

Ministers went out to serve in India. James Stirling (1631/71), deprived of his charge at Paisley in 1662, sailed for Bombay and died abroad ; with him went Patrick Warner (1640/1724) who ministered at Fort St. George on the Coromandel coast for three years. He returned to become minister at Irvine, married the daughter of William Guthrie of Fenwick, and acquired the estate of Ardeer in 1707. His daughter Margaret married Robert Wodrow, and his son was one of the officiating elders at the second communion at Cambuslang in 1742.⁽¹⁾

The first organised effort to forward missionary enterprise beyond the seas was undertaken by the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge. We have already seen its origin from the small prayer society of lawyers, with the inspiration of the episcopalian minister, James Kirkwood. It is an outstanding example of true catholicity that presbyterians should agree to work in such close association and harmony with episcopalians, so soon after the exhausting struggle against episcopacy.

In 1709, Queen Anne gave the society Letters Patent, and for the next two decades, excellent work was done in planting schools and supplying teachers and libraries to remote and neglected parts of Scotland. And this went on through the whole century.

(1) Fasti iii. 99, 168.

325

In 1723, there appeared one of the first books published in Scotland on the theme of missionary aims and methods ; its title was " The History of the Propagation of Christianity and overthrow of Paganism... the present State of the Heathens is enquired into ; and Methods for their Conversion offered ". The author was Robert Millar, minister at the Abbey, Paisley, and there were two volumes. (1)

Millar sets out what had been done by Protestant missionaries in recent years, dealing especially with work in the New England plantations and the Danish mission to Tranquebar. He goes on : "In Scotland, we have had no great opportunities hitherto for sending Missions to promote Christianity among Heathens in the remote Parts of the World, " (2) although he presumes that candidates for such work might have excellent instruction in the flourishing Scottish universities. Wodrow, who reveals Millar's own son as an " enfant terrible " among the students at this time, would probably have questioned this optimistic conclusion.

Millar also rejoices in the successful efforts of the S.S.P.C.K., and closes his book with a description of some "further means to be used for converting the heathen, " giving first place to fervent prayer, especially " joining in solemn days of humiliation and prayer for that end. "

(1) Crawford : History of the Shire of Renfrew. p.303

(2) Millar : History of the Propagation &c. ii. 523

In his Preface, dated October 21, 1723 at Paisley, Millar writes :
 " If Christians would serve GOD in Spirit an-d Truth at home ; if
 they would lay aside their Divisions, Parties and Unchristian
 Humors ; if they would contribute generously, out of their worldly
 Substance that GOD has given them, for advancing his Glory in the
 World...if Persons of Extensive Knowledge, bright Love and Charity
 to perishing Souls, and animated with flaming Zeal for the Glory
 of GOD, would offer themselves as Missionaries, and might be ord-
 erly sent into Heathen Countries, especially where they can be
 encouraged and supported by European Colonies : If these things
 were done, what a glorious Addition to the Church of CHRIST
 (1)
 might we justly expect ? "

Then there follows that note of apocalyptic consummation,
 found constantly among the leaders and subjects of the evangelical
 revivals : " The Time is coming, when the Fulness of the Gentiles
 (2)
 shall come and all Israel shall be saved. Let us do our Duty."

Finally, Millar reveals his expectation of a religious awaken-
 ing : " The Time is coming, and I hope near at Hand, when GOD will
 (3)
 do great Things for the Advancement of our Redeemer's Kingdom."
 Within less than twenty years, Paisley was ringing with the news
 of revival at Cambuslang and elsewhere, but Millar's scheme was
 only an aspiration until Carey's action of 1792.

(1) Millar's History &c. Preface xvii/xviii.

(2) Ibid. xviii.

(3) Ibid. xx.

This book had a considerable influence, and prepared the way for later action. Pages xxi/xxxvi furnish a list of 468 subscribers : professors, schoolmasters, merchants, lords and ladies, ministers and students are named. Copies went to many parts, several going to Nottingham, Derby, Dublin, Belfast, Sheffield and other English towns, as well as within Scotland. Persons, later to be associated with the revivals of 1742 are here ; Matthew Connel, minister at Kilbride, Hamilton at the Barony, James Rob at Kilsyth, James Warden, student of divinity and William Warner of Ardeir. Wodrow sent a copy, with his warm recommendation, to Dr. Cotton Mather at
(1)
Boston in New England. We shall see it stirring the heart of Andrew Fuller, the colleague of William Carey.

To return to the S.S.P.C.K. Part of the Constitution of the Society stated that one of its aims was " to extend their endeavours for the advancement of the Christian religion to heathen nations and for that end, to give encouragement to ministers to preach the Gospel among them. "

Dr. Daniel Williams, a presbyterian minister in London, died in 1717, and left, among other bequests, a sum of money for bursaries at Glasgow University (from which the author has received timely help)

(1) Wod. Corr. iii.154

He also left to the S.S.P.C.K. an estate in Huntingdonshire, which was made transferable to them " three years after they should send (1) three qualified ministers to infidel and foreign countries."

In 1730, the Directors of the Society began to correspond with the authorities in New England about appointing missionaries to the Indians, and small boards were organised to disburse funds for advancing such work at Boston, New York and Massachusetts Bay. In addition to white missionaries, " assistants and interpreters were to be chosen. "

In 1735, the estate spoken of above was transferred to the Society and John Macleod was sent from Skye to Georgia, to minister to the Highland settlers there. But the debacle of the expedition against the Spaniards in 1740 compelled him to leave.

There was then, a growing volume of interest in missionary activity in Scotland before the actual revival of 1742, but the awakenings gave a tremendous impetus to the work. The S.S.P.C.K. provided a rallying-point for the new evangelistic ardour, and received the support, in prayer and gifts, of the people associated with Cambuslang.

(1) Weir : History of the Foreign Missions &c. p.9

In the brief Memoir prefixed to the posthumous volume of sermons by William M'Culloch, we see the minister's own interest in this project. Ever anxious not to let his right hand know what his left hand was doing, he did not succeed in concealing entirely from posterity his benefactions.

In 1752, he spent £12 in having 300 copies of a reading primer, the Shorter Catechism and the book of Proverbs printed, and "dispersed through Scotland and America for the benefit of young people of the poorer sort... In 1768, he purchased three hundred Bibles, which cost near £ 25, and secretly ordered them to be dispersed ". How real was his interest in the S.S.P.C.K. may be understood by his sending a trusted elder to take a personal donation of £ 200 to Edinburgh, " with a strict charge (1) that he should not tell any person by whom it was sent. "

We may take this example of the minister of Cambuslang as being typical of the attitude and actions of others. So John Mill of Dunrossness made his will and bequeathed £ 100 sterling (2) to the Society, and in 1766, George Muir, minister at Paisley and a convert at Cambuslang in 1742, preached the annual sermon on behalf of the S.S.P.C.K.

(1) M'Culloch : Sermons &c. pp. 18/19

(2) Diary of John Mill, &c. p. 12.

In 1742, the S.S.P.C.K. appointed a young man, David Brainerd, to be one of their missionaries to the Indians. (1) He had come under the influence of Jonathan Edwards when a student at Yale in 1741. Although he was the best student of his year, he was expelled from the university in February 1742, for his participation in revival meetings conducted by Gilbert Tennant. All entreaties by several prominent ministers failed to secure reinstatement. (2)

On November 19, 1742, Ebenezer Pemberton, "Secretary of the Correspondents in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania of the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge", invited Brainerd to visit New York and discuss work among the Indians. He was commissioned to this task on November 25, 1742, almost a week later. For five years, he persisted in incredible labour and hardship, and died of tuberculosis on October 9, 1747, at the age of twenty-nine. (3)

His Diary has been one of the greatest inspirations behind missionary enterprise : John Wesley, William Carey and Henry Martyn gladly acknowledge their debt to his saintly life and his apostolic labours. Gillies in Glasgow tells his parishioners of (4)
" Mr David Brainerd, lately deceas'd " - a worthy example to all.

(1) Edwards : Works ^{III} p.569

(2) There is a tradition that Princeton originated from public disgust over Yale's treatment of Brainerd.

(3) Day : "Flagellant on Horseback, Life of Brainerd. pp.59/85

(4) Gillies : Exhortations &c. 1750. vol.1. p.94

The Cambuslang revival aroused a deeper interest in the work of overseas missions ; it also brought together, into a warm and living fellowship, many ministers and laymen of varying points of view. A new and remarkable catholicity was begun in the revival and continued afterwards.

Perhaps the most abiding result of Whitefield's visits to Scotland was the revelation of the breadth of his religious sympathies and the impact this made upon his friends. Speaking of these fourteen visits, Butler says : " Their predominant influence was in breaking down party zeal and sectarian bigotry.. " Here was "one who rose above all party shibboleths, and who would preach anywhere if he only felt a new opportunity presenting itself of doing good. It is pleasant, too, to recall that pulpits in the Church of Scotland were open to him, when those in England (1) were closed against him. "

It is evident that there were those within the established church of Scotland who were ready to follow Whitefield's example. On October 8, 1741, Willison wrote to a friend, giving his opinion of Whitefield : " I see the Man to be all of a Piece, his Life and Conversation, to be a transcript of his Sermons...so eminent for Humility in the Midst of Applause... God, by owning ^{him} so wonderfully, is pleased to give a Rebuke to our intemperate Biggotry and party zeal/

(1) Butler : Wesley and Whitefield in Scotland. p.61

Zeal.... Many with us are for preferring Ministers according to the Party they are of, but commend me to a Pious Christ exalting and Soul winning Minister, whatever be his Denomination ; such are Ministers of Christ's sending. " (1) Ogilvie of Aberdeen writes in similar strain : " His attachment to no party but to Christ, (2) appears to me a peculiar excellency in him. "

On June 16, 1742, Mrs Whitefield, writing from Edinburgh to John Cennick, points out how sincerely others held similar views, and practised them : " My husband publicly declared here, that he was a member of the Church of England, and a curate thereof ; and, yet, he was permitted to receive and assist at the Lord's Supper (3) in the churches of Edinburgh. "

Even a casual acquaintance with Whitefield's many letters makes plain how great was this roving evangelist in his breadth of vision and range of catholicity. Writing to Gilbert Tennant, on February 2, 1742, he says : " What a pity is it, that we should fall out in the way to heaven ! " (4) To a friend in New York, on February 26, 1742, he defines his attitude : " How can I act consistently, unless I receive and love all the children of GOD... of whatever denomination they may be ? I talk freely with the (5) Messrs Wesley ' s though we widely differ in a certain point. "

(1) Gl. Wkly Hy. xiii. 4/8

(2) Ibid. xiii. 8.

(3) Whitefield : Letters 1.363

(4) Tyerman : Life &c. 11.5

(5) Letters 1.372.

Whitefield never fails to speak generously of the Seceders, in spite of all their angry denunciations. Writing to Ebenezer Erskine's son, David, on August 13, 1741, he suggests that "your honoured father and uncle are led too much." This is quite a shrewd judgment, when we bear in mind the Breach in 1747 over the Burgher Oath. Whitefield goes on: "Such a narrow way of acting, can never be the way to promote and enlarge the kingdom of the blessed Jesus... I am verily persuaded there is no such form of government prescribed in the book of GOD, as excludes a toleration (1) of all other forms... Blessed by GOD, I have not so learned CHRIST."

When he received news of the Fast organised by the Seceders against him and the work at Cambuslang, he only said: "to what lengths may prejudice carry even good men? From giving way to the first risings of bigotry and a party spirit, good Lord (2) deliver us!" Faced by Adam Gib's intemperate railings in that "bitter pamphlet", he declares: "Now I begin to be a (3) disciple of JESUS CHRIST" Never a word of retaliation!

This same attitude persisted to characterise the ministers who were in sympathy with the work at Cambuslang. In his paper, the "Glasgow Weekly History", M'Gulloch prints a letter written by the Welsh evangelist, Howell Harris on February 12, 1742, to a religious society in London.

(1) Letters: 1. 314/5

(2) Ibid 1.411

(3) Ibid 1.413: This is a very clear echo of the phrase used by Ignatius in his Epistle to the Romans ch. iv.

It is a remarkable expression of a passion for oecumenicity. Harris calls first on the Dissenters to acknowledge that God has a few faithful ones in " this benighted Church. " Then, to the members of the established church, he declares that there are many "precious Lambs of Christ among the various Denominations. "

" I think that it is contrary to the Gospel of Christ, so to join to any Party, as not to be free to join with all other Parties of Believers... all Ministers..of every Perswasion, should meet to relate their own Experiences to each other... and to lend their Pulpits to each other alternately... bearing a publick Testimony against the selfish Spirit of Party-Zeal... and all willing to
(1)
communicate together "

Alexander Webster of the Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh, wrote to defend the revival, at which he had often been present. In the peroration of his " Divine Influence &c. " he says : " The warm opposition by several GOOD MEN may teach us it is a dangerous Thing to censure without proper Enquiry. It may serve likewise as a Solemn Warning against a Party-spirit... It also gives a noble Opportunity for the Exercise of our Christian Sympathy and Charity."

(1) Glas. Wkly Hy. xiv. pp. 5/6

This opposition could also serve as an incentive to make men long eagerly for the land above..." where are no Wranglings, no Strivings about Matters of Faith...Where Perfect Light will lay a Foundation for perfect Harmony and Love. "

Webster comes to a close : " It is with peculiar pleasure that I often think of this happy Meeting of ALL the scattered Flock of Christ... And have not the least Doubt but that my good Friend Ebenezer, shall then enter into the everlasting Mansions, with many glorified Saints whom the ASSOCIATE PRESBYTERY have now given over as the Property of Satan. " (1)

Speaking of this generous magnanimity as " golden words ", Dean Stanley said that these were " words which no mere enthusiast could have conceived or penned. This is Moderation, if ever there was such on earth. " (2)

There was a sincere reluctance on the part of many of the friends of the revival to enter into any controversy at all. The Dean of the Chapel Royal in Edinburgh, the Rev. William Gasthart wrote to M'Culloch on April 4, 1743 to inform him that they had observed the 18th February, the date of the outbreak of the revival, in Edinburgh. He discusses M'Culloch's accounts of the converts, and suggests that only the most remarkable be published, a few at a time.

(1) Webster : Divine Influence &c. pp. 52/3

(2) Stanley : The Church of Scotland. pp. 137/8

Gusthart goes on : " I pray you, never mention the Seceders ; there's nothing will convince them, till God himself do it ; and they'll be sure to snarle, and make returns, which will hinder you from much better work. I was sorry when Mr. Robe was obliged to enter into such warfare ; he was better employed. The devil wants to divert us from our better work ! Let us be easy, God's work will appear to be his own, contradict it who will. " (1)

In 1748, an attempt was made to prohibit, or discourage Whitefield from preaching in Scottish parish churches ; this afforded John Gillies and John Erskine an opportunity of stating publicly their advocacy of that catholic spirit which had found embodiment in the visiting clergyman who was being condemned.

Mr Miller, minister in Hamilton, who was married to the daughter of that persistent adversary of M'Culloch, Hamilton of Westburn, led the attack against Whitefield at the "Synod of Glasgow and Air," speaking of " a celebrated Stranger whose Character was at best dubious " Two ministers within the presbytery of Glasgow had even invited this man into their pulpits, and Miller urged that such a thing should be prohibited.

Gillies told the Synod that " he did not repent of it ; The Synod might inflict what Censure they pleased. "

(1) Edinburgh Christ, Instr. 1839 : pp. 338/9

Erskine, ever the lawyer, demanded that a Libel be given and also for a ruling as to " whether Mr Gillies and he were Pannels or Judges in this question. " They were considered to be judges.

The opposition to Whitefield poured scorn on " that chimerical Scheme, his Georgia Orphan-house ". Where was the evidence that the money collected had been rightly applied ? As for his preaching, it was " Vox, et praeterea nihil. " To this, it was answered that to approve this overture would close the door against all ministerial communion with other churches.. " Shall I refuse to cultivate Union and Friendship with those whom God has received, because in lesser Points their sentiments differ from mine ? ... If Bp. Butler, Bp. Sherlock, or Bp. Secker were in Scotland, I should welcome them to my Pulpit...Mr Rutherford, as firm a Presbyterian as any of us was of that Mind, else he would not have employed a Bp. Usher to preach for him. " (1) The motion was lost by 27 votes to 13 in favour of an amendment that left matters as they had been before.

Both Gillies and Erskine, young men at the time of the revival lived to be old men, and revealed frequently that breadth of toleration which had marked the spirit of Whitefield. (2)

(1) A fair and impartial ACCOUNT...anent employing Mr Whitefield Sixth October 1748. pp.8/9

This account was written by John Erskine (Vde Life &c. p. 134)

(2) Erskine's gravest lapse from this standard was in his controversy with John Wesley, which is rather to his discredit.

It was Gillies who welcomed John Wesley as his guest and preacher in the College Church in 1753, the first visit made by Wesley to the West of Scotland. The latter helped Gillies with his book, the "Historical Collections" and brought in the innovation of singing hymns at the close of the service (Gillies was later to encounter opposition on this score)

Commenting in his diary at this welcome and invitation, Wesley exclaims: "Surely with God nothing is impossible! Who would have believed, five and twenty years ago, either that the minister would have desired it, or that I should have consented to preach in a Scotch kirk?" And the behaviour of the worshippers "was beyond anything I ever saw but in our congregation" (1)

At a later visit to Gillies in 1757, Wesley organised societies within the congregation, and advised them to meet with Gillies every week; by 1759, Wesley met with about forty members of these societies. (2)

This open-hearted friendship shown by Gillies to Wesley was found in other friends of the 1742 revivals. In 1761, Wesley dined with Ogilvie at Aberdeen: "a more open-hearted, friendly man I know not that I ever saw". So warm was the welcome on this and later visits that Wesley doubted his ability "to bear all this sunshine!" (3)

(1) Wesley: Journal. iv.62/4; Whitehead: Life of Wesley ii.272/3

(2) Wesley: Journal iv. 217, 316

(3) Ibid. iv.451; v. 14

This spirit of toleration concerning the denominational affiliations of like-minded men made possible the later co-operation, which was to be so characteristic a feature of the beginnings of the missionary movement in the latter years of the eighteenth century. We may best trace this development through the growth of the ideal and the practice of the Concert for Prayer, itself a direct link between the revival at Cambuslang in 1742 and the enterprise that began with the sailing of William Carey to India about fifty years later.

On January 12, 1748, Jonathan Edwards published at Boston, New England, his book, "AN HUMBLE ATTEMPT to Promote Explicit Agreement and Visible Union of GOD'S PEOPLE IN EXTRAORDINARY PRAYER for the revival of Religion and the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom on earth." (1) Lengthy as is this title, it is only an abbreviation of the original title with its 187 words, making explicit that the book was occasioned by a certain "CONCERT FOR prayer" entered into by many ministers and others in Scotland and Great Britain.

In Section iii, Edwards points out that in October 1744, a number of ministers in Scotland engaged themselves to unite in prayer that God would "revive true religion in all parts of Christendom...and fill the whole earth with his glory."

(1) Edwards : Works, ii.423/541.

For the frequent correspondence between Edwards & M' Culloch, see the Memoir by S.E. Doughty, Edwards' grandson, prefixed to the 1840 edition of Edwards' "Works", pp. cxiv ff.

These ministers pledged themselves to try and persuade others to join, and to fix on some method that would ensure success. The decision they arrived at was to be binding for the " two years next following ". Some time on Saturday evening and Sabbath morning was to be dedicated for this purpose each week, " and, more solemnly, the first Tuesday of each quarter, (beginning with the first Tuesday of November)...either the whole day, or part of the day, as persons find themselves disposed, or think their circumstances will allow : the time to be spent either in private praying societies, or in public meetings, or alone in secret. " Saturday evening, and Sabbath morning were specially chosen because of their nearness " to the time of dispensing gospel ordinances throughout the christian world. " ⁽¹⁾

Such an agreed union would help to animate and encourage Christians everywhere, knowing that multitudes of fellow-believers in so many distant places were, at the same times, engaged in the same holy exercise by mutual agreement.

Edwards notes that the way in which the Convert was formed was not through the press, but by personal conversations and private correspondence. Great numbers in Scotland and England, and some in North America had agreed to unite in this method.

(1) Edwards : Works ii.440/1

The Scottish praying societies had given whole-hearted support and Edwards cites Edinburgh as having " thirty societies of young people there, newly erected, some of which consist of upwards of thirty members. " There were also forty-five societies in Glasgow .

(1)

The two years agreed upon had ended " last November " .

Several Scottish ministers had subscribed a printed memorial, inviting still more to unite in prayer and 500 copies of this had been sent to New England. Edwards inserts one of them in full, making Section iv of his book. The new proposal was that the Convert for Prayer should be renewed, this time for seven years. This Memorial is dated August 26, 1746.

Edwards concludes his " Humble Attempt " by pointing out that the charge of novelty is ill-founded and gives examples of similar schemes in London (1712) and in Scotland (1732 and 1735) (2) Also he makes clear that these Scottish ministers, whose proposal he is endorsing, " are no separatists or schismatics...but are quiet, peaceable members and ministers...they concealed their names from what perhaps may be called an excess of modesty. "

(1) Works &c. ii. 443.

(2) Ibid. ii. 535/7

Edwards does not mention that the idea was probably inspired, to some extent, by himself. In the closing paragraphs of his book, "Some Thoughts concerning the Present Revival &c", published in 1742, and read widely throughout Scotland, he recommends that ministers might make a draft of a covenant with God. "Suppose the matter be fully proposed and explained to the people, and, after sufficient opportunity for consideration, they be led... particularly to subscribe the covenant. Suppose also all appear together on a day of prayer and fasting, publicly to own it before God in his house." And he offers for an example the General Assembly of 1596, as narrated in Fleming's "Fulfilling of the Scripture."⁽¹⁾

From Scotland we may glean even more details about the origin of the Concert for Prayer. Robe, in the Preface to his Sermons, says : "This concert was first set on foot, spread and carried on, without printing any thing about it for some time, in the way of private, friendly correspondence, by letters in 1744. Afterwards, some account of it was published in the Christian Monthly History for 1745, No. 1."⁽²⁾

Some idea of how this was done may be gathered from a letter written from Robert Wightman, Esq., of Edinburgh, merchant and Dean of Guild in that city, to M'Culloch at Cambuslang, dated December 22, 1744.

(1) Edwards : Works vi.205

(2) Quoted in Gillies : Hist. Coll. ii. 399

Erskine of Grange had informed ~~me~~^{him} of the proposal for a Concert for Prayer, and Wightman mentions the weekly and quarterly periods to be set aside, exactly as Edwards cites them. He approved the idea, with some modifications, for he had never before joined in any fellowship meetings. " I have long thought ostentation in religion a dangerous thing, and indeed, inconsistent with it. I am thoroughly conscious how strong a bias there is towards displaying one's self in every thing. "

But this proposal wins his support : " It is very much to my taste, on that very account that it is a secret one, and therefore if you please, let me creep in amongst you at the throne of grace, without being enlisted in Mr Robe's list..." Wightman considered that such a union of suppliants, united although far apart and unknown to each other, resembled the heavenly host who stand before the throne of God. His one regret is that no precise hour had been decided upon for prayer on Saturday evenings and Sunday mornings.
(1)

Erskine of Grange had also informed Robe of the work of the Wesleys in England, and the minister of Kilsyth had recommended to Grange that the two brothers should be invited to join the Concert for Prayer, which was accordingly done. John Wesley replied on March 16, 1745, thanking Grange for the transcript of Robe's letter which he had sent.

Says Wesley : " It shows a truly Christian spirit. I should be glad to have also the note you mention touching the proposal for prayer and praise. Might it not be practicable to have the concurrence of Mr Edwards in New England, if not of Mr Tennant also, herein ? It is evidently one work with what we have seen here. Why should we not all praise God with one heart ? " (1)

Robe informs us that in this same year, 1745, there were hopes of the two brothers joining in the Concert for Prayer and " Now I can write that they have acceded. " (2)

And so an English episcopalian recommended to Scottish presbyterians the inclusion of an American Independent within the comprehension of united intercession! (3)

As we have already seen, the sponsors of the scheme in Scotland, amongst whom were undoubtedly M'Laurin, Robe and M'Culloch, did act on Wesley's advice and invite the co-operation of Edwards. Already they were in touch with him by letter and pamphlet, but this union served to strength the bond and throughout the years, they kept up a correspondence with him.

None was more assiduous at this than the youthful John Erskine ; when the great Northampton divine was ejected from his charge, /

(1) Letters of John Wesley ii. 32/33

(2) Whitehead : Life of John Wesley ii. 195

(3) Wesley had read Edwards' Narrative of a Surprising Work when walking to Oxford Oct. 9, 1738 (Journal ii. 83/4) and reprinted it in 1744 (Green: Wesley Bibliography p. 31)

charge, Erskine organised financial support for him from among
 (1)
 his Scottish ministerial friends, and offered to use his good
 offices to secure a charge for him in Scotland, if he would
 consent to come.

Fittingly enough, it is through the agency of John Erskine,
 when an old man, that the Concert for Prayer achieved what may be
 accounted its greatest success. But we must first retrace our
 steps a little.

Amongst the many who were powerfully influenced by the
 preaching of Whitefield was a young Yorkshireman, John Fawcett,
 born near Bradford in January 1740. He became the Baptist minist-
 er, first at Wainsgate and then at Hebden Bridge, near Halifax and
 " was regarded as the first man of his denomination in that part
 of the country. " (2) Fawcett ranks, along with John Nelson the
 Methodist stonemason, William Grimshaw, curate of Haworth, and
 Henry Venn, vicar of Huddersfield among the leading Yorkshire
 evangelicals of the eighteenth century.

About the year 1768, Fawcett baptised a boy of sixteen from
 Halifax, John Sutcliff, who became the Baptist pastor at Olney
 (3)
 in July 1775

(1) Davidson : Letters to Christian Friends. p.120 ff.

(2) D.N.B. xviii. 257/8

(3) Sermon preached at funeral of Sutcliff by Fuller in
 Fuller : Works iv.314 ff.

Under the preaching of Dan Taylor, another native of Halifax and the close friend of both Fawcett and Sutcliffe, great interest was aroused in the Midlands. " His presence and preaching set every Leicestershire meeting he entered on fire... Fresh churches of this Baptist faith sprang up everywhere... he stirred thought and discussion by this dangerous new doctrine of grace. " (1)

The churches had been grouped into Associations and one of the largest, the " Northampton ", stretched from Lincoln to St. Albans. It had been launched in 1764 by six village ministers, Calvinists, but " not as hide-bound and circumscribed in outlook as is sometimes imagined. " (2) From twenty years of their records (1764/1784), we learn that days of prayer were held frequently. The preaching of Taylor galvanised them into new life.

One of the ministers in this Northamptonshire Association was Andrew Fuller, born near Ely on February 6, 1754. Reduced to despair through the hyper-Calvinism of his minister, he so hungered after forgiveness and peace that he determined in his quest for salvation " to run all hazards, like Esther, even though I should perish in the attempt. " (3)

- (1) S. Pearce Carey : William Carey p.9
- (2) Payne : The Prayer Call of 1784 pp3
- (3) Fuller : Works 1. p.xvi.

When Andrew Fuller found grace by a personal venturing of all on Christ, " whether he would have me or no ", he himself began to proclaim Christ as a gift to others, calling men to come and receive rather than dwelling on the " hidden decrees " of God. " Fullerism " became a subject for heated argument between the Particular and General Baptists throughout the land.

Into Fuller's hands, there came a copy of the book written by Robert Millar of Paisley ; as his diary reveals : " 30th August 1780 -- I found my soul drawn out in love to poor souls while reading Millar's Account of Elliott's labours among the North American Indians and their effects on those poor barbarous savages. " (1)

In October 1783 , Fuller, after much heart-searching, moved to Kettering, and was thus brought into more intimate contact with Sutcliffe of Olney and Rylands of Northampton. In April 1784, there reached them, in a parcel of books from John Erskine of Edinburgh, a copy of Edwards' " Humble Attempt " (2) Study of this book proved to be as a match set to dried tinder.

(1) Fuller : Works i. p.xl.

(2) Payne : Prayer Call &c. pp. 4/5

Upon the motion of John Sutcliffe, the Northamptonshire Association, meeting at Nottingham in the spring of 1784, " agreed to set apart an hour of the evening of the first Monday in every month for social prayer for the success of the gospel and to invite Christians of other denominations to unite with them in it. " (1) Payne notes that the date was June 2nd and 3rd, and adds that Fuller's sermon on this occasion was printed, and to it was added " Persuasives to a General Union in Extraordinary Prayer for the Revival and Extent of Real Religion. "

In the " Persuasives ", under seven headings, Fuller urged his readers to consider Christ's readiness to hear and answer prayer, to reflect on the past, to contemplate the needy present, to remember what God had promised to do for his Church in time to come - even the uttermost parts of the earth were to become the kingdom of Christ ! Regard for our countrymen, our connections and our friends should inspire us, and what is asked for is so small.

" As to the times that are proposed, nothing can be less burdensome than once in a month - but what did I say ? Burdensome ? God forbid that any employment of this sort should ever prove a burden ! It is to be hoped it will be attended to as a privilege rather than merely as a duty " (2)

(1) Fuller : Works iv. 326

(2) Ibid. v. 530

Fuller concludes by affirming that whatever be the immediate and apparent issue, the work would not be in vain... " Our petitions may prove like seed in the earth, that shall not perish, though it may not spring up in our day ... what if we should be the sowers and our posterity the reapers ? Shall we think much at this ! "

How much nearer and greater were the results of this Call than ever these good men could have imagined. Fifty years later, Dr. F.A.Cox, seeking for " the primary cause of the missionary excitement in Carey's mind " and its influence among his ministerial brethren, finds it in this Call of 1784. (1)

In 1785, a circular letter was addressed to the churches of the Northamptonshire Association, entitled " Causes of Declension in Religion and Means of Revival ". One part of it states that " it affords us not a little satisfaction to hear in what manner the monthly prayer meetings, which were proposed in our letter of last year, have been carried on. " (2) Many had been stirred up to wrestle hard in prayer for revival and this was considered as more than balancing the failure to increase in membership. " It was resolved, without any hesitation to continue the meetings of prayer on the first Monday evening in every kalendar month. "

(1) Cox : History of the Baptist Missionary Society 1. 10

(2) Fuller : Works iv. 566

This decision was renewed at Leicester in 1787 and the adjoining Warwickshire Association also decided to adopt the scheme ; the movement spread to the Independent churches and the Baptist churches in Yorkshire. ⁽¹⁾ Sutcliffe decided to fan the growing interest into a stronger flame by re-issuing Jonathan Edwards ' " Humble Attempt " and it was reprinted at Northampton, England in May 1789 and sold at ninepence a copy. In his Preface, Sutcliffe pleads : " O for thousands upon thousands, divided into small bands in their respective cities, towns, villages and neighbourhood, all met at the same time, and in pursuit of the same end, offering up their united prayers. " ⁽²⁾

On April 27, 1791, Andrew Fuller preached to a ministers' meeting from Hagga 1.2, Pointing out that too often the Church indulged " in a kind of prudent caution (as we call it) ", which magnified difficulties and thwarted great and good work for the cause of Christ, he went on :

" Perhaps the work requires expense; and Covetousness says, Wait a little longer...Perhaps it requires concurrence ; and we wait for every body to be of a mind... The apostles executed their commission with assiduity and fidelity ; but... we seem to sit down half contented that the greater part of the world should still remain in ignorance... We pray for the conversion and salvation of the world/

(1) Payne : Prayer Call &c. pp 6

(2) Ibid. p. 7

world, and yet neglect the ordinary means by which those ends have been used to be accomplished... Ought we not then at least to try... to convey more of the good news of salvation to the world around us ? " (1)

One man there was, who was willing to live out this creed and pay the price such an enterprise demanded. On October 5, 1783, William Carey, " a poor journeyman shoemaker ", was baptised in the river Nene at Northampton, near to Dr. Doddridge's meeting-house. Eventually he became a Baptist minister and in 1786, suggested to his brethren that the command to teach all nations might be obligatory upon even them, ~~only to hear~~, only to hear : "Young man, sit down, you are a miserable enthusiast... certainly nothing can be done before another Pentecost. " (2)

But Carey had been fired by the New Testament, and the log-books of Captain Cook, especially that explorer's opinion about the impossibility of any Christian mission to Tahiti. " It is very unlikely that any measure of this kind should ever be seriously thought of, for it can neither serve the purpose of public ambition nor private avarice ; and, without such inducements, I may pronounce that it will never be undertaken. " (3)

But there was one man eager to rub out Cook's " never " - and ready at that very moment !

(1) Fuller : Works iv. 42/3

(2) Smith : Life of William Carey p.29. For a discussion of the actual words used by Dr. Rylands vde. Walker:Carey p. 63 f-n

(3) Carey .S.R. : Carey p.43

In 1792, Carey published "An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens &c" Thomas Potts, a Birmingham manufacturer subsidised the publication with ten pounds, and it was sold for one shilling and sixpence, any profits "to go to the proposed mission." It was suggested (1) that a society be formed of "persons whose hearts are in the work" One method of supporting the mission, and helping evangelization at home was for friends to give a tenth of their income. Carey's last sentence runs : "Surely it is worth while to lay ourselves out with all our might, in promoting the cause, and kingdom of Christ." (2)

That same year, on 30th May, Carey preached his memorable sermon at Nottingham from Isaiah 54,2/3, with its two plain, pungent and quotable watchwords "Attempt great things for God ; Expect great things from God."

After the "Persuasives" and the years of prayer, at long last there followed a "Plan" for the day after Carey's sermon, Fuller proposed : "Resolved that a Plan be prepared... for forming a Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathens."

(1) Carey : An Enquiry &c. p. 83

(2) Ibid. p. 87

On Tuesday, October 2, 1792, in the hospitable back parlour of Widow Wallis at Kettering, twelve ministers and two others, launched the modern missionary movement on I.O.U.'s for £ 13-2-6, collected in Andrew Fuller's snuff-box - and their consecrated faith in God's purpose and power. But the venture could not have been started apart from the zeal and urgency born of almost a decade of concerted prayer.

In the 1784 Call to Prayer, Sutcliffe had written, that those who should engage in it ought not to confine their prayers to their own churches or denomination. " Let the whole interest of the Redeemer be affectionately remembered ; and the spread of the Gospel to the most distant parts of the habitable globe be the object of your most earnest requests. We shall rejoice if any other Christian societies of our own or other denomination will join with us, and we do now invite them most cordially to join heart and hand in the attempt. "

Carey in his " Enquiry " suggests that " each denomination engaging separately in the work " would be the best way to further the great cause ; " There is room enough for us all " (1) As he hoped, so it happened, and very soon after the formation of the Baptist Missionary Society, other Societies came into being and the greatest Christian adventure of the modern world had begun. "

(1) Carey : Enquiry p.84

At New York on May 12, 1786, " A Proposal submitted to the consideration of God's People of Every Denomination " urged " that they agree to meet at the throne of grace every Sabbath morning, in their closets, sometime between the hours of seven and nine o'clock, to unite in prayer " for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit and the spread of the gospel in its purity and power throughout the world. " Much need not be said to engage those whose hearts are right with God, to join in this Concert for Prayer. " Finally, it is noted that " the universal spread of the gospel of Christ in due time... is matter of express and frequent promise in the sacred oracles, " Prayer and missions linked together.

After pointing out that " the Concert for Prayer... is not a new thing, " the writer asks, " Who then will join in this duty, so peculiarly necessary in our day ? " This proposal was reprinted at Glasgow on March 23, 1787, and prefixed to the 1789 edition of Robe's " Narrative " pp. xi/xii.

The missionary impulse was felt in Scotland too during the last decade of the eighteenth century, and found its leadership in the venerable figure of the minister who, years before, had been stirred by the revival movement of 1742, Dr. John Erskine. In February 1796, an Edinburgh Missionary Society was formed -- a Glasgow Missionary Society had already started.

Dr. John Erskine was its first president and within a month, the Society received donations of £ 700. In that same year, May 27th, an Overture was brought in asking the General Assembly " to consider of the most effective method by which the Church of Scotland may contribute to the diffusion of the Gospel over the world. " There was a controversial debate with much innuendo from opponents of the idea of missions, comparing missionary societies to revolutionary groups. The aged Jupiter Carlyle commented that this was the first time he had ever heard such a proposal during his fifty years membership of the Assembly.

" As clergymen, let us pray that Christ's kingdom may come, as we are assured it shall come, in the course of providence. " ⁽¹⁾ was Carlyle's answer to this plea. Erskine's well-known interruption during the debate, " Moderator, rax me that Bible ", had been questioned by some critics, since it is not mentioned in Heron's very full account of the Debate, but the former Principal Hugh ⁽²⁾ Watt is well satisfied with its veracity. Even should the story be apocryphal, the spirit it reveals is authentic enough.

The opportunity was lost for the moment, but there were some who were not content merely to pray, to substitute devotion for decisive action. While the Moderate Carlyle was talking pious platitudes, the Evangelical Erskine and his friends were working and giving.

(1) Account of the Proceedings and Debate p.38

(2) Letter from Principal Hugh Watt to Professor John Foster, Glasgow.

One of the greatest of the early missionaries was Claudius Buchanan ; one Anglican historian had asserted recently that the present day Indian Church owes its existence to the championship and encouragement of Buchanan in the formative years of planting the Gospel in India .⁽¹⁾

Buchanan was born at Cambuslang on March 12, 1766, and so would probably be christened by the venerable M'Culloch, by this time 75 years of age. His father was the teacher at the local school, and his mother was the daughter of Claud : Somers, one of the converts in the 1742 revival at Cambuslang, and afterwards an elder there. This man had been helped to faith by a letter written from M'Culloch, and this very letter was sent by Buchanan's mother to him in his own time of spiritual need and distress.⁽²⁾

Claudius Buchanan had been " adopted " by his grandfather, and lived with him ; the latter had earnestly encouraged his grandson to enter the ministry. But in later years, Buchanan forgot his promise, went to London and sank into dissipation. Brought into concern about personal religion, he wrote to his mother and she advised him to consult John Newton of St. Mary Wolnooth church, London. This he did and was thereby converted.

Henry Thornton, one of the " Clapham Sect " loaned to Buchanan the money to go to Cambridge, and he eventually became a priest in the Anglican Church.

(1) Campbell : Christian History in the Making pp. 85/88

(2) Pearson : Life of Buchanan 1. 39.

In 1797, Buchanan went to Calcutta as a chaplain to the East India Company, where he played the major rôle in constituting Fort William College, and securing the appointment of William Carey as professor of Bengali there. He provided from his own private purse the money to endow bursaries in the British universities in order to stimulate interest in things Indian. Also he paid for three years the salary of an Armenian, Lassar, who had been born in Macao, in order that he might give his assistance to the Serampore trio, Carey, Marshman and Ward, who were translating the Scriptures into Chinese. The translation was crude and little used, although it was of some help in preparing the way for a
(1)
later version.

How William M'Culloch would have rejoiced to see Buchanan, once held in his arms and part of the spiritual fruit of the revival days of 1742, building the kingdom of God in India and seeking to send the good news into China. From Cambuslang to Cathay !

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(1) Pearson : Memoir of Buchanan i. 320/1 ; Latourette : A History of Christian Missions in China " pp. 210/211
Even today, all around the vestry walls at Cambuslang Church, there are the photographs of former members and assistant ministers of the church who are, or have been, workers in overseas missions. It is an imposing record.

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