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THE 1859 RELIGIOUS REVIVAL IN SCOTLAND:
A REVIEW & CRITIQUE OF THE MOVEMENT
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE CITY OF GLASGOW.

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ABSTRACT.

A literature search in the general field of nineteenth century Scottish history revealed one topic where little previous, and no recent research had been undertaken. There has been a marked lack of academic interest in the religious revival that commenced in the late 1850s.

This is rather surprising given the allegation, supported by a consensus of scholars, that the movement was, in the words of Drummond & Bulloch, '...the first...great revival that stirred the life of Victorian Scotland....' Popular perception has it that the movement affected the entire nation, including, for the first time, the modern industrial and commercially inspired mass urban areas of which Glasgow was a prime example. In the city the movement was apparently so rampant that it impacted upon the whole population interrupting normal daily life and intercourse. (1)

Additionally, it has been claimed that church attendances increased substantially, and that the movement stimulated improvements in social behaviour as well as heralding a great change in social policy, encouraging 'practical Samaritanism' - legislative and active intervention to alleviate the social evils of the era - and so a move away from the previously dominant *laissez faire* approach. Moreover, it is contended that the revival radically altered church attitudes, policies and practices, for example, being

perceived as central to the acceptance and popularity of lay preachers and hymnsinging.

Suspicious of consensus, popular perceptions and claims based on so little detailed historical analysis this thesis seeks to test all of these to ascertain if they have combined to create an accurate history or a mythical account of events. It will also attempt to fill in gaps left by the methodology and scope of earlier work, the most influential of which has been produced by passionate scholars working on a macro or national level who penned descriptive narratives which lacked critical analysis. These failed, for example, to consider theories about revivals such as the circumstances/conditions under which they are believed to tend to occur, the maintenance and transmission of revival impulses, who was influenced by such movements, and how to evaluate them. Other deficiencies include an absence of a critique of sources, an inadequate consideration of the theology of the movement, and a lack of contextualization. Moreover no detailed critical dispassionate research on the revival's impact at a micro-level, such as a village, town or city has ever been produced.

The thesis covers all of these beginning with a review of primary and secondary sources followed by an examination of theological and theoretical issues. The 1859 movement is then contextualized with an analysis of the politico-economic, social and ecclesiastical-spiritual situation/

environment in which it occurred: in effect this tests the theories about the circumstances/conditions commonly held to precede and be conducive to the commencement of revivals. Preceptions of the revival are then presented with a consideration of stimuli, transmission, geographical coverage and duration, together with denominational opinions, popular responses, concerns, criticisms and evaluations.

Research then focuses on the city of Glasgow, supposedly one of the localities most impacted upon. Confining the study to a restricted and well-defined geographical area applies a methodology unique to the subject. This approach permits a meticulous search of sources which have hitherto received only cursory attention. It also facilitates the introduction and utilization of unknown local sources, or sources not before considered relevant. These include local newspapers, kirk session and presbytery proceedings, police and prison reports, and the diaries, autobiographies, correspondence etc. of local people. An innovative approach to in-depth investigation of the impact and effects of revival at a local level is thus introduced.

The adoption of this method results in the production of a highly detailed local chronology which provides for a much greater understanding of the operation of the movement in the city. It pinpoints more precisely the districts affected, identifies duration and different phases within

it, and highlights the adoption by local revivalists of new tactics. A method of evaluating the impact of revival at a local level is then suggested, one made possible by the methodology initially adopted, namely a comparative analysis based on contextualization.

A final chapter offers a summary critique and an opinion on the consensus, popular perceptions and claims of earlier scholars.

Footnote.

- (1) Drummond & Bulloch, p.185.

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Abbreviations & Footnotes.

I. Abbreviations

i. Ecclesiastical Bodies & Sources

AECGA	Acts of the Established Church General Assembly
AFCGA	Acts of the Free Church General Assembly
EC	Established Church of Scotland
ECGA	Established Church General Assembly
ECPG	Established Church Presbytery of Glasgow
FC	Free Church of Scotland
FCCRM	Free Church Committee on Religion & Morals
FCGA	Free Church General Assembly
FCHMC	Free Church Home Mission Committee
FCPG	Free Church Presbytery of Glasgow
FCSGA	Free Church Synod of Glasgow & Ayr
GA	General Assembly
PDECGA	Proceedings & Debates of the Established Church General Assembly
PDFCGA	Proceedings & Debates of the Free Church General Assembly
PUPCS	Proceedings of the United Presbyterian Church Synod
RPC	Reformed Presbyterian Church
RPCS	Reformed Presbyterian Church Synod
UPC	United Presbyterian Church
UPCS	United Presbyterian Church Synod
UPPG	United Presbyterian Presbytery of Glasgow

ii. Primary Source Publications

BM	<i>British Messenger</i>
BN	<i>Belfast Newsletter</i>
BT	<i>Banner of Truth</i>
BS	<i>British Standard</i>
DEM	<i>Dublin Evening Mail</i>
DEP	<i>Dublin Evening Post</i>
DH	<i>Dumfries Herald</i>
DM	<i>Daily Mail</i>
GC	<i>Glasgow Courier</i>
GH	<i>Glasgow Herald</i>
MS	<i>Morning Star</i>
NBDM	<i>North British Daily Mail</i>
NOTW	<i>News of the World</i>
SG	<i>Scottish Guardian</i>
SM	<i>Scotsman</i>
SR	<i>Saturday Review</i>
TL	<i>The Lancet</i>
TR	<i>The Revival</i>
TT	<i>The Times</i>
WJ	<i>Wynd Journal</i>
WW	<i>Word & Work</i>

111. Secondary Sources

DSCHT *Dictionary of Scottish Church History &
Theology*
RSCHS 'Records of the Scottish Church History
Society.'

These abbreviations are used throughout the text. When referencing newspapers and journals, the initials are followed by the date of publication and, in the case of the larger secular ones, the precise page and column numbers where the information cited is located. For example, SG 24-6-60, 2/4 refers to the *Scottish Guardian* of 24 June 1860, page 2, column 4.

In the case of multiple references in a footnote an ampersand or semi-colon is used to distinguish different editions of the same source whilst a colon is used to differentiate sources.

II. Footnotes

Footnotes do not contain additional text but are used solely to identify source material. For the sake of clarity and to minimise the number of footnotes they appear only at the end of paragraphs.

If a paragraph contains more than one reference then a collective footnote is used to identify all sources. The sources will appear in the footnote in the same order as the references appear in the paragraph.

Where a paragraph contains allusions and a footnote is given suggesting sources these appear, in the case of secondary sources, in chronological order of publication. In the case of newspapers all editions of a particular paper are referred to collectively before progressing to the next source.

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SECTION ONE

AN IDENTIFICATION & CRITIQUE OF SOURCES.

Chapter One

Secondary Sources.

Introduction.

This Chapter is composed of two parts. The purpose of the first is to establish the chronological order in which works and references relating to the 1859 revival have appeared and to give a very brief description of the nature of these: this serves to highlight the dearth of material on the movement. Details are retained for the second part which is devoted to a full identification and critique of these sources.

I. A Chronology of Secondary Sources.

On 27 April 1861 the prominent minister of Glasgow's Bridgegate FC, the Rev. Dougal M'Coll, confidently predicted:

The religious history of these eventual days is not to be preserved merely in the record of frequent prayer meetings and sudden conversions; this time will make its own records and build up its own enduring monuments..., and it will mark itself indelibly to after ages.... (1)

A literature search confirmed that this did not happen. Victorian scholars, including specialist Church historians, ignored the movement. Even in near contemporaneous local histories, in books penned chronologically close to the events and devoted exclusively to the history of Glasgow, the revival is never mentioned. This is so even in the case of authors who in other works had displayed an interest in ecclesiastical and religious matters. (2)

In 1910 a book of *Reminiscences of the Revival of '59 and the Sixties* was published comprising of speeches of survivors of the movement. These addresses recalled personal involvements and were delivered at a 'Great Commemorative Meeting' to mark the 50th anniversary of the revival. At this gathering, held at North UFC in Aberdeen on Friday 8 October 1909, one veteran lamented the lack of any record: 'One often wonders why no history of the awakening of 1857-60 has been written....' (3)

After 1909 there was no significant change. Almost another decade passed before, in 1918, after the majority of participants and eye witnesses had died, a first short essay was produced by W.J. Couper in his book *Scottish Revivals*. General apathy once more set in. In 1927 a passing reference appeared in J.R. Fleming's *A History of the Church in Scotland 1843-1874*, but no further mention was made until the late 1940s when a Ph.D by O. Bussey entitled 'The Religious Awakening of 1856-60 in Great Britain & Ireland' , and a book by J.E. Orr, *The Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain*, appeared in 1947 and 1949 respectively.

During the next three decades the movement was virtually neglected. For example, it was completely ignored in the panoramic works of both J.H.S. Burleigh and G. Donaldson, who penned, in 1960, *A Church History of Scotland*, and *Scotland: Church and Nation through Sixteen Centuries* respectively. In 1975 another passing reference appeared in Drummond & Bulloch's *The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843-1874*, with a

further one in John Kent's 1978 book, *Holding the Fort: Studies in Victorian Revivalism*.

In 1980 the revival was considered by I.A. Muirhead in a *RSCHS* article, 'The Revival as a Dimension of Scottish Church History'. C.G. Brown mentioned the movement in his 1982 Ph.D, 'Religion and the development of an urban society: Glasgow 1780-1914', and again in his 1987 book, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730*. The most recent reference is in the 1993 publication, *A Dictionary of Scottish Church History & Theology (DSCHT)*.

II. Identification and Critique of Secondary Sources.

In 1918 the first essay on the movement appeared in a book by the Rev. W.J. Couper entitled *Scottish Revivals*. This identified and summarily considered the major revivals which had occurred in Scotland from Stewarton in the seventeenth century to the Moody/Sankey experience of the later nineteenth century. Only 37 copies of the book were produced. Couper devoted one chapter to each occurrence in which major points are noted in narrative descriptive fashion. Rarely is an opinion or criticism tendered.

An account of the 1859 movement is given in a chapter of about 5,000 words. In a work of this size, which adopts a national perspective, Couper is only able to offer sweeping generalizations.

He attempts a very limited contextualization of the revival, and claims that it was stimulated by news of events in America and the north of Ireland. This author views it as a single unified movement which permeated the whole of Scotland. He contends that lay preachers, some of whom he identifies by means of short profiles, played a prominent role, and that fervent hymn-singing was a conspicuous feature of meetings, at which a '...deep sense of sin...' was frequently awakened and the work of the Holy Spirit and the need for repentance stressed. Consequences were allegedly both spiritual and social with many conversions, supposedly from all ranks of society, improved personal behaviour and habits, and the emergence of a social and civic conscience which found its expression in Christian philanthropy.

Unfortunately most of the work is unaccredited, however some contemporary newspapers which reported and commented upon the revival are identified, particularly *The Revival* and the *Wynd Journal*, as are denominational presbytery, synod and assembly records. Thus although Couper gives but a brief account, his work was useful in suggesting leads which could be pursued.

In the following decade J.R. Fleming, in 1927, corroborated some of the views of Couper. In particular he claimed that foreign influences had been present, the movement had permeated much of the nation, to varying degrees all denominations had benefitted, and laymen had played a

prominent part in leadership and preaching thus helping relax attitudes to lay ministry and making it more acceptable. (4)

In the late 1940s more extensive work appeared.

In 1947 O. Bussey submitted to New College Edinburgh the first and only Ph.D. exclusively pertaining to the revival. The author, like Couper a Scottish minister, admitted to being a passionate scholar. He claimed, '...no general survey of the movement in this country [UK] has so far been made.' His study sought to rectify this and so was geographically sweeping in nature, as the title suggests: 'The Religious Awakening of 1858-60 in Great Britain and Ireland.' (5)

Bussey based his work on sources such as, '...pamphlets containing local news...written by eyewitnesses...', biographies of prominent contemporary church figures and, '...a host of periodicals, reports, newspapers etc..' His intention was to produce a review which, '...describe[d] the movement as much as possible as it appeared to those eyewitnesses who passed through it.' This perhaps explains the narrative style adopted and accounts for the lack of any critique.

Bussey examined pre-revival religion and compared the 1859 experience to previous occurrences. He attempted a limited contextualization of the movement by placing it within an allegedly international religious experience which was seen as having commenced in 1857 and which was viewed as having swept through the Protestant countries and communities of North

America and Northern Europe in the years immediately following. He did not, however, attempt a wider socio-economic or political contextualization.

In addition, Bussey provided details about leading personalities, notable conversions, physical phenomena, and contemporary criticisms. He also suggested direct beneficial results, both spiritual and social, throughout the following decades. These ranged from increased church attendances and home and foreign missionary enterprises to improved personal behaviour and the creation of schemes to alleviate poverty and suffering. A useful bibliography was also included.

Although relatively comprehensive, the desire to consider the revival throughout the whole of Britain resulted in only one chapter being devoted to the movement in Scotland. This resulted in a less than detailed analysis. Moreover, despite the primary sources previously named, the chapter on Scotland is heavily reliant on Couper, although this is not always acknowledged. (6)

Although Bussey's thesis is more wide-ranging than Couper's paper, and in respect of Scotland does provide some more detail, given his dependence on his predecessor it is not surprising that the findings of the two concur. It appears that Bussey's work has been consulted by only two other researchers since its completion 48 years ago.

The only book dedicated to the movement was completed in 1949 by J.E. Orr, a self-confessed pro-revivalist. The author made

a similar claim to that of Bussey, that in respect of Britain, '...no history of the movement has been written....' He further asserted that there was, '...no [substantial] published work reporting the progress of the Awakening in Scotland.' Orr does not list Couper or Bussey in his bibliography. (7)

Orr declared his work, '...a pioneer study....designed to make an important contribution to ecclesiastical history.' His 'primary purpose' was to;

...present a carefully documented and authentic account of this remarkable religious movement which profoundly influenced British life in the middle of the nineteenth century....The secondary purpose is to attempt to analyse the results of the Awakening, in the hope that other historians may turn their attention to a much neglected phase of recent church history. (8)

In seeking to produce a '...narrative of the progress of the movement throughout the United Kingdom...', Orr adopted a methodology and style resembling that of Bussey. His research was '...based very largely upon primary sources, chiefly [religious and secular] newspapers.' The end-product is descriptive rather than critical, scanning the movement on a macro-level, as is reflected in the title: *The Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain*. (9)

Of all the writers on the revival, Orr arguably made the most extravagant claims, contending that the British churches enjoyed an influx of some 1,000,000 converts, including 300,000 in Scotland. Like Bussey, he also alleged that for

many years afterwards there were numerous positive consequences. (10)

In addition to charting the movement throughout the whole of the British Isles, Orr also included chapters considering opposition to it, denominational interest in it, personalities involved and revival psychology, theology and hymnology.

In similar fashion to Bussey's thesis, the revival in Scotland was confined to a solitary chapter. In this well researched and documented piece Orr identifies additional primary sources which apparently corroborate the contentions of earlier scholars; no original ideas emerge however.

The order in which Orr arranged his book is significant. It commences with a chapter entitled, 'The Awakening in America', followed by 'The Awakening in Ulster' and 'The Awakening in Scotland'. The importance of this order is that it reflects the author's view of the revival as an uninterrupted continuum which started in America, crossed the Atlantic Ocean to reach the north of Ireland before arriving in Scotland and then spread throughout the remainder of Britain.

Thus like Bussey, Orr linked the various regional experiences into a trans-Atlantic movement of which the Scottish experience was but a part. This international dimension had previously been recognized by both Couper and Fleming who suggested that motivation had emanated from America, a point subsequently noted by Muirhead; however none attempted a development. Orr does by offering suggestions regarding the

practicalities for foreign influences, noting the trans-Atlantic traffic in personnel and intelligence between the three major ports of Glasgow, Belfast and New York.

The works of Bussey and Orr were followed by 25 years of indifference. Not until 1975 did further references emerge. In that year a book by Drummond & Bulloch acknowledged the movement. Assertions were made as to its widespread popularity which is said to have crossed social and church divides, its stimulation of hymn-singing, and its impact, both geographically and denominationally. These, however, amount to no more than crude generalizations which are neither substantiated nor developed. (11)

Three years later John Kent in, *Holding the Fort: Studies in Victorian Revivalism*, a book examining revival in England, concluded that the 1859 revival had been almost exclusively a Protestant phenomenon. (12)

In 1980 a journal article by I.A. Muirhead entitled, 'The Revival as a Dimension of Scottish Church History' was published in *RSCHS*. In format this essay was similar to the work of Couper. In it the author chose to survey all major Scottish revivals rather than engage in a detailed study of any particular one. It contained only a few paragraphs on the 1859 revival. The information supplied was consistent with, and so corroborated, the general facts and conclusions of earlier writers.

Muirhead, however, made an additional contribution by addressing conceptual issues. For example, he considered if there was a trend as to circumstances or conditions which accompanied revivals or with which such occurrences tended to be associated, that is, those which created various kinds of communal or individual insecurity or uncertainty. (13)

In the 1980s C.G. Brown made minor contributions in his Ph.D. thesis and in a book. In the former, a meticulously detailed mammoth double volume which appeared in 1982 and entitled, 'Religion and the development of an urban society: Glasgow 1780-1914', he does not appear to regard the movement as greatly influential. This is reflected in the fact that only 1% of the thesis is devoted to it. In these few pages similar assertions to those already made by earlier scholars are repeated: Brown was one of the few to have read Bussey's thesis. Apart from briefly referring to theories concerning circumstances and conditions which may in some way correlate with revivals, the only other points of note are the author's contentions that the EC was hesitant, if not reluctant, to embrace the movement which in Glasgow, he alleged, was a predominantly working class phenomenon. (14)

As the title suggests, Brown's book, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730*, is a sweeping historical survey similar in format to the works of Burleigh and Donaldson. Given this style, it is not surprising that it contains little information on the revival. It furnished a few

generalizations which concurred with previous accounts, including a repeat of his thesis assertion that the movement was popular amongst the working classes. The only additional detail was the remark that the revival occurred in the wake of a trade depression. (15)

Although shedding little new light on the movement, Brown's thesis was valuable for providing general background information. The thesis and book combined to provide an extensive bibliography, suggesting several primary sources, particularly church records.

In 1989 J. McCaffrey's article in the *RSCHS*, 'Scottish Church History in the Nineteenth Century: A Select Critical Bibliography', confirmed the dearth of secondary sources pertaining to the movement in question. It identified only Muirhead's article cited above. (16)

The most recent consideration of Scottish revivals is by D.E. Meek in the 1993 publication, *A Dictionary of Scottish Church History & Theology*. In about 6,000 words Meek considers revivals generally, briefly examining understandings of what they are, together with the roots, patterns, contexts and results of such movements. He confirms the production of several descriptive accounts and highlights the lack of critical analysis. (17)

In respect of procedure and progress, research commenced with a wide ranging literature search on the general theme of church history in an urban environment. This unearthed

McCaffrey who identified Muirhead, who in turn referred to Couper and Orr. C.G. Brown's book and thesis were readily available. The former was well known and contained a reference to the the latter: this Ph.D., undertaken at the University of Glasgow, identified Bussey. (18)

The search also suggested other sources including three slim non-scholarly volumes two of which were published in 1860. One was by the Rev. Dr. William Nixon, a FC minister from Montrose who wrote of his neighbouring area, *An Account of the late Work of God at Ferryden*. The other was a compilation of sketches by the Rev. William Reid entitled, *Authentic Records of Revival Now in Progress in the United Kingdom*. The third, published in 1906, was by the Rev. Alexander MacRae, *Revivals in the Highlands and Islands in the Nineteenth Century*. Each of these is a blatant pro-revival propaganda organ which adds a degree of local detail but makes no significant contribution to the present study.

Other books identified include three which predate the movement. These share the same title, *Lectures on Revivals of Religion* and are by, in chronological order, William B. Sprague (1833), Charles Grandison Finney (1837), and William Maxwell Hetherington (1840). Modern works comprise William G. McLoughlin Jn., *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (1959); J.B. Boles, *The Great Revival 1787-1805* (1972); R. Currie, A. Gilbert & L. Horsley, *Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles*

Since 1700 (1977): R. Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: popular evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865* (1978): I.H. Murray, *Revival and Revivalism: The Making and Marring of American Evangelicalism 1750-1858* (1994). Doctoral theses include P.L.M. Hillis, 'Presbyterianism and Social Class in mid-nineteenth century Glasgow, a study of nine churches' (1978), and S.S. Nenadic, 'The Structure, values and influence of the Scottish urban middle class: Glasgow 1800 to 1870' (1986).

In the 1830s the Americans Sprague and Finney were arguably the foremost advocates on the subject of revival. Published in America, and by Collins of Glasgow, their books conveyed the prominent notions of the time and informed opinion on both sides of the Atlantic. The authors' views were also promoted personally when they toured this country, the former as early as 1828, the latter in the 1840s. (19)

The book edited by Hetherington derives from a series of addresses inspired by the spate of revival experiences dating from 1839, the most famous of which were located at Kilsyth, Dundee and Perth. These stimulated popular interest, both supportive and otherwise, to such an extent that the Presbytery of Aberdeen established a special committee to investigate. Moreover, '...it was thought expedient that a course of lectures should be delivered...for the purpose of communicating right views and removing prejudices on that all-important topic', namely, revivals of religion. Delivered in

Glasgow in 1840, and published by Collins the same year, these discourses emanate from a number of pro-revival evangelical Scottish divines. Each lecture constitutes a chapter of the book. Overall they consider numerous aspects of revival. The editor claimed the work, '...exhibit[ed] almost a system of theology...' on the subject. Meek adds the detail that the contributors, '...were almost all in city charges.' (20)

The books of McLoughlin, Boles, Currie et al., Carwardine and Murray add no new intelligence about the revival under scrutiny. However each, to varying degrees, adds a modern voice to the consideration of concepts about revival. For example, Currie et al. mention possible contextual stimuli, as does Carwardine who adds a trans-Atlantic dimension and, like Boles, also examines transmission of revival impulses. McLoughlin and Murray are exclusively concerned with revivals in America and are useful for the opinions they offer on the 1857 movement in that country.

Hillis's thesis examined the social composition of nine Glasgow congregations during the years 1840-1870. Although this covers the years of the revival, he makes no reference to the movement. Like C.G. Brown's thesis, Hillis's provided useful background information together with details of primary sources.

As the title suggests, Nenadic's thesis is a study of the values and influences upon and of Glasgow's middle classes from the beginning of the nineteenth century to 1870, with

particular reference to the Glasgow of 1861, thus corresponding with the period of the revival. The movement, however, is never mentioned. As with the previously named theses, this one is useful for contributing to an appreciation of aspects of the socio-economic context immediately preceding the movement and for suggesting source material.

The methodology adopted in the secondary sources whether in the form of books, theses or articles, indicates that the principal objective was to convey general impressions rather than provide a detailed analysis. With the exception of C.G. Brown's thesis, all pursued a macro-level approach which produced panoramic overviews, limited to descriptive reviews of large geographical expanses. They relied predominantly on national data, anecdotal evidence and general statements.

The overwhelming impression gleaned is of the remarkable degree of accord. The various commentators conveyed a consistent account with no major factual disagreements and no dissenting voices, merely a few qualifications.

This is, perhaps, not surprising in view of the relatively small number of scholars who have addressed the topic and the reliance of the more recent on their predecessors. Whilst later sources consider conceptual issues they add little by way of new information, tending merely to repeat the descriptions and claims made previously by Couper, Bussey and Orr, identified as the three main contributors.

Each of these had evangelical sympathies and was supportive of the objectives of revival. Unlike Couper and Bussey, Orr was not a Scottish minister. He was, however, a staunch revival enthusiast who devoted his life to researching such occurrences and produced a number of books on different movements in Asia, America and Europe. (21)

Each of these three scholars appears to have based his study on dual presuppositions:

- (i) that religious revival was a 'good' thing in as much as it produced more Christians or more earnest Christians and unquestionably made a positive beneficial contribution to both church and society;
- (ii) that the 1859 revival produced many such people and therefore made a great impact on society and was hugely influential.

Even if no 'hidden agenda' as such existed, such sympathies and assumptions could lead to a tendency to 'write-up' the movement and its effects. The works of these passionate authors undoubtedly promote the revival as a major socio-spiritual phenomenon. The sympathies and assumptions may also, to some extent, account for the adoption of descriptive rather than critical approaches.

Although the consensus represented by the secondary sources cannot be accepted as a wholly reliable reflection of the reality of the movement under consideration, their value in suggesting a variety of primary sources must be acknowledged as the identification of these facilitated the current study.

Footnotes.

- (1) WJ No. 83, 27-4-61.
- (2) v. Strang 1864: Gordon 1872: Marwick n.d. (but likely from the 1870s): MacKenzie 1875. The most comprehensive collection of nineteenth century local histories is located at the Mitchell Library, Glasgow Room (Ref. No. 941.435).
- (3) *Reminiscences...*, p. 59
- (4) Fleming, pp. 111ff.
- (5) Bussey, Preface, p. 11 & p. 378
- (6) cf. Couper, pp. 121, 131, 137, 139: Bussey, pp. 93, 132, 232, 332f..
- (7) Orr, pp. 5f., 8, 287-292: v. Chp. 15.
- (8) Orr, pp. 5f., 8.
- (9) Orr, pp. 5ff..
- (10) v. Orr, Preface.
- (11) Drummond & Bulloch, p. 185.
- (12) Kent, pp. 71f., 94-98, 100
- (13) v. Muirhead, *RSCHS* Vol. 20 1980, pp. 179ff..
- (14) C.G. Brown, 1982, pp. 424-427, 429.
- (15) C.G. Brown 1987, pp. 147, 159.
- (16) McCaffrey, *RSCHS* Vol. 23, Pt. 3 1989, pp. 430ff..
- (17) Meek in *DSCHT*, pp. 711ff..
- (18) v. C.G. Brown 1982, p. 261.
- (19) v. Finney (1960 ed.), p. 1v: Bussey, pp. 31, 37: Currie *et al*, p. 39: Kent, Chps. 1-3, pp. 77f.: Carwardine, pp. xiv, 59, 67f., 73, 97, 101, 202 n. 15: S.J. Brown, p. 324f.: *DSCHT*, p. 715.
- (20) Hetherington, pp. xii, xxii, xxiii, xxiv: Meek in *DSCHT*, p. 715f.: v. Couper, pp. 125f.: Gillies 1845 ed., pp. 556ff. for details on the Presbytery of Aberdeen enquiry.
- (21) cf. Couper pp. 15, 40, 50, 69, 154, 160: Bussey, Preface ii; Chp. XI; pp. 140, 378: Orr, p. 8; Chp. 15.

Chapter Two

Primary Sources.

Introduction.

Whilst the secondary sources identified a number of primary sources, none offered a critique.

Three main types of sources were suggested: (i) personal data, for example, biographies and autobiographies, correspondence, diaries and memoirs: (ii) church records: (iii) newspapers.

Civic records such as vital, social and economic indicators were largely ignored, as were other types of ecclesiastical records such as local Sunday School data and the Reports of Glasgow City Mission. These have been consulted and will receive appropriate comment when utilized in the text.

The primary sources were located via the Scottish Record Office (Edinburgh), Strathclyde Regional Archives (Glasgow), The Mitchell Library (Glasgow), Glasgow University Library, and the Evangelical Library (London).

The remainder of this Chapter falls into two parts. The first considers personal data and church records as primary sources, whilst the second is concerned with the most extensive source, contemporary local newspapers.

I Personal Data and Church Records as Primary Sources for Religious Revival Intelligence.

i. Personal Data.

Revival intelligence emanating from personal data comes in the form of statements, comments and opinions expressed in writing by eyewitnesses.

When considering intelligence from such sources it is necessary to be aware that the information invariably emanates from churchmen who were supportive of the movement and active in it. Personal data therefore forms an obviously biased source.

Moreover, it should be noted that, whilst a degree of information is undeniably provided, a remarkable feature of this type of source is the comparative lack of volume of material. For example, other sources, including contemporary newspapers, suggest that one of the leading local clergymen intimately involved with the revival was the Rev. Dr. Andrew A. Bonar of Finnieston FC. Bonar kept a daily diary, yet in this he refers to the movement only briefly and sporadically. This tends to give the impression that it was not as pervasive, time-consuming and enervating an experience as is suggested elsewhere. Admittedly, Bonar's published diary was an abridged version, edited by his daughter Marjory but since she would probably have been more aware than most of the movement's impact on her father, one would hope that she would have been at pains not to misrepresent its influence. (1)

It is intriguing that even those apparently enthusiastically engaged in revival activities should not have given the movement more attention and prominence in their personal papers. That they did not, means that this particular type of source was of limited value, being mainly corroborative, supplementing other sources, rather than offering new information.

ii. Church Records.

In respect of church records, secondary sources have tended to rely on bi-annual synod and annual assembly reports. As reports to these bodies had to be prepared in advance, by the time of their presentation the information conveyed was sometimes out of date. Moreover, such reports tended to be in the form of regional or national reviews rather than local in scope and so were not always informative of a specific location. Nevertheless, the debates and personal statements which sometimes followed the formal reading of a report could occasionally provide geographically specific and up-to-date detail. Synod and assembly proceedings were reported extensively, often verbatim, in the press. The Strathclyde Regional Archives (SRA) house synod material whilst assembly data is located at Glasgow University Library and the Scottish Record Office (SRO).

Due to their timing and infrequency it was not synods or assemblies, but the monthly local presbytery meetings which initially provided denominational responses to the revival. It

was in these gatherings that the movement in Scotland was first considered, with opinions aired, responses formulated and policies adopted.

The proceedings of the regular presbytery meetings often contained reviews and immediate reactions to local events, conveying details recorded close to the time of the occurrences referred to. They also had the advantage of an element of peer review, as information and views expressed in speeches and statements could be immediately challenged by others present who also had some knowledge of what was going on. Therefore, of the various forms of church records, the presbytery ones were the most useful for studying the revival at a local level. The proceedings of over 100 presbytery meetings, in addition to over 20 synod and assembly gatherings, were examined for the period 1859-1862.

The presbytery records of the large denominations in Glasgow are kept in the SRA having been transferred from the SRO in 1986. These are bound volumes, hand-written, and often difficult to decipher. However, this particular problem can be overcome by reference to the local press, which frequently printed complete verbatim reports of presbytery proceedings. In this respect the *Scottish Guardian* is particularly useful. The accuracy of its reporting can be cross-checked with the accounts of the same meetings in the *Glasgow Herald* and the *North British Daily Mail*. When random selections were made to compare the newspaper portrayals with the original hand-

written presbytery records, no report was found to be inaccurate or misrepresentative.

The presbytery records can be located under the following references:

Free Church Presbytery of Glasgow (FCPG): SRA CH3/146/36;
United Presbyterian Presbytery of Glasgow (UPPG): SRA
CH3/146/53;
Established Church Presbytery of Glasgow (ECPG): SRA
CH3/171/22;
Reformed Church Presbytery of Glasgow (RCPG): SRA CH3/670.

These details are not repeated in the text, which instead gives newspaper references where reports can also be located.

Local records of the numerically smaller denominations are retained at the SRO. For example, catalogues CH10, CH11 and CH12 include material from the Quaker, Wesleyan and Episcopalian churches.

II The Contemporary Press as a Primary Source for Religious Revival Intelligence.

Newspapers proved the most comprehensive type of primary source, providing a continuous contemporaneous chronological narrative.

Individual members of the press tended to adopt polarized positions in favour of or against the movement, or at least were perceived by their competitors as having done so. Certainly some tended to be supportive, some critical and others scornful of the movement.

The attitude to the revival of each individual newspaper was inevitably reflected in the extent of its coverage, the

selection and form of presentation of information and its overall editorial policy as to opinion and comment. It is necessary therefore to have an appreciation of press views in order to assess the intelligence provided.

Those papers considered pro-revival seemed content to print factual, descriptive narratives highlighting what happened when and where, and identifying who the main participants were. These were useful for ascertaining when meetings occurred, their location, who addressed the gathering, estimates of how large the audience was and, often, what the content of addresses was. However it was left to those papers which were regarded as hostile to air criticisms and complaints and offer analysis.

Two publications are worthy of particular note since they were direct products of the revival: the *Wynd Journal* (WJ) and *The Revival* (TR). Both were weekly journals, published in Glasgow and London respectively, and were essentially propaganda organs promoting news of the movement.

That these publications came into existence reflects the common evangelical view that the popular or secular press was generally hostile not only to the revival but to religion in general, resulting in unfair and/or inadequate coverage. This perception lies behind the *Wynd Journal* allegation: 'At present the press is largely under the control of the world.' *The Revival* complained: 'The...press...has been remarkably silent as to the Revival...some editors angrily, and others

sneeringly, attempt to write it down....' The London-based Anglican journal the *Record* made similar claims. (2)

So also the *Glasgow Courier* (GC):

The great Leviathan of the press represents, in a very large measure, the liberal and the illiberal aspects of modern literature in relation to Christianity. We expect...that if it should notice the Irish revival at all, it would display its usual cleverness in hitting off the more demonstrative characteristics of the work, and that it would entirely ignore the remarkable spiritual developments which are everywhere exciting the wonder and admiration of Christian people. (3)

The pro-revivalist Rev. Dr. Horatius Bonar, brother of A.A. Bonar and one of the most prominent preachers of his day, declared:

The world has condemned 'revivals'....It speaks out publicly in its newspapers and literary journals....its leading organs have given verdict against them in warm and insulting language;...our worldly newspapers are arguing against the revival. (4)

His compatriot, Peter Drummond, the publisher of the Stirling-based pro-revival *British Messenger* (BM) contended:

Our Scotch newspapers are not doing justice to the movement. I see nothing but scraps...except in the *Scottish Guardian*...one of the very best papers in Scotland; a religious view runs through it which I see in no other newspaper....

This comment appeared in the *Scottish Guardian* itself. (5)

The same paper later noted:

In the present state of the press, and in the midst of its constantly increasing influence, an urgent want is felt, in *all* parts of the country, of a cheap paper which may, in its leading articles and otherwise, oppose the anti-evangelical tendencies of many leading journals. (6)

Thus evangelical pro-revivalists felt under threat from a general press considered hostile. Two distinct camps were perceived: those championing the revival, and by extension evangelicalism; and those opposed to it and viewed as anti-evangelical.

A further subdivision will now occur offering an identification and critique of the leading ecclesiastical and popular papers.

1. Press Products of the Revival.

a. *The Revival* (TR).

Of the direct products of the movement TR, under the control of R.C. Morgan and Samuel Chase, was the first specialist pro-revival paper to be published. Under the sub-title, 'A Weekly Record of the Events Connected with the Present Revival of Religion', its first edition of 8 pages appeared on 30 July 1859 at a cost of a half penny. The price compared favourably with many of the, '...secular...*Miscellanies & Journals*...' which cost twice as much. Concern was expressed that, 'Many booksellers will not take the trouble to keep a weekly supply of a half penny publication....' (7)

In the New Year of 1862 the sub-title was changed to, 'An Advocate of Evangelical Truth: A Record of Events Connected with the Revival of Religion.' In May of the same year TR doubled its volume from 8 to 16 pages, and increased its cover price to one penny. (8)

According to Orr and Kent, who both rely on Morgan's biography, initial circulation was about 8,000 per week rising rapidly to 80,000 following promotion at an evangelical Conference at Barnet organized by William Pennefather. However this figure conflicts with evidence contained in the paper itself which claims only 30,000 sales per week by August 1860, approximately 35,000 six weeks later, and 40,000 in the New Year of 1861. (9)

The paper refuted a French description that it was, '...the *semi-official* journal of the religious movement...', claiming;

It is perfectly free and independent. It reports facts and opinions to all of which it cannot give unqualified approval; but for editorial articles the publishers are alone responsible - Editor. (10)

Thus TR claimed impartiality, representing itself merely as the presenter of revival intelligence, not the interpreter of such material. However by presenting information, the paper was in effect promoting the revival, which it was obviously biased in favour of, given its title and the prominence it gave, often via editorials, to refuting allegations and criticisms made against the movement.

The paper adopted the following format. Home news was collated on a country by country basis, with information presented separately from England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Within the section for each country, cities, towns and villages were detailed individually with particular locations, such as

churches, missions, factories or offices identified. Foreign news was presented in a similar fashion.

The intelligence carried was invariably positive, with details of who was preaching where, when and to how many. Meetings were frequently described in great detail, often with entire addresses reported verbatim. References to numbers of 'inquirers', or those 'in distress' or 'awakened' would be conveyed. These were, however, only vague round numbers the accuracy of which is impossible to determine. Stories and testimonies of conversion expressing the conviction and sorrow of those recognizing eternal condemnation, and then the relief and joy of those who had, '...peace found in Jesus...', were also printed. Mostly these came from those who were directly involved, sometimes from ministers, relatives or friends. The 'benefits' of the revival were stressed with claims about the advantageous social impact of the movement, most commonly, alleged decreases in crime, drunkenness and prostitution. Prayer requests were also included, as were advertisements for revival meetings and the sale of Bibles, pamphlets and revival hymnbooks.

Orr claims that TR was, '...a sort of clearing-house of information far surpassing all other sources....In no instance was the accuracy or veracity of [its] correspondence called into question by its contemporaries.' Kent contends that it was largely uncritical of events. (11)

TR outlasted the movement itself and continued to flourish under the title *The Christian*, which it assumed in 1870. An almost complete set for the years under investigation was traced to the Evangelical Library, London.

b. *The Wynd Journal* (WJ)

The second direct product of the revival was the WJ which was;

...commenced at the urgent request of many friends interested in the Revival, and solely with the view of spreading that great Home Mission Work through every possible opening....The *Journal* was intended as a meeting place for brethren engaged in the Home Work, for mutual information and encouragement to further labour; and, at the same time, a meeting to which strangers might be drawn, till they were willing to be friends and fellow workers.... (12)

The objective was to, '...stir up or deepen and extend an interest...', '...[by] present[ing] as much general news about Revival and Home Mission Work as we can.' Subtitled, '*A Weekly Record of Revival and of Home Mission Work*', its first edition appeared on Saturday 1 October 1859. Like TR, it also contained eight pages and cost a half penny. (13)

The WJ was basically the mouthpiece of its editor the Rev. Dougal M'Coll who in 1859 was minister of the Wynds FC. However it was widely supported by a variety of Scottish churchmen, especially of the FC. (14)

It had a clearly targeted audience:

We wish to make our way chiefly among two classes: first, among those who are seeking prayerfully to re-conquer this land for the Lord; and secondly, among the readers of the cheap irreligious literature, which is one of the great hindrances to the Gospel in the present day. (15)

Certainly it found a market with sales quickly established at 10,000 copies per week. This level was maintained until, after an appeal in June 1860, it peaked at 13,000 per week in September of the same year. How long sales remained at this level is unclear, however by April 1862 it was reported to have dropped back to 10,000 copies per week. (16)

In June 1860 the paper claimed that every copy purchased was distributed amongst four or five readers; thus every week some 40-50,000 people were believed to have access to it. It was also alleged that both initial target groups had been secured. However, two years later it was conceded that few subscribers were from the poorer sections of the populace. (17)

In format and content the WJ was similar to the TR. Its admitted bias to promote the movement is reflected in the absence of any direct negative propaganda. Rather, positive home and foreign news was purveyed, accompanied by an editorial, prayer requests, testimonies/stories and advertisements.

After three years the WJ ceased publication, on 10 October 1862. A new paper immediately appeared, *Word & Work* (WW), also under the control of M'Coll, however it only survived until December 1862 when it too terminated.

11. The Popular Press.

Although the railways and electric telegraph were making the transfer of information swifter, the latter first appeared in

Britain in 1845 with trans-Atlantic facilities in 1857, still in 1859 there was no mass 'national' press. Even the most prominent papers were largely local in nature with only limited coverage of major issues from elsewhere. Thus whilst Glasgow papers conveyed some news emanating from Edinburgh, London or abroad, this did not predominate. Local news prevailed. This was a major advantage in respect of revival intelligence which was not therefore eclipsed.

Moreover local papers, because of their close geographical and chronological proximity to the events they attempted to cover, contained fresh, first hand reports and eye witness evidence rather than merely dated hearsay. Thus a description of a meeting held on a Monday could be printed in a local publication the next day, while memories were still fresh. This provided the opportunity for accounts to be scrutinised and challenged if they were considered inaccurate.

During the period covered by this study, Glasgow had an abundance of local papers. Aird identifies 14 titles which appeared weekly, twice-weekly, thrice-weekly or in daily format. (18)

The volume of material produced made it impossible to examine every edition of every title, but because of the predominantly local nature of the reporting this was unnecessary. An initial survey suggested that what appeared in most twice-weekly and thrice-weekly publications had previously been printed in the daily press, upon which concentration was focused.

The papers chosen for detailed scrutiny were the two most popular daily publications, the *Glasgow Herald* and the *North British Daily Mail*. Their readership size gave them the potential for the widest influence, and they also had the advantage of representing the political right and left respectively.

The *Scottish Guardian* was also chosen, for the reasons identified by Peter Drummond in the paper itself and cited above (p.38): namely, that it provided the greatest local coverage of the movement and, seemingly uniquely amongst the popular press, had a strong religious sympathy. Additionally, it was arguably the most popular non-daily publication. (19)

In 1859 there was, unfortunately, '...no authoritative history of the Glasgow newspaper press....' Equally unfortunate, none of the selected papers of the period were indexed, necessitating a meticulous column by column search of each individual edition for revival news. In total, over 2,500 individual editions for the years 1859-1862 were subjected to this form of study. Other papers were subject to survey and included if they made a particular contribution. (20)

In respect of reporting methods it should be noted, as Aird does, that at the time of the revival the majority of reporters on, '...first-class papers...', such as those selected, would have been verbatim shorthand writers. In respect of comments, speeches and sermons, the significance of the verbatim nature of reporting was that full accounts were

provided rather than paraphrases. There was therefore less redaction, and so less opportunity for editorial bias or prejudice to distort what eventually appeared in print. This feature did not, however, affect what was chosen for publication in the first instance. (21)

A more detailed consideration of the major papers will now be given.

a. *The Scottish Guardian* (SG)

As noted above (p.38), Peter Drummond perceived the SG to have religious sympathies. He also praised its coverage of the revival. Given the paper's history, its tendencies and support are hardly surprising. According to the paper itself:

The *Scottish Guardian* was started on the principle of acknowledging the Great Supreme as the ruler of nations; ...advocating the promotion of evangelical truth...and seek[ing]...the constitutional reform of the Established Church of Scotland. It aimed at combining with these general purposes diffusion of the ordinary intelligence of the day....its steady aim was to apply the revealed will of God to public affairs and to advance the cause of vital religion.... (22)

Cowan suggests that the SG, which began in 1832, was originally conservative in tendency but had severed all overtly party-political links after both Whigs and Tories had antagonised it by their lack of interest in and support for Church Extension and the Veto. (23)

By the time of the revival the still evangelical SG was possibly the most apolitical local newspaper. With Professor Keddie of the Free Church College as its chief editor, it

retained a strong interest in religious and ecclesiastical matters. It described itself as, '...a high class Family Paper....a religious journal....desir[ing]... promotion of a wholesome Christian influence.' In each edition it devoted its leading p.2 column to such matters. (24)

Up to the end of 1859 the SG was a three and a half penny twice-weekly publication appearing every Tuesday and Friday. Although circulation figures are vague, the paper was evidently popular with 1859 regarded as its most successful year for some time. Thereafter it became a two penny thrice-weekly, appearing on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. Throughout, it contained four pages of six columns each. (25)

The SG was undoubtedly pro-revival. From the outset it printed favourable news of events in America, and also in Ireland where it had its own correspondent. It was the first local paper regularly to give information of dates, times and places of revival-linked meetings in Glasgow. It published accounts promoting the benefits of revival, and provided details of the movement's influence in the west of Scotland. Indeed, before the advent of the WJ, it was probably the source which carried most local intelligence, a claim it made for itself: 'The *Guardian* has recently furnished a greater variety of religious and ecclesiastical intelligence than any other paper in Scotland.' (26)

In its first edition the WJ acknowledged:

The Church is deeply indebted to the conductors of the *Scottish Guardian* for the place they have given to the

work of Revival; especially to Mr. J.B. Gillies, who has spared no labour to bring the facts honestly before the public. We trust the *Guardian* will keep its present honourable post in connection with this great movement. (27)

These hopes were indeed realised for the paper remained supportive of the movement and continued to publish and promote favourable revival intelligence. In particular it provided the most comprehensive accounts of the various denominational proceedings, at every level, especially those of the various Glasgow presbyteries.

b. *The Glasgow Herald* (GH)

One of Scotland's oldest newspapers, the GH commenced in 1782. From the beginning of 1859 it was a penny daily enjoying sales approaching an aggregate of 30,000 copies per week. Its Monday, Wednesday and Friday issues contained eight pages, with half that number on the alternate days. Cowan alleges that at this time it, '...indisputably took first place among the newspapers of the West.' Nenadic asserts, 'Its circulation was vast...(and geographically wide also)....' Both commentators contend that it had a Conservative bias. Nenadic adds, 'The opinions voiced in the *Herald* represented those of a substantial majority of the middle classes....' (28)

The GH was initially supportive of the revival, mirrored not only in its level of coverage, but also by its defence of the movement. (29)

Nevertheless, unlike the SG, it was also prepared to condemn aspects of which it disapproved. For example, the use in preaching of new 'raw' converts whom it considered unqualified for the task. It also voiced scepticism of the visions and prostrations which sometimes accompanied conversion experiences. Moreover, it occasionally printed unfavourable material, for example, citing articles from the hostile Irish paper the *Northern Whig*, such as reporting without comment or qualification, '...one death and one attempted suicide "by parties under revival influence".' (30)

Although initially sympathetic, the GH eventually came out in opposition to the movement. In editorials in December 1860 and February 1861, it condemned the vulgarity of rowdy meetings where, '...extravagance and excitement...prevail...', and where sudden public conversions, '...are heralded from the roof-tops...', accompanied by boastful confessions of a multitude of sins. It also doubted if any, '...permanent good...' had resulted. It subsequently published considerable correspondence hostile to the movement. (31)

c. *The North British Daily Mail* (NBDM)

Commencing on 14 April 1847 the 'independent' left-wing Liberal NBDM has the distinction of being the first daily newspaper in Scotland. In 1859 it was the second most popular local penny daily, enjoying weekly aggregate sales of about 25,000 copies. The paper comprised four pages of seven columns each. (32)

Although its coverage was not as extensive as that of the SG, the NBDM devoted considerable space to the movement with many reports of local gatherings, together with news from throughout the country. Whilst no official response to the revival appeared in its editorial, and though it did print a few potentially damaging articles taken from other publications, including the *Northern Whig* and the medical journal *The Lancet*, its overwhelming coverage effectively provided favourable publicity. (33)

III A Survey of Non-local Newspaper Sources.

In an attempt to obtain a less parochial view the leading papers of the east of Scotland and England, the Edinburgh-based *Scotsman* and the London-based *Times*, were also surveyed.

i. *The Scotsman* (SM)

A Whig or right-wing Liberal penny daily comprising four pages of five columns each, the SM reigned supreme in the east with aggregate weekly sales of up to 60,000 copies. (34)

The WJ described the SM as, '...by no means very favourable to Revival Meetings.' Research suggests that this may have been an under-statement. Even when it was obvious by the coverage in the GH, the NBDM and the SG that revival influences were present in both Glasgow and Edinburgh, the SM virtually ignored the movement, printing only very brief, derogatory articles, two obtained from the *Northern Whig*, a third from *The Lancet*. (35)

In August 1859 the paper made its position clear in a front page editorial of over a column in length. This was a disparaging piece referring to, '...the revival disease...', describing it as an 'epidemic'. The article went on to refer to, '...the preaching madness....whenever the language of revival sermons has been taken down, they are found to be stupidity itself.' It asserted: 'The history of revivals is the opprobrium of religion....' (36)

Coverage remained sparse and largely negative with little reference to happenings in Glasgow.

ii. *The Times* (TT)

Nationally, TT predominated. A daily paper, it was much larger and more expensive than its rivals, containing 12-15 pages of six columns each and priced at five and a half pence.

Pro-revival primary and secondary sources combine to convey the notion that TT was hostile to the movement. It was charged with repeating unsubstantiated, detrimental allegations, viz. that an increase in immorality and an allegedly higher incidence of lunacy could be attributed to the movement. According to Orr the paper, '...played up all that the enemies of the Revival had to say...', whilst ignoring or contradicting its defenders. TR alleged a conspiracy campaign to discredit the movement. (37)

Although a number of editions are cited by the various sources to support their assertions, research shows that TT also

published favourable accounts. For example, it re-printed articles from the pro-revival Ulster papers the *Banner of Truth* and the *Belfast Newsletter* praising the alleged social benefits of the movement. (38)

TT probably gained notoriety because it subjected the movement to closer scrutiny than that of its contemporaries. Analysis rather than acceptance may have been seen by some revivalists as irreverent. This view could have been reinforced by the language employed. For example the paper described, probably quite accurately but in unflattering terms, some of the forms of physical manifestations. Referring to, '...these violent demonstrations...', which it claimed were, '...a form of pleasure and excitement...', the paper emphasized their 'hysterical' and 'frenzied' nature describing those affected as 'stupefied'. Moreover, it would not have endeared itself to revival enthusiasts when, in a mischievous way, it labelled those experiencing 'conversion' as 'victims'. (39)

Despite the application of such terms, which seem to have been used teasingly rather than maliciously, during the initial public stages of the movement, over-all coverage in TT seems to have been more balanced than earlier sources suggest. Whilst a number of articles voiced suspicions about some aspects of the movement and made charges against it, others appeared to be making positive claims for it. (40)

Unfortunately TT provided little detail of the movement in Glasgow, but it was an important source for contextual material.

iii. National Press Survey

For information and interest, the general positions of some other prominent publications will now be outlined.

Of Irish newspapers the *Northern Whig* (NW), the *Dublin Evening Mail* (DEM) and the *Dublin Evening Post* (DEP) were commonly perceived as opposed to the movement, whilst the *Banner of Truth* (BT) and the *Belfast Newsletter* (BN) were seen as supportive. (41)

In respect of the English press, Orr claimed that the prestigious medical journal *The Lancet* (TL) and the London-based *Saturday Review* (SR) were both hostile. The former had warned that the physical manifestations accompanying the movement were, '...morbid and injurious...and fraught with serious possible consequences to body and mind.' (42)

Papers regarded as fair or sympathetic to the movement, by revivalists themselves, included the *Morning Star* (MS), the *News of the World* (NOTW), the *Daily Mail* (DM), and the *British Standard* (BS). (43)

Summary Conclusion.

The smaller circulation local newspapers gave the revival a considerable degree of prominence, but added little by way of

original intelligence. Some offered criticisms similar to those of the GH, but none openly opposed the movement.

Of the newspaper sources, the pro-revival FC-biased WJ and the SG provided most details of the impact of the revival in the city. The GH voiced most concern, particularly in the latter stages of the movement.

Footnotes.

- (1) Bonar, pp. 169, 200ff.: v. Orr, p. 239: Bussey, pp. 35, 234. (For biographical details of A. A. Bonar see K. R. Ross in *DSCHT*, pp. 83f..)
- (2) WJ No. 40, 30-6-60: TR No. 8, 17-9-59: *The Record* 15-6-59 & 18-11-59: v. Orr, pp. 174f., 222 n. 2: Kent, pp. 10 n. 2, 113, 115, 119, 121, 147, 162: Fleming, p. 157.
- (3) GC 24-9-59, 1/7.
- (4) Reid, pp. 1, 4: v. Bussey, pp. 35, 234. (For biographical details of H. Bonar see J. S. Andrews in *DSCHT*, pp. 84f..)
- (5) SG 1-7-59, 3/1f.; v. 15-7-59, 3/1: WJ No. 1, 1-10-59: Bussey, p. 38.
- (6) SG 25-11-59, 2/3.
- (7) TR No. 56, 18-8-60.
- (8) TR Nos. 127, 128 & 145, 28-12-61, 4-1- & 1-5-62.
- (9) v. Orr, p. 221: Kent, pp. 104f.: TR Nos. 56, 62 & 84, 18-8- & 29-9-60, 23-2-61.
- (10) TR No. 105, 27-7-61.
- (11) Orr, p. 8: Kent, pp. 111f..
- (12) WJ No. 14, 31-12-59: v. WJ Nos. 1 & 7, 1-10 & 12-11-59.
- (13) WJ Nos. 1 & 38, 1-10-59 & 16-6-60: v. WJ No. 152, 23-8-62: WW No. 13, 26-12-62.
- (14) v. WJ No. 39, 23-6-60.
- (15) WJ No. 14, 31-12-59.
- (16) v. WJ Nos. 38, 52, 134, 135 & 152, 16-6- & 22-9-60, 19-4- & 26-4- & 23-8-62.
- (17) v. WJ No. 38, 16-6-60: WW No. 13, 26-12-62.
- (18) v. Aird, pp. 85-88: *Glasgow Newspapers, 1715-1979*.
- (19) v. SG 1-7-59, 3/1.
- (20) *Glasgow Newspapers, 1715-1979*, Introduction.
- (21) Aird, p. 36.
- (22) SG 31-12-61, 2/4.
- (23) Cowan, pp. 142, 323f., 340: v. Aird, p. 16: A. Cheyne in *DSCHT*, pp. 158-161: J. R. Wolfe in *DSCHT*, p. 182: K. R. Ross in *DSCHT*, p. 845: S. J. Brown & Fry, pp. 5-20.
- (24) SG 25-11-59, 2/3.
- (25) SG 25-11-59, 2/3: v. Aird, p. 16: Cowan, pp. 40, 110, 142f., 229f., 237, 287f., 355, 362f.: Hillis, p. 13: C. G. Brown

- 1982, p. 426.
- (26) SG 25-11-59, 2/3: v. 4-1-59, 1/1; 7-1-59, 1/2; 11-1-59, 1/1f.; 26-7-59, 4/1; 1-7-59; 2-8- & 5-8- & 9-8- & 19-8- & 26-8- & 30-8-59.
- (27) WJ No. 1, 1-10-59.
- (28) Cowan, pp. 287f., 320, 337ff.: Nenadic, p. 40: v. *Glasgow Herald Centenary Banquet*, pp. 36, 93: Aird, pp. 11, 20f.: Ewing, pp. 37ff..
- (29) GH 1-7-59, 5/2; 2-7-59, 4/3; 5-7-59, 3/1 & 4/3; 15-7-59, 6/4; 20-7- & 21-7- & 25-7- & 26-7-59, 3/1.
- (30) GH 18-7-59, 4/1; 19-7-59, 2/5.
- (31) GH 15-12-60, 2/1; 14-2-61, 2/4f.: v. 17-4-61, 6/4; 1-5-61, 4/4; 27-5-61, 3/5.
- (32) v. Aird, p. 20f.: Ewing, pp. 37ff.: *Glasgow Herald Centenary Banquet*, p. 93: Cowan, pp. 173, 287f., 320, 337ff..
- (33) v. NBDM 1-7-59, 2/3; 6-7- & 8-7- & 11-7 & 13-7- & 15-7- & 16-7-59, 4/6; 26-7-59, 4/5; 2-8-59, 2/4; 3-8-59, 1/3; 10-8-59, 4/6; 11-8-59, 2/7; 12-8-59, 2/4; 13-8-59, 1/1 & 2/3; 15-8-59, 2/4; 20-8-59, 2/3; 22-8-59, 4/3; 23-8-59, 4/4; 25-8-59, 2/2; 30-8-59, 2/2 & 4/4 & 4/6; 31-8-59, 2/3.
- (34) v. Cowan, p. 280; pp. 276, 318f., 337f., 339f.: *The Story of the Scotsman*, p. 34.
- (35) WJ No. 52, 22-9-60: v. SM 15-7-59, 2/3; 16-7-59, 3/5; 29-7-59, 3/3.
- (36) SM 22-8-59, 1/5f..
- (37) Orr, pp. 176, n. 1, 175-178: TR Nos. 9 & 10, 24-9- & 1-10-59: v. GC 20-9-59, 2/1; 24-9-59, 1/7: Bussey, pp. 310, 321ff.: Aird, p. 13: Cowan, pp. 287, 316f., 336f., 340.
- (38) v. TT 16 & 17-9-59; 1, 4, 7, 13 & 26-10-59; 7 & 28-3-60: cf. TT 4-8-59, 9/6; 7-9-59, 10/2.
- (39) TT 17-9-59, 6/4.
- (40) TT 20-9-59, 7/1; 23-9-59, 8/5 & 10/3; 26-9-59, 4/3; 29-9-59, 7/1.
- (41) cf. NW 26-5- & 27-6-59; 12-7- & 15-7- & 16-7- & 27-7- & 29-7- & 31-8-59: BN 4-7-59; 1-9-59: SM 15-7-59, 2/3; 16-7-59, 3/5; 20-9-59, 3/5; 21-9-59, 3/2; 24-9-59 & 28-9-59, 2/3; 30-9-59, 2/4: GH 19-7-59, 2/5: NBDM 16-7-59, 4/6: GC 16-7-59, 4/5; 6-8-59, 4/5; 17-9-59, 4/5: TT 4-8-59, 9/6; 7-9-59, 10/2; 16-9-59, 7/3; 26-9-59, 4/3: TR Nos. 14 & 15, 29-10 & 5-11-59: Bussey, pp. 16, 310, 321f.: Orr, pp. 42ff., 175, 180.
- (42) SR 20-8-59: TL 25-6-59: Orr, p. 177: cf. SM 29-7-59, 3/3.
- (43) cf. NOTW 10-9- & 24-9-59: BS 7-4-60; 21-4-61: TR Nos. 9, 10, 14, 15 & 94, 24-9- & 1-10- & 29-10- & 5-11-59; 11-5-61: GC 2-8-59, 4/3: Bussey, pp. 310, 312, 319ff., 325: Orr, pp. 175, 177f., 306f.: Kent, pp. 139, 152, 205.

SECTION TWO

CONCEPTS & NOTIONS:

ISSUES ASSOCIATED WITH RELIGIOUS REVIVALS.

Chapter Three

Theological Aspects.

I. The Concept of Revival.

Often the term 'revival' is applied anachronistically. As Couper shows in relation to Britain and Murray to America, it is only relatively recently that the word has been commonly used in connection with religious movements. In the words of the former:

It was not till the second half of the...[eighteenth] century that the word came into popular use. The writers on the phenomena at Cambuslang in 1742 were forced to employ such circumlocutions as 'the great success of the gospel', 'the present progress of the Gospel', or 'the wonderful conversion', or the 'extraordinary outletting of the Spirit', or 'a convincing appearance of God and Downpouring of the Spirit'. [However] the widespread effects of the religious awakenings in the middle of the century, both in England and in Scotland, seemed to demand a more technical term, and the most suitable was found in the word 'Revival', which, for at least a century previously, had been employed to describe an awakening interest in other departments of life. In addition to its inherent appropriateness, the designation had the advantage of being Scriptural. It suggested such texts as that of the Psalmist - 'Wilt thou not revive us again, that thy people may rejoice in thee?' (1)

Couper's thesis on the introduction of the term 'revival' finds support from the title of John Gillies 1754 book on the history of such movements: *Historical Collections Relating to Remarkable Periods of the Success of the Gospel.* (2)

Despite its employment in religious usage only in the eighteenth century, etymological sources inform that from at least the late Middle Ages, the word 'revival' had an established meaning. It is derived from the Latin *revivere*, re

- to return or restore to a previous condition - and *vivere* - to live, hence its root meaning - to live again. *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* defines revival as, '...[a] return to life or vigour after a period of extinction or weakness: to be reborn: to be restored.' *The Oxford English Dictionary* also conveys the notion of returning to, or restoring. It refers variously to a return to consciousness, life, or to a 'flourishing state': to restore, '...from a languid, depressed or morbid state....to a flourishing or thriving state.' The same sources note that the term had been used prior to the eighteenth century when referring to, amongst other things, the theatre, music, literature and architecture. (3)

As regards religious revivals, the biblical quotation included in Couper's statement, from Psalm 85:6, gives a clue as to what was originally understood. Revival was some form of heightened or intensified religious state experienced by existing members of a specific church congregation - already in some way God's own people. Thus during the eighteenth century, revival would appear to have been considered an internal matter for the Christian community concerned, which need not have any impact outside or beyond it. It did not appear to involve the recruitment and integration of those outside the particular worshipping community into its number.

Carwardine concurs in claiming that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the term was used to describe:

....a period of unusually intense 'religious interest' in a single church, a time when penitents sought counsel and salvation in above average numbers. It was entirely possible for the revival to be restricted to that church leaving the denomination as a whole and the wider community unaffected. (4)

He later adds: '...revival in the traditional sense...[was] an increase in piety amongst church members, and the gradual conversion of sinners in the congregation.' C.G. Brown also accepts this definition, which will be the one inferred in all subsequent references to the initial, original or traditional idea of revival. (5)

However, the term 'revival' evolved and expanded in meaning. In the preface to the book he edited in 1840, Hetherington wrote that the word;

...impl[ies]...the awakening into more active and living energy those religious feelings, habits, and principles, which previously existed, but which had sunk into comparative dormancy. But this is not all its meaning. It is employed also to indicate the conversion of sinners who were previously in a state of irreligion altogether. (6)

Whilst acknowledging, 'The word *revival* is not certainly applicable, in its strict etymological import, to the *conversion* of a sinner...', Hetherington nevertheless accepted that in common usage it now includes this. Thus he defined revival as:

...an unusual manifestation of the power of the grace of God in convincing and converting careless sinners, and in quickening and increasing the faith and piety of believers.' (7)

William Arnot, a contributor to Hetherington's collection, concurred in expressing the view that revival involves,

'...sinners convert[ing] in greater numbers than usual,...[with] saints more lively in their faith and love.' John Bonar, a fellow contributor, developed this. For him, revival commences with, 'The quickening to newness of life where life has once been...', that is, in the revitalization of Christians. This is then followed by the conversion of sinners within the church, that is, the transformation to 'vital' or 'living religion' of those who previously made but a formal profession of faith. Finally, the conversion of the irreligious outwith the church. Bonar warns: '...not every instance...of such things can be looked upon as a revival....It is only when such instances multiply apace... that we can speak of...revival.' (8)

Similar sentiments were expressed at the October 1859 ECSGA and FCSGA. At the latter an Overture on revival referred to, '...the Lord's work among His own people [and] to the quickening of many who were dead in trespass and sins.' (9)

The following year Horatius Bonar noted:

Strictly speaking...[revival] is the restoration of life that has been lost, and in this sense it applies only to the Church of God. But used in the more common acceptation, it is the turning of multitudes to God. As conversion is the turning of a soul to God, so a revival is a repetition of this same spiritual process....It is conversion upon a large scale....multitudes believ[ing] and turn[ing] to the Lord. This is what we mean by a revival. (10)

This corresponded to overtures appearing in May 1860. At the FCGA reference was made to, '...the manifest grace of the Lord...in reviving his people, and in the conversion of the

ungodly.' Meanwhile the UPCS acknowledged, '...the Lord has been granting...a plentiful effusion of the Spirit of Life, so that many of His people have been revived, and many quickened to spiritual life, and added to the Church.' Similar expressions emanated from the ECGA. (11)

In 1861 McColl, in a WJ editorial reiterated: 'A revival is essentially an awakening. It is this, not only to the careless and profane, but to the earnest and believing.' (12)

Thus, by the time of the movement under investigation, revival not only referred to intensified religious experiences affecting members of an established congregation, but also to the conversion of sinners, whether within or without the church, with everything being done or witnessed on a far grander than usual scale. Thus meetings would rapidly and greatly multiply, whilst the number of those responding positively would also increase substantially. So, for example, of the Rev. Mr. Archibald Macdougall's Argyll Gaelic FC on Oswald St. in the central Glasgow district of Broomielaw (a map of the city dating from 1860 is provided in Appendix A), the SG reported:

There have been many signs of a gracious reviving work in this congregation....[which] in general is marvellously stirred up, so that fresh vigour, life, and anxiety are everywhere visible. Prayer meetings have been multiplied...and are numerously attended...Evidently [also], the Holy Spirit is leading souls to Jesus.... (13)

Another term commonly associated with revival and introduced in some of the statements just cited was 'awakening'.

Contemporary church records from various denominations, newspaper reports, the comments of Hetherington and McColl, as well as those made subsequently by Couper, Bussey, Orr, Muirhead, C.G. Brown *et al.* illustrate that there has been no insistence, at the time or since, on a strict distinction between the two, which are frequently used interchangeably. No distinction will be made now. Subsequently, when reference is made to the modern notion or sense of revival, this is deemed to mean the common mid-nineteenth century understanding embracing, as a prominent and public feature, mass or corporate conversions, or as Bussey puts it: 'Multiplied conversion....the bringing together of many souls; arresting simultaneously many minds, and condensing into a few weeks the work of many years.' (14)

Whatever term or understanding applied, the experience referred to was always deemed to be, as Hetherington's definition and the FCSGA Overture reiterated, the work of God. That this was the popular understanding is evident from a summer 1859 article in the SG. In a report on a multi-denominational assembly at the Mechanic's Hall on Canning St., in the Calton area of the east of Glasgow, it was declared:

The special object of this united prayer meeting is to entreat the Lord to revive His own work in the hearts of His people, and to awaken by His Holy Spirit the multitudes that are living in sin in the city.... (15)

Subsequently TR described the movement it was created to promote as, '...the work of power which God has commenced....' In its opening edition it referred to, '...the present extraordinary work of God...', and to, '...this special outpouring of the Spirit of God.' The WJ similarly declared: 'A Revival is the immediate work of the Spirit of God.' It repeatedly described the revival as, '...God's great work...', or, '...the Lord's work....' (16)

At the October 1859 FCSGA the Rev. Dr. Robert Buchanan, then of the Free College Church, and who was to be Moderator of the FCGA in 1860, spoke of the revival as, '...the Divine blessing....' Similar sentiments emerged from the corresponding UPPG and ECSGA. At the latter the Rev. Dr. Hill referred to the movement as, '...under the operation of the Spirit of God....' (17)

As well as an evolving and expanding concept of revival, the opening decades of the nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of a more pro-active approach. This has been credited chiefly to the influence of Sprague and Finney who, in the 1830s and 1840s, promoted ideas which, according to Carwardine, '...treated revivalism as a science....' Sprague penned essays with such titles as, 'Obstacles to Revivals' and 'General Means of Producing and Promoting Revivals', whilst Finney wrote of, 'Measures to Promote Revivals' and 'Hindrances to Revivals'. Kent detects in these a process of 'demythologizing.' He suggests that from the commencement of

the American 'Second Awakening' in 1797, '...the belief that revivals were events that could not be organized came increasingly under question....' (18)

A more pro-active approach was also present in Scotland. Muirhead suggests that prior to the time of the Rev. W.C. Burns in the late 1830s, '...one waited, hoped, and prayed for [revivall]...': according to Hetherington, prayer for revival was a Christian duty. However Burns is deemed to have adopted more aggressive tactics, he is described by Muirhead as, '...a revivalist preacher whose aim was to make revivals happen.' He did this by reminding his audience about previous revivals in an attempt to create a desire for a similar experience. This technique was apparently adopted to such an extent that Muirhead alleges, '...preaching *for* a revival...' (my italics) became more common. According to MacRae, the recital of stories of previous revivals, '...was the immediate occasion of those at Kilsyth (1839), Latheron and Wick (1859), and other places...', throughout the nineteenth century. (19)

Carwardine generally concurs with Muirhead in asserting that in most mid-nineteenth century evangelical churches, '...a more calculated, more obviously "worked up" revivalism had replaced what traditionalists regarded as "waiting for God's time".' (20)

Locally, C.G. Brown claims that from the 1820s a growing interest existed among Glasgow evangelicals as to the circumstances '...creating revivals...', and in comprehending,

'...the mechanisms behind awakenings....' Yet he maintains, '...there was as yet no attempt to provide a "blueprint" to incite revivalism in Scotland.' (21)

This would seem to be accurate. Thus Hetherington, to whom C.G. Brown does not refer, writes;

When we hear of, or read directions 'how to produce or promote a revival,' and 'how to conduct a revival,'....it seems as if man were presuming to attempt, by his own devices and arrangements, to originate and guide the operations of the Holy Spirit, or entirely to supersede them....indeed the rash expressions employed by ardent and injudicious friends of revivals, give too much room for an idea so revolting. (22)

Hetherington continues by asserting, 'Yet there is no real ground to such an idea....' He suggests that if those who use such, '...rash expressions...explained their meaning in the simplest and most direct terms...it would be found...', that they were not in fact denying that conversion and revival remain, '...the exclusive prerogative of the Holy Spirit, and totally beyond the reach of man to originate or direct.' He argues that such people are merely;

...anxious to make the wisest and most energetic use of all the means of grace within their reach, hoping and most earnestly praying that the Holy Spirit would bless such instrumentality, and render it effectual in His own hand, in promoting the salvation of perishing sinners....thus understood, those questions [what is the best method of promoting or of conducting a revival?] mean nothing more than, 'what is the best method of commencing or of continuing the use of the religious ordinances appointed by God? Such a question...would involve nothing of a profane or impious nature, and not only might be, but ought to be, both asked and answered by every man who wished to be obedient to the laws of his Creator, and to aid in promoting the kingdom of the Redeemer. (23)

Immediately after these comments, Hetherington praised and strongly recommended Sprague's *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*, a work which contained phrases similar to those he had been criticising. In the lecture series to which Hetherington's book relates the Rev. W.H. Burns, father of the Rev. W.C. Burns, declared revival to be, '...a work which belongs exclusively to God, and in which the Divine sovereignty is peculiarly prominent.' Later in the series, Patrick Fairbairn reiterated: '...revival....is God's work, requiring at every step the interposition of his hand, and manifesting often in a singular manner the sovereignty of his grace....' (24)

It appears then that, at least in 1840, the local evangelical perception persisted that revivals were ultimately divinely stimulated. That this notion endured is evident from its repetition in a number of sources dating from 1859-62 including newspaper articles, reports from Glasgow City Mission, and the proceedings of all the various Presbyterian denominational conferences of May 1860. (25)

Although he did not consider it to be humanly inspired, Fairbairn acknowledged that the work of revival was, '...dependent on the instrumentality of his [God's] people....' Once revival was underway TR recognized, 'A certain amount of human action will, of course, be necessary': it was emphasized however that, '...this must be at the bidding of the Lord Himself, and in communion with the Holy

Spirit.' In practice this usually meant that those thus bidden engaged in prayer, preaching, counselling and guidance with the aim of converting sinners, reclaiming backsliders and reenergizing Christians. (26)

II Revival Theology.

As the critique of primary sources in Chp.2 suggested, the 1859 revival was essentially a Protestant evangelical affair. This was reflected in the sub-title of TR: 'An Advocate of Evangelical Truth: A Record of Events Connected with the Revival of Religion.' (27)

A range of primary sources testifies that personnel from a wide variety of denominations were involved. For example, in 1859 the editor of the SG alleged, 'A prominent feature of the movement has been its catholicity....' The lists of those clergy present at meetings convened in the same year to organise denominationally united revival meetings, corroborates the notion of wide denominational support. Almost two years later at the FCGA of 1861 the Rev. Dr. Julius Wood, Convener of the FC Committee on Religion & Morals (FCCRM), asserted: '...the Revival has affected...all denominations.' This line has been followed by all secondary sources. Clergy from the FC and UPC were especially prominent and were joined by colleagues from amongst the smaller denominations including the RPC, the Baptists, Methodists and Congregationalists. There are, however, few references to Episcopalian support. Roman Catholic clergy opposed the movement. (28)

The determining factor with regard to participation was not denominational affiliation, but an evangelical sympathy. This can be seen from the following advertisement for a revival meeting which appeared in the NBDM. It was, '...for those friendly to the cause of Evangelical Religion.' Evangelical sympathy was reflected in the practical support of the Glasgow Committee of the Evangelical Alliance, which undertook much of the organization and administration of revival meetings in the city. That this was not merely a parochial response is evidenced by the national conferences in the spring and autumn of 1860 which the Alliance itself convened to promote the movement. It also organized national and international weeks of prayer for the advancement of the revival. (29)

Unsurprisingly then, revival theology was evangelical theology. According to Orr, revivalists shared the doctrinal views of the Evangelical Alliance, vis-a-vis the divine inspiration and authority of holy scripture, the trinity, the fall and consequent depravity of human nature, the incarnation and atonement, justification by faith alone, the work of the Holy Spirit in the conversion and sanctification of sinners, physical resurrection, judgement, heaven and hell. (30)

In 1840, Burns Snr. warned, 'An...evil to be guarded against in a season of revival is, the intrusion of controversy and of novel doctrines....' Whilst not suggesting the acceptance of '...unsound doctrine...', he believed, '...vain speculations and curiosities in religion...' merely complicated matters,

drawing attention away from the gospel essentials and '...blight[ing]...if...not chok[ing]...' progress. At the November 1859 UPPG the Rev. Dr. John Robson of Wellington St. UPC spoke of the dangers of advancing '...dry theological arguments instead of the great fundamental truths of our holy religion.' (31)

Primary sources indicate that these warnings were heeded and that the revival, as a popular movement, was not primarily concerned with extensive promotion or discussion of complex doctrine, but rather with what were regarded as the simple truths of the gospel. For example, in the New Year of 1860 TR recorded: 'No new sect has arisen, no new doctrine has been taught. The old truths have been received in their simplicity and quickening power.' (32)

According to the Rev. Mr. Alexander N. Somerville of Anderston FC on Cadogan St., who reviewed the movement locally at a FCPG Conference on the Revival in April 1861, preaching was characterised by the promotion of, '...truths...declared... very simply....' Meanwhile, McColl, in a WJ editorial alleged: 'There is this peculiarity about the present...[revivall]...it seems mainly directed to practical life....It is not directed to questions of doctrine.' Synod and presbytery records, newspaper articles, verbatim reports and eyewitness descriptions of sermons and addresses, appear to confirm that this was indeed the case. (33)

A review of primary sources suggests a focusing on the reality of personal sin, which Hetherington viewed in terms of '...rebelliousness of the will...[against God], and in the evil heart of unbelief' - '...the very essence of the fall....' Sin resulted in alienation from the Father: eternal damnation. He, however, provided an escape through the work of Christ. Redemption and salvation, the removal of the guilt of sin and pardon from eternal damnation to reconciliation with the Father, could only be obtained by conversion - the move, stimulated by divine grace through the Holy Spirit, from unbelief to belief - recognizing and repenting individually of one's sin and having 'faith' in the work of Jesus Christ. The common assumption, as expressed by the young American Congregationalist E.P. Hammond, arguably the most popular revival preacher in Scotland, was that '...all may be converted...for the gospel is offered to all - whosoever believeth is born again....' According to the famous English Baptist revivalist, the Rev. and Hon. Baptist W. Noel, God was teaching that salvation was available, '...to all who will receive...Jesus....' (34)

These fundamental notions of evangelical thought were conveyed in a number of reports, articles, sermons and speeches. For example, in a leading article in TR in September 1859 the question was asked:

Have...[hostile critics of revival] ever honestly considered what it is for men seriously to consider that there is really an eternity: that Satan is not a mere word, but a terrible existence; that men will, in fact, be judged for their conduct in this life, and consigned to

everlasting perdition, if they repent not, and that the probationary state may terminate at any moment? (35)

In respect of the sinner's fate, Buchanan asserted at the October 1859 FCSGA that unless individuals, '...receive redemption through the blood of Christ...[they] must perish forever....' (36)

Six months later TR noted:

Conviction of sin, deep and intense...has been a leading feature....persons were overwhelmed with unutterable horror by the idea of an angry God and eternal condemnation....Peace was invariably obtained by looking to Christ alone for salvation....No description can convey any idea of the joy which followed.... (37)

At the FCGA of May 1860 Nixon of Montrose, who had written about the revival at Ferryden, asserted:

If there is one thing more impressive than another, in connection with this revival, it is the way in which those with whom God is dealing realize their utter helplessness, and realize a personal and living devil, striving to keep them from Christ, and a personal and living Saviour, able and willing to save them in coming to God by Him. (38)

In Glasgow in August 1861 William Lockhart, the famous English lay preacher, warned his audience that, '...the devil was ever busy laying hold of them, and drawing them into his net.' Only Christ offered a solution. Thus, the Rev. Dr. Symington of Great Hamilton St. RPC stressed the need of '...putting confidence in His atoning sacrifice...'; whilst John Hay, a leading local Methodist reported on those who had found, '...peace with God through our Lord Jesus....' (39)

The work of Christ and requirement of man was outlined by H. Bonar in an article in the SG entitled, 'The Sinner's Substitute':

'Christ died for our sins.' - 1 Corinthians 15:3

If Christ...has died, why should we die? It was once needful that every sinner should die for his sins; but now it is no longer needful. If the sinner now dies, it is because he is resolved to do so; because he will have nothing to do with the Substitute. That Substitute is the Son of God, who suffered for sin - the just for the unjust. He is not afar off, but at hand. He is a sufficient, a willing, a loving Substitute.

It is not our money nor our merits that He asks; it is simply our consent. *He* was willing to become the Sinbearer; are we willing that He should become *our* Sinbearer? The Father consents; the Son consents; the Holy Spirit consents; *do we* consent? Then the great transaction is done; the great exchange is made. He gets our sins, we get His righteousness. For what is faith but our consenting to have Him for our Surety and Substitute?

Here we rest. We hand over to Him all our sins and burdens. He takes them from us, and buries them out of sight in His own grave. No other than the Divine Substitute can relieve us of our guilt....He can and will do it all. For this He died and rose again.... (40)

In a sermon, reprinted in the SG, Hammond expanded on the human response:

Now the great news that the love of God has provided - Believe....It is believing on Jesus Christ that is salvation....Belief, faith, trust...whatever name you like to call it, is the chain of love let down from heaven: sinners must grasp it if they would be delivered from the gulf of destruction. (41)

Whilst the quotation from H. Bonar focused on the work of Christ, it also reiterated the trinitarian nature of evangelical theology. At the October 1859 ECSGA, Hill commented on this aspect: '...union with Christ, and

experience of peace with God through Him, are indissolubly connected with the fruit of the Spirit....' (42)

In the evangelical trinitarian scheme of things, the function of the Holy Spirit was to make individuals aware of their condition. Hetherington noted:

...as conversion is the work of the Holy Spirit, calling the soul from the death of sin into the life of holiness, so reclaiming the lapsed converts can be nothing else but a repetition of the same vivifying call, raising the soul from its dangerous lethargy, and evoking anew the holy energies of regenerated life. (43)

During the 1859 movement, the Rev. Dr. William Cunningham, Moderator of the FCGA in 1859, concurred in describing the task of the Holy Spirit as enlivening latent Christians to action and restoring backsliders to communion with the Father, '...[to] edify the body of Christ...' as he put it, and to aid in the conversion of sinners by convincing them of their personal sin. Similarly A.A. Bonar declared that the work of the Spirit was '...to teach sinners to look only...to Christ [for salvation]....' A report from the Glasgow City Mission concurred in claiming, '...the special work [of the Holy Spirit] it is to quicken men, and impart the principle of spiritual life to the soul.' (44)

Hetherington contended: '...conversion and revival...[are] essentially the same as regards the Divine Agent, the effect intended, and the final result....' Thus, just as with individual conversion, so too revival was seen as a trinitarian affair. It was a gift or blessing of God the

Father, - manifesting His love - via the agency of the Holy Spirit, wrought through the work of Christ. (45)

Popular revival theology was reflected in hymns, prayers and preaching.

Couper, Bussey and Orr agree that one of the favourite revival hymns in Ulster and Scotland was, 'What's the news?' Composed in 1859 by a young (unidentified) Scotsman, it contains seven verses. It is worth reproducing in full since, in addition to inferring popular revival beliefs about Christology and the individual nature of conversion (v. verses 2-5), the evangelical fervour of individuals to share their conversion experience and an obligation to witness (v. verses 5-7), it expresses the enthusiasm and optimism of the converted (v. verses 1 & 7) and in suggesting the impact of the movement (v. verses 1 & 4), conveys an impression of the general atmosphere of the time:

Where'er we meet, you always say,
What's the news? what's the news?
Pray, what's the order of the day?
What's the news? what's the news?
Oh! I have got good news to tell;
My Saviour hath done all things well,
And triumphed over death and hell,
That's the news! that's the news!

The Lamb was slain on Calvary,
That's the news! that's the news!
To set a world of sinners free,
That's the news! that's the news!
'Twas there His precious blood was shed,
'Twas there he bowed His sacred head;
But now he's risen from the dead,
That's the news! that's the news!

To heav'n above the Conqueror's gone,
That's the news! that's the news!

He's passed triumphant to His throne,
That's the news! that's the news!
And on that throne He will remain
Until as Judge He comes again,
Attended by a dazzling train,
That's the news! that's the news!

His work's reviving all around -
That's the news! that's the news!
And many have redemption found -
That's the news! that's the news!
And since their souls have caught the flame,
They shout Hosanna to His name;
And all around they spread His fame -
That's the news! that's the news!

The Lord has pardoned all my sin -
That's the news! that's the news!
I feel the witness now within -
That's the news! that's the news!
And since He took my sins away
And taught me how to watch and pray,
I'm happy now from day to day -
That's the news! that's the news!

And Christ the Lord can save you, too -
That's the news! that's the news!
Your sinful heart He can renew -
That's the news! that's the news!
This moment, if for sins you grieve,
This moment if you do believe,
A full acquittal you'll receive -
That's the news! that's the news!

And now, if anyone should say,
What's the news? what's the news?
Oh, tell them you've begun to pray -
That's the news! that's the news!
That you have joined the conquering band,
And now with joy at God's command,
You're marching to the better land -
That's the news! that's the news! (46)

Other popular revival hymns included, 'I can, I will, I do believe', and Charlotte Elliott's 1836 composition, 'Just as I am', which Orr describes as '...the greatest of all hymns of evangelistic invitation.' (47)

Revival prayers, some of which appeared in such publications as TR and WJ, were characterised by repeated petitions to God the Father for a greater and enduring, '...outpouring of the Holy Spirit...', and for the conversion of others, notably family and friends. (48)

Preaching was primarily aimed at the conversion of sinners. Regardless of the messenger, the message was essentially the same. It comprised, almost exclusively, of stirring addresses promoting the recognition of sin, detailing the horrible consequences of eternal damnation awaiting unrepentant sinners, emphasizing the utmost necessity of repentance and accepting Christ as Saviour, and stressing the urgency of doing so immediately. Couper describes it as, '...a simple, direct gospel address...', claiming that it was the emotions rather than the intellect which needed stirring. Revival addresses apparently reflected typical contemporary sermons. Extracts from meetings in Glasgow provide examples. (49)

At Stockwell FC on East Howard St., sandwiched between the districts of Broomielaw and the Wynds, the minister, the Rev. Mr. Jacob Alexander, upon his return from visiting scenes of revival in Ulster, gave '...a thrilling account...' of what he had witnessed:

The church was crowded to excess....The lecture was of a telling description....Towards the close, when the preacher was pressing home the claims of the gospel, and describing the awful doom which awaited the impenitent and unbelieving, great excitement prevailed over the church....a prayer meeting...held afterwards...was attended by a great number. (50)

The NBDM reported on a meeting at the Rev. Mr. John Williams's Baptist Chapel on North Frederick St.:

...prayers and addresses were characterised by great earnestness, appealing chiefly to the wretched condition of the unconverted, and exhorting them to fly from the dreadful doom which awaited them by seeking pardon of God. (51)

TR reported on a meeting in the Mechanics' Hall:

...Mr. Anderson pointed out the power of the gospel in the salvation of the hell-deserving. He was following by Mr. R. Jones...who...implored the unconverted no longer to delay coming to Jesus...Archibald Currie then rose and narrated his conversion...he was...led to place all his hopes for eternity on the sin-cleansing blood of Christ.... (52)

The effects of such preaching at a local Methodist prayer meeting were described in the GH by an eyewitness, the Rev. Mr. Johnstone of Great Hamilton St. Congregational Church: '...three young women fell down on their knees, calling up God to deliver them, as they saw the fearful nature of their sin and guilt....' (53)

The following corroboratory account comes from the SG and is of a revival assembly at the Rev. Mr. Alexander Cumming's East Gorbals FC:

A burden of sin is felt upon the heart - a burning uneasiness within....This load of sin...becomes heavier and heavier, till it reaches a crisis. It becomes absolutely intolerable. They feel themselves lost, and utterly undone. When their anguish is greatest, then deliverance is nigh. 'They cry unto the Lord in their trouble, and He delivers them out of their distress'....[Then] there is a surprisingly rapid change, from the deepest anguish to an uncommon elevation of love, and happiness, and joy...Christ is everything...all in all with them....[and] exceedingly precious to them. (54)

Such was the impact of revival preaching that at the October 1859 ECSGA, Hill proposed that Synod: '...gratefully acknowledge the goodness of Almighty God in awakening many who were dead in trespasses and sins to a sense of their sins and a knowledge of the Saviour....' (55)

Such notions were repeated unceasingly throughout the duration of the movement. The addresses were apparently so similar and simplistic that TT claimed a conspiracy amongst preachers and suggested that if their words were recorded and examined that this would demonstrate just how stupid they were. One hostile Fife correspondent ('Omicron') wrote: 'The preaching is more fitted to arouse than to edify, to attract the careless and unthinking by its novelty...and terrors, than to benefit permanently the thinking godless man.' (56)

A prominent feature of preaching, exemplified by that of Lockhart who stressed, 'Now is the accepted time', was the call for immediate decision. This exhorted those attending revival meetings to recognise their sinful condition and to repent and accept Christ without delay. This was facilitated by enquiry meetings, held immediately after addresses, for the 'anxious' or 'distressed' who, '...were enabled then and there to close with Christ.' At these, once repentance and faith had been proclaimed, conversion was held to be instantaneous. According to Noel, 'God is teaching...that He offers immediate salvation to all who will receive His Son Jesus....' Similarly Hammond proclaimed, 'Believe - that moment you are saved in

the sight of God you are no longer an unpardoned sinner, but you are justified; and from that moment sanctification will begin.' A.A. Bonar declared, '...if you now this moment receive Christ, you are for ever saved; if not, you perish.' (57)

Although preaching was primarily aimed at unbelievers, and the term 'conversion' usually applied to those initially repenting of sin, it should be noted that addresses also evidently stimulated restoration of lapsed and revitalization of dormant Christians, and hence that 'conversion' was also capable of embracing the change from lapsed faith, indifference or mere habit to renewed faith, commitment and activity. This accounts for the 'conversion' testimonies of such as church attenders, communicants, deacons, elders and Sunday School teachers. (58)

Moreover, 'conversion' was not just to any branch of the faith, but to trinitarian evangelical Protestantism: hence the animosity of, and towards, the Unitarian Church, the hostile criticisms of 'cold', 'dead' Protestant 'formalists' and 'semi-infidel...moderates', and the numerous testimonies of 'converted' Unitarians and Roman Catholics. (59)

Furthermore, as the revival progressed, preaching also came to reflect the expectation that conversion would not only involve initial reconciliation, restoration or revitalization, and the acceptance of Protestant evangelicalism, but also a conversion to Protestant evangelical moral tenets and social mores. For example, drunkenness was viewed as a sin and

intemperance 'an evil', hence the adoption of temperance was encouraged, with some converts being asked, '...[will you] now give up whisky for Christ?' Other potential converts apparently 'stumbled' because of their reluctance to, '...give up....parties and...abstain from dancing.....' The promotion of Sabbatarianism was also common. (60)

These were the chief manifestations of what could be termed a theology of separation - a separation from 'worldly' behaviour and associations. Thus the Belfast minister, the Rev. Thomas Toye of Great George St. Presbyterian Church, possibly the leading native Irish revivalist, urged the converted amongst his Glasgow audiences to, '...come out from among the ungodly and to be separate, and to touch not the unclean thing.' (61)

Similarly, another famous revival preacher, the layman Reginald Radcliffe, preached in Glasgow on the need for Christians to disengage from non-Christian society whenever they could:

Business may require you to mix with the ungodly, but young converts should seek their intimate companions only from among those who have like themselves been awakened. Let no converted young man or woman marry one who is unconverted; yoke yourselves not unequally, for misery is the consequence.

We may go amongst the ungodly when business calls us to relieve distress or to point to Jesus, but never for companionship. (62)

These then were the main aspects of popular revival theology. Simple exhortations proclaimed repeatedly with vigour, rather than the promotion of complex doctrine.

This had a number of advantages. It avoided confusion as to what exactly was required for salvation by focusing on the perceived essential fundamentals. It also helped minimise the potential for damaging doctrinal denominational disputes. Moreover, it enabled newly converted laymen, zealous but perhaps theologically ignorant, to go out forthwith and engage in preaching themselves, and so reach a wider audience.

Indeed preaching by converted laymen occurred to such an extent that the movement became known as, 'The Layman's Revival.' Three native products of the movement who became prominent lay preachers were James Turner, Robert Annan and Robert Cunningham, a fish-curer, 'profligate' runaway soldier, and butcher respectively: none were renowned for their theological discourses. (63)

That theology was not a major feature of the revival is suggested by the lack of any detailed consideration of it, either by contemporaries or subsequent commentators. For example, no significant theological treatises appear in TR or WJ, nor are any major challenges made or corrections offered in the pages of the critical or hostile press. Of the three main secondary sources, Couper and Bussey do not devote any space to theological discourse, whilst Orr spares only 3½ pages.

Footnotes.

- (1) Couper, pp. 3, 160: v. Murray, p. 19.
- (2) v. *DSCHT*, pp. 84f., 712.
- (3) *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* Vol. VII, p. 445: *Oxford English Dictionary* Vol. VIII, pp. 611f.

- cf. *The New Collins Concise English Dictionary*, pp. 781, 951, 987.
- (4) Carwardine, p. xv.
 - (5) Carwardine, p. 63: v. C. G. Brown 1982, p. 419.
 - (6) Hetherington, p. 111.
 - (7) Hetherington, pp. iv, v.
 - (8) Hetherington, pp. 5-10, 64.
 - (9) v. SG 14-10-59, 2/7.
 - (10) Reid, pp. 6f.: v. *DSCHT* pp. 84f., 666.
 - (11) v. SG 23-5-60, 4/7; 26-5-60, 4/6; 29-5-60, 2/4: NBDM 28-5-60, 1/3.
 - (12) WJ No. 80, 6-4-61: v. No. 8, 19-11-59.
 - (13) SG 23-9-59.
 - (14) v. *Overture Anent the Present Religious Revival*, FCSGA October, 1859: WJ No. 80, 6-4-61: TR 8-12-64: Couper, pp. 4, 130, 156f.: Bussey, pp. 1, 235: Orr, pp. 5ff.: Muirhead, pp. 181-183, 186, 190, 195: C. G. Brown 1982, pp. 417, 420, 422: *DSCHT*, p. 666.
 - (15) SG 8-7-59, 3/1.
 - (16) TR Nos. 1 & 5, 30-7- & 27-8-59: WJ Nos. 5, 6 & 8, 29-10-59; 5 & 19-11-59.
 - (17) FCSGA, ECSGA & UPPG October, 1859. (For biographical details of Buchanan see J. Nicholls in *DSCHT*, p. 108.)
 - (18) Carwardine, pp. 73, 202, n. 15: Kent, chp. 1; pp. 17, 77f.: v. Sprague, pp. xciii, xciv: Finney, pp. v, vi: Meek in *DSCHT*, p. 715.
 - (19) Muirhead, pp. 188, 195: MacRae, Preface: v. Hetherington, p. iv, 1: Couper, pp. 118f..
 - (20) Carwardine, p. xiii.
 - (21) C. G. Brown 1982, p. 419.
 - (22) Hetherington, p. xi.
 - (23) Hetherington, pp. xi, xvi, xviii.
 - (24) Hetherington, pp. xii, xiii, xvi, 331, 378.
 - (25) v. Hetherington, Chp. IV: SG 1-7-59, 2/5; 14-7-59, 2/7 & 3/1f.; 2-9-59, 3/1; 20-9-59, 3/1: FCSGA, ECSGA & UPCS May, 1860: Couper, pp. 118f, 131: Bussey, chp. II: Kent, chp. 1: Meek in *DSCHT*, pp. 715f..
 - (26) Hetherington, p. 378; v. Chp. XI: TR No. 5, 27-8-59.
 - (27) v. TR Nos. 127 & 128, 28-12-61 & 4-1-62.
 - (28) SG 1-7-59, 2/1f.; 11-9-60, 2/5: Appendices C & D: v. WJ Nos. 4 & 51, 22-10-59 & 15-9-60: TR Nos. 4, 99, 100, 102 & 140, 20-8-59, 15-6 & 22-6-61, 6-7-61, 29-3-62: Reid, pp. 321ff.: Couper, p. 136: Fleming, p. 114: Bussey, pp. 100f., 236f., 333: Orr, pp. 58f., 63f., 72f., 75, 215, 230f. & chp. 9: Drummond & Bulloch, p. 185: C. G. Brown, 1982, Chp. 3 & pp. 420f., 423ff., 428 & Appendices I & III.
 - (29) NBDM, 11-8-59, 2/7: v. Appendix C: WJ No. 4, 22-10-59: SG 1-11-60, 1/7: Orr, p. 57: Carwardine, p. 99: J. R. Wolfe in *DSCHT*, p. 304.
 - (30) Orr, Chp. 13.
 - (31) Hetherington, p. 351: UPPG November 1859: v. SG 22-11-59, 3/2: Couper, pp. 157f..
 - (32) TR No. 29, 11-2-60.

- (33) WJ Nos. 82 & 83, 20-4 & 27-4-61: v. Couper, p.157. (For biographical details of Somerville see I.D. Maxwell in *DSCHT*, p.787.)
- (34) Hetherington, pp.xiv,36ff.: v. extracts from sermons and speeches by five prominent revival preachers - E.P. Hammond, B.W. Noel, Brownlow North, Richard Weaver & William Lockhart printed in SG 21-3-61, 4/2; 28-3-61, 3/4; 4-4-61, 4/1 & WJ Nos.83 & 99, 27-4- & 17-8-61: FCSGA & ECSGA October 1859: Report of the FCCRM presented by the Rev. Julius Wood to FCGA 1861, see PDFCGA 1861, pp.5,75ff.: *Reminiscences...*, p.xv: Couper, pp.133f.,157: Bussey, pp.237,240-270,274f.: Orr, pp.234f.,238ff.: Enright, pp.43ff.,274ff.: Kent, p.109: S.J. Brown, p.46f.: *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, pp.272f.,379ff., 917ff.,967ff.: *DSCHT*, pp.306f..
- (35) TR No.9, 24-9-59.
- (36) v. NBDM 12-10-59, 2/5; 13-10-59, 2/4: GH 13-10-59, 3/3: SG 14-10-59, 2/7; 25-10-59, 2/1.
- (37) TR No.29, 11-2-60.
- (38) v. NBDM 23-5-60, 5/1f.: SG 23-5-60, pp.2-4.
- (39) WJ No.99, 17-8-61: SG 25-10-59, 2/1; 21-1-60, 4/3: 8-9-60, 2/7.
- (40) SG 13-10-60, 4/1: v. Hetherington Chp.II.
- (41) SG 28-3-61, 3/4.
- (42) v. SG 14-10-59, 2/7.
- (43) Hetherington, p.vi.
- (44) Cunningham, May 1860 FCGA: SG 24-5-60, 4/4; 8-9-60, 2/7: Annual Report of Glasgow City Mission, March 1860, reprinted in SG 13-3-60, 2/6: v. Hetherington, pp.iv,vi-viii,xi.
- (45) Hetherington, p.vii,viii,xi.
- (46) Couper, p.130: Bussey, p.320: Orr, pp.256f..
- (47) Orr, pp.259f.: v. Couper, p.130.
- (48) v. WJ Nos.18 & 153, 28-1-60 & 30-8-62: TR Nos.3 & 5, 13-8- & 27-8-59.
- (49) Couper, pp.157f.: v. *DSCHT*, pp.670,715: Enright 1968.
- (50) NBDM 15-8-59, 2/4: GC 16-8-59, 4/6: TR No.5, 27-8-59.
- (51) NBDM 25-8-59, 2/2: v. SG 23-8-59, 3/1.
- (52) TR No.10, 1-10-59.
- (53) GH 26-7-59, 3/1.
- (54) SG 13-9-59, 3/2: TR No.9, 24-9-59.
- (55) v. GH 13-10-59, 3/3: NBDM 13-10-59, 2/4: SG 14-10-59, 2/7.
- (56) TT 17-9-59: *Fife Letters*, p.35 in Bussey, p.315: cf. Kent, p.119.
- (57) WJ Nos.28 & 99, 7-4-60 & 17-8-61: TR No.137, 8-3-62: SG 28-3-61, 3/4: cf. WJ No.15, 7-1-60: TR No.74, 22-12-60: M. Bonar, p.205 (24-12-59): Nixon at FCGA 1860: SG 23-5-60, 4/7: NBDM 23-5-60, 5/1f..
- (58) v. TR Nos.7,9,88,89, 10-9- & 24-9-59, 30-3- & 6-4-61: WJ Nos.1,56,102,134,137 & 152, 1-10-59, 20-10-60, 7-9-61, 19-4- & 10-5- & 23-8-62.
- (59) v. NW May-Aug. 1859 eds.: SG 1-7-59, 2/1f.: GC 16-7-

- 59, 4/5; 6-8-59, 4/5: SM 15-7-59, 2/3: TR Nos. 3, 60 & 140, 13-8-59, 15-9-60 & 29-3-62: WJ Nos. 16, 101, 108, 134 & 140, 14-1-60, 31-8- & 19-10-61, 19-4- & 31-5-62: Bussey, pp. 310, 321f.: Orr, pp. 42ff., 175, 180: Kent, pp. 94f., 100: Meek in *DSCHT*, pp. 711f..
- (60) v. TR Nos. 6, 89 & 102, 3-9-59, 6-4- & 6-7-61: WJ Nos. 11, 94, 145 & 146, 10-12-59, 13-7-61, 5-7- & 12-7-62: SG 5-1-61, 3/3: Orr, p. 214: Kent, pp. 88f., 98, 100.
- (61) SG 22-11-60, 4/1.
- (62) TR No. 104, 20-7-61: WJ No. 95, 20-7-61.
- (63) *Reminiscences...*, Introduction & pp. xiii, 11, 66: Couper, pp. 130, 133ff., 139f.: v. TR 8-12-64: Bussey, pp. 133, , 237f., 266-270, 274: Orr, pp. 76, 238, 241: Kent, pp. 106f., 113f.: C. G. Brown 1982, p. 429.

Chapter Four

Theoretical Aspects.

Introduction.

This chapter considers theoretical notions relating to revival in general rather than to the particular movement under investigation. It is concerned solely with identifying and presenting ideas, which are tested subsequently with reference to the 1859 movement in the light of the research findings.

I Notions About Religious/Spiritual Conditions Preceding Revivals.

As the etymological consideration of the word 'revival' in Chp. 3 illustrated, the condition of being revived pre-supposed a state of decline or decay. The same notion as to pre-existent condition is carried over when the word is used in a religious context. Thus, according to Finney, religious revival, '...presupposes that a church is sunk down in a back-slidden state....' (1)

Such a situation was suggested in some of the definitions of revival noted previously. For example, Hetherington's understanding embraced the notion of energizing dormant Christians into a more active state. J. Bonar considered, '...the state of religion requiring [a revivall]': he referred to '...the awful state...' of decay, fatigue and '...deathly times...', where '...life...[was] gone from where it once was, or not found where it should be.' Arnot, in the same publication, wrote of the 'dreadful' situation of 'darkness'

which currently pervaded the earth, the people and the Church and precipitated the need for revival: he described the Church as, '...bent...though not laid prostrate...entangled by the world, though not overcome.' C.J. Brown, another contributor to Hetherington's book, referred to '...a Dead Church...' characterised by '...estrangement from God...', with a tendency for '...obscure...distant and shadowy thoughts...' on the trinity, '...indifference about sin...' and its evils and dangers, '...conformity to the world in its corrupt maxims, amusements, and practices; and...indifference about the conversion of the world.' John MacNaughtan, also in Hetherington, made almost identical remarks. Twenty years later H. Bonar described revival as, '...the restoration of [Church] life that has been lost....' For Hetherington, revival was manifest in, '...quickenings and increasing the faith and piety of believers.' J. Bonar expressed similar sentiments. All of these notions emerged during the 1859 movement itself when revived congregations were variously described as, for example, '...stirred up...', displaying '...fresh vigour, life, and anxiety...', particularly '...a thirst for the preached Word, and a deep interest in it...', accompanied by a multiplication of well attended prayer meetings. (2)

How the presupposed condition arose is not commonly considered. McColl, however, contended that prolonged prosecution of usual ministrations without evident success

resulted in, 'Cold...weariness...disappointment...' and inaction. He suggested that lack of success was manifest when, '...learned and elaborate dissertations [ie. sermons]...fall without effect...upon respectable audiences [ie. congregations]...', and negative responses characterise the irreligious whom the churches have either long neglected, or amongst whom mission enterprises and efforts have been ineffective. At such a time, '...some fresh stir for the heart...' was deemed necessary: namely, revival. Twenty years earlier, J. Bonar had envisaged a similar scenario. (3)

Thus, it would appear that revival was perceived as emanating from a situation of religious depression when churchgoers were despondent and irreligion was rife in the outside community, amongst whom the church's efforts, if there were any, had apparently little positive impact.

This aspect of revival has not generally been considered by scholars. Only vague comments as to the lowly state of religion prior to revival have appeared. For example, Couper, whose sentiments are frequently shared by Bussey, writes that the years preceding the seventeenth century revival at Stewarton and Shotts, '...brought struggle and darkness for the Scottish Church.' The same author contends that in the opening decades of the eighteenth century, before the movements at Cambuslang and Kilsyth, '...we proceed[ed] deeper and deeper into the most lifeless section of Scottish religious history...': he later refers to the, 'spiritual

poverty' of the time, a perception expressed previously by both Cumming and MacNaughtan in Hetherington's compilation. Similar comments are made in respect of the periods before various other movements, including those at Moulin (1799-1800), Arran and Skye (1812), Breadalbane (1816) and Kilsyth (1839). (4)

II General Circumstances/Conditions Held to be Conducive to Revivals.

A survey of primary sources suggests that at the time of the 1859 revival no one paid much attention to the contexts in which revivals occurred: this aspect has therefore been largely the preserve of secondary sources.

Muirhead contends that no single factor can be isolated and held to be the 'cause' or 'catalyst' for a revival. Rather, he suggests that a variety of circumstances or conditions interact establishing an atmosphere and environment favourable to their occurrence. He writes:

Fundamental to these is the varied element of insecurity, theological, social, personal....It is a situation such as is dealt with by catastrophe theory - a situation of multiple strains.... (5)

This sentiment echos that of Hetherington, who referred to the growing importance of revivals during '...times fraught with the elements of peril and commotion....[when] men anticipate a period near at hand...productive of changes of incalculable potency....' (6)

The idea behind Muirhead's notion is that insecurity creates instability and uncertainty which results in tension and anxiety, in which state people may look to religion for answers. He suggests:

Theology offered an over-all interpretation of such events in terms of God's providential overrule of individuals and of societies,...the desire to find such an interpretation of life was common.... (7)

Carwardine suggests that perhaps theology was seen to offer, '...hope and security in a bleak world.' (8)

These comments are reminiscent of Hetherington, who suggested that amidst times of 'dire convulsion', reassurance and calm could only emanate from, '...the hope...[and] belief that God had not forsaken [His people].' Such a situation was conducive to revival because it generated a longing for an 'unusual manifestation' of God's continued presence, involvement, and mercy. Revival was seen as providing clear evidence of this, since it was understood as a gift or blessing of God. (9)

Muirhead proposes that the situation conceived of need not be the product of, '...any single insecurity, but rather a complex of insecurities communal and individual.' He suggests that communal insecurities, those experienced by the community as a whole, could result from famine, epidemics or extreme climatic conditions. To these Carwardine adds economic insecurity; and Meek, religious or political stresses. In respect of those insecurities affecting primarily individuals rather than the wider community, Muirhead lists death and

serious illness, which he describes as, '...an assault...' on the security of individuals. (10)

Examples illustrate the theories.

Meek proposes that a '...sense of danger...' stimulated by ecclesiastical or political uncertainty could '...create a desire for deeper spiritual experience and thus help to stimulate revivals.' He notes that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries revivals tended to happen at such times, as with the revivals of the 1740s, most famously at Cambuslang and Kilsyth, which occurred within a few years of the Jacobite Rising of 1745. Similarly, S.J. Brown notes the incidence of revivals in 1839-1840. These, occurring towards the end of the Ten Years' Conflict (1833-1843), coincided with '...the rising tension of the controversies regarding both Church Extension and the spiritual independence of the Church....' (11)

Of the period referred to by Meek, Muirhead notes: 'Before Cambuslang there had been a time of dearth, almost of famine, and in January 1740, a gale of frightening intensity swept the west of Scotland.' (12)

In the early decades of the nineteenth century disease and famine prevailed. In the early 1830s cholera swept over Europe. Meek proposes that this had the effect of focusing the mind on, '...eternal issues...', so leading to, '...spiritual movements in different localities in the British Isles....' Carwardine also mentions this era, claiming that the epidemic

caused, '...panic and fear, [and] filled churches across the country': he refers to the 'cholera revivals' and 'cholera converts' of 1832-1833. (13)

Of the situation locally, Couper notes that the disease caused many casualties at Kirkintilloch, a village neighbouring Kilsyth. The effect of the widespread disease was to, '...summon the pastor [of Kilsyth] to lift up his voice in an...earnest call to repentance and newness of life.' The minister, the Rev. W.H. Burns, himself recorded in the book edited by Hetherington: 'A weekly meeting was commenced in the year of the cholera, 1832, with us, as it had been in many places.' Kilsyth itself escaped the epidemic. (14)

In the years following 1836 crop failures, especially of the potato, were apparently common. Meek suggests that such bad harvests were influential in making people look for, '..."the bread which perisheth not".' He claims that this made people '...more responsive to the Christian message....' Couper and Bussey combine in claiming, in the words of the latter, that in the same years, especially 1839-1840, revivals occurred '...in different parts of Scotland, particularly at Kilsyth...Dundee...Perth...Kelso, Ancrum, Jedburgh, Leith, Rosskeen, Collace [and] Tain....' Interestingly, as S.J. Brown notes, these were also the years of growing ecclesiastical dispute and uncertainty which climaxed in 1843 with the Disruption. (15)

S.J. Brown and Carwardine each refer to social tension and economic depression in connection with revival. For example, the latter notes the coincidence of revival and recession in early nineteenth century America but warns, '...the precise nature of the relationship is not easily determined.' Nevertheless he, unlike McLoughlin, is sympathetic to the notion of '...economic depression...creating conditions in which revival could flourish.' (16)

As for individual insecurities, these often relate to major personal misfortune or adverse situations. For example, Muirhead notes that death and illness often accompanied conversion experiences. Of life-threatening illnesses, C.G. Brown notes that typhus and cholera remained prevalent into the 1860s. (17)

In respect of individual insecurities it is interesting to note the personal histories of some prominent 1859 revival preachers. For example, according to Bussey, two of Hay MacDowall Grant's brothers died, '...after only a very short illness, and this led [him]...to think very seriously about God and his soul.' James Turner, who died at the age of 45, apparently suffered fragile health throughout his life. Brownlow North was said to have been converted after, '...a feeling suddenly seized him that he was dying.' Prior to his conversion, Richard Weaver had attempted suicide and subsequently experienced, '...a terrifying dream.' Duncan Matheson and David Morgan also experienced trauma: the former

is said to have endured '...prolonged inner struggles...', whilst the latter converted, '...after a season of spiritual anxiety and agony.' Thus, from whatever initial stimuli, all these men, who with the exception of Morgan, preached extensively in Scotland, experienced some form of dramatic personal insecurity. (18)

III Maintenance and Transmission.

In considering these aspects of revival, medical terminology is often adopted. For example, once revival was underway it was frequently described as 'infectious' or 'contagious', and referred to as a 'sickness': thus the movement of 1625-1630 was known as, 'The Stewarton Sickness'. (19)

Enthusiasts who believed revivals to be a gift of God would desire to share and be involved with what was going on - to be a part of the Divine work or masterplan. Frequently they would display similar characteristics and manifestations to those persons initially affected, and would be described as having been 'infected'.

In respect to the maintenance of revival in a particular locality, Muirhead suggests that once it had begun, '...the recycling of its emotional products provides for its continuance over a period....' Typically, there would be a rapid increase in the frequency of both formal and informal gatherings. These provided a forum for the promotion of propaganda and the recital of previous experiences. Additionally, they could give an opportunity for settlement

if, on earlier occasions, emotional states had been reached, but resolution had not been achieved. Recounting the tale, recreating the atmosphere, perhaps re-enacting the situation, might occur until resolution was secured. Such assemblies could also facilitate the dissemination of supportive and encouraging information, assist networking, ensure feed-back and result in the multiplication of conversion experiences, so maintaining the movement. For example, it was common for new converts, full of zeal, to convene and address meetings, often in their own homes, sharing their experiences, arousing interest and provoking responses. (20)

Transmission of revival from one locality to another invariably occurred as a result of wider diffusion of information. Boles, who based his proposal on a study of American revivals, claims:

...again and again mere knowledge of what had transpired...triggered an immediate revival elsewhere.... [Confronted by] tales of extraordinary crowds and strange exercises, inexplicable conversions and miraculous transformation....[an] apparently undeniable demonstration of God's sovereignty and power, individuals felt the need of conversion as never before....and longed to become a part of this [phenomenon]. (21)

What Boles suggests could be termed the domino effect, where one community after another falls under revival influence. The stimulus of such activity is deemed to be a reiteration of intelligence. Thus Orr asserts, in respect of Britain:

Among...deeply spiritual Christians...the stimulating incident first came in hearing of Revival elsewhere. This intelligence quickened the prayer-life of the intercessors, who flocked to prayer-meetings in an unusual way. The prayer-meetings became directed towards the

winning of the outside communities as well as the reviving of the churches. (22)

Stimulation, and hence transmission could be via the written word, perhaps in letters which passed between relatives, friends or colleagues, or by press reports. Verbal transmission, however, via the stories and reports of eyewitnesses, was arguably the most effective mode. From as early as the seventeenth century, it was common for people to visit scenes of unusual religious intensity and then, upon returning home, narrate their experiences. This was especially powerful if those bearing such testimony were respected local ministers. (23)

Orr contends: '...proximity in time and place adds to the stimulation of desire for similar blessing.' Whereas previously this had been relatively geographically limited, restricted to an area, district or region, in the late 1850s, apparently for the first time, the type of domino effect envisaged by Boles is reputed to have taken on an international dimension, with the trans-Atlantic transmission of revival. Carwardine claims: 'The contagious element in revivalism seen so clearly locally, [now] operated at a transatlantic level too.' Thus Kent can contend that Evangelical Protestant tradition, in respect of the 1859 movement, '...always linked the events in America with the similar outbreak of religious feeling in [Britain]....' (24)

IV Who Was Influenced by Revival?

Carwardine alleges that all revivalists were '...proud of the social mix of their congregations.' This aspect seems to have been the main interest of the primary sources, and the secondary sources from the first half of the twentieth century, who commonly make vague claims that both sexes, and all ages and social classes were affected. (25)

Commentators from more recent decades, however, have usually ignored issues of gender, age and class, concentrating rather on the extent to which revivals influenced the irreligious or alienated. Yet even when addressing this aspect, consideration is brief.

Kent contends that generally, 'Revivalism had more effect within the borders of the Christian sub-culture [than outwith].' He argues:

From the point of view of the official Churches... [revivals] failed at the most important test; they did not make any marked contact with the world beyond the organized Churches....Outside the religious world, the effect was slight. (26)

Muirhead is sympathetic to this view, which finds support from Carwardine who, although not dismissing the possibility of conversions from amongst the 'unchurched', asserts: 'Often...the converts in revivals were already church members.' He refers to 'congregation converts', those who may have been '...unregenerate...church adherents', or members of

nonevangelical denominations who transferred to revival affected congregations. (27)

V Revival Evaluation.

In attempting to evaluate, analyse or assess modern revivals with their element of mass or corporate conversion, it is rare to find a commentator who is prepared to use what might be considered the most obvious method - ascertaining the number of converts. (28)

Couper, commenting in relation to the 1859 movement, argues:

...results...cannot be reckoned through the number of conversions alone, or even by the apparently permanent impression made on individual lives. In former revivals this appears to have been the only method used in appraising the benefits rendered to the church or to the community; perhaps it was then the only possible plan. In no Scottish revival, however, could such a method be more arbitrary and injudicious than in this. (29)

Muirhead concurs. Whilst acknowledging, '...some have tried to play the numbers game...', he is scathing of such efforts:

...the idea that there exists a numerate group of Christians in the community and a numerate group of non-Christians and that the proved, or disproved, transference from one group to another might validate (or invalidate), a reported revival seems naive in the extreme. (30)

Statistical analysis of the kind here condemned is fraught with difficulty.

There is often anecdotal and circumstantial evidence which suggest considerably increased attendances and large numbers of respondents. For example, from eye witness reports and descriptions of meetings, to the need to employ additional

venues when churches could not accommodate the numbers attending. However beyond this it is difficult to determine more precisely the levels of 'anxious' and converts, and how church membership and attendances were affected.

To some extent this is frequently due to a dearth of contemporary data and the unlikelihood that there existed any systematic and thorough attempt to identify and number converts. Even when efforts were made, accurate recording would probably have been impossible for want of infrastructure unless a central and efficient liaison service existed, coupled with a duty on everyone to report to such.

When contemporaneous data is available this is often no more specific than, 'many converts', 'large numbers', and 'huge attendances'. Where figures are given, these are usually only vague estimates, which can vary substantially from source to source, even for a single specific meeting. One possible reason for this could be the pro or anti-revival bias of the source. Moreover, aggregate attendances and responses for a number or series of meetings, or even for an entire movement, could emerge from estimates which themselves were based on no more precise calculation than head counting, a method which does not take account of the possibility of one person, or head, attending or responding on more than one occasion.

Furthermore, as Orr points out, even when more sophisticated statistics are available, they may well be the product of differing methods of collection, classification and

interpretation as between congregations and denominations, further clouding the figures and obstructing analysis. For example, bare statistics of increased membership often fail to distinguish revival converts from those resulting from prolonged evangelistic campaigns and missions. Additionally, Orr notes that, in respect of the former, it may be impossible accurately to ascertain, '...what proportion of the total number of converts...[were] genuine.' Orr also refers to 'real converts', but does not define 'real' or 'genuine'. (31)

In addition, if Kent *et al.* are correct in asserting that revival converts tended to come from within the church community, or from its peripheries, then especially if such people were already on church registers or rolls, it may be unlikely that they would request to be removed from these only to be immediately reinstated in recognition of their new-found intensified state, so again causing numerical assessment difficulties. (32)

With such impediments and complications it is perhaps less surprising that quantitative analysis and evaluation is generally avoided, and other methods suggested. For example, Couper proposes: 'The...effects of...revival must be looked for in many directions....religious, social, and philanthropic....' (33)

Similarly, Bussey and Orr refer to social, philanthropic and missionary enterprises. They argue that evaluation of revival should include consideration of alleged decreases in

prostitution, drunkenness and crime, the rise of organizations to relieve poverty and suffering, and the creation of home and foreign mission societies. (34)

Muirhead concurs in promoting criteria other than the counting of converts as a means of evaluation: 'There are...hints of a more satisfactory, though unquantifiable, kind of evidence': viz. in the production of a generation of church officers and personnel. (35)

Footnotes.

- (1) Finney, p. 15: cf. *Oxford English Dictionary* Vol. VIII pp. 611f.: *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* Vol. VII, p. 445.
- (2) Hetherington, pp. 111, iv, v, 2, 4ff., 11ff., 27, 32, 164ff., 314f., 333, 383f.; Chp. X: Reid, pp. 6f.: SG 23-9-59: cf. Bussey, p. 28: *DSCHT*, pp. 84f., 666.
- (3) WJ No. 80, 6-4-61: cf. Hetherington, pp. 11ff..
- (4) Couper, pp. 8, 11f., 40, 79-83, 88, 95, 100, 111f., 118: cf. Bussey, Chp. I (esp. pp. 13-17, 23-26), Chp. II (esp. pp. 28, 30f., 35f.), Chp. VII (esp. pp. 229f.): v. Hetherington, pp. xxi-xxiii, 149, 164ff., 407f., 412; Chp. XIII: MacRae.
- (5) Muirhead, pp. 191, 194: cf. C. G. Brown 1982, p. 417.
- (6) Hetherington, p. xxi.
- (7) Muirhead, pp. 190ff..
- (8) Carwardine, p. 82.
- (9) Hetherington, p. xxii.
- (10) Muirhead, pp. 188f.: Carwardine, pp. 73, 82, 96, 162ff., 170: Meek in *DSCHT*, pp. 712, 716.
- (11) Meek in *DSCHT*, pp. 712, 716: S. J. Brown, pp. 324, 346: v. Bussey, pp. 224f.: Fawcett: S. J. Brown & M. Fry, Chp. 1 (esp. pp. 15, 19).
- (12) Muirhead, pp. 188f..
- (13) Meek in *DSCHT*, p. 716: Carwardine, pp. 73, 82.
- (14) Couper, pp. 118f.: Hetherington, pp. 337f.: cf. Bussey, p. 231: Muirhead, pp. 188f..
- (15) Meek in *DSCHT*, p. 716: Bussey, pp. 29f., 231ff.: Couper, pp. 120ff., 126: v. S. J. Brown, p. 324: Hetherington, pp. xxi-xxiii.
- (16) Carwardine, pp. 73, 82, 96, 162ff., 170: v. S. J. Brown, p. 324: cf. McLoughlin, pp. 6f..
- (17) Muirhead, p. 190: C. G. Brown 1982, p. 405; 1987, p. 147: cf. Carwardine, p. 170.
- (18) Bussey, pp. 240, 246, 256, 262, 268, 270: Orr, pp. 234, 236:

- Kent, pp.106f.: *DSCHT*, pp.630f.. Fuller narratives on these and other famous revival personalities can be found in Bussey (Chp.8) and Orr (Chp.11).
- (19) v. Bussey, p.222: Orr, p.15: Carwardine, p.198: Muirhead, pp.190f..
 - (20) Muirhead, pp.193f.: v. Couper, p.131: Orr, pp.59,61f., 64,67,69f.,72f.247f.: Muirhead, p.193.
 - (21) Boles, pp.x,xi,61.
 - (22) Orr, p.247.
 - (23) v. Bussey, pp.225ff.: S.J. Brown, p.325: *DSCHT*, pp.713f.: Ward.
 - (24) Orr, p.15; v. pp.59,247: Carwardine, p.198; v. pp.12, 18,162,167,205 n.54: Kent, p.72; v. pp.31,109f.: cf. Couper, p.155: Fleming, p.111: Bussey, p.45: Muirhead, pp.183,190f.: C.G. Brown 1982, pp.407,417ff.; 1987, p.147.
 - (25) Carwardine, p.193: v. *Reminiscences...*, p.48: Couper, pp.126,136,139: Fleming, pp.115f.: Bussey, Preface 11, pp.99f.,103,127,131,332f.: Orr, pp.58,74,76: C.G. Brown 1982, pp.428f.,463 n.74,464 n.83; 1987, p.147.
 - (26) Kent, pp.36,363.
 - (27) Muirhead, p.193: Carwardine, p.192f.,197; v. pp.80, 160,164.
 - (28) Meek in *DSCHT*, pp.716f..
 - (29) Couper, p.139: v. Bussey, pp.332f..
 - (30) Muirhead, p.194.
 - (31) Orr, pp.75f.,201: cf. C.G. Brown 1982, pp.428,463 n.76.
 - (32) v. Orr, pp.76,201.
 - (33) Couper, p.139; v. pp.4,158: Bussey, pp.332f..
 - (34) cf. Bussey, pp.113,115,133,136,335ff.: Orr, Chps.10 & 15. & pp.5,9,64,68f.,73,75ff.,264: MacRae, p.77: Couper, pp.135,137,158f.: Fleming, pp.115f.: C.G. Brown 1982, pp.431f.,464 nos.88,90,91.
 - (35) Muirhead, pp.184,195.

SECTION THREE

CONTEXTUALIZING THE REVIVAL OF THE LATE 1850s.

Chapter Five

The General Socio-Economic & Political Context.

Introduction.

The first of the theoretical aspects identified in the previous chapter, that which suggests a correlation between religious revivals and circumstances or conditions of communal instability and personal insecurity, will now be tested in respect of the 1859 movement. This involves attempting to ascertain whether there were any military threats, and/or political unrest, gross economic fluctuations, environmental or welfare deterioration, or social unrest which might have been, according to the theory, conducive to the emergence of revival.

As well as testing the theory this process produces the first comprehensive contextualization of the movement. In the Abstract it was noted that Glasgow was a prime example of a nineteenth century industrial and commercially inspired mass urban area. A preamble will briefly describe its general development and progress. Thereafter the years directly before the revival will be focused on in an effort to ascertain the politico-economic, health and socio-environmental context. As this latter aspect does not appear to have been of interest or concern to the common primary and secondary sources, which are therefore of little value, primary sources which, prior to this study, had not been utilized with reference to the revival will be introduced. These will be used in an effort to

identify common contemporaneous perceptions as to the state of society immediately preceding the movement.

Amongst the primary sources introduced will be TT review of the key year of 1859. This was a panoramic survey which helps set the broad scene within which the revival occurred. It is supplemented by specifically Scottish material including a local commercial review of the year by a Glasgow based firm, Messrs. William Connal & Co.. Additionally, the welfare returns of the Registrar-General for Scotland will be used, and also the annual report of Dr. John Strang, the Glasgow City Chamberlain who, on 8 February 1860 delivered an address before the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Council of Glasgow, *On the Vital, Social and Economic Statistics of Glasgow for 1859.*

I Preamble.

S. & O. Checkland describe pre-industrial Glasgow as '...a modest cathedral and college town....' In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries its size and status were to change as it emerged into a leading commercial and industrial centre. There is agreement amongst scholars such as Slaven, Hillis, C.G. Brown and the Checklands that the development of the city was based on rapid population growth, international commerce, textile manufacturing, and mining, engineering and shipbuilding. (1)

According to C.G. Brown the population of the city rose from 77,000 in 1801 to 147,000 in 1821, to 212,000 in 1831, 287,000

in 1841, 363,000 in 1851, and by a further 80,000 in the following decade to reach 443,000 by 1861. The population continued to rise throughout the remainder of the century reaching 904,000 by 1901. Although, as Slaven notes, a contributing factor was 'natural increase' resulting from an excess of births over deaths, according to C.G. Brown, '...population growth was mainly sustained by migration from rural areas...from counties in west central Scotland, the Highlands and Islands of north and north-west Scotland...', and by '...large-scale immigration from Ireland...', including an '...influx of Irish after the potato famine of 1845-6....' With respect to Irish immigrants, whom Brown identifies as '...roughly two-thirds...Catholic...', Robbins claims that by 1851 they accounted for 18% of the city's population. The flow of migrants into Glasgow resulted in it becoming an ethnic melting pot. (2)

In the eighteenth century Glasgow's economy was based on commerce and trade, particularly relating to tobacco and sugar. Whilst this remained an important feature Slaven, the Checklands and C.G. Brown agree that towards the close of the century the importation of American cotton increased in importance and gave rise to textile manufacturing which became the dominant industry in Glasgow and central Scotland up to the mid-nineteenth century. (3)

In the decades immediately following 1850 whilst, as Nenadic notes, '...textile production...remained in employment terms

the dominant industry within the city...', iron and coal production, engineering, railway building and shipbuilding came to the fore. Additionally, Glasgow continued to develop as a retail centre with legal, accounting, banking and insurance services also available. The Checklands and C.G. Brown concur, with the latter maintaining that this era was one of '...relative...boom....[with] rapid expansion of the economy...[and] increased prosperity....' Brown goes on to contend that by the later nineteenth century Glasgow had become, '...the second city of the British Empire and arguably the first industrial city of Europe.' Slaven and Hillis agree and provide more detailed accounts. (4)

II The Politico-Economic Context.

This part of the contextualizing process, concentrating on the years immediately preceding the revival, will commence with the review of the TT identified in the **Introduction**, prior to focusing on Scotland and then Glasgow:

The year which ends this day fitly terminates a decade in which domestic prosperity and advancement have only been interrupted by a constant succession of external disturbances and surprises....

In domestic affairs, the equal balance of [the political] parties...[has] been found compatible during the last ten years with general contentment and progress....The chronic disorganization of parties has happily not produced any intermission of social or commercial progress. Although the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, and the monetary crisis of 1857 have successively excited general anxiety...the wealth and population of the country in 1860 far exceeded the standard of 1850....It may be doubted whether greater accumulations of wealth have ever taken place in a period of ten years in any age or country, and for the first time within recent experience the reward of labour has increased even more largely than the profits of capital. An unprecedented duration of agricultural

prosperity has led to a general advance of wages in the country, and in every department of skilled industry able workmen find it in their power to command almost any price for their services.

The year 1859 was characterised, like the period which it terminated, by...a steady increase of material prosperity....The old year has ended with a general advance of prosperity, and with cheerful hopes for the future. Exports and Imports, employment and profits, and the produce of public revenue have steadily increased, notwithstanding [foreign] political uneasiness and the Continental war. The shipping interest seems likely soon to recover from the exceptional depression which followed on the special demand for vessels during the Crimean campaign. Every other branch of industry is flourishing as abundantly as at any former period. (5)

In the New Year, a supplementary report appeared in the 'City Article' of the same paper:

The records of prosperity are usually tame, and there is little to be said on the commercial history of the year....Everything has concurred to make it a period...never previously known. An abundant harvest, the third of a series, has happened simultaneously with an unparalled cotton crop....Our exporters have exceeded to the extent of 4% those of 1857, the great year of inflation....at the same time in every department of operations...full profits [have been] universally realized. For 1860 the promise is equally good. (6)

In its initial review, TT referred to war on the Continent. This was between France and Austria over disputed territory in northern Italy. An armistice existed from May 1859, but in any event, Britain remained neutral.

TT notes that the foreign hostilities made, '...no perceptible influence on internal politics...', which were described as in a general state of, '...tranquillity....' The Scottish papers, especially the GH, SM and NBDM carried news, yet the

impression gleaned is that the conflict in Italy did not impinge upon or significantly influence local life. (7)

The reviews of TT are full of self-congratulatory contentment and suggest wide-spread and long-term stability and security, yet whilst providing useful material they give only one perspective, and one emanating from London. This may have borne little resemblance to the realities of Scotland, or of Glasgow. Fortunately, other reviews and reports from within the nation and the city are also available.

Messrs. William Connal & Co. of Glasgow conducted a commercial review of 1859, from which the following extracts are taken:

The year which has drawn to a close has presented no feature of remarkable interest in a commercial point of view....No speculative movements worthy of notice have disturbed the usual current of supply and demand. Several branches of manufacturing industry have been highly remunerative for a period extending over two years.... particularly...cotton-spinning and weaving. The importation of foreign produce...[has witnessed]...no disastrous fluctuations....The Board of Trade Returns show [an improvement] in the exports of British and Irish produces and manufactures last year, the declared value for the twelve months ending 30th November, 1859 being £129,671,954 against £113,703,603 in 1858 and £125,052,422 in 1857.

There is little life in our great...shipbuilding yards. The shipping interest presents a marked contrast to nearly every other [with] the protracted depression of the last three years....

We cannot conclude...without referring to the very comfortable condition of the great mass of the population...the prospects for the future year, to both labourer and capitalist, are full of promise. (8)

This report corroborates those of TT. Its additional detail in respect of textile manufacturing is significant as this was a major source of employment in Glasgow and the surrounding

area. Strang claims that it provided at least 30,000 jobs whilst Nenadic suggests as many as 48,500. (9)

The general tenor of TT and Connal reports is supported by the City Chamberlain who noted in his 1860 New Year annual report to the city fathers, in respect of local trade, a 10% increase in the annual tonnage of imports and exports, a 15% increase in revenue, and a 13½% increase in customs duties for 1859 over against 1858. (10)

These sources combine to suggest that as far as the general politico-economic context was concerned there was little in 1859 to excite or cause fear.

III. The Health Context.

National data gathered by the Registrar-General of Scotland for 1859 was interpreted as depicting an increasingly healthy populace, reflected in a growing population and a declining death rate - which was the lowest since records began in 1855. Thus, in the largest urban areas in Scotland, '...notwithstanding the increase in population...', there was an aggregate of 22,345 registered deaths, 1,079 fewer than in 1858. Scarlet fever was the most prevalent epidemic, with some diphtheria and cholera. The Registrar-General concluded: 'From the various returns the state of the country seems to be, on the whole, satisfactory....' (11)

Focusing on Glasgow, in January 1860 a Mr. David Miller alerted the GH:

...small-pox...has been...extensively fatal in Glasgow during [December]....[with] no fewer than 59 [deaths].... This is a higher amount of mortality than has prevailed for about three years from the same cause. In 1858 the mortality was comparatively small - only 115 in all.... Even in June and July last there had been only 9 deaths in each; but [a] gradual increase since August. (12)

Shortly afterwards, the annual report of Glasgow City Mission for 1859 stated: '...Disease...in many forms, has widely prevailed, and small-pox...has numbered many victims....' (13)

These comments could suggest that disease, particularly small-pox, was prevalent, and that thoughts of death may therefore have been prominent. However, when compared to the more extensive data of the City Chamberlain, a different picture emerges.

In line with the overall national statistics, Strang recorded a decreased death rate in the city. Amidst a population of some 407,000 for the parliamentary city, or 443,639 if the suburbs of the parishes of Barony and Govan were included, as Strang considered they ought to be as they were now '...an integral part of Glasgow...', fatalities fell by 637, from 11,469 in 1858 to 10,832 in 1859. (14)

Of these deaths, 200 were from small-pox. This was more than the 115 in 1858, but numerically less than half the 405 of 1857, and proportionately even lower given the intervening two years of population growth. In 1859 the disease claimed the lives of 0.045% of the city population, accounting for 1.85%

of deaths: this was considered contemporaneously as, '...a truly low proportion.' (15)

The 200 small-pox mortalities can also be compared to the number of deaths by other causes, such as the 380 from typhus and 1,480 from consumption. It would appear therefore that even though some, such as Miller, were alerting to, 'The Increase in Small-Pox in Glasgow', that the impact of the disease on the community was probably minimal, causing little if any panic. (16)

Accompanying the city's decreasing death rate was an increasing birth rate. This was also held at the time to be a reflection of improving health. Since the introduction of the statutory duty to register births, the annual numbers recorded in the city were: 1856 - 15,243; 1857 - 15,807; 1858 - 15,897; 1859 - 15,946. Although the birth rate showed gradual rather than rapid growth per annum, in comparison it was allegedly, '...considerably above that of the large towns of Scotland, England and France.' (17)

For the key year of 1859, therefore, the welfare data seems to suggest that the population, both of the country and the city, was enjoying good health free from major epidemics.

IV. The Socio-Environmental Context.

General health and well-being may also reflect on the environmental and social context in which people lived.

In respect of the physical environment, the Connel report alleged that the 'masses' were enjoying 'comfortable' conditions. Strang made an identical claim in referring to, '...the increased comfort of the mass of the population in this city....' He also noted the increased housing market in Glasgow, which resulted from the construction of 2,725 new buildings in 1859. Alongside this, the Editor of the GH claimed: 'The city of Glasgow is much cleaner than it used to be....' (18)

All the information so far given could be deemed to relate only to the employed and their employers, to those who were able to take advantage of the blossoming business opportunities, and whose circumstances thereby improved. However, apparently all social classes were enjoying better conditions, even the poorest, at least according to Strang in his report to the city fathers. He based his claim on the infant mortality rate, the numbers of marriages, pauper burials - those paid for by the parish authorities - and those whose daily welfare was dependent on the poor rates. According to the Chamberlain the level of these, '...never fails to throw light on the social condition of the city....' (19)

Strang's research showed that in 1859 there had been more marriages, and that the death rate amongst those under 5 years of age was 2% less than the average rate for the previous 5 years. Whilst conceding that the 15,853 people reliant on the poor rates, '...no doubt present a picture of much

poverty...', he nevertheless asserted that both numerically and proportionately, levels of dependancy had diminished. Alongside these, figures for pauper burials showed, '...[a] very considerable decrease', with 498 in 1859 as against 706 in 1858. Strang asserted that such reductions, '...plainly demonstrated] that a great and growing improvement has taken place in the condition of the lower and poorer portions of the population....' The Chamberlain concluded:

...it is impossible not to congratulate you [Lord Provost, Magistrates and Councillors], as the chosen guardians of the city, on the improved and improving condition of Glasgow since 1857, and particularly in 1859....The City Commissariat...speaks loudly for the general well-being of the citizens.... (20)

The general perceptions so far expressed were shared by the two dominant local newspapers. Strang's report was endorsed by the Editor of the GH who repeated a number of the findings and concluded, '...the city is prospering.' The Editor of the NBDM declared: '...we...hope that the satisfactory progress which...characteris[ed]...[1859] will not be checked by the mad ambition or stupid folly of those who rule the nations of the earth.' (21)

That 'satisfactory progress' was maintained is evident from Strang's corresponding Report on 1861 in which he referred to the steady decline in mortality rates since 1851 and to the absence of any '...destructive epidemic....' He attributed these '...in some measure...to the great improvement...in our system of...drainage...', decreasing inner city population

densities, better housing for the working classes, '...and especially to the introduction and distribution of a most plentiful supply of the purest water in the world (via] The Loch Katrine Scheme).' Financial returns from the Post Office, Savings Bank and Customs & Excise evidenced continued personal and corporate prosperity. (22)

All these reports, reviews and comments concur in promoting an image of a population enjoying a healthier and wealthier lifestyle. However, none convey or reflect perceptions from the lowest and poorest members of the community whose views could, potentially, have been radically different. These remain unknown, yet even Glasgow City Mission, an organization in sympathy with the poor whose task was, '...to get to the mass of the degraded in the city...', stated in their report on 1859 that '...great physical improvement...' had occurred, especially regarding sanitation and that, '...at the present time more was being done for the good of the people and the improvement of the city than at any previous period.' The Report also noted: 'Trade and commerce have much improved, and work, as a consequence, has, on the whole, not been so difficult to procure.' Thus Glasgow City Mission also recognized environmental and economic progress. (23)

It was not until the summer of 1860 that any qualifying comments appear. In July of that year an article entitled, 'The Outcasts of Society' was printed in the SG:

With all our progress in wealth and outward display, the poor...have been going backwards instead of forwards.

There is, indeed, a degree of comfort formerly unknown amongst tradesmen and higher class mechanics; but there is an amount of misery among those beneath them which seems to be only diminished, but far from destroyed, by our Christian and philanthropic schemes....Against the flood of misery and iniquity [these have] nobly struggled. Had it not been for this philanthropy, society would probably long since have sunk under its weight....the struggle will go on. The flood may abate but it will not disappear. (24)

In September 1860, at the meeting in Glasgow of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, a Mr. Keddie reported: 'During the last quarter of a century the city has increased in population and wealth to an extent unexampled in its previous history....' He referred to, '...our present mercantile and manufacturing prosperity...', and to the 'unparalleled' state of housing enjoyed by the upper and middle classes. He also alleged, '...the better conditioned of the working classes share in the general advancement, and enjoy domestic accommodation unknown to their fathers.' Yet Keddie recognized: 'At the opposite extreme of society a process of deterioration has been going on.' In particular, he targetted the booming housing market:

The demand for improved house accommodation on the part of those who can pay high rents has steadily encroached upon the low-rented houses of the poor....The dwellings of the poor are...becoming fewer in number, while the poor are increasing. A system of sub-letting and subdivision in the remaining houses is the inevitable consequence. The people are packed into dwellings which are already overcrowded.

The report finished with the recognition that the free market would not provide low rent housing for the poor, and a call for Parliamentary and local municipal intervention. (25)

Whilst these comments corroborate the notion of general progressive economic prosperity, they shed a little more light on the condition of the poorer members of society and acknowledge that such growth was not inevitably beneficial to all.

In respect of housing, Nenadic, whose research focused on the year 1861, contends that conditions for the poor were bad and that interventionist policy was being promoted. She alleges: 'In certain of the poorest enclaves of Glasgow the density was as high as 583 persons per acre...', compared to the city average of about 80 - a figure interpolated from the 1831 and 1871 rates of 38 and 94 respectively. (26)

C.G. Brown concurs in contending:

Despite...economic improvement....over-crowding in the slums may have got worse [after 1850]....Although aggregate life expectancy rose, conditions of life for those at the lower end of the social scale cannot be said to have changed radically for the better.

He continues by noting that in 1858 concern was such that the FCPG established a housing committee which advanced the notion of interventionist social reform and resulted, in 1860, in the commencement of a philanthropic slum-clearance scheme in the centre of Glasgow. Becoming impracticable as a philanthropic enterprise this eventually became a municipal task with the passing of the City Improvement Act (1866). (27)

Summary Conclusion.

From the autumn of 1857 revival occurred in America; later in the following year it was witnessed in Ireland. Bussey informs that in the US in the weeks prior to October 1857, '...grave financial disorder....prevailed with increasing severity... reaching its crisis in an over-whelming panic that prostrated the whole monetary system of the country.' C.G. Brown concurs in noting that in mid-October the US stock market collapsed amid a period of economic confusion, resulting in much unemployment. Kent alleges a similar situation in Ireland, claiming that those affected by the movement there were under, '...socio-economic pressures....' He also asserts, '...the American and Irish revivals...both occurred in [Protestant] communities which felt themselves threatened by a resurgent Roman Catholicism....' The presence of such circumstances and conditions perhaps contributed to popular feelings of instability and insecurity, the context commonly perceived as conducive to revival. (28)

The sources cited in respect of the nation and the city of Glasgow are unanimous in conveying perceptions on the general condition of both. According to these, there was no external military threat to national security. Internally, the country was experiencing relative political calm, and enjoying sustained growth in industry and agriculture, with capital and labour alike deemed to be flourishing. The only disruption to the seemingly universal and relentless national progress

was in respect of shipping, which was recognized as suffering a depression. Even here, however, the forecast was optimistic.

The condition of Glasgow mirrored that of the nation. The working classes were allegedly getting better pay, often for a shorter working week, the commercial classes were enjoying greater turnover from increased production and consumption and capitalists were receiving a good return. Additionally, the housing market was enlarging and the city was becoming cleaner. However, the article on 'The Outcasts of Society', coupled with Keddie's comments, serves to underline that widespread poverty persisted, and that the conditions of the poor were worsening: a view supported by the research of C.G. Brown and Nenadic. Yet significantly, in respect of theories about revival, no sources suggest anything which suddenly and substantially aggravated the state of the poor. Even Keddie refers to, '...a process of deterioration...', and to encroachment. (29)

Overall, 1859 was apparently a prosperous year with nothing foreseen to hamper future progress. It would appear that nothing existed to instil in the population the notion that they were experiencing, or about to experience, a crisis. If anything, conditions and circumstances in the preceding years were more unsettling with a 'monetary crisis' and inflation, the commencement of the shipping depression, a sharp drop in exports and, as Strang notes in an earlier report, a

considerable decline in local wages - which had peaked in 1856. (30)

Yet in respect of the key year of 1859, communal instability and personal insecurity seem to have been absent. The theory, therefore, which links these with circumstances and conditions conducive to revivals does not seem to apply to the movement of that particular year in Scotland. This then raises the question as to what was, or might have been, influential in stimulating revival? In considering this, the ecclesiastical and spiritual context will next be examined.

Footnotes.

- (1) S. & O. Checkland, pp.38f.: v. Slaven, p.5: Hillis, p.15: C.G. Brown 1982, pp.6,15: Nenadic, p.24.
- (2) C.G. Brown 1982, Vol. 1, pp.3,15,18f.,181f.,198,210,226,408; Vol.2 Appendix III, p.320: C.G. Brown 1987, pp.4,19,44-47,61,74,161-165,234: Slaven, pp.8,135-147: Robbins, 'The Imperial City', *History Today* Vol.40 p.49: v. Hillis, pp.16,54: Nenadic, p.29: Aspinwall, 'The Formation of the Catholic Community in the West of Scotland', *Innes Review* 33 1982, pp.44,49: Massie, 'Glasgow - A Moving Portrait', *History Today* Vol.40, p.6: Wolffe, pp.18f..
- (3) Slaven, pp.6-9,79-110,146: S. & O. Checkland, pp.39,48: C.G. Brown 1982, pp.5f.,14: v. Nenadic, pp.20,26f.,30f.: Devine, 'The Tobacco Lords of Glasgow', *History Today* Vol.40, pp.17-21: Robbins, *History Today* Vol.40 pp.48-54.
- (4) Nenadic, pp.20,31,33-35,65,106,388: S. & O. Checkland, pp.41,48: C.G. Brown 1982, pp.14,405f.: Slaven, pp.9f.,111-134: Hillis, Chp.1: v. Morgan, 'Enterprise and Industry', *History Today* Vol.40 pp.34-40: Robbins, *History Today* Vol.40 pp.48f..
- (5) TT 31-12-59: cf. NBDM 2-1-60, 1/1f..
- (6) TT 2-1-60: cf. NBDM 3-1-60, 1/3.
- (7) TT 31-12-59.
- (8) NBDM 2-1-60, 2/6.
- (9) Strang 1858, p.1: Nenadic, pp.31f.: cf. C.G. Brown 1987, p.147.
- (10) Strang 1860 reprinted in GH 13-2-60, 2/6; 15-2-60, 2/1ff.: cf. C.G. Brown 1982, p.405f.; 1987, p.147.
- (11) NBDM 14-11-59, 2/2: SG 15-11-59, 3/5: GH 21-2-60, 2/1;

- 13-3-60, 2/2 7 2/4.
- (12) GH 19-1-60, 2/7.
 - (13) SG 13-3-60, 2/6.
 - (14) NBDM 17-2-60, 4/3; 2-3-60, 2/3: GH 13-3-60, 2/4.
 - (15) GH 13-3-60, 2/4.
 - (16) GH 13-2-60, 2/6; 15-2-60, 2/1ff..
 - (17) GH 13-2-60, 2/6; 15-2-60, 2/1ff..
 - (18) GH 6-3-60, 2/3; 13-2-60, 2/6; 15-2-60, 2/1ff..
 - (19) Strang 1859: GH 13-2-60, 2/6
 - (20) Strang 1859: v. GH 13-2-60, 2/6; 15-2-60, 1/1ff. & 2/1ff..
 - (21) GH 13-2-60, 2/6: NBDM 2-1-60, 2/2.
 - (22) Strang 1861 reprinted in NBDM 17-2-62, 2 & 3; 19-2-62, 2: GH 17-2-62, 6/1ff.; 18-2-62, 3/1ff..
 - (23) SG 13-3-60, 2/6.
 - (24) SG 6-7-60, 2/6.
 - (25) SG 27-9-60, 2/6.
 - (26) Nenadic, pp.28ff., 363.
 - (27) C.G. Brown 1982, Vol. I, pp.408.432f.; Vol.II, Chp.12.
 - (28) Bussey, Preface 1, pp.39f.; Chp.III: C.G. Brown 1982, p.421: Kent, pp.71f., 76: v. Orr, Chps.1 & 2: Carwardine, pp.20, 53f..
 - (29) C.G. Brown 1982, pp.408f.: Nenadic, pp.28ff.. (For appraisals of the socio-economic development of Glasgow from the late eighteenth century up to the time of the revival see Hillis Chp.1: C.G. Brown 1982, Chps.1 & 5: Nenadic, pp.19-36. The footnotes and bibliographies of these provide a wealth of further primary and secondary sources.)
 - (30) Strang 1858.

Chapter Six

The Ecclesiastical and Spiritual Context.

As noted in Chp. 4, revival was commonly perceived as emerging out of a depressed, sunken or backslidden state. Since the particular focus of this study is to ascertain the impact of the 1859 revival on the city of Glasgow, this Chapter will concentrate on the condition of the churches there prior to the commencement of that movement.

Of the general situation, Bussey contends:

In the years which followed the Disruption [1843]....Great efforts were being made to go to the people living in the dark closes and 'wynds' where so many were sunk in poverty....Territorial missions were commenced in every provincial town, and evangelistic efforts were put forth in every direction. (1)

The year in which Horace Mann's national Religious Census was conducted, 1851, appears to have been particularly significant. In that year Buchanan, then of Glasgow's Free Tron Church, focused the attention of the FCGA on the 'Spiritual Destitution of the Masses in Glasgow', a subject on which he also published. This seems to have been influential because from 1851 the FC engaged in extensive mission activity, not only in Glasgow, where the FC Building Society was formed to generate income for church extension and mission work in the city, but throughout urban Scotland. Founded upon, 'Collections made over the whole Church...', work also commenced in Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Montrose, Dundee '...and other large towns.' These various initiatives endured, and in

1858 were grouped under a scheme entitled, 'The Evangelization of the Masses', for which the FCGA ordered a special collection to be taken up every two years to aid funding. In 1861 it was estimated that about £4000 was needed to meet current commitments. (2)

The most famous product of the Glasgow FC Building Society was the Wynds FC and Mission situated in the Wynds district. The Church was opened in 1854 with the Rev. Dougal M'Coll installed as minister: about one third of the 800 sittings were taken. Extensive local mission work was immediately begun. To inform and promote this a series known as *The Wynd Tracts* were published. These, unfortunately, have not been located, however other sources convey details. (3)

The WJ described the Mission as, '...a cluster of Agencies acting on what are generally considered the most hopeless materials in city life....' The district itself was located '...at the centre of Glasgow...' and was described by the GH as one of the poorest and most densely populated, housing about 22,000 inhabitants. According to M'Coll, '...we have packed by the hydraulic of poverty about 1,000 souls to every acre....' This estimate suggests a population density considerably greater than Nenadic's research which indicated a city-wide average 80 persons per acre with a high of 583 per acre. The area was described as, '...the rendezvous of the riot and ruffianism of the city....' (4)

Nenadic wrote of the Wynds and the neighbouring districts of Bridgegate, Calton, Gorbals and Hutchesontown:

The very poor in the central districts of the city were truly an alien group in middle class eyes. Few of the middle class were prepared to venture into these areas....When they did...they often described their visits in terms analogous to those of the exploratory expeditions then taking place in Africa. (5)

The Wynds Mission commenced with a central weekly prayer meeting in the Church. Within a few years this attracted over 200 people and was supplemented by 15 weekly district meetings '...for reading and prayer.' In June 1856 a Sunday evening service '...for persons in working clothes...[was] commenced....' By 1859 a second such meeting was underway, in addition to the two Sunday congregational services. Also in June 1856, a Sunday School began with 14 teachers and 84 children: by June 1859 numbers stood at 35 and 300 respectively. There was also a Bible mission distributing tracts and over 50 Bibles per week by 1859. The Church employed a full-time Missionary and encouraged district visitors, who grew to number 80 by the end of the decade. A Medical Mission was added in February 1859: this was estimated to be catering for about 2,000 patients annually. Shortly afterwards, in June 1859, a school was opened in the Bridgegate which was soon attracting nearly 200 children. (6)

Within a few years, the Wynds FC was full with all 800 sittings taken. Such was the expectation that from at least 1857, 'The proposal kept before the congregation...[was] to

get up a second congregation, and...to build the Bridgegate Church....' At the laying of the foundation stone for this on 4 July 1859, M'Coll declared: '...in 5 years...[the] vitality [of the Wynds FC] is manifested in the erection of a church larger and more costly than itself....' The Bridgegate FC, with 880 seats, opened less than a year later, on 24 June 1860. (7)

The Wynds Mission was thus evidently succeeding in its task of attracting people to church. M'Coll enthused: 'There have been numerous and very considerable conversions for several years. In one year we added 112 members.' Such 'success', allegedly from amongst the working classes and those who had previously been non-churchgoers, would no doubt have given encouragement, and an expectation of further expansion. (8)

That in 1859, the Wynds FC and its congregation were in confident, even 'aggressive' mood, is illustrated by the language of the following reports from the WJ:

...a fortnight ago, the proprietor of the Lyceum Rooms...offered us the use of them....A council of war was immediately held, when it was unanimously agreed to take possession. Our present ground is well occupied...; our forces can occupy a longer line without weakening the centre; and we have money enough....The District will be thoroughly visited, and Sabbath Evening Classes arranged....

It is very evident that the Church is able to grapple with the most apparently hopeless parts of the city. The Wynd Mission has itself demonstrated that. We cannot undertake to convert all, or any. But we can undertake to leave everyone without excuse, by giving opportunities of hearing the Gospel.... (9)

The following issue of the WJ confirmed:

The Lyceum Rooms...were secured on Thursday (1st Dec.); the district was mapped out on Friday; about two thirds were thoroughly visited on Saturday; and although the Sabbath was unusually wet and stormy, about 300 were present in the forenoon and above 500 in the afternoon....we are thankful to say a considerable number were awakened to concern about their souls....About 50 young persons were...collected from the district, and at once formed into classes.... (10)

The Wynds FC and Mission may have been the most high profile of the FC efforts in Glasgow in the 1850s, but it was just a part of the work of the denomination. In the six years from 1854, the Glasgow FC Building Society, as well as financing the Wynds FC, wholly funded the building of Young St. FC and Chalmers FC, and made contributions towards the construction costs of East Gorbals, West, Finnieston, Lyon St., Bell St. and the Bridgegate FCs. (11)

The other denominations in the city were also expanding. The EC built 11 churches during the 1850s whilst the UPC, having established a local mission scheme in 1853, constructed 11 churches between then and 1857. With the exception of the Episcopalian's whose churches decreased from 6 to 4, all the smaller denominations also added 1-2 churches. (12)

Throughout this period, the FC and UPC claimed about 8,000 additional church members, '...reclaimed from practical heathenism, or restored from backslidding....' Of individual churches Wellpark FC increased membership from about 100 to 750 in the 5 years from 1855, an aggregate of 650 representing an annual average gain of 130. Greyfriars UPC increased by 383 over a 3 year period from 1857, an annual average gain of 127.

New City Road UPC had 120 new members in 1858-1859, whilst Young St. FC recorded additions of 110 from May 1859 to March 1860. (13)

Hillis's research shows that by the time of the revival, within the postal district of Glasgow, there was a total of 139 churches comprising 40 FCs, 39 ECs, 38 UPCs, 6 Baptist Churches, 6 Independent/Congregational Churches, 4 Episcopalian Churches, 3 RPCs and 3 Methodist Churches. This is a smaller number than the aggregate of the various presbyteries of Glasgow because their geographical boundaries extended to include rural areas such as Kilsyth, Cumbernauld, Chryston, Kirkintilloch, Tollcross, Rutherglen, Thornliebank, and Barrhead. (14)

The activities of the churches did not escape the attention of Strang who commented in 1859:

Among the many marks of extension and progress which have of late years characterised the city of Glasgow, perhaps none is more striking than the increase of her various Churches....The result...has been, that during the last twenty years the amount of Church accommodation and of money...invested in places of worship, has been to an extent never surpassed, if at all equalled, in any similarly circumstanced community. In short, since 1839 an unprecedented number of ecclesiastical structures...have been erected in Glasgow...their spires, towers, and domes have shot up in every direction, giving character and beauty to the city. (15)

Strang went on to describe the FC as, '...that now large and energetic body...', while the UPC was, '...that fast-increasing and numerous body....' He claimed, 'The success which attended the gigantic voluntary efforts of these

religious bodies, stimulated other sectarians in the same track....' (16)

In addition to the churches, Glasgow City Mission was also expanding to reach a peak of operations in 1859/60. Its annual report for that year showed that the Mission maintained 57 missionaries in districts '...extending from Partick on the west to Tollcross on the east, with Pollockshaws on the south, and Kirkintilloch on the north....' These missionaries made an aggregate of 108,459 visits, went to 6,349 meetings attended by a total of 311,969 people, and devoted 60,276 hours to mission work. C.G. Brown claims they visited, '...every "poor family" in the city every four months....' (17)

With respect to inter-church relations, it appears that the sectarianism evident during the Disruption era had subsided. Cowan offers a unique perspective based on an extensive study of popular newspaper coverage of ecclesiastical affairs. He claims that education, temperance, '...and the material and spiritual conditions of the time...', were the main preoccupations of the Church's rather than '...purely ecclesiastical matters....' He concludes:

Compared with that of the previous decade, the purely ecclesiastical history of the eighteen-fifties is uneventful. The strife between the hostile parties of 1843 certainly persisted over church sites and education and to some extent over that chronic irritant, the Edinburgh Annuity Tax; and in 1854 the patronage question was formally raised, but no crisis threatened the Establishment. The *Glasgow Examiner* was moved to reflect (30/5/1857) that 'for all that occurred in the Free and Established Assemblies they might almost have been conjoined.' On its other flank the Free Church looked with increased respect towards the United Presbyterians, and in

a New Year message to its readers (2/1/1855) the *Scottish Guardian* expressed the hope for 'a firmer bond of brotherhood among the members of the Evangelical Churches.' (18)

Within Glasgow, a spirit of ecumenism is evident in the composition of the local Evangelical Alliance. This large and influential body contained leading clergy from all the denominations represented in the city. Ecumenism is also reflected in the subscription roll of the Bridgegate FC which showed that financial contributions to the building of the Church emanated from individuals of various theological persuasions. (19)

None of the primary sources, such as the annual reports of various denominational Home Mission and State of Religion Committees, suggest that the ecclesiastical-spiritual experience of Glasgow was unique or exceptional. (20)

So far, this Chapter has exclusively considered the experience of the Protestant denominations during the 1850s. With respect to the Roman Catholic Church it should be noted that - coinciding with the influx of Irish migrants after the potato famine of the mid-1840s - it too was expanding. Hillis's research shows that there were 2 Catholic Churches in Glasgow in 1845, 4 in 1850 and 7 in 1855. There were no further additions prior to the revival. (21)

Wolffe and C.G. Brown both claim that anti-Catholic fervour increased in Glasgow during this time. However the latter suggests that this was more an economic than religious

response contending that, 'A specific grievance that was being voiced in the 1840s and 1850s was that Irish Catholics were forcing native Protestant workers out of employment and, because of the swollen labour market, were causing wages to fall.' Brown insists that the hostility towards the Catholic population was, '...outwith the presbyterian churches...' and that '...few ministers...associated with it.' (22)

Yet there was undoubtedly some religious tension in the city. This was evident in August 1860 when M'Coll was addressing a meeting outside the recently opened Bridgegate Church. Towards the end of the service two Roman Catholic priests deliberately '...drove a cab recklessly through the crowd...' in an attempt to disrupt proceedings. A similar commotion occurred a week later at the last of what had become regular summer Sunday evening open air gatherings. These incidents happened well after the commencement of the revival, and are probably more a sign of Catholic apprehension and frustration than Protestant. The erection of the Bridgegate Church could itself have been seen as an act of aggression being located on '...the principal street of the Roman Catholics in Glasgow, and a leading thoroughfare from their dwellings to the Catholic Chapel in Clyde Street....' M'Coll maintained, however, that the church had been built not primarily to 'proselytize' Roman Catholics but for the benefit of the minority local Protestant community. (23)

Whilst the erection of 5 Catholic Church's between 1845-1855 coupled with the influx of post-famine Irish migrants may have been an underlying concern, these developments do not seem to have unduly alarmed the already aggressive evangelicals who, in the years just prior to the revival, were engaged in combatting mass irreligion, poverty, overcrowding, and poor sanitation and health. No Protestant-biased primary source examined - such as church records, the diaries/correspondence of churchmen, or newspapers - mention Roman Catholic missions or initiatives let alone express anxiety. Moreover, no primary or secondary source identifies - or even hints - that Catholic church expansion and population growth influenced revival activity: there is no indication that this was a specific motivating factor. (24)

Perhaps in the following decades as '...the Roman Catholic Church grew spectacularly...', the Protestant's felt more under threat but in the 1850s, according to C.G. Brown '...the apogee of evangelicalism...', they were enjoying '...their heyday....' Nenadic concurs in contending that during this period, '...the evangelicals [were] at the height of power... with their new brand of "aggressive christianity".' (25)

Summary Conclusion.

The primary sources combine to portray the years preceding the 1859 revival as ones of extensive church growth and increasing membership, discounting any idea of the Church being in a depressed, sunken or backslidden state. They attest to the

financial affluence, confidence and ambition of the churches, a situation far removed from that envisaged by pre-1859 commentators as a pre-requisite for revival. The stimuli for the movement must therefore be located elsewhere. (26)

Footnotes.

- (1) Bussey, pp. 36ff..
- (2) AFCGA 1848-52, pp. 334f.: WJ Nos. 99 & 133, 17-8-61 & 12-4-62: WW No. 8, 21-11-62: v. C.G. Brown 1982, pp. 411ff.. (Buchanan's publications were, *The Spiritual Destitution of the Masses in Glasgow: its alarming increase and the only effectual cure* (Glasgow 1851): *A Second Appeal on the Spiritual Destitution of the Masses in Glasgow: and objections answered* (Glasgow 1851))
- (3) v. WJ Nos. 99 & 133, 17-8-61 & 12-4-62.
- (4) WJ Nos. 1, 25 & 40, 1-10-59, 17-3-60 & 3-6-60: GH 18-12-60, 2/6: Nenadic, pp. 28f., 363: v. Hillis, pp. 95-97, 206f.: C.G. Brown 1982, Vol. I, pp. 408, 432f.: Vol. II Chp. 12: J. Nicholls in *DSCHT*, p. 108.
- (5) Nenadic, p. 361.
- (6) SG 5-7-59, 3/3: v. WJ Nos. 1, 9, 25, 27, 34 & 41, 1-10- & 26-11-59, 17-3- & 31-3- & 19-5- & 7-7-60.
- (7) SG 5-7-59, 3/3; v. 26-6-60, 2/7: NBDM 25-6-60, 2/3: GH 25-6-60, 4/4: WJ No. 40, 30-6-60.
- (8) WJ Nos. 5 & 41, 29-10-59 & 7-7-60.
- (9) WJ No. 10, 3-12-59.
- (10) WJ No. 11, 10-12-59.
- (11) v WJ Nos. 92, 99, 133 & 151, 29-6- & 17-8-61, 12-4- & 16-8-62: WW No. 8, 21-11-62: UPC Magazine Vol. V, pp. 39f..
- (12) v. WJ Nos. 92, 99, 133 & 151, 29-6- & 17-8-61, 12-4- & 16-8-62: WW No. 8, 21-11-62: PUPCS 1857-1863, Appendix X Report on Statistics pp. 392, 469f.: UPC Magazine Vol. V, pp. 39f.: Abstract of the Public Accounts of the FC, 1861: C.G. Brown 1982, pp. 413, 422f., 461 n. 50.
- (13) v. SG 29-3-60, 3/1; 7-4-60, 3/3f, 12-4-60, 2/1; 14-4-60, 3/3; 8-5-60, 3/2f.; v WJ No. 133, 12-4-62: PUPCS 1857-1863, Appendix X Report on Statistics pp. 392, 469f.: UPC Magazine Vol. V, pp. 39f.: Abstract of the Public Accounts of the FC, 1861: C.G. Brown 1982, pp. 413, 422f., 461 n. 50.
- (14) Hillis, p. 86: v. C.G. Brown 1982, Vol. I, Table 7.1, p. 478: PUPCS 1857-1863, Appendix X Report on Statistics pp. 392, 469f.: Abstract of the Public Accounts of the FC 1861.
- (15) *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* (Dec. 1859).
- (16) *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* (Dec. 1859).

- (17) SG 13-3-60, 2/6: C.G. Brown 1982, pp. 423, 461 n. 52.
- (18) Cowan, pp. 341, 362.
- (19) cf. Appendices C & D: SG 26-6-60, 2/7: NBDM 25-6-60, 2/3: GH 25-6-60, 4/4.
- (20) S.J. Brown & M. Fry, pp. 22-24.
- (21) Hillis, p. 86: v. Larkin, 'The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-75', *American Historical Review* Vol. 77, 3-6-72, p. 651: Aspinwall, 'The Formation of the Catholic Community in the West of Scotland', *Innes Review* 33 1982 p. 44.
- (22) Wolffe, pp. 2, 185-7, 195f.: C.G. Brown 1982 Vol. 1, p. 426: Vol. 2, Appendix III, p. 320: Slaven, p. 144.
- (23) v. TR Nos. 99 & 100, 15- & 22-6-61: WJ Nos. 49, 50 & 51, 1- & 8- & 15-9-60.
- (24) v. C.G. Brown 1982, pp. 413f.: Nenadic, p. 224.
- (25) C.G. Brown 1982, pp. 181, 404: 1987, p. 58; v. pp. 44-47: Nenadic, p. 224.
- (26) v. C.G. Brown 1982, pp. 404, 407f., 411.

SECTION FOUR

PERCEPTIONS ON THE GENERAL REVIVAL MOVEMENT OF 1859.

Chapter Seven

Stimuli & Maintenance.

Amongst primary and secondary sources there is a consensus identifying three factors which stimulated revival in Scotland in the late 1850s. These were a long held desire for revival, suggesting a favourable predisposition; a climate of spiritual anxiety; and a heightening of expectation fuelled by news from abroad.

Although for a number of years there seems to have been an absence of communal instability and personal insecurity, and despite the success of on-going home mission activities, there was evidently a persistent yearning, at least on the part of some, for a revival.

At the FCGA of May 1852, the Rev. Mr. Sym of Greyfriars FC in Edinburgh, the Convener of the FC Home Mission Committee (FCHMC), declared, '...many among us are waiting for an outpouring of the Divine Spirit of God, and wearying for a revival....' In November of the same year the Rev. Dr. Norman MacLeod of the EC, who had come to the Barony parish in Glasgow the previous year, wrote in his diary, 'How my readings in Jonathan Edwards makes me long for a revival....This...is what we want.' Seven years later at the October 1859 meeting of the ECPG he asserted, '...we all feel that a revival of religion would solve almost all our difficulties.' At the October 1859 FCSGA, Buchanan noted: 'It is well known that for some years...there has been a growing

sense...of our need of a revival...[and that many have] frequently and earnestly...[prayed for such].' At the 1861 FCGA, Wood, Convener of the FCCRM, corroborated: '...we have been looking for many years...for...a revival....earnest prayers...were offered...and addresses [given]....there was...increasing expectation....' On the same occasion the Rev. Mr. Gailey of Annan informed that for the previous 2-3 years he and his colleagues had been expecting, '...in common with all Christian brethren throughout the country, a revival of God's work....' Evidently a persisting desire for, and predisposition towards revival, had long existed. (1)

In 1872 the *British & Foreign Evangelical Review* asserted: '...an element of susceptibility to spiritual impression...formed one of the most precious and important features of the period.' Couper, Bussey and Orr concur. For example, the first claims, '...a deep sense of sin...prevailed during 1859-1860'. A variety of primary sources from a number of locations are cited in support. These include personal testimonies, eyewitness accounts, newspaper reports and Presbytery records, emanating from the south west to the north east, and the highlands and islands. For example, the eyewitness memoirs published in *Reminiscences*... unanimously agree: '...the...deep dominant note was an overpowering sense of sin.' (2)

Why such feelings prevailed is not explored, however Orr contends that for some time '...the Christian life of Scotland

was being quickened by evangelists....' Their preaching was perhaps influential for, according to the *DSCHT*, the preaching of the time was characterised by a concentration on sin and the necessity of salvation, presumably by detailing the horrendous consequences of eternal damnation awaiting the unrepentant. As the analysis in Chp.3 showed, these were also common features of revival preaching. Thus the FCCRM survey presented by Wood at the FCGA of 1861 found, '...considerable excitement...' amongst the 'unconverted' when they found themselves '...to be on the brink of hell...under the wrath and condemnation of a righteous and holy God....' No information has been discovered to suggest that the content of sermons prior to the 1859 movement was radically different from those of the sermons delivered during it. In this respect Enright, in his study of nineteenth century preaching, although aware of the revival nevertheless assigns no significance to it. It is possible, therefore, that pre-revival preaching may have focused attention on eternal matters so inducing conditions conducive to revival. (3)

Finally, it is alleged that expectation of revival was fuelled by news from abroad. For example, Wood identified '...an increasing expectation of revival...' which he claimed was,

...quickened when we had tidings of the Lord's great work in America and Ireland. These tidings both excited gratitude to God and raised expectations that He would not pass us by....I believe we can scarcely ascribe too much influence to the communication of religious intelligence.... (4)

All secondary sources agree in identifying the revival in America which commenced in late 1857 as a major stimulant of the similar religious experiences in Britain. Bussey expresses the notion common to generations of scholars:

...in many ways the main factor in preparing the ground for the awakening of 1858-60 was the American revival of 1857....

Between...1857 and 1860, the countries on both sides of the Atlantic experienced a great religious awakening....It began in America in the autumn of 1857, and rapidly spread...leap[ing] the Atlantic...and appear[ing] in Northern Ireland. Almost at the same time...it made its appearance in Scotland, Wales and England. (5)

By linking events in America and Britain what in effect was being claimed was, as Carwardine notes, trans-Atlantic transmission of revival. (6)

Transmission occurred chiefly via word of mouth and the press. With respect to the former, a number of lay and clerical inquirers travelled to America to witness events for themselves. According to Bussey, 'In practically every case...[witnesses] came back with a burning desire to promote a similar movement in this country.' In addition to these private visits, official church delegations were also dispatched. In 1858 both the Irish Methodist and Presbyterian Churches sent observers to the United States to study the revival. These too returned with a desire for encouraging a similar movement. (7)

Additionally, as Carwardine notes: 'Americans...who happened to be in Britain gave public addresses and were subject to

furious evangelical questioning. So too were Britons newly returned from "the work of grace". (8)

Although no evidence has been discovered suggesting that Scottish churches sent delegations to America, some gave American visitors a platform for promoting the movement. For example, Dr. McLean, Principal of Lafayette College in Pennsylvania, addressed the FCGA of 1858: he described the US revival as, '...the most deciding and extraordinary the world ever saw since the days of the apostles.' Later that same year the Rev. Mr. Well of Brooklyn, New York similarly addressed the October FCPG. (9)

In addition to these personal accounts, intelligence of events in America was being widely disseminated in the press, further exciting interest. This was recognized at the May 1859 FCGA where the Rev. Dr. D. Brown declared: 'Just think what a great impulse has been communicated to the heart of all Christendom by the simple publication of what God has done for our American brethern.' (10)

The flow of personnel and information was aided by frequent and fast trans-Atlantic crossings. A mail-ship departed every week on a journey which took about 14 days but had been done in as little as 11. The volume of traffic, mainly from Liverpool and the Clyde, can be gauged from the quantity of advertisements in the press. The dissemination of information was also facilitated by the installation, in 1858, of the first trans-Atlantic telegraph wire. (11)

According to Carwardine:

...news of the American movement began to break early in 1858. By summer English and Scottish evangelicals had a good grasp of transatlantic events. American newspapers... were gutted for 'revival intelligence', which was in turn condensed and republished in various...magazines... newspapers...[and] tract[s]. During 1859, the coverage of American events reached saturation point. (12)

Carwardine's assertion is supported by the SG and WJ each of which reports that from March 1858, in the words of the former, '...tidings of the great awakening in America reached this country.' A cursory glance at the content of the local press, especially the New Year and spring 1859 editions of the SG, also corroborates the claim. (13)

The result of the flow of personnel and intelligence into Scotland during the spring and summer of 1858 was to generate curiosity and interest. This was soon to stir revival, but only in the original or traditional sense of stimulating intensified activity within sections of the existing Christian community. Wood refers to, '...increased attention to the preaching of the Word, increased attendance at prayer meetings, and an increase in the exercise of prayer in our social circles, in our families, and in secret....' (14)

Perhaps most evident was the growth in numbers of prayer meetings which sprang up throughout Scotland during the second half of 1858 and the opening months of 1859. These revival meetings were characterised by incessant and earnest pleading '...for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit...' in a similar fashion to that experienced in the United States.

Nevertheless, despite the flow of intelligence and the proliferation of prayer meetings, there was no recognition that the news from America had stimulated mass public meetings or any noticeable increase in the number of conversions. By the early summer of 1859 the revival remained confined within certain sections of the existing church-going community. (15)

This appears not to have been the case in the north of Ireland. The general context there has already been outlined (in Chp. 5).

Within Ulster some sections of the Christian community were apparently desirous for revival: according to Couper, '...Ireland...was sitting patiently waiting for... inspiration.' As in Scotland, here too from early 1858, there was an influx of news of revival in America, coupled with a growth of prayer meetings. As previously indicated, interest was such that fact-finding delegations were dispatched to the United States. From the end of 1858, when first hand eyewitness accounts of American events would have been available via the returning inquirers and delegations, the frequency and size of meetings apparently increased and the number of conversions allegedly grew. These continued apace, to such an extent that from the spring of 1859 they became the topic of public interest. Fleming states that, '...the North of Ireland...[was] stirred to its depths.' (16)

It was the emergence of mass or corporate conversions in Ulster that provided the spark which ignited the restricted

traditional style revival in Scotland into a popular movement. Buchanan recognized this in his inaugural speech as Moderator of the FCGA in May 1860 when he spoke of Scotland having been 'stirred' by reports from America but noted that, '...interest had deepened [only] on news from Ireland.' At the FCGA of the following year and also at the 1862 gathering, Wood expressed similar views, as did the Rev. Alexander Moody Stuart of St. Luke's FC in Edinburgh when he addressed the Irish Presbyterian Church GA in 1861: '...our ministers have lighted their torches at your fires....By far the greatest impetus given to the work of God in Scotland came from the ministers and others who had witnessed the work in Ireland....' The secondary sources, relying on these and a variety of other primary sources, unanimously agree. (17)

Newspaper sources confirm that news of events in Ulster started flowing into Scotland immediately, intensifying the interest of those praying for revival and inducing many to travel to the province to witness events for themselves. Whilst the trans-Atlantic crossing could take about two weeks, the crossing from Glasgow to Belfast could be done in 6½ hours. (18)

One prominent visitor was the Stirling-based publisher Peter Drummond. He was so impressed with what he witnessed during his travels in July 1859 and so keen to see similar scenes in Scotland that he established a travel fund of £200.00 to help finance those who also wished to go to Ulster. This sum, the

equivalent of 3-4 times the annual wages of a skilled workman, was exhausted within a few weeks as dozens of ministers from a variety of denominations applied for grants. The volume of those crossing the Irish Sea was so great that on 7 September 1859 *The Witness* reported: 'There is scarcely a district in Scotland in which addresses are not delivered by parties who have returned from Ireland.' (19)

Events in Ulster, extensively reported in the Scottish press, were now seizing the public interest and imagination and so the addresses given by the returning parties, invariably favourable and enthusiastic, drew large audiences. These meetings and addresses were the means by which the existing revival in Scotland was transformed into a widespread movement. (20)

The crucial factor in this seems to have been the involvement of large numbers of native ministers. Whereas previously, news from the United States had come largely via press reports, which could not be tested, and American visitors who, regardless of their position, were effectively strangers, now the narrators were not aliens but trusted and respected Scottish clerics. Their personal testimony authenticated what was happening in Ulster and confirmed it to be, in Bussey's words, '...the work of God....' In effect this sanctioned the go-ahead for similar experiences in Scotland. (21)

Extracts from one such address, delivered by Alexander in Stockwell FC in August 1859, have already been given (in

Chp.3). In an excessively crowded church, the minister gave, '...a thrilling account...' of the scenes of revival he had witnessed in Ulster, including details of conversion experiences. During this recital interest and tension mounted. Alexander closed by describing, '...the awful doom which awaited the impenitent and unbelieving...', whereupon, '...the pent up feelings of not a few got vent in audible and earnest appeals for mercy.' The result was that a large number attended the subsequent prayer meeting held to facilitate counselling and conversion. (22)

Thus, fuelled by many months of intense prayer, the example of Ulster, and the endorsement of native divines, revival in the modern sense, with mass meetings and public conversions, also broke out in Scotland. Large, excited and expectant audiences, amongst whom many allegedly possessed, '...an element of susceptibility to spiritual impression...', and with, '...a deep sense of sin...', crowded into churches and halls and responded in large numbers to the addresses and appeals they heard. Meetings continued on a daily basis maintaining momentum. (23)

In respect of discourses, the SM alleged a conspiracy claiming that ministers, '...by a sort of tacit understanding, agreed to deliver a particular species of address, day after day....' These were described as, '...calculated to fill the minds of their...hearers with a dread of eternal torments so intense and intolerable as wholly to prostrate for a time their bodily

strength as well as reasoning powers....' The paper contended that '...the law of sympathy...' operated within revival crowds so that once one person responded to the preaching the '...infection spread...' rapidly throughout the gathering: 'People go to a revival to be revived - they predispose themselves to catch the disease, and they take it....As soon as a revival is announced, the magic virtue, or virus, spreads.' (24)

According to TT:

...the instant people are converted suddenly, and also converted together, there is of course a scene, and a movement begins. All the conversions that would otherwise take place separately now take place congregationally, in public, amid the stimulants and excitement of the preacher's appeals; spark kindles spark, the whole effect is multiplied tenfold by sympathy, each conversion intensifies the one next to it, heightens its sensations, exaggerates its symptoms, and makes it more of a phenomenon....The principle of sympathy will produce a scene, one scene will produce another scene, and so the movement will spread. (25)

What was commonly referred to as the 'law of sympathy' or the 'principle of sympathy' was universally recognized as the means of maintaining the momentum of revival as meetings proliferated and 'scenes' multiplied. In 1862 the NBDM concluded, '...the [1859] movement...[was] propagated by the ordinary agencies of sympathy and imitation.' (26)

Summary Conclusion.

The ideas expressed as to the stimuli of revival in Scotland were summarized by Buchanan at the October 1859 FCSGA:

...the movement [in America]...stimulated the prayers of our own people...that God might extend the blessing to us.

Eighteen months ago we had ministers and others from America in our General Assembly, telling us what the Lord was doing there; and, more recently...we had messengers from nearer home, to tell us that the cloud had been wafted across the sea, and had begun to send down its showers upon Ireland. I believe that this next stage in the progress of this movement gave a fresh impulse to the praying people of Scotland. Ireland being so near us, multitudes could go and see the work....No doubt this has been in the hand of God a means which God meant to employ to provoke his Church in this country to jealousy, to make them anxiously concerned that they might be partakers of the same abundant blessing, and at length it has reached our own shores.... (27)

The general perception then is that revival in Scotland, for which there had been a desire and predisposition amongst some for a number of years, commenced after news of conversions in Ulster had been reported and eyewitnesses, especially Scottish ministers, had travelled to investigate and then testify upon their return. This accounts for the popular dating of revival in Scotland from the second half of 1859. (28)

However this view excludes from the understanding of revival the heightened interest and growth in activity, especially prayer meetings, amongst revival enthusiasts within the Christian community. These stalwarts, stirred by news of events in America and keen for a similar experience in Scotland had been gathering together, albeit in a relatively quiet way largely outwith the public gaze, to pray for such an occurrence since the second half of 1858, from when the commencement of the movement - in its widest sense - should be dated.

Once public corporate conversion had begun the 'principle' or 'law of sympathy' operated to multiply such experiences and so maintain and propel the movement.

As far as general theories about revivals are concerned, these findings lend support to the notions advanced by Boles, Muirhead etc. as noted in Chp.4 (III).

Footnotes.

- (1) AFCGA 1848-52, pp.335: MacLeod Vol.II, pp.18f.: cf. SG 7-10- & 14-10-59, 2/3; 29-5-61, 2/1f.: WJ No.7, 12-11-59: NBDM 29-5-61, 5/3: GH 29-5-61, 5/1f.: Bussey, pp.36f.. (For biographical details of MacLeod see G. Waring in *DSCHT*, pp.532f.
- (2) *British & Foreign Evangelical Review*, XI (1872) p.99: Couper, pp.131ff., 135-139, 158: v. Bussey, pp.1, 25, 104, 118, 120ff., 130, 132, 138, 236: Orr, pp.5, 58, 63, 71, 263: *Reminiscences...*, p.xii: SG 26 & 29-7-59: MacRae, p.65: Muirhead, pp.183, 187 n.37: C.G. Brown 1987, p.159.
- (3) Orr, p.59: cf. *DSCHT*, pp.670, 714f.: SG 29-5-61, 2/1f.: NBDM 29-5-61, 5/3: GH 29-5-61, 5/1f.: Enright, p.291.
- (4) SG 29-5-61, 2/1f.: NBDM 29-5-61, 5/3: GH 29-5-61, 5/1f..
- (5) Bussey, Preface, pp.1, 39, 45: v. Couper, pp.131, 155: Fleming, p.111: Orr, pp.59f.: Kent, pp.31, 72, 109f.: Muirhead, pp.183, 191: Carwardine, pp.159, 170, 198: C.G. Brown 1982, pp.407, 419; 1987, p.147.
- (6) Carwardine, p.198: cf. p.159: Couper, p.155: Fleming, p.111: Bussey, pp.29, 45: Orr, pp.59, 247: Muirhead, p.183: C.G. Brown 1982, p.407.
- (7) Bussey, pp.39, 46: v. Orr, pp.39, 194, 199, 247.
- (8) Carwardine, pp.170, 172.
- (9) v. Bussey, p.93: Fleming, p.111: Muirhead, p.183.
- (10) PDFCGA 1859, p.294: v. Bussey, p.45.
- (11) v. NBDM 29-9-59, 2/3; 17-11-59, 2/2; 28-12-59, 2/2; 10-1-60, 2/2: Aird, pp.26ff., 36.
- (12) Carwardine, p.170: v. pp.66, 191, 210 n.24.
- (13) WJ No.5, 29-10-59: SG 25-2-59, 2/7.
- (14) SG 29-5-61, 2/1f.: NBDM 29-5-61, 5/3: GH 29-5-61, 5/1f..
- (15) v. TR No.1, 30-7-59: SG 2-8-59 & 29-5-61, 2 (per the Rev. Mr. Gailey of Annan): UPC Magazine Vol.IV (1860), p.82: Couper, p.131: Bussey, pp.48f., 93, 96, 99, 110f., 120, 129: Orr, pp.59, 61, 63, 247: Carwardine, p.171.
- (16) Couper, p.131: Fleming, p.112: v. Bussey: Orr Chp.2 & Appendix F: Muirhead, p.183: C.G. Brown 1982, p.425.

- (17) v. NBDM 18-5-60, 1/2f.; 29-5-61, 5/3; 30-5-62, 1/6: GH 29-5-61, 5/1f. & 30-5-62, 6/6: SG 19-5-60, 2/1; 29-5-61, 2/1f.; 9-7-61, 2/4f.: WJ No. 35, 26-5-60: W.M. Mackay, p. 21: TR 19-1-65: Couper, pp. 130f., 141: Bussey, pp. 45ff., 93: Orr, pp. 58-60, 77, 247: Muirhead, pp. 183, 191.
- (18) v. NBDM 7-6-60, 2/3: GH 7-6-60, 2/2 & 7/1: Couper, p. 131.
- (19) v. SG 15-7-59, 3/1f.; 5-8-59, 3/1: Strang, 1858: Couper, p. 131: Fleming, p. 112: Orr, p. 69: C.G. Brown 1982, p. 429.
- (20) v. Reid, p. 190: TR 26-1-61: Couper, pp. 136f.: Bussey, pp. 29, 93, 99: Orr, p. 63, 66, 75.
- (21) Bussey, p. 46.
- (22) NBDM 15-8-59, 2/4: GC 16-8-59, 4/6: TR No. 5, 27-8-59.
- (23) v. *British & Foreign Evangelical Review*, XI (1872) p. 99: TT 17-9-59, 6/4: MacRae, p. 65: Couper, pp. 131ff., 135-139, 158: Bussey, pp. 1, 25, 104, 118, 120ff., 130, 132, 138, 236: Orr, pp. 5, 58, 63, 71, 263: Muirhead, pp. 183, 187 n. 37: C.G. Brown 1987, p. 159.
- (24) SM 22-8-59, 1/5 & 3-9-59, 4/3.
- (25) TT 17-9-59, 6/4
- (26) NBDM 7-4-62, 6/4: v. Hetherington, p. viii: SG 25-10-59, 2/1: GC 20-9-59, 2/1.
- (27) v. SG 14-10-59, 2.
- (28) *British & Foreign Evangelical Review* XI (1872) p. 99: Couper, pp. 131f., 139: Orr, pp. 59f.: C.G. Brown 1982, pp. 426f..

Chapter Eight

Transmission, Geographical Coverage & Duration.

I Transmission.

Although Couper declares the impossibility of determining, '...at what precise time and place the revival movement reached the Scottish coasts...', and that, '...no particular place...can be claimed as its starting point', all sources identify the south west of Scotland, especially the Ayrshire coast and the Firth of Clyde, as the first area to be affected by the revival influences from Ulster. According to Guthrie's account of the life of *Robertson of Irvine*, the revival in Scotland was '...begun in Ayrshire....' In 1865 TR concurred in maintaining: 'The wave of Divine blessing...struck first the west coast of Scotland....' (1)

One reason why the precise starting place cannot be pinpointed is because of the apparently rapid spread of the movement.

The means of transmission are generally held to be the recycling of emotions as conversion testimonies were told abroad, the reiteration of news, and local pilgrimages to nearby scenes of revival. As Wood reported to the FCGA of 1861:

I cannot help observing that one great means of awakening seems to have been the communicating of intelligence of what the Lord had done in other places....The information interested the people, and brought the thing home to them; they felt it was a reality; it excited a desire to partake of the benefit....I believe we can scarcely ascribe too much influence to the communication of religious intelligence....
[The revival also spread] sometimes through the visit of a

stranger...sometimes...[via] a convert who went and told his simple story of the Lord's goodness to him...or by a message from one friend to another, or by a letter written from the scene of revival to friends or relatives.... (2)

It is suggested that often zealous new converts would hold informal meetings in the open air or in homes, recounting and conveying their own conversion experiences and in the process, exciting interest and challenging or provoking responses amongst their listeners. For example, at the east coast village of Ferryden near Montrose, the morning after a young woman had been converted she gathered her neighbours, '...in crowds to her house...and caused them to feel greatly increased distress as they gazed on her emancipated state.' In the west, at Inveraray on the shores of Loch Fyne, a converted legal clerk, '...devote[d] his free hours to incessant evangelistic labours in the town and neighbourhood.' Likewise at Cellardyke, in the Neuk of Fife, a recent convert testified to such an extent that, '...hundreds...became burdened by sin.' Along the north-east coast, fishermen appear to have been instrumental in spreading the movement: thus the commencement of revival in Lybster is credited to, '...a group of Buckie fishermen...who exhorted the local[s]...with all the zeal that they had acquired in their home town revival.' Crews from Portknockie apparently had a similar effect in Wick. (3)

According to TT, '...the agitation feeds itself; the continuing reports published of the proceedings going on...keep up a degree of interest....' A glance at newspapers dating from August 1859 provides ample evidence of general

press interest. Revival intelligence appeared in a geographically widespread range of papers including the *Dumfries Standard*, the *Ayrshire Express* and the *Argyllshire Herald*, the *Highland Journal*, the *Inverness Advertiser*, the *Elgin Courier* and the *Banffshire Journal*, the *John o' Groats Journal* and the *Orkney Herald*. (4)

News was also conveyed by word of mouth by those who had visited scenes of revival. For example, the Superintendent of the East Gorbals FC Sabbath School Mission in Glasgow reported that in August 1859 Mr. Gilchrist of the Mission had visited scenes of revival at the Ayrshire port of Ardrossan:

...having satisfied himself that the...awakening...was a real manifestation of the Holy Spirit, he returned home and gave a detailed account of such of the incidents of the movement as had come under his own observation.... The facts stated...were most impressive, and from that time my expectations were strengthened that the Lord was at hand to add to His fold from amongst us such as shall be saved. (5)

Meanwhile, at the FC Presbytery of Paisley on 7 September 1859 the Rev. Mr. MacGregor gave a, '...detailed account...of the extraordinary movement at Bridge of Weir and the neighbourhood.' Couper and Orr cite further examples from elsewhere. (6)

As regards places in the south west identified as being affected from an early date, in addition to Ardrossan, neighbouring Saltcoats also witnessed revival. There, '...multitudes...anxious about their state...', had been reportedly gathering on a daily basis from July. In his diary

on 1st September, A.A. Bonar noted, '...at Saltcoats...God is working much as in all the surrounding places.' These included the rural market town of Kilmarnock, and the mining village of Dreghorn. At the latter, C.G. Brown notes that meetings allegedly attracted crowds of 15,000, a huge number for such a location. Of the sea-side town of Irvine, Robertson confirmed in a letter to the Rev. Mr. Blair of Dunblane: 'Concerning revival, there is a decided movement among us. It gives us more work than one can well manage....' In the meantime Mackay, in his diary for 2 August, recorded that revival had broken out on the Clyde estuary at Port Glasgow, a claim corroborated by local press reports. (7)

Primary sources dating from August 1859, including contemporary memoirs, correspondence and newspapers, particularly the SG, TR and WJ, have been confirmed as providing details supporting the following assertions of Bussey and Orr. The former claims: '...the "holy contagion" spread through county after county - Ayrshire, Renfrewshire, Lanarkshire, and through practically all the islands of Argyllshire.' The latter writes: '...[revivall] scenes were witnessed...from the Clyde to the Solway Firth.' (8)

II Geographical Coverage.

Evidently revival in the modern sense was present from the summer of 1859 in the south and west of Scotland. However once it had occurred it allegedly spread rapidly in all directions. What follows is a presentation of popular perceptions of the

geographical extent of the movement. These appear unchallenged in order to demonstrate the strength of belief and agreement perpetuated about the revival. A critique of these accepted notions will appear later (in Chp. 11 Evaluations).

Bussey suggests the geographic course of the movement: 'The general tendency of the awakening was to spread in an easterly direction.' Guthrie claims, '...within a few weeks [the revival] made itself felt in every part of the country.' In his closing address at the FCGA in May 1860, which had devoted a day to considering revival details, Buchanan described the then perceived extent of the revival:

Time absolutely failed for recounting the Lord's wonderful dealings in almost every part of the land. From East Lothian to the Outer Hebrides - from the shores of the Moray Firth to those of the Solway - and all through the central mining and manufacturing districts of the Kingdom, we heard of scenes which carried us back to the days of the Lord, at Shotts and Stewarton and Cambuslang. Unless we greatly deceive ourselves, no former revival of religion which our Church and country have witnessed has ever spread over so wide a field. (9)

At the FCGA of 1861 the incoming Moderator, the Rev. Dr. Robert Candlish, declared the revival to be active throughout the entire nation. In 1865 TR maintained that the movement, '...spread over a great part of the country...', a claim accepted by all subsequent commentators. For example, Couper claims: 'The whole land was drenched with heavenly showers...', '...all Scotland...shared in the movement from John o' Groats to Maidenkirk, and from the Bull of Lewis to Berwick-on-Tweed.' There are reports from locations on the

west coast, all along the east coast, and the islands of Islay, Iona, Mull, Eigg, Rhum, Coll, Lewis and Harris, Orkney and Shetland, including Unst, Fetlar, and Yell. (10)

According to Bussey: 'Most towns and villages inland, more or less, felt its influence.' Muirhead particularly highlights the textile and mining communities in the Kilsyth area, the rural towns of Annan and Dumfries in the south west, and Huntly in the north east where some of the crowds at the summer gatherings were said to exceed 10,000. Carwardine refers to the work of revivalists in the coal villages of Lanarkshire. (11)

The movement was apparently not limited to smaller centres. Presbytery records, eyewitness accounts, correspondence and memoirs are cited in support of the claim that in the east the citizens of the larger towns of Inverness, Aberdeen, Perth and Dundee were influenced by the revival. With regard to the two largest centres of population, Glasgow and Edinburgh, all commentators agree that both were affected. Popular perceptions of the former will be conveyed as a prelude to Section V introducing the detailed analysis of the movement in the city. (12)

In respect of the latter, Bussey contends, 'By the end of 1859 the whole of Edinburgh was profoundly moved....multitudes [were] brought immediately to the Saviour....' Orr concurs. Referring to the 'Edinburgh Revival' he claims, '...scores of people...were being converted....the influence of the work...

radiate[d] in all directions....' The efforts of Radcliffe and Weaver in 1860 are particularly noted for '...sweep[ing]... many souls into the Kingdom of God.' (13)

Couper also notes the presence of revival in Edinburgh, especially amongst University students. He inadvertently questions the intensity of the movement however when, in a subsequent chapter, he writes in praise of the Moody/Sankey revival of the 1870s: 'Edinburgh had in the past stood aloof in a somewhat marked way from revival work....The revival of 1859-60 was scarcely felt.' He omits to mention this when considering the 1859 revival itself. (14)

The only qualification as to the revival's wholesale geographical impact comes from Couper who, whilst concurring generally, suggests that some parts of the Highlands remained unaffected because of their opposition to accepting lay ministrations. The point about the involvement of laity is corroborated by Bussey and in the compilation *Reminiscences...*, however the latter conflicts with Couper by going on to assert that once the opposing Highland communities 'understood' the revival and the importance of lay preaching they, '...took it to their hearts, and in few places have there been more satisfactory results.' (15)

III Duration.

In May 1861 the UPCS received a Report on the Revival of Religion which noted: 'The work of revival around us...[is] not marked by the former fevour in outward manifestations....

[but] has become deeper and smoother....' At the FCGA of the same month there were far fewer contributions, each of which was much briefer, to the conference on the movement than those received the previous year when a whole day of the GA had been devoted to discussing it. Meanwhile at the corresponding ECGA the scheduled debate to consider the revival had to be abandoned because insufficient numbers were deemed present to warrant deliberation. When this did occur, on the last day of the GA, very little time was given over to it. At the various synods and assemblies of 1862 the movement did not feature, apart from at a hastily arranged short private session of the FCGA and in the Report of the FCCRM which concluded: '...the fervour, as well as the extent of the awakening [has] largely abated....' (16)

This material tends to support the views of the secondary sources all of whom broadly follow the conclusion of the *British & Foreign Evangelical Review* which, in 1872, claimed that the revival, '...extended from the autumn of 1859 to the Spring of 1861....With the wearing away of 1861 there had been a gradual subsidence of the tide....' C.G. Brown adds the detail, 'Although evangelists made attempts to sustain the revival until 1862 it was effectively over by mid-1861.' There is also a consensus that, in the words of Bussey, '...the climax of the awakening...came...in 1860.' (17)

Summary Conclusion.

All sources highlight the third quarter of 1859 as the commencement of popular revival in Scotland. They seem united in the belief that, starting in the south west, the movement spread to penetrate the whole nation: the only possible exception being some of the Highland communities strongly opposed to lay preaching. Details of revival activities are supplied from the rural Borders in the south, the industrial central belt, the north, the coastline, together with the western isles and the islands of Orkney and Shetland, indicating that the movement was indiscriminate as to type of community, being allegedly present in agrarian, fishing, industrial and manufacturing economies of all sizes. There is a consensus of opinion that, following its peak in 1860, the movement waned during 1861. (18)

Footnotes.

- (1) Couper, pp.130ff.: Guthrie, p.155: TR 19-1-65: cf. Bussey, p.93: Carwardine, p.173.
- (2) v. SG 29-5-61, 2/1f.: NBDM 29-5-61, 5/3: GH 29-5-61, 5/1f..
- (3) Muirhead, p.193: Orr, pp.67,69f.72f.; v. pp.59,61f., 64,247f.: Reid, pp.269f.: Couper, pp.131,137: Bussey, pp.112, 121f.,335f.: SG 29-5-61, 2/1f.: NBDM 29-5-61, 5/3: GH 29-5-61, 5/1f..
- (4) TT 16-9-59, 7/1: v. TT 14-2-61: Couper, pp.132,137, 155f.: Orr, pp.66-70.
- (5) Reid, pp.268f.: v. Bussey, p.96.
- (6) v. Bussey, p.102: cf. Couper, pp.136f.: Orr, p.75.
- (7) M. Bonar, p.201: W.M. Mackay 1940, p.21: J. Brown 1889, p.187: v. TR No.3, 13-8-59: NBDM 25-8-59: Couper, p.132: Bussey, pp.94,96,98,100f.: Orr, pp.60, 64: Muirhead, p.183: C.G. Brown 1987, p.159.
- (8) Bussey, p.101: Orr, p.64.
- (9) Bussey, p.106: Guthrie, p.155: PDFCGA 1860, pp. 271ff.: cf. Couper, p.130: Bussey, pp.138f.: Orr, p.58: Muirhead, p.183.

- (10) PDFCGA 1861, pp. 5, 75ff.: SG 29-5-61, 3/1f. & 4/5: GH 29-5-61: NBDM 29-5-61: TR 19-1-65: Couper, pp. 15, 130ff., 136f.: cf. Reid, pp. 321ff., 349ff., 377ff., 391ff., 431ff., 461ff.: MacRae, pp. 39-44, 56-59, 64f., 77, 151-165: Fleming, p. 112: Bussey, pp. 103ff., 110ff., 121ff, 135ff., 236, 314f., 336: Orr, pp. 67, 69, 75: Drummond & Bulloch, p. 185.
- (11) Bussey, p. 114: Muirhead, pp. 183f., 186: Carwardine, pp. 186, 196: cf. Reid, pp. 280ff.: Couper, p. 138: C.G. Brown 1987, p. 159.
- (12) v. Reid, pp. 174ff.: H. Bonar, pp. 292-295: MacRae, pp. 145ff.: *Reminiscences...*: Couper, pp. 132f., 135-8: Fleming, p. 112: Bussey, pp. 117ff., 124f.: Orr, pp. 70f.: Muirhead, pp. 183, 187: Kent, p. 119.
- (13) Bussey, p. 106: Orr, pp. 73f., 231: v. C.G. Brown 1987, p. 147.
- (14) Couper, pp. 139, 143.
- (15) Couper, pp. 130: *Reminiscences...*, p. xviii.
- (16) v. NBDM 4-6-61, 4/4f.; 6-5-62, 2/5 & 4/3: 10-5-62, 4/5; 23-5-62, 1/3f.; 29-5-62, 1/7 & 2/1; 30-5-62, 1/6; 2-6-62, 3/1; 4-6-62, 3/3 & 4/1f.: GH 4-6-61, 4/1; 6-5-62, 2/4; 7-5-62, 4/5 & 5/1; 23-5-62, 4/4f.; 29-5-62, 3/3f.; 30-5-62, 6/6: SG 4-6-61, 2/7-3/2: WJ No. 141, 7-6-62.
- (17) *British & Foreign Evangelical Review* XI 1872, p. 99: C.G. Brown 1982, pp. 426f., 429, 463 nos. 80, 81: Bussey, p. 138: v. Couper, pp. 135, 139: Orr, pp. 76, 270: Kent, p. 119.
- (18) v. Bussey, Chp. 4 & pp. 314f.: Orr, pp. 62-75: Muirhead, p. 186.

Chapter Nine

Responses to the Movement.

Introduction.

Responses to the revival from a number of denominations and a variety of social groups will now be considered in turn. The latter will help ascertain who was supposedly influenced by the movement.

I Denominational Responses.

Denominational involvement in the revival was referred to in Chp.3 (II) when examining the theology of the movement. The official responses of denominations will now be reviewed.

Buchanan, in his inaugural address as Moderator of the 1860 FCGA, proclaimed: 'We, as a Church, accept the Revival as a great and blessed fact.' In an overture on the movement, the corresponding ECGA declared its '...desire to record its gratitude to Almighty God....' Meanwhile the UPCS, '...resolved to recognize the hand of God in the measure of new life outpoured upon our churches....' The Synod not only welcomed the revival but, '...appointed the second Sabbath of July as a special Day of Prayer for the Revival.' (1)

That the FC attitude remained constant is evident from a speech at the following year's GA by Candlish, the incoming Moderator:

Fathers and Brethren, I congratulate you on your meeting again in the midst of an outpouring of the Spirit of God, and a remarkable work of grace pervading the whole church

and the whole land. This is a matter of deep joy and thanksgiving.... (2)

The FCGA later designated the week commencing 23 June 1861 as one of special prayer '...for the deepening and extension of all work of revival.' (3)

At its Synod of 1861, the UPC also continued to acknowledge and praise the movement. Thanks to God were expressed for, '...such an accumulation of testimonies...', and it was recommended that '...ministers and elders...turn their attention to the future extension and direction of the movement....' It was also decided to set aside the week commencing 5 October for special prayer for revival. (4)

It would appear from these sources that each of the large denominations was positive about the revival; however, there is a consensus that the EC was less so than either the FC or UPC. For example, Fleming and Orr both refer to its more cautious approach, whilst C.G. Brown concludes: 'The Established Church did not give whole-hearted approval to the revival....' (5)

A review of the debate preceding the passing of the 1860 ECGA overture corroborates the consensus. There was undoubtedly support, particularly from the Presbytery of Dundee which submitted an enthusiastic overture on the movement, yet there was also antagonism and resistance. The debate itself had to be postponed because documents relating to it had not been distributed to delegates in time. The Rev. Dr. Robert Lee, the

liturgical 'Innovator', took the opportunity to question whether there was any pressing reason for discussing the subject at all. Prof. James Robertson argued in favour of discussion and won the day. During the rescheduled debate Lee continued his opposition, querying the wisdom of discussion, considering it, '...most undesirable...to enter into [the]... wide, difficult, and intricate problem of revivals....' (6)

At the 1861 ECGA the revival was also deliberated upon and a generally supportive overture passed. However the scheduled discussion was, like the previous year, postponed, this time because so few people turned up. The subject was eventually considered a few days later, but debate was severely restricted, being confined to a very brief space of time immediately before the closure of the GA. Delegates from Dundee, Cambusnethan and Montrose were very much in favour of the movement praising what they regarded as its manifold blessings, both spiritual and social, such as increased religious activity and decreased drunkenness. However, the discussion contained elements of hostility, particularly from Lee and the Rev. Dr. Bisset of Bourtie. The Editor of the SG considered that these two brought out '...the shady side of the subject.' The former called on ministers not to stand aloof but to , '...regulate and direct...' the movement: he also spoke out against long meetings which '...caused married women...[to] neglect their duties.' The latter attributed to the revival an increase in lunacy, petty thefts and

immorality. In the end, however, neither voted against the adopted overture. (7)

With respect to the FC and UPC, a consensus exists promoting the notion of wholehearted endorsement of the movement. Fleming and Kent would concur with C.G. Brown's claim that, '...enthusiasts in [both]...anticipated and worked for [revival]...in Scotland.' A survey of primary sources lends support. These confirm that each denomination called for and convened prayer meetings specially to plead for revival, welcomed intelligence reports and gave speaking opportunities to visitors from scenes of revival, as well as holding conferences on the subject. For example, the FC heard from the Americans, M'Lean and Well and held several promotional events at which speakers, including the Rev. Drs. J. Wood, R. Candlish and D. Brown, spoke in favour of revival and expressed a desire for such a movement in Scotland. (8)

With regard to the smaller denominations, Orr and C.G. Brown agree that the evangelical ones were supportive and influenced. For example, of the Baptists, Orr, '...uncovered not an instance of...opposition....' He claims, 'The whole denomination....gained immeasurably from the Awakening.' Similarly he found the Congregationalists and Methodists enthusiastic, evidenced in their interest in revival intelligence, the establishment of special meetings calling on God for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit, and the hosting of 'revival soirees.' Amongst Episcopalians however, Orr detected

a less than eager response, reflected in the comment of Bishop Alexander Ewing of Argyll who suggested, 'Revivals certainly create excitement, but not of a satisfactory character.' Orr attributed the Episcopalian attitude to their '...more traditionalist and less evangelical Churchmanship.' (9)

The perception conveyed by the commentators is that because the revival promoted evangelical theology, it had the greatest impact and received the most positive response from evangelicals - of whatever denomination. Thus Carwardine notes, 'The...evangelical wings of the different denominations often worked together....' (10)

The impression gleaned from the primary sources corroborates this view and supports the notion that the EC and the Episcopal Church were less enthusiastic than the other denominations. For example, a cursory glance at newspaper advertisements promoting revival meetings shows that relatively few premises from either denomination were used as venues and few of their clerics identified as speakers.

II Who Responded: The Response of Various Social Groupings.

1. Churched & Unchurched.

Buchanan asserted at the 1860 FCGA:

Numerous...testimonies...bespeak the gracious influence [of the revival] on the people. Whole congregations have been seen bending before it like in a mighty rushing wind....[it] has been perhaps most conspicuous among those...who hitherto have been the least accessible to any religious influences whatever. (11)

In another speech at the same Assembly, Buchanan claimed that it was in the midst of,

...the large classes of our population who had fallen away from all attendance on the ordinances of the Gospel, and from all concern about Divine things..., and among the most hopeless sections of them, that God has been most signally displaying the triumphs of His grace. (12)

At the FCGA of 1861 the Rev. Dr. Roxburgh, Convener of the FCHMC, declared:

...a very large multitude...who have never been accustomed to attend the house of God have been brought into regular habits of attendance; and also...another very large multitude who had fallen into neglect of the means of grace have been recovered and become members of the Church. (13)

These statements suggest that the revival had respondents amongst regular churchgoers, backsliders and the irreligious.

With reference to the last group, C.G. Brown alleges that the revival generated, '...an interest in religion in a way never seen before [within the working classes of] urban and industrial society.' Orr's sources and comments however, stress the impact within congregations. For example, he cites one observer who stated: 'Men who were thought to be, and who thought themselves to be good, religious people...have been led to search into the foundation upon which they were resting....' Orr also cites a statement from a Greenock minister who explained how work was shared between the denominations: '...the evangelists find...out the denominational connection of the inquirers and then hand...them over to their local minister.' Precisely what was

meant by 'denominational connection' is unclear, yet it suggests some previous church link, however strong or tenuous. Orr concludes by suggesting, '...the masses of ordinary people in customary formal membership of the Kirk provided most of the converts....' (14)

Carwardine generally concurs. Asserting that frequently revival converts were already habitual church attenders, he suggests that the 1859 movement, '...confirmed this pattern....' He refers to 'congregation converts' who were '...closely acquainted with or related to professing Christians...', and notes that Hammond's inquirers included, '...unconverted communicants in the churches.' Carwardine concludes: 'The revival had been based largely on the unconverted in church attendance.' (15)

In similar fashion, Muirhead claimed that the revival was most successful amongst, '...church-members and adherents, or... the more recently back-slidden...[people] who could be replaced within...[the worshipping] community with the least difficulty.' (16)

These conclusions highlight a difference of perception as between primary and secondary sources. Whereas the statements of Buchanan and Roxburgh stress the impact of the revival on the irreligious, the majority of secondary sources who comment, whilst allowing for some conversions from the ranks of the alienated, suppose the strongest impact of the movement to have been among churchgoers and apostates. If accurate,

this would support the general assertions on revival conversions noted in Chp. 4 (IV), corroborating the view that revivals largely failed to penetrate non-Christian society.

A survey of conversion testimonies which appeared in the press, the majority of which appear to have been written personally by recent converts and which were peppered with Biblical quotations, indicates a considerable degree of familiarity with the Bible and religious terminology. Notwithstanding the problem of ascertaining how representative such published accounts are, it is reasonable to infer that their authors either learned very quickly or were already well informed. The latter inference would support the contention that they had some prior ecclesiastical affiliation. (17)

ii. Social Class.

Fleming records the contemporaneous testimony of the Rev. Dr. James Wells: 'People of all classes had an influential share in it. The ministers had among their helpers noblemen, professors, students, farmers, [and] day labourers....' At the FCGA of 1861, Wood similarly claimed, 'The revival has affected all classes....' Three years later TR asserted: '...all classes came under...its influence.' (18)

Three generations of scholars agree. For example, Couper affirms that the movement, '...embraced all classes of the community....rich and poor alike participated....no...class was moved more than another....' Bussey contends, 'From...every point in the compass of human society, men and

women were gathered into the Church....' Drummond & Bulloch write: '...the revival...was unrestricted by the formidable class barriers of Victorian life.' (19)

Orr and C.G. Brown focus especially on the impact on the working classes. From his analysis of newspaper sources, Orr lists revival meetings convened in places of employment in Glasgow and Edinburgh, including textile and saw mills, police and railway stations, and post offices. C.G. Brown concurs referring to prayer meetings, '...in factories and offices and in the wynds and closes of Edinburgh and Glasgow...', as well as to mass rallies in mining districts such as Dreghorn. (20)

Of Aberdeen it is claimed, in *Reminiscences*, that the revival affected:

...all classes...specially marked in the case of assistants in banks and solicitors' offices, in the numerous drapery and other establishments, and among engineers, joiners, painters, masons, plumbers, boat-builders, shipwrights and coachbuilders. Scarcely a shop could be found in the whole length of Union Street, without at least one young man who had come under the influence of the Revival. And the awakening extended to university students...of Theology, Arts and Medicine. (21)

Carwardine and Kent acknowledge the consensus that the revival impacted upon 'all classes'. The former notes: '...the claim that "all classes", "high and low, rich and poor" attended...services was a recurrent motif....' However, both challenge this belief, arguing that revivalists were generally ineffective amongst the lowest social classes. (22)

Carwardine alleges that revival assemblies comprised, '...a considerable middle class leavening....mill owners...teachers, ...brewers, master butchers, physicians, "ladies and gentlemen of high respectability and mental culture".' He claims '...an absence from...audiences of the socially outcast...', contending that Hammond, even in the coal districts of Lanarkshire, did not preach to the disadvantaged and deprived but to, '...men and women of education and superior circumstances.' Moreover, he asserts that those described as Hammond's, '...poor and illiterate inquirers',

...generally embraced not vagrants and those on the fringes of society, but the 'respectable', or at least regularly employed, working class. Miners, blacksmiths...sailors....ironworkers, steelworkers and factory operatives....shop girls, factory women,..shepherds...farm labourers and millworkers.... (23)

Kent concurs in alleging, '...there is little evidence to show that mid-nineteenth century revivalists....preach[ed] to the really poor....' (24)

The places of employment identified by Orr and C.G. Brown where revival meetings apparently occurred, and the jobs and professions listed as examples by Wells and in *Reminiscences...*, seem to support the contentions of Carwardine and Kent. These complement each other in suggesting that those influenced by the revival were clustered around the middle stratum of society: that is, that those attending and responding at revival meetings were predominantly the skilled or regularly employed working classes and the middle classes.

It is noteworthy that revival meetings were usually scheduled around business and employment hours.

iii. Gender & Age.

The popular perception is that both sexes and all ages were affected by the revival. Numerous examples are cited. Of Edinburgh it was claimed, '...scores of people of all ages were being converted.' Meetings in Campbeltown were described as, '...crowded by anxious inquirers, both male and female, young and old.' At Portlassie, 'Young people...were...seen.... Men....boys and girls...and old veterans.' Meanwhile of Port Glasgow it was alleged: 'Young and old were involved....Young men commenced a prayer-meeting of their own....There was a similar meeting for young women....' At Old Meldrum, 17 miles north of Aberdeen, revival meetings were apparently attended by, 'Boys and girls, young men and women, old grey haired fathers and mothers.' No distinction appears as to the extent of involvement between males and females: the impression is that both were equally involved and affected. (25)

The participation of children is especially noted. For example, Orr alleges:

In some places [in the western Highlands and islands] the young people only were seriously impressed. In others the movement began among the children...until the attention of the older folk was attracted. Young people were known to walk twenty miles to Sunday meetings, and even children of ten and twelve years of age walked as many as seven miles to church on weekdays and Sundays alike regularly for months on end.... (26)

Couper informs that at Lionel there was, '...an extraordinary movement, especially among the young....' He also contends that at Eyemouth, '...boys held prayer-meetings in...boats... [and] in unoccupied houses....Our young girls have a meeting in a place...in...town.' In Reid's compilation it is noted of Wick: 'At one time there were as many as a dozen prayer-meetings among the children.' Bussey reports that in Aberdeen, 'Groups of the young are to be found...throughout the whole city meeting for prayer.' Hammond's work among children was a renowned feature of the movement. (27)

Summary Conclusion.

No evidence has been discovered to suggest that any Protestant denomination openly rejected the revival: most responded positively in words or action, even if individual members were not enthusiastic. In practice however, it was evangelicals, of whatever denomination, who embraced the movement, encouraging, facilitating and addressing revival meetings.

The sources suggest that men and women, young and old were affected, with the primary sources maintaining that the movement had respondents from all social classes, and from both the churched and unchurched. However, some of the secondary sources propose that the vast majority of converts emanated from within the Christian community or its fringes, and were predominantly from the middle classes and those working classes who were skilled or enjoying regular employment.

Footnotes.

- (1) PDFCGA 1860, pp.9ff.: AECGA, 1860, p.62: UPC Magazine Vol.IV (1860), p.326: cf. Couper, p.130: Bussey, p.140: Orr, p.58: Muirhead, p.183.
- (2) PDFCGA 1861, p.5: v. NBDM 24-5-61, 1: SG 25-5-61, 2/1: Orr, p.75.
- (3) AFCGA, 1861: WJ No.93, 6-7-61: SG 8-6-61, 3/3.
- (4) PUPS 1857-1863, pp.422,627: NBDM 17-5-61, 4/3; 22-5-61, 3/2: WJ No.105, 28-9-61: Bussey, p.139.
- (5) C.G. Brown 1982, p.426: Fleming, p.114: Orr, pp.58, 200.
- (6) SG 22-5-60, 2/6; 29-5-60, 2/4: NBDM 21-5-60, 1/4; 28-5-60, 1/3: v. Charteris, p.368: Bussey, pp.140,317: *DSCHT*, p.723.
- (7) SG 4-6-61, 2/7 & 3/1f.: NBDM 4-6-61, 4/4f.: GH 4-6-61, 4/1.
- (8) C.G. Brown, 1982, p.425; 1987, p.147: Fleming, p.114: Kent, p.109: v. PDFCGA 1858, pp.46-52,259,263: SG 23-5-60, 2/7 & 5/1f.; 24-5-60, 4/4; 26-5-60, 4/5.
- (9) Orr, pp.63,75,186,190ff.,201: C.G. Brown 1982, pp.425f.: Congregational Yearbook 1859, p.33: Reid, pp.321ff..
- (10) Carwardine, p.99.
- (11) PDFCGA 1860, pp.9ff.: v. NBDM 18-5-60, 1/2f.: SG 19-5-60, 2/1: WJ No.35, 26-5-60: cf. Orr, p.58: C.G. Brown 1982, pp.428f.,463 n.74,464 n.83: 1987, p.147.
- (12) SG 31-5-60, 2/6f.: NBDM 30-5-60, 5/4: WJ No.37, 9-6-60.
- (13) SG 30-5-61, 4/3: NBDM 30-5-61, 4/4: GH 30-5-61, 3/1f..
- (14) C.G. Brown 1982, pp.430,436: Orr, pp.64,69,73,76: TR 23-6-60, 12-2-63 & 8-12-64.
- (15) Carwardine, pp.192f.,197.
- (16) Muirhead, p.193.
- (17) v. TR & WJ.
- (18) Fleming, pp.115f.: SG 29-5-61, 2/1f. & 4/5: NBDM 29-5-61, 5/3: GH 29-5-61, 5/1f.: TR 8-12-64.
- (19) Couper, p.139: Bussey Preface, ii; cf. p.124: Drummond & Bulloch, p.185: Muirhead, p.187.
- (20) Orr, pp.62,74: C.G. Brown 1982, pp.427,430,436: 1987, pp.147,159: cf. Couper, p.132.
- (21) *Reminiscences...*, p.48: v. Muirhead, p.187: Bussey, p.124.
- (22) Carwardine, pp.193ff..
- (23) Carwardine, pp.193f.,196.
- (24) Kent, p.100: cf. C.G. Brown 1982, p.417.
- (25) Couper, p.126: Bussey, pp.98ff.,103,107,112,126f.,131: Orr, p.74: C.G. Brown, 1987, p.147.
- (26) Orr, p.68.
- (27) Couper, pp.126,132: Reid, p.446: Bussey, p.126: cf. Orr, pp.63ff.,135,212.

Chapter Ten

Concerns & Criticisms.

Introduction.

Concerns and criticisms emanated from a variety of sources and covered a number of issues. However they tended to emerge from churchmen - of all denominations and theological persuasions - and the press, and can be classified in two groups: one relating to what occurred at revival meetings, the other to the effects of the revival on society in general.

I Concerns & Criticisms Relating to Revival Meetings.

The main issues here surrounded the prominence given to lay preachers, the style of preaching, and the robust type of hymn-singing employed. These were apparently particular concerns for members of the Episcopal and Established churches. C.G. Brown contends: 'The great influence of lay preachers...alienated the Church of Scotland...' whilst rousing '...hymn-singing in a country whose churches had hitherto depended on the word of God for psalms and paraphrases alienated [others]....' Bussey's comments concur. He notes that the singing of hymns with 'swinging' or 'catching' tunes estranged even evangelicals who were more '...accustomed to reverent and subdued singing in the sanctuary.' (1)

With regard to lay preachers, one critic, who signed himself 'Anti Clap-Trap', lamented that whereas previously an

unimpeachable background, some degree of training, together with a knowledge of and conformity in doctrine, '...were indispensable qualifications in anyone who wished license to preach the gospel...', it now appeared, '...all training can be dispensed with, and that the more a man's previous life has been calculated to *unfit* him for preaching...', the more popular he was likely to be, '...youth and ignorance being no objection.' (2)

On the practice of having new converts addressing meetings, the pro-revivalist Rev. John Williams of North Frederick St. Baptist Chapel in Glasgow believed:

The cause of God and truth may suffer much at the hands of incompetent advocates, and I am afraid that the practice of pushing converts forward to speak at revival meetings will be found hurtful, both to themselves, in filling them with pride and vanity, and to the people, in fostering among them a very unhealthy excitement and fanaticism. (3)

This was such a prominent issue that at the FCGA of 1861, Wood issued guidelines. He recognized that the majority of converts '...have not the talent for speaking...' and suggested, '...they should not be employed farther than in relating simply their experiences a few times....' Thereafter, he recommended, they ought to retire to '...cultivate fresh knowledge, and learn a spirit of duty to God...', thus ensuring that they would not be, '...injur[ed]...[by] living upon past experiences...' but enriched by '...gathering fresh experiences.' (4)

Bussey noted that many adults also objected to being addressed on matters of faith by young people, some only children. (5)

The general lack of education, brusqueness and irrationality of lay preachers were particular irritants. One correspondent complained that many speakers, '...murder the Queen's English, and commit grammatical havoc...not to speak of crying offences against good taste, common sense and sound logic.' (6)

Moreover, the simplistic theology - the incessant repetition of basic gospel truths - the rousing accounts of revival scenes and vivid descriptions of eternity which characterized preaching throughout the duration of the movement, was considered in some educated middle class circles as unedifying and manipulative. Such preaching was seen as designed to build up expectation, excitement and tension, and was frequently condemned in the press. (7)

One correspondent, sympathetic to the '...need for... revival...', expressed the complaints of many critics:

...hav[ing]...attended...revival meetings...I can truly say that for me they were far from edifying. The key-note of all the discourses I heard was 'hell', and the speaker seemed to derive much energy and satisfaction from the certainty he often expressed (and of which he seemed to possess the exclusive knowledge) that we were all hastening rapidly to perdition....My impression is that [this style of preaching] will fail....No man is to be made wiser or better by terrorism....

It is nothing less than painful to an intelligently devout mind to listen to the profane manner in which they jumble together things sacred and common, and the familiar way in which they use the Great Name that ought to be introduced but sparingly, and only with the deepest reverence. While such exhibition may 'split the ears of the groundling, they make the judicious grave', and react perniciously upon religion itself. The man who puts himself forward as a spiritual guide and comforter...must come to the high

task with something more than a power of vehement declamation, and some sudden and undefined 'experiences' that have (according to his own assumption), raised him all at once from the mire of sensuality to the pedestal of saintship. Man is a many-sided being, and knowledge of his nature - spiritual, moral and intellectual - is needed in any one who would speak to, and for, his soul, with living power and efficacy....Many of our best clergymen - the best in intellect, education, knowledge, and Christian experience find it more difficult to write and preach a sermon to a congregation, whose varied wants...they all the better know and can sympathise with, than the ignorant lay revivalist, who can harrow up by the hour the feelings of persons of both sexes, when he describes with panoramic vividness the place of woe, as if he had left but yesterday;...[with] this...style of eloquence...the speaker seems to gather strength from the terror he creates....Lightning and thunder...seem to be the ordinary revivalist's whole stock in trade. (8)

In Glasgow, a correspondent described lay revival speakers as, '...unknown, illiterate adventurers, with nothing to recommend them but their own *ipse dixit* of wonderful conversion.' Their addresses are portrayed as, '...harangues...characterised by extreme irreverence': 'The manner and frequency in which the name of our Saviour was introduced was too impious for repetition.' The *Dumfries Herald* (DH) specifically condemned the mode of address of Hammond, '...the young lay man from America authorised by no church in this country...whose style of terrorism is obviously coarse and irreverent.' (9)

Although there were no major disputes about the theology expressed by revivalists there was criticism about the methods employed, some of which were considered vulgar and intimidating. Of a meeting in Glasgow, one critic complained that the speaker issued '...an "invitation" to "find Jesus"...' which was more like a command, and having done so,

'...took possession of the entrance....' There, in a loud challenging voice, he barraged those who were attempting to leave: 'Have you found Jesus', 'Don't go until you find Jesus!', 'Come back and find Jesus', 'You will find Jesus here'. (10)

On the nature of conversion, C.G. Brown contended that for those who believed in educational rather than emotional methods, and for whom conversion was '...a distinctly private affair...', it was hard to accept that the same could be achieved suddenly following, '...years of irreligion, drunkenness, vice and absence from church...', and publicly, '...through mass meetings....' (11)

On this, the Editor of the GH had argued that the '...general tenor of Scripture...' was against dramatic Damascus road type conversions such as that of Saul, contending instead:

...conversion and sanctification are more frequently silent...slow processes, the progress and completion of which are not...heralded from the roof-tops, but are gratefully received into the inmost recesses of the heart, to be seen only by Him who has melted and subdued it. Far be it for us to hint any limit to the manifestations of Divine grace; but in the face of repeated admonitions to enter into the closet for prayer, and to shut the door; to give alms, and to do so in secret, and not to blow our trumpet like the Pharisees - we feel an instinctive jealousy to those 'meetings for the anxious' where there may be found those who are not unwilling to boast of the sinfulness of their past lives, and the multitude of their offences on the ground that they are therefore open for a larger supply of grace. (12)

Elsewhere the same source contended:

...the meekness and humility which characterises the true Christian is widely different from this vociferous and

public method of proclaiming self-righteous piety, as it were, from the housetops. (13)

The quotation from the Editor of GH highlighted another feature of meetings which many found repugnant, namely, 'distasteful confessions.' The press described some as 'shocking', with the NBDM citing as an example how one convert addressed a meeting confessing his habitually adulterous behaviour. The paper considered this a '...gross insult...' to those present, claiming that it brought '...disgrace upon the Christian profession.' (14)

However, the aspect of meetings which caused most concern and, uniquely, united critics - whether sympathetic to the movement or not - had to do with what C.G. Brown describes as, '...the violent and disturbing hysteria...[accompanying] conversions.' (15)

The accompaniments reported were many in form. They included loud outbursts of weeping and wailing, frantic jumping up and down or over pews, hysteria, collapsing apparently unconscious or in convulsions, falling into trances or sleep during which visions were witnessed, and experiencing deafness, dumbness and blindness. Such accompaniments were most commonly designated, 'prostrations', 'manifestations', or 'physical phenomena'. (16)

TR provided the following description of such occurrences:

When the conviction reaches the crisis, the person through weakness is unable to sit or stand, and either kneels or lies down. Sometimes they fall down as nerveless or paralyzed and powerless as if killed by a gunshot. They

fall with a deep groan, some with a wild cry of horror. The whole frame trembles like an aspen-leaf, an intolerable weight is felt upon the chest, a choking sensation is experienced, and relief from this is found only in the loud, urgent prayer for deliverance. (17)

The SG conveyed something of the circumstances associated with such scenes, this referring particularly to meetings at the Wynds FC:

The services were crowded...; a deeply serious impression was produced on many minds; very many remained behind in distress of mind....the convictions were so deep and powerful that their emotions were not to be restrained by the consciousness that they were in the presence of others. (18)

At the FCGA of 1861, Wood offered the following explanation for why '...a deeply serious impression was produced...':

...when men...find themselves to be on the brink of hell...I do not wonder that they should feel alarmed and excited, when they feel themselves...to be under the wrath and condemnation of a righteous and holy God. My wonder is that there is not more excitement - that people still unconverted can hear of sin and hell, of a Saviour and Heaven, without [such] feelings.... (19)

The understanding expressed by Wood should not be interpreted as encouraging or condoning accompaniments. The GH reflects the reaction of the vast majority of clergy - of whatever theological persuasion - '...that these sudden and extravagant ebullitions...[are] more justly viewed as manifestations of weak nerves unusually excited, than of the true spirit of Christianity.' The paper described prostrations as:

...so...unlike even the miraculous manifestations of the Spirit in olden times, that they much more strikingly remind us of those unfortunate mortals of whose

prostrations we read when they were 'possessed by devils'. (20)

Nevertheless, accompaniments were apparently widespread with commentators listing examples from around the country, including the islands, the Grampian area, the south west and the central belt. Yet from press and presbytery reports it would appear that they were common only during the summer and autumn of 1859. Discussion of them is then virtually absent from presbytery, synod and assembly proceedings - of all denominations - throughout the remainder of the duration of the movement, implying that they were not a major issue. A newspaper survey also revealed little interest. (21)

It would appear therefore, that accompaniments were a feature only during the initial period of public interest. Support for this opinion comes from Wood who, at the FCGA of 1861, acknowledged 'some cases' of prostrations and excitement but added, 'We find generally that the work has gone on in a quiet, unobtrusive way....' Three years later a Presbytery Report cited in TR claimed; '...only at its earliest stages was [the revivall] accompanied by much excitement.' Couper and Orr agree, concurring with Bussey who claimed: '...physical prostrations...at first appear to have been fairly common, [but] soon passed away, and the work went on in a quieter way.' (22)

II Concerns & Criticisms Relating to Socio-Economic Disruption.

The other broad area in which concerns and criticisms were expressed related to the perceived breakdown of social order and discipline, together with economic disruption which, according to Bussey and C.G. Brown, were a common feature of revivals. (23)

Orr notes: 'One of the criticisms was...that the Revival deranged society and interrupted ordinary business and even the necessary rest of the night.' (24)

At the root of such claims were frequent or daily evening meetings stretching into, or throughout, the night. These gatherings, a common feature of the movement, not only denied sleep but were also invariably intense and stressful leaving those participating exhausted. The state of alarm and anguish many suffered as they felt their burden of sin and glimpsed their eternal fate before receiving salvation, coupled with sleep deprivation, resulted in fatigue, not only amongst those who were 'anxious' but also those, including laity, who were assisting them. One helper reported: 'I have not been many hours at home, having returned...completely exhausted in body.' (25)

Common assertions were that the frequency of such meetings encouraged women to neglect their domestic duties, whilst the lateness of meetings facilitated immorality among the young,

and their duration caused fatigue which adversely affected employee performance.

The pro-revival UPPG warned against, '...the sinfulness of protracted night meetings and the impropriety of countenancing such an abuse...', holding that everyone should be home by a reasonable hour, '...especially young women [who] ought to be...attending to the sacred duties...binding upon them at the domestic altar....' At the ECGA of 1861, Lee condemned long meetings for similar reasons. (26)

Also at the ECGA of 1861, Bisset cited the testimony of Sheriff Gordon who alleged: '...in connection with [revival]...meetings, protracted very often to late hours, continued throughout successive days, I am able to trace a vast increase of social immorality.' (27)

In a similar vein the Editor of the GH stated:

Large bodies of excited young men and women, working themselves up into a state of frenzy, sitting together until one, two or three o'clock in the morning, and then seeing each other home, cannot be looked upon as a seemly proceeding. Respectable parents would not allow their sons or daughters to act in such a manner under any other pretense, and some of the fruits of these midnight gatherings have shown that they were as objectionable as others of a more secular character. (28)

Other contentions cited by Sheriff Gordon were that the revival caused, '...a vast increase of lunatics...and petty thefts....' The lunacy charge was a common one amongst those sections of the press who were unenthusiastic or hostile

towards the movement, particularly the SM, TT and the NW, especially during the second half of 1859. (29)

With respect to the claim of economic disruption, C.G. Brown notes that ordinary business was interrupted by employee exhaustion and absenteeism resulting from frequent attendance at long and demanding evening meetings. Absenteeism also resulted from the lure of meetings held during work-time, or from the attraction of visiting speakers. For example, it was reported that when the Rev. Mr. McNeil of Campbeltown arrived on the island of Islay in August 1859, '...although it was the busy season, scarcely an individual about the place did not leave his work to come and hear the gospel.' Similarly, when Duncan Matheson visited Findochty: 'For several days work was completely suspended, and men and women were engaged in religious exercises.' Additionally, disruption was caused by the intrusion of prayer and Bible meetings into work time and on business premises, a familiar facet of the movement. Orr notes that at one factory in Edinburgh prayer-meetings were held three times per day. (30)

With respect to the charges of increased immorality, lunacy and petty thefts, these tended to remain no more than unsubstantiated allegations, strenuously denied by revivalists and in the pro-revival press. Thus Buchanan, who had evidently heard of the allegations of Sheriff Gordon conveyed at the ECGA of 1861, instantly dismissed them as ridiculous at the corresponding FCGA. He had support, with regard to levels of

lunacy, from the testimony of Dr. Howden, medical superintendant of the Montrose Royal Lunatic Asylum, who confirmed that in his district, 'The number of instances in which insanity is stated to have originated in religious excitement has been very considerable'; the doctor added however, '...in 7 [cases] only could I satisfy myself...that such was really the case...they all recovered.' Concerning petty thefts however, there may well have been an increase, as it is apparent that pickpockets roamed revival meetings plying their trade amongst people who were otherwise distracted. The papers report the cases of several thieves who were apprehended and prosecuted. (31)

That some socio-economic disruption occurred is admitted in another statement from Buchanan. At the FCSGA in October 1859 he argued:

With regard to the temporary derangement of society which some people who are suspicious of this movement want to make much of, asserting that the Revival will lead to the interruption of ordinary business, and even of the necessary rest for which night provides, I must say that I am not much disquieted at that temporary state of things....I have been met by good people who objected to these [prayer] meetings being continued to midnight, and who said that if that was to go on, all the arrangements of society would come to an end....When people said that the arrangements of society were disturbed they were assuming that society's arrangements were just what they ought to be [a premise I do not accept]. (32)

Summary Conclusion.

These then were the major concerns and criticisms expressed about the revival. They came from a variety of sources including churchmen - evangelical and non-evangelical -

businessmen and policemen. It would appear that clergy from the EC were probably the most vocal - or at least received the most publicity. (33)

Some concerns and criticisms had to do with the simplistic nature of the theology preached, who preached, and the timing, duration and conduct of revival meetings, others with socio-economic consequences. The single feature which attracted most concern was the accompaniments to many conversion experiences. The criticisms over which there was dispute related to charges of increased lunacy, petty thefts and immorality which opponents of the movement commonly assigned to it, but supporters fervently denied.

Footnotes.

- (1) C.G. Brown 1982, p.428: Bussey, pp.124, 315, 321, 323f.: v. Fleming, pp.113f.: Orr, pp.59, 186; Chp.14: Kent, p.109.
- (2) GH 1-5-61, 4/4: v. AECGA 1863, pp.32-40: AFCGA 1860, pp.230-236: PUPS 1848, pp.135-142: Enright, pp.70ff..
- (3) Bussey, p.318.
- (4) SG 29-5-61, 4/5: NBDM 29-5-61, 5.3: GH 29-5-61, 5/1f..
- (5) Bussey, p.318.
- (6) GH 27-5-61, 3/5.
- (7) TT 17-9-59: Omicron, *Fife Letters*, p.35 in Bussey, p.315: Couper, pp.157f.: C.G. Brown 1987, pp.159, 168 n.42: Kent, p.119.
- (8) GH 27-5-61, 3/5.
- (9) GH 25-2-61, 4/4; 17-4-61, 6/4: DH 22-2-61.
- (10) GH 17-4-61, 6/4.
- (11) C.G. Brown 1982, pp.420, 429, 4764 n.84: cf. Bussey, pp.318f..
- (12) GH 15-12-60, 2/1.
- (13) GH 14-2-61, 2/4f..
- (14) NBDM 12-7-61, 2/2; 16-7-61, 2/4.
- (15) C.G. Brown 1982, p.429.
- (16) v. NBDM 26-10-60, 2/3: GH 14-2-61, 2/4f.: Couper, pp.138f.: Fleming, p.115: Orr, pp.65, 68f., 73, 182f.: Bussey, pp.277f.; Chp. IX: C.G. Brown 1982, p.417: Muirhead, pp.191f..
- (17) TR No.1, 30-7-59.

- (18) SG 9-8-59: v. Bussey, p. 96.
- (19) v. SG 29-5-61, 2/1f.: NBDM 29-5-61: GH 29-5-61.
- (20) GH 14-2-61, 2/4f.: v. C.G. Brown 1982, p. 420.
- (21) v. Couper, p. 137: Bussey, pp. 98, 101f., 113f., 131ff., 136: Orr, pp. 64, 76: FCSGA 11-10-59.
- (22) v. SG 29-5-61, 2/1f.; 4-6-61, 2/7-3/1: NBDM 29-5-61; 4-6-61, 4/4f.: GH 29-5-61; 4-6-61, 4/1: TR 8-12-64: Bussey, Chp. 4, pp. 98, 125f., 129: Couper, p. 137: Orr, pp. 73, 76.
- (23) Bussey, pp. 41, 56ff., 68: C.G. Brown 1982, pp. 417f., 427.
- (24) Orr, p. 76: v. TR 29-10-59.
- (25) NBDM 3-10-59: v. SG 9-8-59: TR 17-12-59: GH 8-9-60, 3/2: cf. Couper, pp. 137f., 158: Bussey, p. 96: Orr, pp. 64, 70: C.G. Brown 1982, p. 427; 1987, pp. 147, 159.
- (26) v. NBDM 3-10-59; 4-6-61, 4/4f.: SG 4-6-61, 2/7 & 3/1f.: GH 4-6-61, 4/1.
- (27) v. SG 4-6-61, 2/7-3/1: NBDM 4-6-61, 4/4f.: GH 4-6-61, 4/1: cf. Fleming, p. 114.
- (28) GH 14-2-61, 2/4f..
- (29) v. SM 15-7-59, 2/3; 16-7-59, 3/5; 29-7-59, 3/3: TT 16 & 17-9-59; 1-10- & 4-10- & 7-10- & 13-10- & 26-10-59; 7 & 28-3-60: NW 26-5- & 27-6-59; 12-7- & 15-7- & 16-7- & 27-7- & 29-7-59; 31-8-59: cf. SG 4-6-61, 2/7-3/1: NBDM 4-6-61, 4/4f.: GH 4-6-61, 4/1: Fleming, p. 114.
- (30) C.G. Brown 1982, p. 427: 1987, p. 147: NBDM 10-8-60, 2/4: Orr, pp. 61f., 67, 74: Bussey, pp. 104, 131.
- (31) v. SG 26-3-61, 4/2; 6-6-61, 4/5: GH 22-6-60, 7/3: NBDM 23-3-61, 4/3 & 2-8-61, 2/3.
- (32) v. WJ 22-10-59: Bussey, p. 309: Orr, p. 76: C.G. Brown 1982, p. 427.
- (33) v. Fleming, p. 114f.: Bussey, pp. 140, 306, 308: Orr, p. 69.

Chapter Eleven

Evaluations.

Although the sources agree that most denominations responded to and were influenced by the revival, according to Orr it was the largest Presbyterian ones who were probably most affected. C.G. Brown contends that the FC and UPC were especially influenced because they were more prone to open air preaching, the admittance of lay preachers, '...and were the best equipped to deal with the revival...with preaching stations, congregationally sponsored mission schemes, [and] special Sunday evening services for the working classes....' He concludes, in common with Drummond & Bulloch, '...probably the greatest impact was felt by the United Presbyterian Church....' (1)

The only major contemporaneous study of the revival was conducted by the FCCRM. At the FCGA of 1860, described by Buchanan as '...this Pentecostal Assembly...which...I feel assured [will] be known and remembered as the "Revival Assembly"', the Rev. Dr. Henderson proposed that the Committee, under the convenership of Wood, be instructed '...to adopt such means as they shall approve to collect... authentic memorials of the present work of grace in the land....' The motion was unanimously carried. Consequently the Committee conducted a national review of the movement by sending a circular to all their congregations asking if they

had experienced revival - the word being used in the modern popular sense. (2)

At the FCGA of 1861 Candlish echoed the remarks of Buchanan at the previous FCGA to the effect that, '...the...remarkable work of grace pervad[es] the whole church and the whole land.' As regards geographical coverage, the material conveyed in Chp.8 illustrated that popular primary and secondary sources agree. The Report of the FCCRM, submitted by Wood amidst much applause and cheering, appeared to offer confirmation. The Convener, a staunch pro-revivalist, enthused: 'This, in some respects, is the most important and interesting Report that was ever laid on the table of the General Assembly.' Asserting that it showed, 'The revival...extends over the length and breadth of the land', incorporating most of lowland Scotland and, '...much of the Highlands as well', he concluded: '...the indications...are exceedingly cheering....' (3)

The FCCRM, and subsequent commentators who refer to their Report, including Couper, Fleming, Muirhead and C.G. Brown, have chosen to interpret the returns received by the Committee on a Presbytery basis. Of a total of 71 Presbyteries, 66 responded with 42 reporting '...decided awakening or revival....' This was interpreted as meaning that two-thirds of the denomination was affected. The negative response of the remaining 24 Presbyteries who confirmed, '...no decided awakening or revival...', was cushioned by the assertion that since returns had been submitted - some months earlier - a

number of congregations reporting in the negative had now experienced revival and further, '...that many congregations where there has been revival...[have] not reported to us.' The 5 Presbyteries who submitted no returns were Jedburgh, Wigtown, Lanark, Nairn and Lochcarron. (4)

On closer examination, however, it is difficult to see why the Report was, and has continued to be, so positively interpreted. If analysed on a congregational rather than Presbytery basis a different picture emerges.

Of a denominational aggregate 882 congregations, 169 responded. Whilst 86 - spread over 42 Presbyteries - reported revival, 83 congregations across the remaining 24 Presbyteries who responded confirmed an absence of revival. These figures mean that 80.8% of congregations failed to respond to the Committee's enquiry and of those who did 49.4% responded negatively. Unfortunately, none of the congregations who made returns are identified in the Report. (5)

The FCCRM conducted an identical review the following year reporting to the FCGA of 1862. On this occasion Wood reported that 57 congregations responded but that only 18 confirmed the presence of revival. He was encouraged by the fact that none of the 18 had claimed revival in 1861. He concluded that for the years 1860-1862, 'The Committee...have returns... showing a work of revival in 104 of the congregations of the Church.' This material evidencing revival in just over 100 out of nearly 900 congregations challenges the highly publicised and

popular notion that the movement permeated the whole denomination. (6)

Moreover, whilst the Reports submitted by Wood may support the contention that the revival was geographically widespread being present in at least 42 Presbyteries, they do not provide evidence to support the assertion of total national coverage. An element of confusion appears in the first Report, the only one to which other commentators refer. In this, Wood claimed that the revival, '...spread over the whole country....' This is the statement most scholars focus on, ignoring that just three sentences later Wood said, 'We trust that [the revivall...will yet prevail over the whole of Scotland.' Another source corroborates the implication of the latter comment. A few weeks after the FCGA of 1861, Moody Stuart spoke on behalf of the FC Deputation at the Irish Presbyterian Church GA. There he confirmed that while the revival affected many locations the whole of Scotland was still not moved. (7)

It would appear that the enthusiastic response to the first FCCRM Report could only be because it confirmed revival to be present in a number of widely dispersed congregations concurrently. As Wood recognized in the Report itself, this was a unique occurrence:

...in former times Scotland has been visited by revival and awakening, but I believe that on these occasions revival and awakening was partial: confined to particular localities...Shotts...Kilysth, Dundee and Moulin, and in the West Highlands....It seems a blessed characteristic of the Revival in our times that it is widespread.... (8)

The FC reviews did not attempt to ascertain the level of conversions. A Presbytery Report from 1864 and published in TR confirmed that no systematic attempt had been made to identify and number converts. (9)

Aware of the hazards of statistical analysis, most commentators content themselves with vague statements. For example, Couper writes, '...conversions were numerous...', whilst Bussey contends, 'The awakening saw a rich and mighty ingathering of souls into the Church....' Carwardine is slightly more precise: 'Hundreds of thousands were said to be converted.' (10)

Orr, however, is more specific. He claims that throughout the United Kingdom, amidst a total population of 27 million, the revival contributed, '...a million accessions to the evangelical churches.' Focusing on Scotland, within a population of 3,062,294 he claims 300,000 converts. Possibly because they are the most specific, Orr's figures have been the ones most commonly repeated over the decades. They continue to be quoted, most recently by Meek in *DSCHT*. However, the foundations on which they are based are problematical. (11)

Orr concluded that the majority of Scottish converts were already '...in customary formal membership in the Kirk....' He suggests that such converts '...were seldom noted as accessions...' because they were '...unlikely to request the removal of...[their] name from the register in order to re-

submit it on the basis of a more thorough experience.' He offers this as the reason why, 'Church membership rolls...show little change....' If accurate, this would support the contention of Kent, Muirhead and Carwardine noted in Chp.4 (IV), namely that revivals have the greatest impact within, or on the peripheries of, the Christian community. (12)

Since church membership rolls were of little value in numerical assessment, Orr was forced to engage in protracted arithmetical gymnastics relying on incomplete data, dubious assumptions and questionable extrapolations. Although 10% emerges as a key figure, what passes for calculation is not clearly stated and has had to be pieced together from comments scattered throughout Orr's book. It is understood to be as follows. (13)

Having accepted that 10% of Welsh and Ulster protestants had converted as a result of the revival - itself an uncertain conclusion because of its foundation on only partial data and doubtful assumptions and extrapolations - Orr claims that Scotland, '...was as powerfully moved...', and hence that 10% of its 3 million population also converted. Thus he arrives at the figure of 300,000.

To support his contention Orr cites data relating to 1859 in connection with the UPC which he asserts depicts a 10% increase in national denominational membership. To support his case, however, Orr has to assume that all the new UPC members of 1859 joined towards the close of the year and were products

of the revival. He offers no evidence to support such an assumption, which is a dubious one to make - for two reasons. Firstly, because it rejects the likelihood that at least some of the accessions could have joined the denomination in the first half of 1859, prior to the emergence of popular revival, and so could not be classified as revival converts. Secondly, because it fails to recognize a situation, concealed in the raw data Orr used but revealed by C.G. Brown's detailed local research, that a number of mission stations established by the denomination in the mid-1850s, '...were given formal sanction as churches around 1860.' Consequently, those attending the mission stations, '...were suddenly eligible for inclusion in national statistics.' The point being made here is that the increase in UPC membership was probably due more to prolonged on-going mission enterprises, rather than to a sudden influx resulting directly from the revival. Interestingly, especially for such a pro-revival denomination, contemporary UPC records do not credit the movement with producing any of the new members at all. (14)

According to Orr, who admits basing his next claim on '...incompletely reported [data]...', the Presbyterian Church in Ireland experienced a 10% rate of growth. He concluded that since the Irish Presbyterians and the UPC in Scotland had, by this understanding, enjoyed identical proportionate gains during 1859, '...that...this percentage may be considered typical of the Presbyterian bodies.' By this he seems to

suggest that the EC and FC can also be deemed to have grown at a rate of 10% due to the inflow of revival converts. How this reconciles with his conclusion that most Scottish converts were already in formal church attendance is unclear.

Furthermore, the extrapolation of uniform denominational growth resulting from the revival finds no support from either contemporary sources or fellow commentators. Moreover, its validity seems doubtful given, for example, the opinions and positions expressed and adopted within the EC, and noted in Chp.9 (I), which suggest that it did not enthusiastically endorse and embrace the movement. (15)

Orr's estimate of 300,000 Scottish revival converts appears unreliable. It lacks corroboration, not only from church statistics - which Orr admitted showed little change and whose lack of comment necessitated the need for calculation - but also from other ecclesiastical sources such as synod/assembly proceedings and debates, the press, and in accounts from individuals involved in the movement. Based on incomplete data and relying on various suspect assumptions and extrapolations, arguably the value of Orr's efforts is in serving to illustrate the difficulties and complexities involved with statistical evaluation or assessment of revival.

Given these problems, alternative suggestions have been offered in attempting to discern the impact of the movement. For example, Couper claims, 'Long after their activities had disappeared, the impetus derived from...[revivals] live[s]

on.' Describing counting converts as an inadequate mode of assessment he argues, '...religious, social, and philanthropic [effects] must be emphasized.' Muirhead concurs. (16)

One perceived religious effect of the revival was ecumenism. Bussey highlights this as a major feature of the movement contending: 'At no former revival had there been such measure of unity among the various denominations.' (17)

Orr and Bussey give numerous examples of 'united' meetings where clergymen, church officers and laity of various denominations came together for prayer and revival services. For example, the former reports that in Edinburgh, 'Church of Scotland, Free Church and United Presbyterian ministers work[ed] together in happy unity.' Orr also refers to similar activity at Dumfries, Helensburgh and Perth - where the clergy jointly declared that they had, '...buried sectarianism...and saw no Christian weep over its grave.' In a similar vein Bussey claims: '...at Saltcoats all sectarianism was forgotten....in Johnstone....too sectarianism was broken down, and Christians of all denominations joined in prayers. It was the same at Paisley.' (18)

Couper succinctly sums up: 'All denominations joined in the effort.' The summation of Carwardine, however, more accurately reflects the notion obtained from a survey of primary sources: 'The more committed evangelical wings of the different denominations often worked together....' The precise duration of this unity has not been established, however Bussey's

comment is noteworthy: '*For a time* sectarianism was practically obliterated.' The impression conveyed is that the famed ecumenism did not endure beyond the height of popular revival activity. (19)

Whether the movement itself can be credited with creating ecumenism is questionable. On a national level the Evangelical Alliance had been established in London in 1846 to promote Christian unity whilst in Scotland, according to Cowan's research, '...a firm bond of brotherhood...' already existed before the revival. Within Glasgow the local Evangelical Alliance membership and the Bridgegate Church subscription roll shows participants and supporters drawn from all churches. This evidence could suggest that denominational deference and cooperation pre-dated the movement and so could not be credited to it. (20)

According to reports from TR and GA proceedings and other statements dating from 1861 to 1899, an enduring effect of the movement was, '...the increase of family religion, [and] the decrease of cases of discipline in all the congregations since 1859.' Also, the yielding of a generation of '...living, active, consistent Christians...' who facilitated the extension of home and foreign church and missionary activities by producing clergy, church officers and missionaries. Examples emanating from around the country are given by all the major commentators of ministers, elders and deacons who were revival converts and of organizations such as the

Salvation Army, the Children's Special Service Mission, Barnardo's Homes, the China Inland Mission and James Chalmers mission in New Guinea, which allegedly had their origins in the movement. According to Bussey, the post-revival years, '...were the most fruitful...in the annals of the Christian Church in this country since the Reformation...' because of the schemes '...manned and maintained...[by] the new recruits who had found a new meaning in life through the influence of the revival.' Orr asserts that the influx of revival converts '...gave birth to a litter of...religious...societies...' and heralded '...*fifty* years of church expansion....' (21)

As well as effects within and between churches there were also numerous reports of results outwith; of what could be termed the social manifestations of the revival. According to the SG, 'The moral and social benefits of...revival are among its most important fruits....' The supposed transformation of individual lives from notoriety to respectability supported the common claim of revivalists that the movement 'improved' conduct and habits. According to H. Bonar, alleged 'improvements' benefiting the whole of society included decreases in levels of crime, drunkenness, brawling, prostitution and profanity. (22)

An abundance of anecdotal evidence contained in Presbytery records, synod/assembly proceedings and personal testimonies and correspondence from north, south, east and west referring to fishing villages, rural hamlets and towns and cities, lends

support. For example, the ECPG meeting in October 1859 reported, '...decidedly changed conduct.' The following month, in a letter dated 9th November 1859, Police Superintendent John Cameron of the Ayrshire village of Maybole wrote to the Rev. James Moir:

...you asked my opinion as to the effect of the Revival...on the behaviour of the people....I...have no hesitation in saying that the improvement in the moral conduct...has been decidedly good, arising, as I believe it does, from the influences of that movement, not only upon those who have been affected themselves but upon many others beside, in many quarters of the town, from which I have had frequent complaints about rioting, etc., may now be heard at nights and on Sabbaths the voice of praise and prayer, sweetly resounding from the houses...; and it is seldom indeed that I now witness such scenes in the places referred to as I have done in times gone by.... (23)

Similar evidence emanates from 1861 and 1862. At the FCGA in the former year, Wood recorded:

...from almost all the reports I am able to gather that there has been a great change in the manners and habits of the people....there has been upon general society an awe and restraint....The Police reports...are exceedingly favourable....Then there is an undoubted fact that... [many] public houses are almost starved out.... (24)

Wood also conveyed the testimony of a chief constable of '...one of the largest counties in Scotland, which includes a good many towns....' According to this there had been, during 1858-1860, '...a considerable diminution of all classes of criminals....' This statement stands in contrast to that of the Rev. Dr. Bisset who relayed to the ECGA of the same year the comment of, '...a learned sheriff who ascribed to the

Revival a vast increase in the number of lunatics and even the number of petty thefts.' (25)

At the 1862 FCGA, Buchanan reported of the Dumfries area: 'The whole morals of the district have undergone a complete change; and, as the police expressed to me, their office was, so far as serious crimes were concerned, all but a sinecure.' (26)

An unidentified source cited by Couper corroborates Buchanan:

Many a drunkard has deserted the public-house in horror of his previous life; the artizans...have abandoned the corners where they lounged in the evenings, and have betaken themselves to prayer; and even the 'arabs' of the burgh - the boys who were forever shouting and yelling about the streets - have every evening been engaged in singing psalms and hymns. (27)

Similar accounts emerge from a variety of other locations, particularly east coast fishing villages including Eyemouth, Cellardyke, Cockenzie, Latheron and Wick. (28)

Another popularly perceived effect of the revival was, as Couper claims, '...the turn[ing of] men's minds towards the social needs of their brethren.' Bussey, Orr and C.G. Brown concur. The first alleges, '...the revival created in many places a social and civic conscience....' The second that, 'One of the first effects of the Awakening...was the creation of a new and intense sympathy with the poor and suffering....' Orr also contends that with the movement, '...a Revival School of Christian philanthropists arose, endeavouring to go straight to the heart of the slums with a practical Samaritanism.' C.G. Brown contends that following the revival

there grew, '...a concern for constructing integrated schemes of religious social work....' All agree that many social and philanthropic societies and projects were developed with the aim of serving the needy and alleviating suffering, and that these were largely facilitated by personnel converted during the movement. As a result, in the words of Orr, the revival, '...accomplish[ed] untold good....[providing] a tremendous amount of social...[and] human uplift....' There was interest in sanitation, housing conditions, population density and mortality rates evidenced, C.G. Brown argues, by the appearance in religious tracts of data from the Medical Officer of Health and the City Chamberlain. This interest was apparently manifest in action with schemes emerging concerned with housing and welfare, the reclamation of prostitutes, and the rehabilitation of alcoholics and criminals. (29)

Examples are cited of Aberdeen and Glasgow. Referring to the former, a Dr. Stark credited, 'Much of the Christian philanthropy...' witnessed in the city to, '...the impulse received [from the revivall].' He asserted, 'Institutions that flourish amongst us today, having for their object the uplifting of our fellows, have their roots in that movement.' C.G. Brown alleges that within Glasgow there was widespread concern about the conditions of those existing in the city slums. In support he cites the FC enquiry '...into the plight of Highlanders in Glasgow...', and the Wynds FC Mission which, '...gave rise to a philanthropic slum clearance scheme in the

centre of Glasgow which got underway in 1860-1.' He also refers to a local UPC investigation into '...social evils...', and the establishment of a UPPG committee, '...to consider what measures ought to be taken in order to meet the destitution which it is feared prevails in the city....' Also relating to Glasgow, Orr cites as an example of '...practical Samaritanism...' the orphan homes established there in 1864 by William Quarrier. (30)

Two other alleged effects of the revival, mentioned only by Bussey and Orr respectively, were improved living conditions and a slowing in the rate of illegitimate births. According to Bussey, in some areas, particularly around the Moray Firth, money previously spent on alcohol was channelled into building and renovating homes. He claims, '...material prosperity and comfort..was directly attribut[able] to the revival.' Citing the Registrar-General's annual statistics, Orr asserts that there had been a small rise each year in the number of illegitimate births, except in 1860, '...when the effects of awakening would be noticed....' In that year the percentage of such births remained stationary before commencing an upward trend in 1861. (31)

Although acknowledging the difficulty of connecting reform to revival, most scholars appear sympathetic to the notion of a causal link between the movement and greater church involvement in social and environmental issues and activities. However whether the revival can be credited with providing

initial stimuli is doubtful. It certainly did not stimulate the Wynds FC Mission which was already established prior to the advent of revival, as were initiatives for the reclamation of prostitutes and the rehabilitation of criminals, especially young offenders. Moreover, from coverage of the Conference of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science which convened in Glasgow in September 1860, it would appear that the city already had a reputation for, '...charitable institutions...mak[ing] provision for the relief of every description of social want and distress.' A Mr. W. Keddie reported to the Conference:

For the treatment of disease among the poor, and the numerous cases of accidents...ample hospital accommodation is afforded by the voluntary contributions of the citizens....Public benevolence in like manner provides a retreat for the insane; institutions for the education and industrial training of the blind and the deaf and dumb; ragged schools for the neglected youth; reformatories for juvenile criminals of both sexes; an asylum and private homes for the protection and recovery of fallen and penitent females; nightly shelter for the homeless [and] a dwelling for the aged and infirm.... (32)

In 1862 Strang, the City Chamberlain, reported;

...the numerous philanthropic institutions and benevolent agencies...have led to a sensible diminution of juvenile delinquency, and to the salvation of many a neglected and wretched outcast. (33)

Although Nenadic questions the effectiveness of such provision, there is no dispute that many initiatives existed whose beginnings pre-dated the revival. (34)

With respect to other schemes, there is an inevitable time-lapse between awareness and concern, evaluation and action.

So, for example, the slum clearance which commenced in Glasgow in 1860 had probably been planned for a considerable time, even though its actual occurrence would have coincided with the period of popular and intense revival. Indeed some local FC clergy, including leading figures such as Buchanan and M'Coll, were so concerned about living conditions that they formed a FCPG Committee on Housing in 1858: this could not be deemed to have been inspired by the revival.

As to the much vaunted claim by revivalists that the movement resulted in decreased levels of crime, no official or statistical evidence was ever cited in support even though a wealth of corroborative reports and data was available.

Despite the unremitting increase in the Scottish population, which grew nationally from 2,889,000 in 1851 to 3,062,000 in 1861, and in Glasgow from 363,138 to 443,639 over the same period, numerous sources attest to both numerical and proportionate reductions in crime. On a national basis Parliamentary Papers and the official Criminal Statistics for Scotland Reports corroborated the revivalists' claim. Locally, between 1860 and 1862, the City Chamberlain, the Captain of the Glasgow Police and the Governor of the City Prison all produced data confirming diminishing criminal activities. (35)

For example, at the Conference of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science in Glasgow in 1860, Capt. Smart of the City Police claimed that there had been no increase in the numbers of brothels and prostitutes in the

city since 1849 and that generally, 'Crime in Glasgow is not on the increase..., notwithstanding the increase in population.' The annual Glasgow Police Criminal Returns for the years ending 29-9-60 and 29-9-61 confirm his assertions. Further corroboration comes from the testimonies of Strang and Mr. Stirling the Governor of Glasgow Prison, and from the statistical tables produced in the Ten Years' Chronicle of the Prison of Glasgow 1850-60. (36)

Revivalists ignored this apparently supportive material, possibly because they realized that if all the details from these sources were known it would weaken their contentions. This is because all the sources show that levels of crime, both nationally and in the city, had been decreasing throughout the decade of the 1850s and thus had nothing to do with the revival. Of the situation locally Governor Stirling declared: 'During the last ten years the number of committals has been gradually diminishing...in spite of the augmentation...of 80,000... inhabitants during the period.' Stirling was particularly impressed by the reduction in juvenile and youth crime which he ascribed, '...in a great measure...[to] the establishment of...reformatories in th[e] city....' None of the sources refers to the revival as influential. (37)

Motives are often difficult to determine. With respect to Quarrier's orphan homes, his spur could have come from his own background just as much as from the revival. Of humble origins

in Greenock he is described by Douglas as being, '... fatherless at 3...a starving Glasgow slum-dweller at 5...' and working 12 hours per day from the age of 6 yet, apparently without the benefit of schooling, he rose to enjoy much business success. It appears not inconceivable that his compassion for orphans could have evolved from his own experiences rather than been sparked by the revival. (38)

An appreciation of the wider context is also instructive. Despite general industrial and commercial success and the provision of numerous and varied philanthropic schemes, Nenadic contends that by the 1850s poverty posed so many problems which were not being effectively tackled, '...that new and radical initiatives were being sought.' Her conclusion is that this resulted in, 'Middle class acceptance of the need for state intervention...' which is described as, '...clearly a significant development of the period.' Nenadic makes no mention of the revival as a stimulating force. (39)

Similarly C.G. Brown notes the emerging, '...evangelical concern for effects of the *laissez faire* economy on the working class....' He refers to the, '...growing evangelical support for public action in the field of social reform and for social responsibility amongst employers...', and claims that '...public social action was building up led by evangelicals on the town council.' Cowan claims that from the early 1850s churchmen were already deeply concerned with social issues and conditions such as education, temperance and

housing and that by the middle of the decade, '...the Glasgow...clergy had a finger in every municipal pie....' (40)

There appears, therefore, to be agreement that '...practical Samaritanism...' to use Orr's phrase, or '...interventionist social reform...' to adopt C.G. Brown's words, grew increasingly from the early 1860s. However it also seems that from the 1850s there was a general and growing move away from a non-interventionist *laissez faire* approach which, preceding the revival as it did, could not be attributable to it. The spirit of motivation behind social intervention and reform was therefore apparently not triggered by the movement, although it might nevertheless have received impetus from it.

Summary Conclusion.

Evaluation of the 1859 revival suffers from the lack of a comprehensive contemporary national, multi-denominational survey of the movement, with subsequent statistical analysis being merely vague or unreliable. Research indicates, however, that previous assessments of the movement whether by contemporaries or historians have been exaggerated.

They seem to share a belief that if the revival premeated the whole country geographically, it also premeated the entire population. Studies show, however, that while it may have been present in various types of communities in a number of locations scattered throughout the land, the movement did not envelop the entire nation. Moreover, the extent of the revival's impact on the people of any particular location is

not detailed. The movement could have influenced the whole community or only a few people within it who may already have been churchgoers. The FC was unanimously held to be one of the denominations most impacted upon yet even its experience was that only a small minority of congregations was influenced. Despite the well publicised views of leading pro-revival churchmen, the Reports of the FCCRM suggests that the movement did not affect the entire Christian community let alone the general population. Even Orr acknowledged that most converts were already in formal Kirk membership and had not been drawn from the ranks of the irreligious.

Additionally, research suggests that most things contemporaries or commentators ascribe to the revival or hold to be its legacy, such as ecumenism, social concern and action, and reductions in the levels of crime, all had origins pre-dating the revival.

Based on the material so far produced, the preliminary conclusion here is that the revival was not as major a socio-spiritual event as it has been commonly promoted. Rather, the movement had less of an impact on the population and was hence less influential than previously held.

Although it affected only a relatively small number of congregations and a minority of the populace, the movement's leading protagonists were high profile respected figures with access to publicity via the press, particularly the SG, the WJ and TR. The enthusiasm and inflated claims of these prominent

individuals coupled with the coverage devoted to the movement by the aforementioned papers created a mythical account of the revival which gave it considerably more significance than it merited. The exaggerated statements of pro-revival contemporaries were then seized upon and promoted by passionate scholars resulting in the continued distortion of its actual impact and importance and hence the perpetuation of the revival myth.

As a means of testing this conclusion the progress of the movement in Glasgow, the largest city in Scotland whose population was supposedly strongly affected by the revival, will now be analysed in detail. This study will produce, for the first time, a comprehensive account of the movement on a micro level.

Footnotes.

- (1) Orr, p. 201; v. pp. 58, 200; C. G. Brown, 1982, pp. 420f., 424, 426, 428; Drummond & Bulloch, p. 185; v. SG 1-7-59, 2/1f.; 29-5-61, 2/1f.; NBDM 29-5-61, 5/3; GH 29-5-61, 5/1f.; Fleming, pp. 114ff.; Bussey, pp. 124f., 236f.; Carwardine, pp. xiiif..
- (2) PDFCGA 1860, pp. 9f.; v. WJ No. 37, 9-6-60; SG 31-5-60, 2/1; 29-5-61, 3/1f. & 4/5; NBDM 30-5-60, 5/4; 29-5-61, 5/3; GH 29-5-61 5/1f..
- (3) PDFCGA 1861, pp. 5, 75ff..
- (4) PDFCGA 1861, pp. 5, 75ff.; cf. Couper, p. 130; Fleming, p. 114; Muirhead, p. 184; C. G. Brown 1982, p. 428.
- (5) AFCGA 1858-1863, pp. x, 116-135, 150-169; SG 29-5-61, 3/1f. & 4/5; NBDM 29-5-61, 5/3; GH 29-5-61 5/1f.; cf. Couper, p. 130; Fleming, p. 114; Muirhead, p. 184; C. G. Brown 1982, p. 428.
- (6) PDFCGA 1862, pp. 175ff..
- (7) PDFCGA 1862, pp. 175ff.; SG 9-7-61, 2/4f..
- (8) SG 29-5-59, 4/5.
- (9) TR 8-12-64: v. Orr, p. 76; Muirhead, p. 187.
- (10) Couper, p. 139; Bussey, pp. 331f.; Carwardine, pp. 159, 192; cf. Muirhead, p. 194.
- (11) Orr, pp. 5, 59, 75, 201, 207, 276f.; Meek in *DSCHT*, p. 716.

- (12) Orr, pp. 76, 201: Kent, pp. 36, 363: Muirhead, p. 193: Carwardine, pp. 80, 160, 164, 192f., 197.
- (13) Orr, pp. 5, 59, 75, 201, 207, 276f.
- (14) Orr, pp. 77, 276f.: UPC Magazine Vol. IV (1860), p. 371: SG 25-5-60, 2/6: C.G. Brown 1982, pp. 428, 463 n. 76.
- (15) C.G. Brown 1982, p. 426.
- (16) Couper, pp. 4, 139, 158: Muirhead, pp. 194f.: cf. Bussey, pp. 332f..
- (17) Bussey, p. 333: cf. chp. 4: pp. 236f..
- (18) Orr, pp. 63f., 72f.: Bussey, pp. 100ff.: v. UPC Magazine Vol. IV (1860), p. 82.
- (19) Couper, p. 136: Carwardine, p. 99: Bussey, pp. 236f. (*my italics*).
- (20) Cowan, pp. 341, 362: *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, p. 381: J.R. Wolfe in *DSCHT*, p. 304: Appendices C & D: SG 26-6-60, 2/7: NBDM 25-6-60, 2/3: GH 25-6-60, 4/4.
- (21) Report of the FCCRM, PDFCGA 1861: PDFCGA 1865, pp. 18f. & 1887, p. 75: TR 8-12-64; 19-1-65: Macrae, p. 77: Orr, pp. 5, 9, 68, 76f., 264 & Chps. 10 & 15: Bussey, pp. 136, 332f., 336f.: cf. Couper, pp. 139, 159f.: Muirhead, pp. 184, 187, 195: C.G. Brown 1982, pp. 208f., 226f..
- (22) SG 1-7-59, 2/5: Reid, pp. 7f..
- (23) TR 3-12-59; cf. Couper, p. 132: Bussey, pp. 337f.: Orr, pp. 64f..
- (24) v. SG 29-5-61, 4/5: NBDM 29-5-61, 5/3: GH 29-5-61, 5/1f..
- (25) PDECGA 1861, p. 78: SG 4-6-61, 2/7-3/1: GH 4-6-61, 4/1: NBDM 4-6-61, 4/4f.: cf. Fleming, p. 114: Bussey, p. 338.
- (26) PDFCGA 1862, p. 184: cf. Bussey, p. 115.
- (27) Couper, p. 135: v. Muirhead, p. 184 n. 16.
- (28) v. TR Nos. 38 & 43, 14-4- & 19-5-60: Reid, pp. 321ff.: Couper, p. 137: Fleming, p. 116: Bussey, pp. 113, 133, 324, 335f.: Orr, pp. 68f., 73, 75: A. Mackay, p. 175: J. Brown, p. 186.
- (29) Couper, pp. 139, 151: Orr, pp. 5, 9, 210, 264: cf. chp. 15: Bussey, pp. 330, 336f.: C.G. Brown 1982, pp. 430, 432f., 435.
- (30) *The Christian* 22-4-1886: Couper, p. 140: Bussey, p. 337: C.G. Brown 1982, pp. 431 n. 88, 90, 91, 432, 464: Orr, p. 211.
- (31) Bussey, pp. 337ff.: Orr, pp. 175ff., 181f..
- (32) SG 27-9-60, 4/5.
- (33) Strang, 1861 in NBDM 19-2-62, 2 & 26-2-62, 3/5 & GH 17-2-62, 6/1ff. & 18-2-62, 3/1ff..
- (34) Nenadic, pp. 362f..
- (35) v. SG 4-9-60, 4/4f.; 27-9-60, 2/1: NBDM 17-2-62, 2, 3 & 4/3; 19-2-62, 2; 24-4-62, 2/2: GH 17-2-62, 6/1ff.; 18-2-62, 3/1ff.; 28-4-62, 4/6: Strang, 1861 & 1862: C.G. Brown 1982, pp. 210ff..
- (36) Proceedings of the Conference of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science (Glasgow, September 1860), printed in SG 27-9-60, 2/1; 9-2-61, 2/7; 16-12-61, 4/5.
- (37) Proceedings of the Conference of the National

- Association for the Promotion of Social Science
(Glasgow, September 1860), printed in SG 27-9-60, 2/1.
- (38) *DSCHT*, p. 687.
- (39) Nenadic, pp. 362f..
- (40) C.G. Brown 1982, pp. 430, 432f. 435: Cowan, pp. 341, 356,
364, 368.

SECTION FIVE

A CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE AND ANALYSIS

OF THE EXPERIENCE OF RELIGIOUS REVIVAL IN GLASGOW

1858-1862.

Chapter Twelve

Popular Perceptions.

Although important claims are made as to the impact of the revival on Glasgow and its populace there is actually very little material devoted to examining this. The following is a synthesis of popular perceptions and is presented as an introduction to the detailed study of revival in Glasgow conveyed in subsequent chapters. It also enables comparative analysis between the popular perceptions and the research findings.

According to the usual prominent sources Glasgow was affected early and quickly over-run by revival. Couper notes that on 27 July 1859 a newspaper announced: '...there has been some "striking down" in Glasgow.' He speculates that his unidentified source might have been referring to events at the Wynds FC where M'Coll dated revival from the third week of July. Bussey also identifies the Wynds FC as a venue for crowded revival meetings where heightened emotions and a deep conviction of sin were evident. He further notes that by the beginning of September, '...a particularly strong movement commenced at the East Gorbals Mission...', the base of Gilchrist who, as noted in Chp.8, had visited scenes of revival at Ardrossan during August. (1)

Orr indicates that other large revival meetings were held in the City Hall on Candleriggs St., Alexander's Stockwell FC, and on Glasgow Green in the East End where, on 19 August 1859,

an estimated 20,000 people congregated. Orr and C.G. Brown agree that a number of work places were also pressed into service as venues for prayer meetings. (2)

C.G. Brown notes that by the beginning of October 1859 the movement in the city was such that the ECPG found '...much ground...[for] gratitude to God.' Meanwhile, as Couper records, the city's UPC ministers, '...called the special attention of their congregations to...[it].' (3)

Couper also notes that on 25 October a report was presented to the ECPG informing them that;

...an unprecedented interest has of late been awakened with reference to Divine things - that the word of God has been read and heard preached, meetings for prayer and other ordinances of religion attended, with remarkable earnestness - and that in very many cases the results are apparent of hopefully changed minds and decidedly changed conduct. (4)

After this initial outburst, revival enthusiasm apparently persisted. According to Orr, '...after a year of the movement Glasgow was still enjoying "times of refreshing".' He claims: '...the interest wakened...[in] 1859 was not on the wane twelve months later.' In support, Orr alleges that on Glasgow Green on 6 September 1860 an estimated 20,000 people congregated for a revival meeting, about the same number as had gathered for a similar occasion the previous year. Couper concurs, 'Glasgow Green saw several huge meetings....' He also notes, '...the City Hall...for ten weeks...[was] crowded night

after night.' Famous revival preachers attracted to the city included Radcliffe, Weaver, North and Matheson. (5)

Orr claims that in the New Year of 1861 the revival received fresh impetus by the visit to the city of E.P. Hammond the effect of whose preaching, '...was felt for many months.' According to C.G. Brown, the movement endured in Glasgow to mid-1861. (6)

Footnotes.

- (1) Couper, p.131f.: Bussey, p.96: v. WJ No.5, 29-10-59.
- (2) v. Orr, pp.60ff.: C.G. Brown 1982, pp.427,462 n.70,463 n.71.
- (3) C.G. Brown 1982, p.426: Couper, p.132.
- (4) Couper, p.132.
- (5) Orr, pp.60,62: Couper, pp.138f.: v. Bussey, p.97.
- (6) Orr, pp.65f.: v. C.G. Brown 1982, pp.421,426f.,429,463 nos.80,81.

Chapter Thirteen

The Advent of Revival

September 1858 - August 1859.

I Preamble.

It appears that a fascination with revivals had existed in Glasgow for some decades prior to the 1859 movement. As noted in Chp.3, C.G. Brown claims that from the 1820s evangelicals in the city had an interest in them, possibly spurred by the events of the Second Great Awakening in America. He notes that in 1828 the Glasgow Evangelical Corresponding Society was formed which published accounts of revivals in the New World. In 1832 the Glasgow publishing house of William Collins printed Sprague's *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*. Five years later the same source published Finney's book of the same title. Meanwhile in 1836 W.H. Burns lectured in the city on the 1742 movement at Kilsyth. In 1840 Glasgow was the location for a series of 15 lectures on revival delivered by leading evangelicals. Later the same year these were collated by Hetherington and published by Collins. (1)

By 1859 Glasgow had a concentration of prominent ministers who were revival enthusiasts. For example, Arnot, who 20 years earlier had lectured on the subject and contributed to Hetherington's compilation, was still at St. Peter's FC on Main St.. In 1856 A.A. Bonar, a leading protagonist in the revivals of 1840-1, had been appointed to the newly

constructed FC at Finnieston. His neighbour in the adjoining district of Anderston was Somerville who, as a young probationer, had assisted both W.H. Burns and W.C. Burns during the events of 1839-40. These two, by now respected ministers in their mid- to late-40s, had been contemporaries at the University of Edinburgh in the 1830s. In addition, M'Coll, Buchanan and Alexander were also present. The leading local UPC clergy including the Rev. Profs. William Lindsay of Cathedral St. UPC and John Eadie of Cambridge St. UPC were supportive. In the EC, MacLeod and the Rev. Robert Monteith, whose Hutchesontown EC on Hospital St. was just across the River Clyde from the Wynds FC, were also active revival sympathizers. In September 1859 the latter, after visiting scenes of revival at Ardrossan returned to Glasgow and commenced a series of discourses promoting the movement. Symington and Johnstone of the RPC and the Congregational Church respectively, together with Williams of the Baptists and Hay of the Methodists were also supportive. (For locations see the map of the city in Appendix A) (2)

II The Advent of Revival.

The SG and WJ confirm that news of revival in America reached Glasgow by the spring of 1858. It would appear that there was little immediate reaction. However by September of that year the constant flow of intelligence from the US allegedly inspired the establishment of a number of prayer meetings. (3)

Initially some meetings, such as those at the Wynds FC, were open only to church officers: others, organized on a 'united' or interdenominational basis, were accessible to all. Venues represented various denominations and included Somerville's Anderston FC, the Rev. Mr. Russell's Lauriston Congregational Chapel on Nicholson St., the Rev. Mr. Johnston's St. Mark's FC on Main St. in Anderston, Suffock St. Chapel, the Rev. John Edwards Greenhead UPC on John St., and the Religious Institution Rooms (RIR) at 75 George Place. Most meetings convened about mid-day or 8pm: the way they were dispersed throughout the week enabled attendance at at least one per day from Monday to Friday. It was reported that 200 attended Lauriston Chapel, 100 Greenhead UPC, with about 40 at each of the other venues. Those attending were described as belonging to the respectable working classes. (4)

In the New Year of 1859 all the meetings were continuing with new ones starting. Additional assemblies convened at the Rev. Mr. A. Fraser's Ewing Place Independent Chapel, the Bath St. Exhibition Rooms, and amongst the Methodists on Bell St. in the Calton area. MacDougall established meetings at his Argyll FC on Oswald St. for the specific purpose of, '...bringing before the people the subject of revival.' A.A. Bonar instigated similar meetings at Finnieston. Advertisements promoting each gathering appeared in every edition of the SG. By February 1859, 'The Society for promoting United Prayer for the Revival of Religion [in Scotland], composed of ministers

and members of numerous Protestant Churches', had been established. (5)

Whilst the proliferation of revival prayer meetings demonstrates enduring and increasing interest and activity, this remained so only amongst a minority: there was still no popular response. In February 1859 the Editor of the SG commented:

We feel it becoming to be as guarded as possible in describing these meetings...there is still no such movement as has been described by the American press. At the same time, the continuance of such meetings long after they have lost the attraction of novelty is hopeful and encouraging. (6)

Revival intelligence from the US continued to abound, appearing in virtually every edition of the SG. American newspaper reports were reproduced, synod records from New York were published, as were letters. Additionally, pro-revival pamphlets from New York were distributed in Glasgow, and communications were established between like-minded groups in the two cities: in March, letters between those involved with the Fulton St. revival meetings in New York and the Anderston FC meetings were printed in the SG. (7)

The quantity of revival intelligence gradually increased, especially from Ulster. On 1 July the SG devoted two thirds of a page to revival news: coverage in the GH and NBDM was also growing. Additionally, specialised revival publications appeared: George Gallie of Glasgow commenced *The Revival*

Records, whilst Drummond of Stirling printed *Revival Numbers* of the *British Messenger*. (8)

At this time details of happenings in Glasgow remained limited to reports about prayer meetings whose numbers continued to expand. Extra meetings stimulated by the daily influx of news from abroad were held at Ewing Place Chapel, whilst the RIR now hosted daily instead of twice weekly gatherings. Additionally more venues were being added including the Mechanics' Hall on Canning St. where the objective was, '...to entreat the Lord to revive His own work in the hearts of His people, and to awaken by His Holy Spirit the multitudes that are living in sin in this city....' (9)

Yet despite the persistent flow of intelligence and the expansion of local meetings the multitudes were not responding. Press reports and statements by prominent churchmen indicate that at the start of July 1859 the revival remained confined within certain sections of the existing church-going community: revival in the modern sense had not yet commenced.

The *Revival Records* and *Revival Numbers* were both dominated by '...news of the great awakening in the North of Ireland', as were revival reports appearing in the secular press. At the end of June, Drummond declared to an audience at the RIR that whereas in Belfast, from where he had just returned, religious matters were the talk of the town that in Glasgow, '...you are afraid to speak to people about their souls....Let us

fervently...pray that God may send down [an] abundant blessing upon Scotland.' In his diary on 3 July A.A. Bonar pleaded, '...we hear...[of what] God is doing in...Ireland. O my God, come over to Scotland and help us!' (10)

Moreover, at the Irish Presbyterian Church GA in Dublin during the first week of July, two members of the FC delegation, the Rev. Drs. Wood and Begg expressed Scotland's need of revival and the hope that, '...what was going on in Ireland would extend to Scotland....' In mid-July the Rev. Mr. Horner of Coleraine in Ulster spoke at the RIR of the revival in his native land, noting that it was still awaited in Glasgow. There was not much longer to wait. (11)

After the busy months of the second quarter of the year during which local churchmen attended biannual synods and annual assemblies as well as the monthly Presbytery meetings and their usual commitments, many made the journey to Ulster including A.A. Bonar, M'Coll, Somerville, Alexander and Williams. Most travelled in late July or early August when, according to Glasgow City Mission, '...a spirit of seriousness and inquiry pervaded many...districts...' of the city. Contemporary press reports inform that by then some inhabitants had been in a state of religious anxiety for many weeks and months. (12)

All the clerics returned to Glasgow in enthusiastic mood, held special meetings promoting revival which attracted great crowds, and witnessed conversions. The case of Alexander was

given as an example in Chp.7 Stimuli. M'Coll and Somerville acted in like manner as did Bonar who, according to Ross, '...hurried across the water and brought the flame back to Scotland.' (13)

Coincidentally there was an increase in open-air revival preaching on Glasgow Green. This 100 acre site lay to the east of the city on the northern bank of the River Clyde flanked by The Wynds and Bridgegate to the west, Bridgeton to the east, Calton to the north, and opposite Gorbals and Hutchesontown on the southern bank of the River. The Green had long been a popular venue for open-air meetings of all types, as was South-side Park, because in good weather audiences were assured as these spaces provided for relaxation and recreation for the mass of the population of the city. (14)

The first mention of a local popular movement appears in the SG of 26 July in an article entitled, 'Symptoms of a Spiritual Awakening in Glasgow.' This informs that on the Sundays of 17 & 24 July several hundred were attracted to the open-air meetings on Glasgow Green. It was reported: 'A serious influence possessed the whole crowd....Working men rose up and poured out their hearts in most fervent supplications to God.' (15)

On the second Sunday, following the testimony of a young Irish convert, revivalists '...were engaged for some time... conversing and praying with anxious souls': physical

manifestations were also present. The article continued by noting:

Events have occurred in Glasgow during the last few days...which, at this season of expectancy, cannot but be regarded with great interest and hopefulness on the part of God's people.

The daily prayer meetings in the Religious Institution Rooms have been for some time increasing in interest and attendance...yesterday the large hall...was so crowded that many could not find seats. (16)

In the same edition the editor of the SG declared:

An...awakening appears to have begun in this city. Many have already been seriously impressed. They have not all been 'struck down' as in Ireland, but have gone through remarkable conflicts. (17)

The earliest report of a specific 'striking down' was on 20 July and relates to a young woman attending the regular Methodist revival meeting on Bell St.. According to Johnstone who reported to a meeting at the RIR on Monday 25 July:

Last Wednesday...a young woman was stricken, and fell down, crying upon Christ to have mercy upon her. She manifested all the physical symptoms which had occurred in [Ireland]. She continued in that state...[until] Thursday [when] she was visited by an office-bearer of the Methodist Church, and before he left she professed to experience peace with God. (18)

Johnstone continued by noting that at the same venue on the evenings of Thursday, Friday and Saturday, three people on each occasion, '...were deeply affected...', and that some, '...fell down on their knees, calling up God to deliver them, as they saw the fearful nature of their sin and guilt....' He concluded by claiming that on Sunday 24 July, '...three

individuals were...awakened!', adding, 'One...was a young Roman Catholic woman "converted" to Protestantism.' (19)

Sunday 24 July appears to have been a key day. In addition to events on Glasgow Green and at Bell St., M'Coll was addressing Cumming's East Gorbals FC relating what he had recently witnessed at revival scenes in Ulster. He had also arranged for the following note to be distributed amongst his own congregation at the Wynds FC:

I have just been privileged to see God's great work in Ireland....I shall give an account of it on Sabbath next. I am anxious that as many as possible should unite in prayer for a blessing that day....D.M'C. (20)

In M'Coll's absence, Horner from Coleraine had spoken at the Wynds FC conveying details of his native experiences. According to the SG, scores of people '...in great distress...' remained after the service:

Many were seen weeping...between fifty and eighty remained, when an invitation was given to anxious souls....some found peace....In the case of those individuals...conviction was not produced for the first time on the evening in question. The parties had for the most part been long anxious about their souls, and gladly embraced this opportunity of unbosoming their minds. Rev. Mr. Taylor of the Wynds Mission has now appointed a meeting with anxious inquirers.... (21)

The next day Horner addressed a gathering at the RIR and asked those present, '...to lift up their hearts in thanksgiving to God for the wonderful work He had begun in this city.' (22)

On Tuesday 26 July, Taylor described to those assembled at the RIR what had been happening in the Wynds FC:

For some time statements have been made to the people...about the work of God in Ireland, and these have always been listened to with attention. But matters did not come to what appeared to be a crisis till last Sabbath [24 July]. On the evening of that day, Mr. Horner... address[ed] our...meeting, which was attended chiefly by the mission people, but also by a number of the regular congregation. The meeting was largely attended...and the address of Mr. Horner must have taken effect....about sixty [anxious] persons waited [behind]....A similar opportunity was given to inquirers last night [Monday 25 July]. I saw that the people were evidently deeply affected....No fewer than ten persons came in in a state of conviction, and stating that they had been in that condition for months. (23)

M'Coll recorded that following events on 24 July the Wynds FC was crowded every evening with anxious inquirers and that he '...had only to declare open house for the future.' He described Sunday 31 July as, '...a day of blessing....' Thereafter the Wynds FC, whose congregation contained a large Irish element, continued to be thronged on a daily basis. An extensive eyewitness account of a meeting there is given in Appendix B. (24)

The next week the SG reported: '...in Mr. M'Coll's church... great religious interest continues to be manifested'. The same source added:

In this city....many remarkable cases of awakening have occurred in different districts....The Holy Spirit has been manifesting his gracious power in a remarkable manner...during the last few days....attendance[s] have been decidedly on the increase, and anxious souls frequently remain at the close of the services to seek counsel and direction....Christian men and women appear to be attaining to greater faith in the power of prayer, and petitions from Christian parents for their children, children for their parents, brothers and sisters for brothers and sisters, and friends for friends, have been becoming more common. The cases of awakening have occurred chiefly among the humbler classes of the community, but are by no means confined to such, and in most instances

their convictions of the guilt and danger of sin have been so broad and deep that either they have been unable to control their emotions in presence of others, or have only succeeded by a powerful effort of will which but intensified the inward struggle. (25)

A few days later it was noted:

...a deep and widely extended interest in Divine things has been awakened in connection with...the Wynds Church [where], as in other places..., prayer has been made without ceasing for a revival...ever since the hopeful news from America reached this side of the Atlantic.... (26)

After two weeks the Wynds FC apparently continued to be crowded every evening, mainly by inhabitants of the district. It was reported by the SG that on each occasion, '...very many remained...to receive the consolations of the gospel for their wounded spirits.' The number of district week-night meetings was also increasing, as were attendances. Sunday 7 August was described as: '...perhaps the most solemn occasion yet witnessed [at]...the Wynds FC. The services were crowded....Very many remained...in distress....' (27)

That same day revival was said to have begun amongst the congregation of Argyll FC, where Sunday evening revival prayer meetings had persisted since January:

There have been many signs of a gracious reviving work in this congregation....The first symptoms of the present awakening appeared on Sabbath, August 7th, when the minister, the Rev. Mr. Macdougall, gave a full account of what he had seen and heard during his sojourn of nearly four weeks in Ireland....The congregation in general is marvellously stirred up, so that fresh vigour, life, and anxiety are everywhere visible. Prayer meetings have been multiplied...and are numerous attended....Evidently the Holy Spirit is leading souls to Jesus.... (28)

Also by this time, the mid-day daily meetings at the RIR had become so popular that a second daily meeting had to be held simultaneously in a different part of the building. TR reported that these too grew, at such a rapid pace that within a few days the accommodation became inadequate and the Trades' Hall on Glassford St. had to be engaged as a second venue. Demand continued to increase and soon evening prayer meetings also became a regular feature. (29)

Meanwhile the Methodist meetings on Bell St. were, according to the SG, '...attended with much success in the conversion of souls.' Other meetings were convened on Castle St., and in the Mason St. and Norfolk St. Halls. (30)

On Thursday 11 August a revival meeting was held in the largest indoor venue, the 3,400 seater City Hall on Candleriggs St.: 'The Hall was densely crowded in every part, and many were disappointed of admission.' Those present listened to a deputation from the Irish Presbyterian Church who '...testified that the fruits of the movement had been hitherto all good, as manifest in the almost disappearance of drunkenness and crime, and the great diminution of prostitution.' The Rev. Alfred Canning of Coleraine assured his audience that, '...earnest prayers were every day put up for [thel] people [of Glasgow] by crowded audiences in the public hall of [Coleraine].' Ministers from Glasgow who had returned from Ireland corroborated the assertions of their

Irish counterparts who, the SM noted, had the previous day witnessed to a FC Committee of the General Assembly. (31)

On 15 August the NBDM contained an article entitled, 'Symptoms of Awakening in Stockwell FC.' This described events following the return from Ireland of the local minister, Jacob Alexander. He held a pro-revival meeting at which '...a great number...' remained in distress after hearing rousing accounts of his adventures and after he had, '...pressed... home the claims of the gospel...' and vividly described '...the awful doom...awaiting the impenitent....' (32)

About the same time activities increased at Somerville's Anderston FC, a prominent venue since September 1858. The minister conducted a meeting in the church every evening. Additionally there were district meetings convened by the congregation and spread throughout the city. As well as these it was reported that, 'Several...young men...hold prayer meetings of their own, and we understand that similar meetings are held by the females....' The meetings at the church itself were described by TR:

The exercises at all the meetings are varied and very brief. During the hour there is an exposition of a passage of Scripture, and prayers are offered. There is then half an hour for anxious inquirers at this meeting. The addresses are short and pointed, and specially intended to direct souls to Christ. Another half hour is spent in dealing more directly with anxious souls. Each is spoken to separately. Such as have recently found Christ remain to encourage each other.... (33)

The meetings at the RIR, the Trades' Hall and the Wynds FC continued to flourish as did the Wednesday evening gatherings

at the Mechanics' Hall on Canning St. where numbers expanded to such an extent that a larger venue was required: the nearby Great Hamilton St. RPC was secured. Meanwhile, the open-air meetings on Sundays at Glasgow Green which had previously attracted gatherings of several hundreds, now allegedly comprised, '...several thousands....' (34)

Although not meriting discussion at the ordinary Presbytery meetings of 3 August, by the 15th of the month the revival in the city was worthy of 'official' ecclesiastical consideration. A special meeting of the FCPG convened '...for the purpose of prayer and conference on the subject of the present religious awakenings....' It was agreed to submit to the next Presbytery ordinary meeting, '...for their adoption, certain resolutions relative to the appointment of prayer meetings...for...an outpouring of the Holy Spirit.' (35)

Meanwhile John Williams, the incumbent of the Baptist Chapel on North Frederick St., had visited Ireland and upon returning admitted to feeling, '...an unusual concern about the salvation of the people living in...the neighbourhood of...[the] Chapel....' He wished to promote '...not a Baptist, but a Christian, revival of religion...' and hoped to have the support '...of God's people of every denomination.' In furtherance of this desire he commenced meetings which were apparently popular. Of one on Thursday 18 August it was reported by the SG:

There was a great scene....In all corners...men and women, young and old, were crying and weeping for mercy, and out

of a great number who felt deeply what sin was, ten to twelve have found peace this morning in Jesus. (36)

Additionally, Williams enlisted the help of some of the young men of his congregation and commenced open-air services every night on Dempster St. and Little Hamilton St.: these were followed by meetings in the Chapel. It was claimed that through these services;

...the gospel has been made known to many who had hitherto been living in neglect of it; much spiritual good has been accomplished. The spirit of earnest attention was very marked at all the meetings. (37)

Williams continued to convene nightly meetings throughout the autumn and winter. These were allegedly characterised by scenes of great distress with tears and cries for mercy as the anxious struggled '...under their load of unpardoned sin.' Also by conversions as many were, '...brought to enjoy peace with God through faith in Christ Jesus....the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world.' (38)

A SG review dating from mid-August declared: '...the religious movement in Glasgow, Port Glasgow, and other parts of the West of Scotland, is making rapid and steady progress.' In another report the paper claimed that in the first three weeks of August 150 people had been converted in one, unidentified, district of the city. (39)

On the evening of 19 August the largest revival meeting to date was held on Glasgow Green. The SG asserted that about

20,000 people congregated for a meeting which commenced at 6.30pm and continued until after 10.00pm. (40)

TR reported of Russell's Lauriston Congregational Chapel, a longstanding venue for revival meetings, that the last week of August witnessed increased attendances. Meanwhile the Rev. William Rossborough reported of his East Campbell St. FC, a previously unmentioned location:

...the good work is going on with great vigour. Within the last eight days, we have had no fewer than thirty new cases of conviction, and almost all of them have found peace....It is a remarkable circumstance that all...were stricken down, and that all thus affected profess actually to see Christ before they find peace. What is more is that every evening the number of cases is increasing....Last night the number of new cases was eight....(41)

An eyewitness claimed that during the meeting he had attended at Rossborough's Church: 'All was quiet, but deeply solemn. There was not a word or tone calculated to lead to excited feelings....' Still he saw, '...six persons...stricken down and carried out to the school-house....' When he left, sometime after 11pm, '...the school-house was crowded, and praise and prayer were being offered...over the anxious.' (42)

Two weeks later TR confirmed that the nightly meetings in East Campbell St. FC continued, '...with unabated interest....' On each occasion, '...five or six persons [were] "stricken"...', even though, 'There is no excitement in the manner of conducting the services to account for these remarkable manifestations.' It was claimed that although some of those affected were already regular members of the congregation,

'...true...believers...whose graces are strengthened and their zeal influenced by this new visitation', that the majority were non-churchgoers. According to his diary the Rev. Mr. W. Murray Mackay, minister of Young St. FC, was an enthusiastic attender at the meetings in East Campbell St. FC: he attests to their popularity. (43)

On Wednesday 24 August another mass revival meeting was held on Glasgow Green. The NBDM reported that the objective was '...to engage in prayer for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit....' The paper went on to note:

...prayers and addresses were characterised by great earnestness, appealing chiefly to the wretched condition of the unconverted, and exhorting them to fly from the dreadful doom which awaited them by seeking the pardon of God. (44)

Estimates vary as to the size of the crowd - serving to warn of the need for caution in using such statistics. According to the NBDM, 15-20,000 attended. The SG considered the crowd to be about 10,000. (45)

At the Wynds FC the week-night meetings continued to be thronged, not only by members of the regular congregation and people from the Wynds district but also by commuters from other city districts and congregations. On Friday 26 August an estimated 100 people were described as '...crying and sobbing together....' The following Sunday, '...two hundred remained behind, professedly as anxious inquirers.' Meanwhile, outdoor meetings were conducted at various locations throughout the city including South-side Park and Glasgow Green. At the

latter, on Tuesday 30 August, an estimated 1500 people gathered - despite poor weather conditions. (46)

The events just detailed referred to adolescents and adults, however children were also allegedly affected.

In early August, '...the presence of some special influence was...sensibly felt...' at the Wynds FC Sunday School. Shortly afterwards it was reported that 30 members had been 'awakened.' The following year the Sunday School teachers expressed their '...thankful[ness] for the awakening among the children in August last, and for several successive months....' Records show that in the 12 months from March 1859 the Sunday School roll increased from 300 to 654. (47)

Also during August, it was claimed that of some 300 Sunday School scholars at Finnieston FC, over 100 '...remained for prayer and conversation...in anxiety about their souls.' At the Baptist Chapel on North Frederick St it was noted, 'Little boys and girls...have...been found among the anxious....' (48)

By the end of August revival had apparently taken root in Glasgow. TR asserted:

The interest in the Lord's work is deepening in this city. The prayer meetings are increasing in numbers and fervency. There is a spirit of inquiry abroad among the people which is truly encouraging. The out-door meetings have been during the past week attended by large numbers of serious, attentive hearers, and deep impressions have been made on several....the...[progress] of the revival movement here at present is very cheering. (49)

Summary Analysis.

Glasgow was a location where evidently a longstanding interest in revival prevailed amongst at least some of the populace. By 1859 it also had a concentration of prominent clergy, of various denominations, who were revival enthusiasts and in a juxtaposition to offer mutual support and encouragement.

The chronological narrative details that revival in the traditional sense can be dated from September 1858 with the emergence of revival prayer meetings spurred by intelligence from America. Numerous editions of the WJ corroborate the view that it was not until the second half of July 1859 that revival in the modern sense can be said to have commenced. For example, according to the first edition of November 1859: 'In Glasgow the work has been going on visibly for three months now.' (50)

Religious anxiety and a desire for revival had apparently existed in some quarters for some time. The conversions occurring in Ulster received wide publicity, heightening expectation and encouraging many local clergy to journey to the Province to witness events at firsthand. Within a short space of time towards the close of July and beginning of August, a number of popular ministers returned from their travels armed with a desire for similar happenings in Glasgow. Well publicised meetings to promote revival were held. At some of these gatherings local divines were aided by visiting Ulster clergy and converts. The meetings attracted large and

excitable crowds who responded to the appeals in the addresses they heard. Churchgoers and non-churchgoers alike, of all ages and both sexes were allegedly affected: the majority appear to have been from the lower social classes. Evidently some physical manifestations were present.

Although the centrally located Wynds FC with its popular pro-revival minister, established infra-structure, and informed congregation comprising a strong contingent of Irish extraction, quickly established a high profile, events were not limited to one church or denomination. Moreover, some form of 'cooperation' existed as evident in the formation and popularity of 'united' prayer meetings. (51)

By the end of August the movement was gaining momentum with more frequent meetings attended by larger crowds.

Footnotes.

- (1) v. C.G. Brown 1982, pp.419f.: v. *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, pp.483f.: Murray, Chp.5f.: Couper, p.118.
- (2) v. NBDM 25-8-59, 2/2; 1-9-59: SG 23-8-59, 3/1; 13-9-59, 3/3; 25-10-59, 2/1; 21-1-60, 4/3: GH 26-7-59, 3/1; 25-10-59, 2/6: Appendices C & D: Couper, pp.120,124,126: Ross in *DSCHT*, pp.83ff.,556,787.
- (3) v. SG 25-2-59, 2/7: WJ No.5, 29-10-59
- (4) v. SG 1-2-59, 1/1f.; 20-9-59, 3/1: WJ No.5, 29-10-59.
- (5) v. SG 7-1-59, 1/2; 22-2-59, 3/2; 26-7-59, 3/3.
- (6) SG 1-2-59, 1/2.
- (7) v. SG 4-1-59, 1/1; 7-1-59, 1/2 & 2/4f.; 11-1-59, 1/1f.; 13-3-59, 2/1.
- (8) SG 1,5 & 15-7-59, 1/1.
- (9) SG 1-7- & 8-7- & 12-7- & 29-7-59; 5-8-59: v. GH & NBDM for July & August 1859: WJ No.135, 26-4-62.
- (10) SG 1-7-59, 3/1f.; 5 & 15-7-59, 1/1: Bonar, p.200.
- (11) SG 12-7-59, 3/1f.; 26-7-59, 4/3; 22-7-59, 3/2; 12-8-59, 3/2.
- (12) SG 26-7-59, 3/3; 29-7-59, 2/7; 2-8-59, 2/3; 2-9-59, 3/1; 6-9-59, 3/2; 13-9-59, 3/2; 13-3-60, 2/6: WJ No.5, 29-10-59.

- (13) Ross in *DSCHT*, pp.83f.: v. Bonar, p.200.
- (14) v. SG 26-7-59, 3/3: WJ No.88, 1-6-61.
- (15) SG 26-7-59, 3/3.
- (16) SG 26-7-59, 3/3.
- (17) SG 26-7-59, 4/1.
- (18) GH 26-7-59, 3/1.
- (19) GH 26-7-59, 3/1.
- (20) WJ No.5, 29-10-59; v. WJ No.41, 7-7-60.
- (21) SG 26-7-59, 3/3f.: v. WJ No.41, 7-7-60.
- (22) SG 26-7-59, 3/3.
- (23) SG 29-7-59, 2/7.
- (24) WJ No.5, 29-10-59.
- (25) SG 2-8-59, 2/3 & 5: cf. TR No.3, 13-8-59.
- (26) SG 5-8-59, 3/1.
- (27) SG 5-8-59, 2/1 & 3/1; 9-8-59, 3/3: cf. WJ No.3, 15-10-59.
- (28) SG 23-9-59, 2/2.
- (29) v. TR Nos.5 & 6, 27-8- & 3-9-59.
- (30) v. SG 9-8-59, 3/3; 12-8-59, 2/1 & 5: TR No.5, 27-8-59.
- (31) SG 12-8-59, 2/5: NBDM 11-8-59, 2/7; 12-8-59, 2/4: SM 10-8-59, 2/2.
- (32) NBDM 15-8-59, 2/4: TR No.5, 27-8-59.
- (33) TR No.23, 31-12-59: v. TR Nos.8 & 23, 17-9- & 31-12-59: SG 9-8-59, 2/1; 20-9-59, 3/1: WJ No.27, 31-3-60.
- (34) NBDM 13-8-59, 1/1; 20-8-59, 2/3: v. SG 5-8-59, 3/1; 16-8-59, 3/1; 19-8-9, 2/7; 23-8-59, 3/1: TR Nos. 5 & 6, 27-8- & 3-9-59.
- (35) v. SG 5-8-59. 2/1 & 3/1; 16-8-59, 3/1: TR No.5, 27-8-59.
- (36) SG 23-8-59, 3/1: v. TR No.6, 3-9-59.
- (37) TR No.6, 3-9-59.
- (38) TR No.6, 3-9-59: v. WJ No.10, 3-12-59.
- (39) SG 19-8-59, 2/1; 23-8-59, 3/1: TR No.6, 3-9-59.
- (40) v. SG 23-8-59, 3/1.
- (41) TR No.7, 10-9-59.
- (42) TR No.7, 10-9-59.
- (43) TR No.9, 24-9-59: v. W.M. Mackay, pp.24f..
- (44) NBDM 25-8-59, 2/2.
- (45) NBDM 25-8-59, 2/2: SG 26-8-59, 3/1.
- (46) SG 26-8-59, 3/1; 30-8-59, 2/7: NBDM 31-8-59, 2/3.
- (47) WJ No.27, 31-3-60.
- (48) SG 26-8-59, 3/1; 30-8-59, 2/7: TR Nos.6 & 7, 3 & 10-9-59; v. WJ No.10, 3-12-59.
- (49) TR No.5, 27-8-59.
- (50) WJ No.6, 5-11-59: v. WJ Nos.14,40,45,52 & 148, 31-12-59; 30-6- & 4-8- & 22-9-60; 26-7-62.
- (51) v. SG 29-7-59, 2/7: WJ Nos.6,10,14,40,45,52,81,148, 5-11- & 3-12- & 31-12-59; 30-6- & 4-8- & 22-9-60; 13-4-61; 26-7-62.

Chapter Fourteen

The Period of Expansion

September to December 1859.

In its opening edition of September the SG declared: 'The... revival...is daily extending....' Glasgow City Mission concurred: '...it is evident that there is more than usual earnestness and anxiety in regard to...religious interests....' TR contended: 'The manifestations of a religious awakening are daily increasing in Glasgow....' (1)

These and the other usual newspaper sources reported that revival activity continued at all the locations previously identified. The daily prayer meetings at the Wynds FC were allegedly thronged and it was proclaimed, '...the awakening... appears to be on the increase....' Meetings at the RIR '...attract[ed] large audiences...', as did the overflow gatherings in the Trades' Hall. Williams claimed cases of conviction and conversion every evening at his Baptist Chapel although he refused to, '...venture to say how many have been really converted....' Somerville, whose Anderston FC had been visited by an Irish revivalist, noted intensified '...religious concern...' and reported the emergence of 79 anxious inquirers during September of whom 24, '...profess to have found the Lord.' In A.A. Bonar's Finnieston district, 'Large prayer meetings....are held almost every evening, and anxious souls continue to wait behind....' At the nightly assemblies in Rossborough's FC on East Campbell St. many were

allegedly, '...brought under deep conviction of sin...and afterwards professed to find peace in Christ.' Meanwhile on Glasgow Green meetings were multiplying, '...all of which were attended by numerous audiences.' (2)

New venues were also being added. On Hope St. both the Rev. Dr. Paterson's Baptist Chapel and the Rev. Duncan M'Gregor's Gaelic FC were engaged in revival activity. At the former, discourses on the revival in Ireland were given by the minister. At the latter, a Sunday evening revival prayer meeting commenced attracting an estimated 1,000 people. Of the Rev. Mr. D. M'Kinnon's Chalmers' FC on Govan St. in Hutchesontown, it was claimed that revival had commenced amongst both the congregation and the people of the district. Daily evening meetings also started at Hutchesontown UPC Mission, the charge of the Rev. Mr. J.S. Taylor. These were so popular that Gorbals Youth School had to be used as an overspill site. Meanwhile reports of '...earnest congregations...' emanated from Cumming's nearby East Gorbals FC and its mission stations and Sunday Schools where many were described as in near despair having been, '...for a considerable time under conviction of sin.' Thrice weekly prayer meetings were convened at both the Rev. Mr. David Mitchell's St. Luke's FC in Calton and the Rev. Hugh S. Paterson's St. Mark's FC on Main St. in Anderston, whilst twice weekly assemblies met at the Rev. Alexander Brown's Kingston FC, David Johnstone's Great Hamilton St.

Congregational Church, and the Southern Reformed Presybyterian Church. Numbers at all meetings apparently increased as zealous converts encouraged family, friends and colleagues to attend. (3)

As well as meetings held for the purpose of conviction and conversion, a number of lectures on the general theme of revival, together with perceptions of the present movement, were being given by various speakers throughout the city. Amongst them was Monteith who was promoting the movement in a series of discourses at his Hutchesontown EC. Having attended revival meetings in Ardrossan which led him to overcome his initial doubts as to '...the genuineness of...[revival] conversions...', he denounced, '...the judgments passed upon the movement by those who saw nothing in it but to condemn....' Monteith argued that only those who possessed '...a deep spiritual insight...', and who were '...capable of acknowledging the hand of God in those mysterious agencies which were sometimes employed in the conversion of sinners...', were competent to comment. (4)

Amidst all this activity a private meeting of the FCPG was convened on 7 September to consider the movement. It was resolved that:

- i. there should be a *monthly* meeting of the Presbytery, as a Presbytery, for the express purpose of uniting in prayer for the outpouring of the Spirit of God....
- ii. there should be a *weekly* public prayer meeting....
- iii. it be specially recommended to ministers and kirk sessions to take into their early and serious consideration the best means of deepening and

extending an interest in the congregational prayer meeting....

- iv. the Presbytery issue a recommendation to the members of the several congregations to form *fellowship* prayer meetings amongst themselves..., and, further, that it be a recommendation to the elders that they have fellowship prayer meetings among the people of the district.

The Presbytery prayer meetings were scheduled for the last Monday of every month, commencing on 26 September, whilst the public ones were appointed for every Monday at 3.00pm in the Rev. Dr. John Smyth's St. George's FC on West Regent St.. (5)

The abundance of revival activity inspired the editor of the SG to enthuse: 'The religious movement is rapidly extending....' TR concurred: 'The work of revival grows deeper and wider throughout...[the] city....' (6)

Although not formally considered at the UPPG meeting on 13 September, a 'conversation' took place about the revival and it was decided to obtain more information and convene another meeting for discussion before pronouncing a denominational opinion. At this meeting, on 19 September, the Rev. Dr. Robertson of Shamrock St. UPC outlined the progress of the movement and alleged, 'A spiritual interest in divine things from those previously careless of religion.' Those present unanimously agreed that the movement, '...was the work of the Holy Spirit, and that all Scriptural effort should be made...to promote it....' For this reason future conferences were scheduled for 26 September, and 3 & 10 October. (7)

At the first of these, reports were given of the '...greater earnestness and prayerfulness...' throughout the Glasgow churches. Caution was expressed about physical manifestations, and '...protracted night meetings...' were condemned as sinful, it being held:

...heads of families, and especially young women, ought to be in their homes by a reasonable hour, attending to the sacred duties there binding upon them at the domestic altar, and in the retirement of the closet. (8)

Notwithstanding the number of revival meetings in churches and halls, demand was apparently still not satisfied. From about mid-September reports emerge of a new development with additional meetings commencing at places of employment.

One of the earliest reports is of prayer meetings at the silk-spinning mill of Hay, Wilson & Co. at the Old Basin. Mr. D.H. Lusk, chairman of the meetings at the RIR, reported:

There is a great work going on just now among the workers....Mr. Hay mentioned...that, at the breakfast hour, a quarter of an hour was allotted to prayer every morning by his workers....I [attended one] and was surprised to see a large hall, containing at least 300 of the mill-workers, men and women, but chiefly young girls, all deeply concerned about the salvation of their precious souls, and many rejoicing in God. (9)

About the same time A.A. Bonar was asked to conduct one of the regular 30 minute meetings held during the dinner hour '...for the workmen of a large public work...' in Finnieston. On the opposite bank of the River Clyde, about 40 men of the Tradeston Saw Mills convened thrice-weekly meetings whilst in the east end at Bridgeton twice weekly meetings were held at a

large weaving mill employing some 900 women: '...some awakenings on each occasion...' were reported. (10)

As to who was being affected by the revival, at the beginning of September the SG accepted, 'The...many indications that the movement has taken root among the the masses....' Glasgow City Mission made corroborating claims. So too did TR which noted, '....no one can be brought into contact with...the humbler classes, without observing some indications of an unwonted exercise of mind on religious subjects....' (11)

Of specific locations, at the Wynds FC a noticeable number of those attending were recognized as commuters from outwith the wynds, many of whom were members of other congregations. 'The most notable feature...' was said to be '...the large proportion...' of anxious inquirers who were, 'Communicants and Sabbath School teachers from...[other] parts of the city...': '...men...many...well-educated...' were also identified as forming a significant percentage '...of those who have been brought under concern....' (12)

Of Anderston, Somerville asserted that men of all ages coupled with '...Sabbath School teachers and respectable church members...' were among local inquirers and converts. At Gorbals FC, Chalmers' FC and Hutchesontown UPC it was noted that revival had commenced amongst the congregations and the previously non-churchgoing people of the districts, and that many of the meetings were populated predominantly by very poor '...bare-footed and half-naked...' young women and children:

some young men were also present but '...very few...of middle age....' At East Campbell St. FC, lower class non-churchgoers were identified as the chief attenders, including a number of '...noted infidels...'; '...people attending the regular congregation...' were also recognized as among the convicted. On Glasgow Green some meetings were described as '...chiefly composed of the labouring classes.' The introduction of places of employment as venues for prayer meetings strongly suggests working class involvement. Scholars from the Sunday Schools of the Wynds FC, East Gorbals FC, East Campbell St. FC and Finnieston FC were also reported as affected. (13)

Throughout September TR recorded instances of physical accompaniments which it noted were generally condemned. The paper argued however that these, '...may be providentially ordered to produce an impression in quarters which might not be reached by other means.' Named venues included East Campbell St. FC and the Wynds FC. Of the former it was claimed that by the end of the month, 'The cases of prostration have almost disappeared....' At the latter a few instances were reported on several occasions throughout the remainder of the year. (14)

By the end of September all the meetings at the aforementioned locations were thriving. (15)

During October the movement continued to expand, mainly through the proliferation of revival assemblies at places of employment.

Railway depots and stations were particularly popular primarily because the hours and shifts railway employees worked prevented them from attending church-based meetings. At the Eglinton St. Station of the Glasgow & Paisley Joint Railway Co. a meeting was held on the evening of Monday 10th October when about 100 men assembled and resolved to establish a weekly prayer meeting: about 50 attended on each occasion. At the Glasgow station of the Edinburgh & Glasgow Railway Co., in the Goods Dept. of the S.W. Railway Co., and at the Caledonian Railway Co. similar weekly meetings began, each attracting up to 70 workers. (16)

In addition to the regular presbytery conferences October was the month during which the bi-annual synods of the FC and EC were held. Two special UPPG meetings were also convened exclusively to consider the revival.

On 3 October the UPPG endorsed the movement. The Presbytery recognized that as the existing daily united meetings in the RIR and Trades' Hall were held at mid-day, '...an hour when very few of the working classes can possibly attend', that there was a need to provide an alternative day-time meeting for their convenience. It was decided to approach the Glasgow Committee of the Evangelical Alliance to request that they establish and administer a united prayer meeting in the City Hall from 2-3.00pm each day. This was apparently a more appropriate hour for the working classes. A meeting with the

Committee to discuss the proposal was arranged for 17 October.
(17)

Meanwhile on 5 October the ECPG convened and acknowledged that the revival had '...for a considerable time [existed] in this city...' particularly along the banks of the River Clyde. Further discussion occurred but no formal position on the movement was adopted. Caution appears to have been the order of the day with numerous comments about unwelcome accompaniments, attention focusing particularly on physical manifestations. MacLeod was most positive:

I think we are bound, as ministers of the gospel, to look forward...not with feelings of suspicion, but with gratitude and hope, and to do all that we can to advance a work which hopefully promises to be a great work of good.... (18)

On 11 & 12 October the monthly UPPG and the bi-annual FCSGA and ECSGA convened.

At the FCSGA Buchanan read, 'An Overture Anent the Present Religious Revival' in which he acknowledged, '...a growing concern about Divine things...' amongst both '...the Lord's...own people...[and] many who were dead in trespasses and sin....' It was also claimed, '...there have been very few manifestations.' Buchanan proposed that the FCSGA:

...set apart a special diet...for prayer and conference... with a view to stirring up the members of the Synod themselves to increase diligence and devotedness and prayerfulness...to the helping of each other...in connection with the present religious awakening...and to promote and further this great work.... (19)

At the ECSGA the Rev. Dr. Hill recognized the existence of '...a stronger sense of religion than has prevailed during my lifetime....Everywhere the movement is talked of....' He called for '...the liveliest gratitude to God...[for the] awakening [of] many who were dead in trespasses and sins...', but warned, '...there are also things...which need to be guarded against....a great deal of what is human, much which tends to excite....' Hill proposed that the ECSGA:

...gratefully acknowledge the goodness of Almighty God... and humbly implore that He will be pleased still further to manifest the riches of His grace in the conversion of sinners, and to pour out largely of His Spirit....
...watch the progress of this religious movement....give all encouragement,...aid those...labouring under a sense of sin...and...check any extravagance. (20)

The Rev. Dr. Matthew Leishman of Govan EC, a prominent member of the Middle Party at the time of the Disruption, seconded Hill's proposal which was subsequently carried. (21)

On 12 October the UPPG met and unanimously agreed '...to acknowledge, with deep interest and gratitude, the operation of the Divine hand in this religious awakening....' As a measure of promoting the revival two Sunday evening '...praise and prayer...' services were commenced at the churches of the Rev. Dr. Robert T. Jeffrey and the Rev. Mr. William Burgess on Caledonian Rd. and Eglinton St. respectively. Interestingly, these churches were located close to the Caledonian and Eglinton rail terminals where prayer meetings for and by railworkers had already started. (22)

At the RIR on Monday 17 October the meeting was held at which the UPPG proposed to the local Evangelical Alliance Committee that they organize a daily united prayer meeting in the City Hall at a time convenient for the working classes. The Committee quickly agreed and the venue was subsequently secured. The first meeting was scheduled for the following Monday at 2.00pm. (23)

At the inaugural assembly the venue was described by the SG as 'crowded' with the galleries having to be opened to relieve the pressure as an estimated 2,000 people strove to gain admittance. Knowledge of the Hall's 3,400 capacity however, suggests that it was not quite so thronged as implied. Those attending included, 'A large body of clergy of different denominations...' and laity '...of both sexes and of various conditions....' It was observed however that '...the working classes did not appear to be largely represented.' Addressing the assembly, Symington of Great Hamilton St. RPC confirmed the evangelical nature of the movement and the ecumenism associated with it: '...all the evangelical denominations in the city have agreed about this one thing, the desirableness of an outpouring of the Spirit of God....' (24)

By the start of the City Hall meetings on 24 October the revival in Glasgow seemed to be progressing apace. Meetings which had commenced several months earlier continued to thrive and a constant stream of new ones was commencing, including a

men's Saturday evening prayer meeting in the Bridgegate School and the weekly FC public prayer meetings at St. George's. (25)

The level of conversions was such that one church elder proclaimed in the SG:

At the present time more people are seeking admission to the fellowship of the Churches than at any former period in this city. In one instance of a church, situated in one of the poorest localities in the city, over 130 persons are this week under examination for admission.... (26)

It was just at this point that a 'hiccup' appears to have occurred.

On Saturday 22 October a meeting which had been heavily promoted was held on Glasgow Green. Organizers '...expected a large multitude would be present....' The GH described the event as '...meagerly attended.' According to the NBDM, 'The meeting...proved a total failure....' The only reason offered was, '...the state of the weather, which was extremely cold....' (27)

Numerous newspapers testify that the weather deteriorated about this time. For example, the NBDM reported: 'Within the last few days winter, in all its severity, has come upon us....' It is quite possible therefore that poor weather deterred many from attending an open-air service. However, within a few days of the Glasgow Green fiasco news appeared of disappointing attendances at other meetings, which could not be so easily attributed to adverse weather. (28)

After the apparent success of the initial meeting in the City Hall numbers rapidly dropped - by 75% within the first week. The SG suggested: 'The severity of the weather, and the...[inadequate] heating apparatus in the Hall, sufficiently account for this.' However this explanation seems inadequate given that the venue continued to be filled by even larger crowds on several occasions each week throughout the remainder of the winter months for public lectures, concerts and soirees. (29)

At the UPPG meeting on 21 November, Robertson described the City Hall meetings as 'unsuccessful'. They endured for only a few weeks before being abandoned. (30)

The GH noted that substitutionary meetings with the same specific purpose of attracting the working classes began at the nearby Merchants' Hall on Hutcheson St.. At the same time those in the Trades' Hall were discontinued. (31)

The NBDM reported that the Merchants' Hall meetings also proved unsuccessful and were soon '...given up.' Only after this, on 5 December, were the meetings in the Trades' Hall '...resuscitated....' (32)

With respect to this activity the intelligence conveyed in TR and the WJ is misleading. Both papers report the commencement of meetings in each of the public Halls. However each omits to inform of the dramatic decline in numbers attending the City Hall, and also that the commencement of meetings at one venue resulted in the cessation of meetings at another. No mention

is made of the temporary termination of the assemblies at the Trades' Hall or the demise of those at the City and Merchants' Halls. The false impression TR and the WJ create is that all functioned concurrently and endured and hence that more large central daily prayer meetings operated than was actually the case.

Owing to lack of detailed intelligence it is impossible to determine exactly why the meetings in the City and Merchants' Halls failed to endure, however a worsening of the weather and inadequate heating does not seem sufficient cause.

Other revival events, however, were not wavering. At the RIR, in various railway depots, mills and work-shops, and in the districts of Finnieston, Anderston, the Wynds, Bridgegate, Calton, Hutchesontown and Gorbals, local weekly and daily gatherings continued unabated. The 'hiccup' perhaps only reflected over-ambition on the part of the organizers. (33)

On the 18 October East Campbell St. FC reported, '...nearly 100 new accessions...[including] sceptics and Roman Catholics....All...were very decently attired.' At the Wynds FC on 23 October there were about 150 new communicants, almost triple the number usually joining at that time of year. Approximatley 100 were deemed to be recent converts with the rest certified from other congregations. The latter group represented:

...more than had been presented [in aggregate during the entire] history of the Wynds Church. We believe that in every case, these certified communicants were urged to remain in the congregations with which they had been

connected, but as many profess to have found Christ in the Wynds Church, it is not surprising that they should adhere to their purpose of joining that congregation. (34)

Meanwhile A.A. Bonar asserted that at Finnieston FC, '...no week...passed since the beginning of September without awakened souls coming inquiring the way of salvation.' (35)

The Kingston Saw Mills was added to the list of work places where meetings were held when services were convened every Monday, Wednesday and Friday. These were allegedly '...attended by all the men...except...the Roman Catholics.' TR claimed: '...there are other prayer meetings in existence, or in prospect, in public works on the south-side [of the River Clyde].' (36)

At the end of October the Rev. Mr. George Blyth of Canon St. UPC stated at the RIR that he '...found evidences daily that God is now pouring out His Spirit on Glasgow.' (37)

At the ECPG on 2 November, MacLeod read a report on the movement which concluded: '...God is visiting his people with such an outpouring of His Holy Spirit as calls for thankful acknowledgement and praise.' (38)

M'Coll's editorial in the first WJ of November was devoted to a summary of the previous three months. It claimed that the movement was particularly prevalent amongst the poor, and exhorted the need for greater effort and enthusiasm especially from those '...professed believers who have hitherto been

looking on only to criticise, and not to help....' It continued:

In Glasgow...hundreds are known as marvellously changed, and some thousands have undoubtedly had a new direction or a greater impulse given to their thoughts and efforts as believers in Jesus. Prayer meetings are held in foundries and other workshops, in mills and warehouses, and railway offices; more women have been rescued from a vicious life in a few weeks than ordinarily in a year...; young men, the very chiefs of the devil's banditti, are now as active for Christ as they were against him; all this and more... has proceeded...in a few months, purely because the Spirit of God was there. (39)

During November revival meetings continued to proliferate and were extensively reported on, especially by the SG and the WJ. Students of Glasgow University began to meet on a weekly basis as did their counterparts at the FC College. Prayer and Bible reading classes commenced in connection with workshops on Buchanan St., the New Wynds and in the south of the city. A group of about 20 policemen commenced thrice-weekly services, whilst twice-weekly assemblies began amongst Post Office officials. (40)

Activities at the Wynds FC were reportedly thriving and continuing to attract 'Many from all parts of the city and suburbs....' In addition to the central nightly meeting in the Church about 30 others took place throughout the district each week. The Church premises were declared inadequate for all the work which was going on: '...[all rooms] are fully occupied every night of the week, and on Sabbath, from soon after 9 in the morning, almost without intermission, till ten or later at night.' (41)

At the UPPG meeting on 21 November the Rev. Dr. John Robson of Wellington St. UPC contended that there had been '...an extensive conversion to the truth as it is in Jesus of those who were formerly living without God...', and that there was '...an increasing desire for spiritual things and for the exercises of prayer....' He believed, '...the awakening has not yet reached its limits....' (42)

At the end of December the WJ declared that during the month, despite bad weather, '...meetings throughout the city... continue to be well attended.' Numerous reports from TR, the WJ and the SG corroborate. These cite examples referring to the assemblies at the RIR and to the Congregational, FC and UPC efforts in the Wynds, Finnieston and Anderston on the northern bank of the River Clyde and Gorbals and Hutchesontown on the southern bank. (43)

Summary Analysis.

From the amount of press coverage and the level of consideration given to the movement at numerous denominational conferences it would appear that revival was having a striking effect. The impression conveyed by the intelligence is of a city swept through by revival activity with an eruption of meetings in churches, public halls and places of work.

The movement received general endorsement even though all practices and accompaniments were not embraced. Concern was expressed about the propriety of protracted late night meetings and the instances of physical manifestations - which

were undoubtedly present but do not appear to have been a dominant feature.

The churches identified as venues for revival meetings suggests that although most denominations were involved the FC had the highest profile. The Wynds FC continued as the main focal point attracting commuters from other districts and congregations.

From the descriptions appearing in the press it would seem that male and female, young and old, educated and illiterate, rich and poor, were all influenced by the revival. Church members and Sunday School teachers are listed as having been affected, however there is a consensus among all the sources who comment that, to cite the SG, the movement was most prevalent amongst the '...humbler classes...chiefly those who are non-churchgoers....' The majority of revival meeting venues were located in sub-middle class districts. This would tend to support the notion of revival impact on the lower social orders. Moreover, the emergence of work places as venues for prayer meetings evidences working class involvement, just as the RIR and Trades' Hall meetings which were scheduled for the convenience of the middle classes supports the idea that the movement was also affecting, to some extent, these particular social groups. (44)

The failure of the meetings at the City and Merchants' Halls appear to have been isolated instances which did not reflect upon or adversely affect the wider progress of the movement.

Their demise did not merit examination or discussion at denominational meetings or in the press.

By the end of 1859 the overwhelming perception is of an influential and steadily growing phenomenon.

Footnotes.

- (1) SG 2-9-59, 3/1: TR No. 9, 24-9-59.
- (2) SG 2-9-59, 3/1; 6-9-59, 3/2; 9-9-59, 3/3; 13-9-59, 3/2; 20-9-59, 3/1; 4-10-59, 3/1: TR Nos. 7, 8, 9 & 23, 10-9- & 17-9- & 24-9- & 31-12-59: WJ Nos. 1 & 27, 1-10-59 & 31-3-60.
- (3) SG 2-9-59, 3/1; 6-9-59, 3/2; 9-9-59, 3/3; 13-9-59, 3/2; 20-9-59, 3/1; 23-9-59, 2/2: TR Nos. 8, 9 & 24. 17-9- & 24-9-59 & 7-1-60: NBDM 13-9-59, 2/3; 20-9-59, 2/2.
- (4) SG 13-9-59 3/2: cf. TR No. 9, 24-9-59.
- (5) FCPG 7-9-59, p. 239.
- (6) SG 9-9-59, 2/4: TR No. 10, 1-10-59.
- (7) UPPG, 331ff.: SG 16-9-59, 2/3; 20-9-59, 3/1.
- (8) v. NBDM 3-10-59; 12-10-59, 2/5.
- (9) TR No. 7, 10-9-59; v. TR No. 9, 24-9-59.
- (10) SG 4-10-59, 3/1: WJ No. 23, 3-3-60.
- (11) SG 2-9-59, 3/1: TR No. 9, 24-9-59.
- (12) SG 6-9-59, 3/2; 9-9-59, 3/3; SG 20-9-59, 3/1: TR No. 7, 10-9-59.
- (13) SG 2-9-59, 3/1; 6-9-59, 3/2; 9-9-59, 3/3; 13-9-59, 3/2f.; 20-9-59, 3/1; 23-9-59, 2/2; 30-9-59, 3/1; 4-10-59, 3/1: WJ No. 1, 1-10-59; No. 27, 31-3-60: TR Nos. 8, 9, 23 & 24, 17-9- & 24-9- & 31-12-59, 7-1-60: NBDM 13-9-59, 2/3; 20-9-59, 2/2.
- (14) TR Nos. 9 & 18, 24-9- & 26-11-59: SG 13-9-59, 3/2; 11-11-59, 2/7: WJ No. 1, 1-10-59.
- (15) v. SG 30-9-59, 3/1; 4-10-59, 3/1.
- (16) v. WJ Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6 & 30, 15-10 & 22-10- & 29-10- & 5-11-59, 21-4-60: TR No. 16, 12-11-59: WW No. 3, 17-10-62.
- (17) v. SG 6-10-59, 3/4; 25-10-59, 2/7: NBDM 12-10-59, 2/6.
- (18) v. SG 7-10-59, 2/3: GH 6-10-59, 2/5: NBDM 6-10-59, 2/4.
- (19) v. NBDM 12-10-59, 2/5: GH 13-10-59, 3/3: SG 14-10-59, 2.
- (20) v. GH 13-10-59, 3/3: NBDM 13-10-59, 2/4: SG 14-10-59, 2/7.
- (21) S. J. Brown in *DSCHT*, p. 478f..
- (22) SG 11-10-59, 2/7.
- (23) v. SG 25-10-59, 2/1, 4: WJ No. 35, 26-5-60. For a list of those present see Appendix C.
- (24) SG 25-10-59, 2/1, 4, 7: cf. NBDM 15-10-59, 2/3: WJ No. 5, 29-10-59. For a list of the some of the ministers

- present see Appendix D.
- (25) v. SG 11-10-59, 3/1f.: WJ Nos. 4 & 5, 22-10- & 29-10-59: SG 9-9-59, 3/1: FCPG 7-9-59, p. 239.
 - (26) SG 21-10-59, 3/1: cf. TR No. 15, 5-11-59. f
 - (27) GH 24-10-59, 4/5: NBDM 24-10-59, 2/3: SG 25-10-59, 2/4.
 - (28) NBDM 25-10-59, 2/2, 5.
 - (29) SG 24-10-59, 2/2; 28-10-59, 2/6: cf. GH 2-11-59, 2/3: NBDM 1-11-59, 2/3; 14-11-59, 2/2; 15-11-59, 2/2; 21-11-59, 2/2; 19-11-59, 2/2; 29-11-59, 2/2; 5-12-59, 2/2; 21-12-59, 2/4; 26-12-59, 2/3.
 - (30) v. SG 22-11-59, 3/2.
 - (31) v. GH 2-11-59, 2/3: WJ No. 6, 5-11-59: SG 6-12-59, 3/4: NBDM 23-9-59, 2/1.
 - (32) NBDM 6-12-59, 3/4: WJ No. 10, 3-12-59.
 - (33) v. SG 25-10-59, 3/1: 1-11-59, 3/2.
 - (34) SG 25-10-59, 3/1: cf. TR No. 16, 12-11-59.
 - (35) SG 29-11-59, 3/2.
 - (36) TR No. 16, 12-11-59: v. SG 1-11-59, 3/2: WJ No. 6, 5-11-59.
 - (37) SG 1-11-59, 3/2.
 - (38) v. SG 4-11-59, 2/3.
 - (39) WJ No. 6, 5-11-59.
 - (40) v. SG 22-11-59, 3/3: WJ Nos. 7 & 8, 12-11- & 19-11-59.
 - (41) WJ Nos. 9 & 14, 26-11- & 31-12-59.
 - (42) v. SG 22-11-59, 3/2.
 - (43) WJ Nos. 13 & 14, 24-12- & 31-12-59: v. TR Nos. 19, 23 & 24, 3-12- & 31-12-59 & 7-1-60: SG 11-11-59, 2/7; 15-11-59, 3/1; 25-11-59, 3/2; 16-12-59, 2/7; 20-12-59.
 - (44) v. SG 13-9-59, 3/2.

Chapter Fifteen

The Period of Consolidation

January 1860 - October 1860.

The New Year was accompanied by the continuation of revival momentum evidenced in the further multiplication of meetings, however a notable change in tactics was occurring as a new format for these was introduced. The centrally, 'committee organized' large assemblies already established and located in church and civic halls persisted, but no new ones commenced. Instead, there was a mushrooming of small district gatherings under the auspices of local churches. These were usually held in homes and referred to as Kitchen Meetings.

The growth of such assemblies was dramatic. For example, by March 1860 about 100 district meetings were being run each week in connection with the Wynds FC. In Somerville's Anderston district some 50 commenced. There was similar activity in connection with the Rev. Mr. D.R. Kilpatrick's Lyon St. FC. (1)

In Gorbals the same pattern was followed. A correspondent to the WJ testified: 'Among the many fruits of the Revival is the Kitchen Meetings. A number of these have been formed in our district. They are crowded every night....' The writer went on to claim, 'People are most anxious to have meetings held in their homes....' (2)

It was commonly asserted that young and old of both sexes attended such meetings, at which they invariably and exuberantly expressed joy at their salvation. It would appear that these gatherings were primarily intended for those who had already '...found peace in Jesus....' During the previous decade district meetings had already been established as a prominent feature of on-going mission activity and it may have been the case that these particular ones were being used not to extend the revival by seeking more conversions but to consolidate. They were run under the supervision of local churches and it is possible that they were designed as forums to teach recent converts the basics of the faith and to integrate them into Church life rather than as a method principally for the purpose of attracting the irreligious. (3)

At the end of January, M'Coll enthused in a WJ editorial:

This Revival is everywhere assuming the form of a great Home Mission. It is not merely that so many are meeting together for prayer; or so many giving their help to Mission Agencies already established; but that so many are now set to work at homes.... (4)

As to the more general situation Roxburgh, Convener of the FCHMC, declared: '...since August last a very remarkable work of God's grace has been going on in many of the mission stations in Glasgow.' He drew particular attention to East Gorbals FC, the Wynds FC and Chalmers' FC whose membership had increased by about 200, 180 and 86 respectively since the previous summer. (5)

In addition to these churches, intelligence reports from February, March and April contend that the activities of Lyon St. FC, St. Luke's FC, St. George's FC and St. Mark's FC were also flourishing. Prayer and inquirers' meetings were apparently popular, congregations supposedly displayed '...a spirit of earnest inquiry...and a deeper interest...in Divine things than formerly...', conversions were claimed from amongst both churchgoers and non-churchgoers, and it was commonly asserted that membership was increasing, although specific figures were not provided. (6)

Of other denominations, John Hay reported to the SG that the Methodists had recorded 761 people '...who had come forward, some inquiring the way of pardon, some the way of holiness....[Many] profess to have found "peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ".' (7)

Meanwhile Macrae's Gorbals UPC was also enjoying popularity. At the church annual soiree it was noted that '...over 100 new members have been added to the roll during the year.' On 5 April 1861 the Report of the Annual Meeting of the Glasgow UP Home Mission Churches confirmed the figure to be 105. (8)

It was also widely claimed that throughout the opening months of 1860 the revival continued to affect children. Activities at the Sunday Schools of the Wynds FC and St. Mark's FC were particularly highlighted. (9)

In March, the extent of the shift from large central meetings to small local ones can be seen in the decision to reduce the

frequency of the prayer assemblies held in the Wynds FC. These had been going on every night since July of the previous year. Now they were to be convened only twice a week, on Tuesdays and Fridays. It was emphatically stated that the reduction was not due to any '...falling off in attendance or success...', about 400 met regularly, but because of the proliferation of weekly local branch meetings which now numbered about 100. As to who was attending the Church and district meetings, an interesting comment was made to the effect that, '...the great multitude getting the blessing...' were not from amongst '...the neglected in the Mission district...' but from '...other parts of the city....' (10)

Of the Wynds FC and others such as East Campbell St. FC and North Frederick St. Baptist Church the impact of the revival continued to be well documented in the press. Anderston FC also retained a high profile with Somerville providing numerous accounts of activities in his district. For example, he informed a meeting at the RIR on 19 March: '...the work is still going forward. We have...our meeting every evening.... They are...well attended....' He claimed that since August 1859, 'A large number of individuals have...professed to find Jesus.' He also confirmed that about 50 meetings '...have been established and conducted by members of the congregation. They are scattered over the city, and are attended by a very large number....' (11)

With the advent of April the synodal and assembly season commenced and a number of contemporary assessments appeared. On 10 April the UPPG, ECPG and FCSGA convened. At the first two the revival was not considered, however at the last mentioned it was regarded as such an important single issue that it was agreed to convene in private session the next day '...to specially consider [it].' The meeting lasted for three hours. The following report by M'Coll, a leading Synod member, appeared in the WJ:

... from all quarters of the Synod, more or less, the most cheering statements were made of the progress of the awakened religious interest - that the work is much more extensive than the public is aware of - that, with comparatively few exceptions, those who were reported at the former Synod as making a profession of religious change continue steady, while there has been a vast increase since. There has been comparatively little extravagance, and the symptoms are most hopeful of a far greater work of God in the future.... (12)

On 17 April the following editorial appeared in the SG under the title, 'Home Missions: Lessons From Success':

Among the signs of the times there can be none more full of promise than the remarkable interest in divine things apparent in those classes of the community that a year or two ago would have been counted the most hopeless of all....

The power of God...has proved sufficient to awaken and convert many of the most desperate members of the class....Even where no decided conversions have taken place, there is more disposition, on the part of the masses, to hear the gospel....the tide of interest in divine things is higher than for generations past, higher, perhaps than it ever was before.... (13)

Towards the end of April, however, the first clear indications emerged that the revival was not as all pervasive as the narrative may have suggested. In its last two editions of the

month the WJ lamented that whilst, '...very many church members have shared in this time of refreshing...the great proportion of the church-going community have been...outside the work.' Although it was acknowledged that many congregations '...evinced a spirit of earnest inquiry...', with many others experiencing '...an undoubted though silent work of conviction and conversion...', it was asserted, '...the melancholy fact remains, that the great proportion of our settled well-to-do congregations have been as a whole unmoved....' Indeed it was claimed, '...so far from wishing a revival of God's work, many church-goers have done their utmost to quench the first appearance of religious earnestness....' No further details or comments are given. (14)

During May, at the RPCS, the FCGA and the ECGA no detailed news of Glasgow was conveyed. At the UPCS, however, the Rev. H.M. MacGill, UPC Home Mission Secretary, reported that '...a deep awakening...' had occurred in some of the denomination's congregations in the city. However a few sentences later he appears to contradict himself by referring to '...a partial awakening...' and to only one UPC congregation as having been 'deeply awakened'. Another is described as, '...healthful and improving....' Neither are identified but it seems likely that the 'deeply awakened' one was Gorbals UPC. (15)

Whilst the UPCS Home Mission Report implied a limited impact on the city's UPC congregations and the closing WJ editions of

April asserted that the majority of '...settled and well-to-do congregations...' were unaffected, the need for the FCSGA to set aside a separate day to consider the revival followed by its glowing report, together with the SG editorial of 17 April, seems very positive in respect of the general interest in matters of religion and of the revival within the area of the Synod. Notwithstanding the UPCS Home Mission Report and the WJ comments, the chronological narrative suggests that numerous locations in Glasgow were affected, a host of converts recruited, and that a number of churches had been, and were continuing to be, affected by the movement. These support the notion of an enduring movement which was continuing to advance. (16)

Whilst Couper, Bussey and Orr accept this view and focus on the large open air meetings on Glasgow Green, other primary sources suggest that during the summer of 1860 there was a decline or lull in activities. Fewer details emerge with news reports becoming less frequent and voluminous in all the papers, including the WJ and TR. Interestingly, it was at this time that the WJ changed its sub-title erasing any reference to revival. No longer was it '...a weekly record of revival...' but 'The Home Mission Messenger'. (17)

Of specific churches, the nightly prayer meetings at Anderston FC continued whilst at the Wynds FC the usual Sunday services and the Tuesday and Friday revival meetings endured. However, an hour before the Sunday meetings at the latter it was now

necessary for '...a large band of visitors...to sally forth and pick up as many idlers at home and loungers abroad as they can persuade, or almost compel, to come in....' Of the week-night gatherings M'Coll noted: 'For a few weeks past, we have had unmistakeable tokens of a fresh awakening....' These were identified as, '...an unusual solemnity....a deep impression....crying and sobbing aloud.' This intelligence is intriguing since conversions no longer seem to be a major feature. They are not included as '...tokens of...awakening....' Further, the aggressive tactics of the church visitors who '...persuade, or almost compel....' idlers and loungers to attend meetings suggests a rather different scenario than previously when the numbers attending meetings were so great that on occasion many were unable to gain entry. The fate of the district gatherings is unclear as no information about them is forthcoming. (18)

Meanwhile, the central daily meetings at the RIR and Trades' Hall persisted but only amidst waning popularity, with numbers attending dropping to such an extent that suspension was considered; however it was decided to persevere. The Committee behind these meetings also organized open air prayer meetings every Sunday at 6.30pm on Glasgow Green and South-side Park. These commenced on 10 June and continued throughout the summer but failed to attract the crowds or attention of the previous year. On a more positive note, a regular meeting was started on the same day in Parry's Theatre, soon to be renamed

Greendyke St. Hall. It was claimed that about 1,200 of the lower classes attended. (19)

On Sunday 24 June a major event occurred in Glasgow which may have proved a turning point in the revival if it had indeed been on the wane. The newly built Bridgegate FC was opened.

This event attracted such large crowds, an estimated 3,000, that an impromptu service was conducted outside the Church. Inside, '...about 800 sitters took their places, many of whom were recently brought to the Lord....' M'Coll transferred from the Wynds FC to the Bridgegate FC leaving his assistant at the former, the Rev. Mr. Howie, in charge there. (20)

The events of 24 June started a pattern of indoor and outdoor Sunday evening services at the Bridgegate Church which endured for 10 weeks before ending on 2 September. The open-air services, '...protract[ing] till a late hour...', grew to attract crowds estimated at over 7,000 and were apparently characterised by a '...solemnity such as has seldom been witnessed....Many...[give] evidence of deep feeling....' It was claimed that through these meetings many thousands of '...the poor, who would not or could not enter a church...' had heard M'Coll preach and that hundreds had '...come into the church after the sermons,...many having become changed persons.' (21)

Overlapping with this activity, the end of July was celebrated as the first anniversary of the commencement of the popular phase of the revival. The WJ declared, '...the great

work...has never ceased during the year...', however it was acknowledged that the movement had received, '...a fresh impulse with the opening of the Bridgegate Church.' The SG, in almost identical language, concurred. (22)

Significantly, however, apart from a flurry of publicity and excitement surrounding the opening of the Bridgegate FC little fresh revival intelligence appeared. Brief references to the Sunday assemblies on Glasgow Green and South-side Park and to high profile churches such as Anderston FC and the Wynds FC continued, but few other meetings were reported and no new ones were advertised.

Equally significant was the response, or lack of it, to this period of apparent relative inactivity. Although a lull appears to have occurred this does not seem to have caused any panic or soul-searching: it may even have been expected. It seems that it was recognized that the time of year itself had a negative effect upon meetings. For example, on 5 July, Somerville gave a lecture at the City Hall which was apparently full: '...a circumstance most unusual at this season of the year....' It was also suggested that the declining popularity of the daily meetings at the RIR and Trades' Hall was due to the summer season: 'The...[meetings] have not been so well attended during...[June and July], owing, no doubt, in great measure to the absence of so many families at the coast....' The SG and GH indicate that it was not unusual for meetings to be suspended or curtailed over the

summer and that this was not necessarily evidence of demise. Thus the hope was expressed that at the end of the summer, '...now that numbers are returning...the [RIR and Trades' Hall] meetings will soon recover their original extent and power.' Shortly afterwards the SG was '...glad to perceive some increase in...attendance...' but informed, '...there is still room for double the number that come forward.' Interestingly, it was only the relatively wealthy who could afford to retire to the coast for the summer: the masses had to be content with Glasgow Green. (23)

Summer distractions may have resulted in some meetings having been depleted, curtailed or even suspended, yet by the beginning of September there remained sufficient motivation amongst revival enthusiasts for the commencement of new meetings. These were begun on weekdays at the premises of Messrs. Barclay & Curle and on Sunday evenings, from 2 September, in the Joiners' Hall and at Glasgow Cross. It has not been possible to ascertain the popularity of these new meetings. (24)

In addition, passion and fervour was widespread and strong enough to contemplate large open-air services akin to those which had taken place the previous year on Glasgow Green, and which had already occurred during the summer in Aberdeen, Dundee, Huntly and Perth. They were to be organized by the Committee responsible for the central, daily union prayer assemblies. (25)

The Glasgow Green gatherings were intended to facilitate, '...union in Prayer for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the City and surrounding districts, and the Revival of Religion throughout the land.' They were scheduled for Wednesday and Thursday 5 & 6 September from 11am-4pm. The Greendyke St. Hall, located adjacent to the Green, was open for other meetings, mainly for inquirers. Evening assemblies in neighbouring venues including Bridgegate FC, the Rev. Dr. David King's Greyfriars UPC, Canon St. UPC and the City Hall were also planned, as were ones on the evening of Friday 7 September. On Saturday 8 September a large thanksgiving meeting was to be held at 7pm. (26)

The meetings were to be addressed by imported speakers including the laymen Radcliffe and Weaver and the Established clergymen, Aitken of Paisley and Smith of Aberdeen. Amongst local clergy the following were advertised as intending to take part: from the FC, M'Coll, A.A. Bonar, Cumming, Macgregor and Arnot: from the UPC, Macrae: from the EC, MacTaggart and Mitchell of St. Luke's: from the Congregational Church, Batchelor of Elgin Place Chapel, M'Cullum of Blackfriar St. Chapel and Johnstone: from the Baptist Church, Williams, and from the Episcopal Church, G.K. Flindt of St. Jude's. This list shows that ministers from a number of denominations continued to be involved with revival events. The list itself only partially represents those who actually participated. An open invitation was issued via press advertisements to,

'Ministers of all Evangelical Denominations, who sympathise with such a movement....' From the number of addresses given it would appear that many availed themselves of the opportunity to speak. Local laymen including Robert Cunningham, 'the Bridgegate flesher', also spoke. (27)

The WJ of 8 September (No.50) contained a special supplement providing details of events. The production of this could imply that the meetings had been well attended and 'successful' if their impact was such that news of them could not be contained in the usual publication. Unfortunately the supplement has not been preserved but a number of other sources are available.

Of climatic conditions one of the speakers, Gordon Forlong a FC minister from Edinburgh and avid chronicler of the movement, recorded: 'The weather...has been made by the Lord of the harvest suitable for the in-gathering of much fruit.' In respect of attendance figures estimates vary. The GH merely noted '...a few thousand...' as present. The SG reported 3-4,000 on the morning of 5 September growing to '...a low estimate [of] 6-7,000...' by the afternoon. According to the NBDM only about 1,000 were present initially with up to 15,000 later in the day. (28)

All the newspaper sources agree that more people were present on 6 September but only the SG provided figures. It claimed a minimum of 12,000 but added that if the people who '...came and went during the day...' were included, together with those

who only went to the Greendyke St. Hall or to the evening meetings then, '...probably some 20,000 souls heard the gospel....' Forlong, aware of this estimate, remained firm in the opinion that '...numbers never rose above 8,000....' (29)

Of the social composition of those attending there was unanimity. The GH, SG, NBDM and WJ all agree that the crowd was of '...a very mixed character...' composed of '...all grades of society....' According to the SG the audience consisted '...in almost equal proportions, of all classes...from the highest to the lowest - merchants, shopkeepers, tradesmen, labourers (many of them Irish), and many women....' The WJ recognized, 'Considerable numbers...of the church-going inhabitants...were present.' These were easily identified from the familiarity with the words and tunes which they displayed when singing and because they had in their possession personal or family Bibles. (30)

In addition to the activities on the Green there is a general consensus that throughout both days Greendyke St. Hall was thronged with inquirers. Forlong asserted: 'I can testify that souls in a right state frequented it, and numbers of ministers and others laboured all day...with anxious souls.' (31)

Of the evening meetings, Forlong, the NBDM and the SG each reported large crowds at Bridgegate FC and the City Hall. The SG described the audiences as, '...almost entirely composed of working men in their working clothes....' The paper claimed '...much impression was made...' at the former venue where

'...anxious sinners remained...all over the church....'
Forlong claimed that at the City Hall there were '...hundreds of enquirers....' Of the other two locations, Greyfriars UPC and Canon St. UPC, the NBDM noted that the former was only meagrely attended whilst the SG acknowledged that those attending the latter were mainly members of the congregation. (32)

The SG identified 'catholicity' as a 'prominent feature' of events. This was also recognized by Forlong: 'Pastors and preachers of all kinds manifested love, and told the same glorious tale to the crowds assembled.' According to the NBDM the 'glorious tale[s]' amounted to, '...discourses and prayers...characterised by earnest exhortations to renounce sin, and supplications for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit.' (33)

Of the speakers, Radcliffe and Weaver were the star attractions. The SG reported that the latter, in robust style, '...pointed out the effects of sin...', preaching on the 'hellfire' fate of sinners who remained '...unwashed in the blood of the Lamb.' Weaver also sang. The lyrics of one of his songs included the chorus: 'Only believe, and you shall be saved, And heaven be yours forever.' (34)

Reviewing events the Editor of the SG declared:

Seldom, if ever, since Reformation times has our city witnessed a more notable movement in the behalf of practical religion....Dead sinners have been quickened, and formalists have been awakened, general interest has been excited in the highest interests of humanity; and

some have, so far as man can judge, made the momentous change from death to life.... (35)

Radcliffe and Forlong were also enthusiastic. Both claimed large attendances and '...cases of deep conviction...', including some from amongst the Roman Catholic population. (36)

Although the events of 5 & 6 September were evidently regarded as successful it is interesting to note an additional comment by Forlong: 'Half the city was probably quite ignorant of what was taking place....' The WJ also made a statement which seems to suggest that the meetings made little impact on the general intercourse of the city. The paper found it 'strange' to witness the contrast between the '...soft strains...' of the psalms amidst '...the bustle and...din of a great city at work....' The singing was described as, '...born above the clank of hammers and the hoarse roar of interminable traffic.' (37)

While the meetings on the Green may not have greatly interrupted city life the SG contended they left a healthy legacy, '...a profound and general...concern about religion ...especially among the humbler classes....' The paper also recognized that open air preaching received '...a great impetus...from the events....' (38)

Towards the end of September, Forlong penned a lengthy report for TR on happenings subsequent upon the mass open air meetings. He claimed that the Bridgegate FC continued to

flourish especially amongst the '...poor people from the Wynds...', some of whom were thought to have '...found rest in Jesus....' Forlong also noted, '...blessed signs of the Lord's hand in Andrew Bonar's place of worship [Finnieston FC]....' He claimed, 'One or two of the more respectable class were amongst those who appeared to rest on Jesus....' In concluding his report Forlong stated: 'The Glasgow meetings show advancement....There are hundreds awakened just now...and the Christians are exceeding lively and zealous....' (39)

The WJ and the SG also contained positive reports. These noted that numbers attending the daily meetings in the RIR were on the increase, although still not to the levels of the previous year. In addition, thrice-weekly prayer meetings were reported as commencing at the Queen's Rooms in the West End. These reputedly attracted 3-400 people on Tuesday and Friday evenings with 2,000 on Saturdays. Additionally, a group identified only as 'young men' was reported to have begun prayer assemblies throughout the city, particularly in the Anderston and Cowcaddens areas. The WJ later confirmed these were '...well attended...' and that venues included the Victoria Hall, Buchanan St. Hall, Brown St. Hall, William St. Hall and the Joiners' Hall. (40)

According to the NBDM and the WJ, during September there was also activity amongst children with dozens being strongly affected. The Sunday Schools of East Gorbals FC and Bridgegate FC were focal points. On a single day at the latter, '...about

forty remained in distress....For about two hours the place seemed like a battlefield....[before] by degrees a change came as one by one obtained peace.' (41)

TR reported that on Saturday 15 September central united meetings for children commenced at M'Gregor's Hope St. Gaelic FC. Similar scenes to those described above were recorded and it was claimed, 'God showed his own Son's blood to many of those dear little ones, and they left us rejoicing.' The SG was more cautious noting, 'It is right to explain that many of the children appeared to [respond]...merely from curiosity, or because desired to [do so]...by their parents or guardians.' Of the situation generally TR concluded: 'During this season of Revival the young have been largely sharers in the blessing....' (42)

Given these numerous activities it is not surprising that by the close of September expectations remained high with the revivalists in confident mood. According to the WJ, 'There is a hundred times the stir now that there was a year ago.' It was believed, '...there is scarcely a corner of the city where the godless are now crowded that has not been stirred to think and speak about the one needful thing [salvation]....' The paper continued: 'Meetings for prayer are multiplied. There are now many noble witnesses for Christ who, twelve months ago, were serving the world....' It was felt that the time was right for further advancement. The opinion of M'Coll and his colleagues was that people were primed to respond: 'The

pressure upon men's consciences just now is extraordinary.' The great hope was that the approaching autumn and winter would be a time of preparation for '...a spring and summer such as this land has never seen.' (43)

M'Coll argued that preparation would mean, 'Our work...should be pushed on in all directions....' In particular he urged '...vigorous...visitation...', that churches be open more frequently, and that the poor and needy be '...expressly and urgently invited [in]...' without having to pay seat rents. (44)

Intriguingly, despite the optimism, after September details of the movement in the city rapidly diminish. Throughout October the only event which received any degree of attention was the visit to Glasgow of the famous Irish minister the Rev. Thomas Toye of Great George St. Presbyterian Church in Belfast. During the week commencing 15 October he addressed a number of meetings at the Rev. Mr. Meikeith's Brownfield EC on Brown St. in Broomielaw. There he gave accounts of the revival in Ireland. The next week he preached at the City Hall on Monday, Tuesday and Thursday 22, 23 and 25 October. All the meetings were reported as popular. The GH claimed that at the prayer meetings which always followed Toye's preaching, '...many were anxious and a number professed to have found peace.' (45)

The preacher, evidently buoyed by the response to his meetings, postponed his scheduled return to Belfast and instead conducted extra meetings in the City Hall, Brownfield

EC, Stockwell FC and Hope St. Gaelic FC. These extended through to the second week of November. (46)

From the lack of intelligence in the press it would appear however that, Toye's efforts apart, not much else of importance or interest connected with the revival occurred during October.

Summary Analysis.

In the New Year of 1860 revival activity continued apace with all the churches previously mentioned enjoying enduring popularity. However the large central meetings which had been so prominent during the previous months gave way to small local gatherings. Whilst attendances at the RIR and Trades' Hall declined and the nightly gatherings in the Wynds FC were reduced to two per week, by March several hundred district meetings were being held each week in homes throughout the city. It is possible that these were, for the most part, designed to consolidate, to maintain contact within their own localities of those already converted and to teach and integrate them into the Christian life rather than to advance the movement by seeking further conversions.

Church attenders and the irreligious of all ages and every status allegedly continued to be affected by the revival with 'the masses' in particular believed to be responding more positively than perhaps ever before. This did not necessarily mean, however, that they were converting, merely that they

were less hostile and more open to the advances of the clergy and missionaries.

Although the revival throughout the nation received much attention at the synods and assemblies of April and May, little intelligence of Glasgow appeared. Surprisingly, despite the support and efforts of the UPC to promote the movement, their city congregations showed little change with only one being reported as 'deeply awakened.' The first intimation of the movement's limitations appeared when the WJ expressed disappointment at the negative response of the majority of established and affluent congregations who remained uninvolved and unaffected.

The revival may have suffered a lull during the early summer when attendances declined and more aggressive tactics had to be employed to encourage people to go to meetings. If it did, it appears to have picked up again having received '...a fresh impulse...' not only from the opening of the Bridgegate FC and the enthusiasm accompanying that event, but also from the celebratory atmosphere at the end of July, which was deemed to mark the first anniversary of the commencement of the popular phase of the movement, and hence a time when the first converts would have been reminiscing. The apparent renewed popularity of open-air meetings would also have helped. Similarly the mass assemblies on Glasgow Green which were unanimously regarded as successful. At the end of September local revivalists remained buoyant, yet not much appears to

have occurred during October when little revival intelligence was reported.

Footnotes.

- (1) v. WJ Nos. 5, 9, 24 & 27, 29-10- & 26-11-59, & 10-3- & 31-3-60: SG 22-3-60, 4/1f.; 8-5-60, 3/2.
- (2) WJ No. 23, 3-3-60.
- (3) SG 10-1-60, 4/2; 1-2-60, 4/1: WJ Nos. 18 & 19, 28-1- & 4-2-60: v. WJ Nos. 16 & 17, 14-1- & 21-1-60: NBDM 10-1-60, 2/2: SG 12-1-60, 2/1.
- (4) WJ No. 18, 28-1-60: v. TR Nos. 3 & 30, 1-8-59 & 16-2-60: SG 2-8-59.
- (5) SG 11-2-60, 4/3; v. SG 31-3-60, 2/7.
- (6) SG 9-2-60, 4/2; 23-2-60, 3/3 & 4/1; 15-3- & 22-3-60, 2/1 & 3/3; 24-3-60, 4/1; 21-4-60, 2/4: TR No. 32, 3-3-60: WJ No. 27, 31-3-60: NBDM 21-4-60, 4/3.
- (7) SG 21-1-60, 4/3; 28-1-60, 4/1: v. TR No. 7, 10-9-59.
- (8) GH 1-3-60, 2/2: SG 3-3-60, 2/6; 7-4-60, 3/3f.: NBDM 6-4-60, 2/4.
- (9) WJ Nos. 20, 22, 24 & 27, 11-2- & 25-2- & 10-3- & 31-3-60: NBDM 16-1-60, 2/3.
- (10) WJ Nos. 24 & 27, 10-3- & 31-3-60: v. SG 22-3-60, 4/1.
- (11) SG 22-3-60, 4/1f.: WJ No. 27, 31-3-60.
- (12) WJ No. 29, 14-4-60: v. SG 12-4-60, 2/1, 4/1: NBDM 13-4-60, 2/3.
- (13) SG 17-4-60, 2/6f..
- (14) WJ Nos. 30 & 31, 21-4- & 28-4-60.
- (15) SG 15-5-60, 2/4 & 7; 17-5-60, 2/5; 19-5-60, 4/1: cf. SG 7-4-60, 3/3f.: 25-5-60, 2/6: v. WJ No. 35, 26-5-60: NBDM 6-4-60, 2/4: 18-5-60, 1/4f. & 2/3.
- (16) v. SG 7-6-6-0, 2/1.
- (17) v. Couper, 138f.: Bussey, 97: Orr, 62: WJ Nos. 38, 52 & 152, 9-6- & 22-9-60 & 23-8-62: SG 26-6-60, 3/1: cf. WJ Nos. 33-45 & TR Nos. 33-57 - May-August 1860.
- (18) WJ No. 40, 30-6-60: SG 16-6-60, 4/1; 26-6-60, 3/1; 2-8-60, 4/1; 16-11-60, 3/2: NBDM 27-6-60, 4/3: TR No. 49, 30-6-60: cf. WJ Nos. 24 & 39, 10-3- & 23-6-60.
- (19) v. SG 5-5- & 12-6-60, 3/2; 4-8-60, 3/1: WJ No. 38, 16-6-60.
- (20) WJ No. 40, 30-6-60: cf. SG 26-6-60, 2/7: NBDM 25-6-60, 2/3: GH 25-6-60, 4/4.
- (21) SG 31-7-60, 2/6: WJ No. 49, 1-9-60: v. SG 2-8-60, 4/1: WJ No. 45, 4-8-60: NBDM 13-8-60, 2/3: TR No. 57, 25-8-60.
- (22) WJ No. 45, 4-8-60: SG 2-8-60, 4/1.
- (23) WJ No. 42, 14-7-60: SG 4-8-60, 3/1; 14-8-60, 4/5; 5-1-61, 3/3: GH 13-6-61, 3/3.
- (24) v. SG 6-9-60, 2/7: WJ Nos. 52 & 153, 22-9-60 & 30-8-62.
- (25) v. SG 11-8- & 14-8- & 18-8- & 23-8- & 28-8- & 30-8-60: GH 21-8-60, 2/6: WJ Nos. 45 & 49, 4-8- & 1-9-60: TR Nos. 54, 55, 59 & 60, 4-8- & 11-8- & 8-9 & 15-9-60.

- (26) WJ No. 49, 1-9-60: TR No. 59, 8-9-60: SG 30-8-60, 3/3: NBDM 31-8-60, 2/2.
- (27) v. SG 1-9-60, 1/1, 3/1: TR No. 60, 15-9-60.
- (28) TR No. 60, 15-9-60: GH 6-9-60, 2/7: SG 6-9-60, 3/3: NBDM 6-9-60, 2/2.
- (29) SG 8-9-60, 2/7: TR No. 60, 15-9-60.
- (30) GH 6-9-60, 2/7: SG 6-9-60, 3/3; 8-9-60, 2/7; 11-9-60, 1/7: NBDM 6-9-60, 2/2: WJ No. 52, 22-9-60.
- (31) TR No. 60, 15-9-60: v. SG 8-9-60, 2/7: NBDM 6-9-60, 2/2.
- (32) SG 8-9-60, 2/7: NBDM 6-9-60, 2/2: TR No. 60, 15-9-60.
- (33) SG 6-9-60, 3/3; 11-9-60, 2/5: NBDM 6-9-60, 2/2: GH 6-9-60, 2/7: TR No. 60, 15-9-60.
- (34) SG 6-9-60, 3/3; 8-9-60, 2/7: GH 6-9-60, 2/7; 7-9-60, 5/1: TR No. 60, 15-9-60.
- (35) SG 11-9-60, 2/5.
- (36) WJ Nos. 51 & 52, 15-9- & 22-9-60: TR No. 60, 15-9-60.
- (37) TR No. 60, 15-9-60: WJ No. 52, 22-9-60.
- (38) SG 11-9-60, 4/2: v. NBDM 12-9-60, 4/3: GH 11-9-60, 2/5f.: WJ No. 51, 15-9-60.
- (39) TR No. 61, 22-9-60: v. WJ Nos. 52, 53, 56 & 58, 22-9- & 29-9-60, 20-10- & 3-11-60: SG 11-9-60, 4/2; 13-9-60, 4/2; 20-10-60, 2/1, 3/1: cf. WJ No. 51, 15-9-60.
- (40) SG 11 & 13-9-60, 4/2; 20 & 22-9-60, 4/1; 2-10-60, 4/1; 27-11-60, 4/2; 5-1-61, 4/2: WJ Nos. 51, 52, 63 & 73, 15-9- & 22-9-60, 12-1- & 16-2-61: TR No. 61, 22-9-60.
- (41) NBDM 14-9-60, 2/3: WJ No. 53, 29-9-60: v. TR No. 60, 15-9-60.
- (42) TR Nos. 60 & 61, 15-9- & 22-9-60: SG 11-9-60, 4/1: v. WJ No. 51, 15-9-60.
- (43) WJ Nos. 52 & 53, 22-9- & 29-9-60.
- (44) WJ Nos. 52 & 55, 22-9- & 13-10-60.
- (45) SG 27-10-60, 4/2: GH 16-10-60, 2/3: cf. NBDM, 26-10-60, 2/3: v. WJ Nos. 57 & 58, 27-10- & 3-11-60: Orr, pp. 45, 48.
- (46) v. SG 22-11-60, 4/1.

Chapter Sixteen

The Period of Initial Decline

November 1860 - February 1861.

From the beginning of November the amount of revival news further diminished. No detailed intelligence of activities or responses in Glasgow emanated from any of the primary sources. Only vague comments appeared of which the following, from the SG, was typical: 'The awakening in Glasgow appears to be very general....' Such comments are especially striking when compared with the extensive and specific press coverage of the previous 12 months when dates, times, locations, speakers and frequency of meetings were given, often followed up by reports on the duration of the assemblies, the content of discourses, estimates of the size of audiences and descriptions of their composition. Even a return visit to the city by the popular Radcliffe was ignored by local sources. It is only known about because of a solitary reference in the London-based TR. (1)

The only point of note during November-December was the following advertisement which appeared in the final 1860 edition of the WJ:

Great New-Year's Gathering

Another Revival prayer meeting will be held in the City Hall on 3rd January, 1861. Service to commence at Half-past seven. Michael Rowan Esq., in the Chair.

All who take a special interest in this Great Revival Movement, are specifically invited to attend, to unite in thanking the Lord for His goodness in visiting our City and Land, with an outpouring of His Spirit in the closing year, and also to plead for a large blessing on 1861. (2)

Interestingly, the organizers of this meeting were not the prominent church leaders in the vanguard of the movement in the city, men such as M'Coll, Buchanan, Somerville and A.A. Bonar, but the somewhat mysterious band only ever referred to as 'the young men' who, in September, had been responsible for commencing a number of weekly prayer meetings throughout the city. For these enthusiasts the revival, 'this...Great Revival', was still very much in force and they were looking forward to its continuance. (3)

The 'Great...Gathering' itself was less than successful. Although the audience was described as '...very attentive and apparently devout...', the City Hall was only about two thirds full with just over 2,000 present. Given the thanksgiving and celebratory nature of the meeting together with the lack of any alternative, it is significant that one centrally located venue could not be filled. The numbers attending did not compare favourably with attendances at the same venue during the previous year and was considered by the organizers as disappointing. The event was ignored by all the press except the SG which noted that the Chairman, '...judiciously brought the proceedings to a close at an earlier hour than usual...', about 10.00pm. Why this was considered a 'judicious' act is unexplained, however the duration of about two and a half hours was short compared to the length of earlier meetings many of which had extended late into the night or through to the early hours of the following morning. It is also

significant that it was 'the young men' who occupied the platform and provided the majority of the speakers. What is intriguing for such an event is the absence of any of the famous Glasgow ministers who were intimately involved with the movement and who seemed never to pass up on an opportunity to preach. (4)

The 7-14 January was designated by the Evangelical Alliance as a special week of prayer for the revival. Extra daily meetings were convened nationwide to facilitate this. In Glasgow such assemblies were held throughout the city but failed to spark popular support. Press coverage was sparse with attendances reported as poor. (5)

Throughout January snippets of information appeared in the press about activities at various locations including the Greendyke St. Hall, the Queen's Rooms and Stockwell FC. These venues continued to hold meetings although numbers attending or descriptions of events are not forthcoming. Noticeably, the word 'revival' is absent from all the reports. The movement was also ignored by the local Presbyteries where it was no longer a subject of discussion. (6)

February witnessed a meagre increase in intelligence but only Brownfield EC, Bridgegate FC, and the various meetings '...conducted by [the] young men...', are reported as thriving. The fate of the multitude of district meetings is unknown as they had not be commented upon for many months. (7)

Summary Analysis.

During November and December 1860 and January 1861 no sources explicitly admit that the revival was declining. Nevertheless, the diminishing intelligence and falling numbers of prayer requests, letters and advertisements, coupled with shrinking attendances, suggest this. It would seem that the hectic activity associated with the apparent constant fervour of earlier months had to some degree abated.

In mid-February the WJ finally conceded, 'What may be called the novelty of the revival has now somewhat subsided in this city.' The paper went on to assert, however, '...there is, we believe, as great, if not a greater work going on now than was eighteen months ago, though in a quiet manner.' (8)

Footnotes.

- (1) SG 10-11-60, 4/1; 24-11-60, 4/2: v. NBDM 23-11-60, 2/3; TR No. 66, 27-10-60.
- (2) WJ No. 66, 29-12-60.
- (3) v. WJ Nos. 52 & 68, 22-9-60 & 12-1-61.
- (4) SG 5-1-61, 4/2: cf. WJ No. 68, 12-1-61.
- (5) v. SG 10-1-61, 2/4; 18-5-61, 2/3.
- (6) v. NBDM 11-1-61, 2/3; 22-1-61, 2/3; 2-2-61, 4/4: WJ No. 70, 26-1-61; SG 26-1-61, 4/1.
- (7) v. WJ No. 73, 16-2-61: cf. SG 7-2-61, 4/3: NBDM 7-2-61, 2/2; TR No. 81, 9-2-61.
- (8) WJ No. 73, 16-2-61.

Chapter Seventeen

The Period of Recovery & Recession

March - August 1861.

Shortly after the WJ admitted that the 'novelty' of the revival had abated and that things had quietened down, the young American preacher E.P. Hammond arrived in Glasgow. He had spent the previous months in the Borders, based in Dumfries, where he had been addressing increasingly enthusiastic revival meetings. His exploits attracted great attention and were extensively reported in the press, especially by the SG. By the time he appeared in Glasgow he was arousing much interest and enjoying a growing reputation as a revival preacher. (1)

Hammond had been specially invited to the city by the local revivalists to address a number of meetings. His arrival was highly publicised. As early as 5 February it had been predicted and by the end of that month advertisements promoting his meetings were in virtually every edition of all the major local newspapers. The advertisements themselves are interesting. Initially they gave the necessary information stating day, time, place and informing that Hammond would speak. Invariably the location was printed in capital letters. By the beginning of March the format had changed so that the most conspicuous part of the notice was Hammond's name which was not only in capital letters but bold print. Also noteworthy is the presence in Glasgow of the renowned C.H.

Spurgeon. His meetings were also advertised but Hammond's advertisements were given more prominence appearing above the Englishman's. (2)

The American's initial engagement was at a prayer meeting in the Queen's Rooms on Wednesday 20 February. The WJ noted, 'On the platform and in the hall we observed a number of the ministers of the city.' Hammond's popularity and drawing power was clearly recognized: 'The prayer meeting...was attended by about 800 - attracted by E.P. Hammond.' The following Sunday 24 February he preached morning and evening at Buchanan's Free College Church. After the main addresses Buchanan, '...urged upon every one concerned to take advantage of the inquiry meeting....' About a dozen did so, mostly 'godly ladies' or young men described as, '...thoroughly read in Scripture, and assenting to all the truths of the religion....' These inquirers apparently '...complained of coldness of heart.' (3)

During his visit Hammond had a daunting schedule addressing several meetings each day. As well as the Queen's Rooms and the Free College Church, venues included Ewing Place Independent Chapel, St. Mark's FC, the Rev. Henry Anderson's Partick FC, Bridgegate FC, Hope St. Gaelic FC, Pollock St. UPC and Brownfield EC. Although working throughout the city it seems that he was imported particularly to target the affluent West End, renowned as a place where '...there is much spiritual coldness....' The SG reported, 'The...well-known evangelist...[is to] deliver a series of addresses in the West

End...with a view to awaken a deeper interest in the religious movement now being carried on....' Evidently an attempt was being made to utilize Hammond's fame in the promotion of the revival. This tactic would appear to have been successful because all the meetings Hammond addressed were reported as exceedingly popular and well attended. He continued working in the city until the end of February when he returned to Dumfries. (4)

After his initial foray the SG reported:

E.P. Hammond...has been addressing revival meetings in Glasgow for the last ten days with manifest tokens of a blessing....[he] and those...labouring with him, have an arduous task before them, in seeking to interest the fashionable population in the West End...but we are glad to learn that, even among this class who most hardly enter into the kingdom of Heaven, there have not been wanting during this past week, what genteel worldly circles would call the extravagance of excitement about religion. (5)

Within a few days Hammond had returned to Glasgow. He continued with speaking engagements throughout March revisiting on numerous occasions the locations previously listed. To these he added East Gorbals FC, Anderston FC, the Rev. Mr. George G. M'Leod's Duke St. FC, the Rev. Hugh Macdougall's Milton FC on Rose St. Garnethill, Blackfriar St. Baptist Chapel, Eadie's Cambridge St. UPC as well as the City Hall. These venues reputedly continued to be thronged by crowds attracted by the American: anxious inquirers were reported at each. (6)

On 21 March the NBDM observed:

At present the revival...in Glasgow is attracting considerable attention and causing some stir. It has been going on less or more...during the winter; but in the last few weeks Mr. E. Payson Hammond...[has] come among us, and crowds have gone to hear [his]....address[es]...every[day].... (7)

A couple of days later the SG concurred. (8)

The interest generated by Hammond persisted. Numerous reports of his activities appeared in the press, especially the WJ, SG and NBDM. The venues where he preached were allegedly packed. He is said to have spoken '...with terrible impressiveness... of the awful condition of the lost in hell.' It was repeatedly claimed that after his addresses, 'There were many inquirers, of every age and sex, some of whom seemed to depart rejoicing, after passing through depths of distress....' This response may have had something to do with Hammond's habit of '...station[ing himself] at the door "beseeching" people as they left.' (9)

Although during this visitation Hammond preached mainly to adults he also addressed children for whom a number of meetings had been specially convened. These were also popular. The content of his talks did not differ regardless of whom he addressed. (10)

Hammond's enterprises extended into April. On Tuesday 9 inst. he delivered the last sermon of his Glasgow campaign in the Free College Church which was described by the SG as '...unusually crowded....' As was the trend, 'Numbers waited to the inquiry meeting...many in deep distress.' After this,

the preacher retired to Italy to recuperate from impaired health. (11)

A notable feature throughout this hectic period is that the majority of those affected and anxious appear to have been existing church members or attenders. This opinion is reflected in the claim of TR: 'Inroads have been made on existing bodies of the church....' (12)

A number of reviews appeared praising Hammond's efforts and outlining the current situation in the city. According to the last WJ of March:

The Revival in Glasgow has received a great impulse from the visit of Mr. Hammond....One thing of vast importance he has achieved...is opening new centres of power in the city, and securing the co-operation of men in the ministry and out of it, who come to the work with fresh resources. With such an enlarged basis of operations, and such an increasing band of enthusiastic volunteers, it should not be difficult, by God's blessing, if not to take the city, at least to take its strong places, from which an effective evangelism may seize on the population in detail. (13)

The SG was equally enthusiastic. It noted the participation of the wealthier classes but stressed the diverse social blend of those attending Hammond's meetings: '...they are emphatically a *mixed multitude*; rich and poor meet together.' The paper continued to recognize that it was the man himself who was the main attraction: it was Hammond '...who induced the multitudinous assembl[ies].' (14)

In its first edition of April the WJ reported that the revival was, '...spreading rapidly in Glasgow....' Indeed the paper

reported, 'The...awakening...has now reached such a crisis that....the work has...become too great to be borne alone by those engaged in it....' To address the situation the local revivalists issued invitations to, '...gentlemen of various denominations throughout the country, who have...[been] active...in their own locality...in revival work, to give immediate assistance.' A few weeks later it was reported that Forlong, Williamson of Huntly, Duncan Mathieson '...and others, have been rendering valuable assistance....' (15)

TR concurred with local reports and identified all the usual venues as heavily involved. It claimed '...a large increase...' in revival activity and noted, 'The awakening is spreading to the suburbs.' Intriguingly, it also noted: 'The churches are beginning to recognise that the Revival is a fact in the city....' St. Mark's FC was especially highlighted:

So numerous have the awakenings been in this congregation, that it has been said that unless others are brought in, the work must cease. Of that, however, there is but little fear, as it is well known that not only have most of the churches in Glasgow reaped fruit from the few places where prayer-meetings have been held during the last two years, but it has been repeatedly stated in public, by those who have had opportunities of knowing, that over all Scotland there are many who thank God for the blessings they have received at the Revival meetings in Glasgow. (16)

From this intelligence it would appear that the month of March marked something of a turning point for the movement. For months previously intelligence had been sparse but in March coverage not only increased substantially but was also much more positive, at least in the SG and WJ. Yet it is notable

that details focused very much on Hammond and the meetings in which he participated. What happened at venues and meetings he did not attend and address is uncertain because no information about them is forthcoming. Significantly, following Hammond's departure to Italy, revival intelligence once more diminished. Nevertheless, Hammond undoubtedly succeeded in generating an upsurge of interest and enthusiasm in the revival. This was manifest not only in the proliferation of meetings at a number of different venues, a fact even recorded in the GH, but also from the renewed attention the movement received from the various ecclesiastical bodies. (17)

Although the April meeting of the ECSGA did not consider recent events the monthly UPPG and FCPG did. The former discussed '...[at] length...the great religious movement now going on....' (18)

Alexander summarized the general perception of the FCPG:

...during the last three weeks the good work has assumed quite a new aspect...Formerly the religious awakening in Glasgow...[was] local, and confined almost exclusively to the humblest and poorest classes, but now it is a vast general religious movement, such as [has]...never [been] seen before, extending to all ranks, even to the wealthiest and the best educated in the West End... chiefly owing, under God, to that interesting and gifted stranger, Mr. Hammond, who has come lately among [us]... eminently owned of the Lord, especially among the more refined and educated circles. (19)

Everyone who spoke at the FCPG concurred, including Buchanan, the Rev. Dr. James Henderson of St. Enoch's FC, and the Rev. Dr. John G. Lorimer of St. David's FC on Frederick St.. (20)

For both the FCPG and UPPG the recent advancement of the revival was such that it could not be ignored. Hammond's contribution was also readily acknowledged. However, the presbytery proceedings and the newspaper reviews also highlighted the limitations of the movement. This had first been mentioned a year previously when in April 1860 the WJ asserted that whilst some church-goers had been affected the majority of '...settled well-to-do congregations have been as a whole unmoved....' Only in March/April 1861 was this comment elaborated upon and it was admitted that the revival was localised within Glasgow rather than permeating throughout it. In particular the movement had failed to penetrate the entrepreneurial western environs having been confined mainly to the lower classes and their neighbourhoods to the centre and east of the city. (21)

This was finally explicitly acknowledged by the WJ, which nevertheless claimed that although the movement was restricted geographically;

In so far as individuals were concerned, it was not local....They came from the east and...west, the north and...south, till in many districts of the city far from the locality where the blessing was received converts could be counted by scores, in two or three districts by hundreds. (22)

During April, revival activity continued. The WJ was '...glad to know that...in all parts...' of the city '...nightly union meetings are to be held in addition to those which have been already established...': it concluded, '...the movement

spreads.' The following week the SG noted that various UPCs had recently opened '...throughout the city...', including Duke St. UPC (Rev. J.B. Johnston's), Eglinton St. UPC (Rev. W. Burgess's), Wellington St. UPC (Rev. Dr. Robson's), Anderston UPC (Rev. J.L. Aikman's) and Gillespie St. UPC (Rev. Mr. Borland's). The paper reported that attendances at all of these, and at the other meetings, had been 'most gratifying.' In particular it highlighted Anderston FC, St. Enoch's FC, Duke St. UPC and Eglinton St. UPC where numbers at each meeting were said to average 700. The SG also reported that the meetings at the Rev. Dr. Miller's St. Matthew's FC '...have been well attended...' and that Ewing Place Independent Chapel and Hope St. Gaelic FC '...suffer no diminution....' (23)

Although revival meetings were apparently thriving a concern was emerging. According to the WJ:

Most of the churches to which Revival has come are as yet too dependent on foreign help. It has been in connection with the addresses of certain evangelists or converts that the awakening has commenced with them, and there is a danger of continuing to rely too exclusively upon these. There is, perhaps, also too much of advertising the *men* that are to take part in the meetings. There is a possibility of collapse when these remove. A great work went on in Edinburgh while...Radcliffe and...Weaver were labouring there, but immediately on their leaving the work seems, like a tide raised unusually high by a storm, to have retired within the old land marks. We are in danger of a similar result here....We respectfully urge, therefore, upon brethren the necessity of carefully looking out, and cautiously making use of resources among themselves that may continue with them when temporary helps are withdrawn. (24)

There seems to have been some justification for such concern because attendances dropped significantly after Hammond's departure. For example, at the Free College Church, the City Hall, and Anderston FC, each of which had reportedly been full to capacity when the American preached, it was now noted that crowds were '...not so large....' and that the venues were only 'quite full' or '...not inconveniently filled....' (25)

Despite this worry, the general trend seems to have been one of advancement with more churches opening more frequently for prayer. Popular venues included well established ones such as Ewing Place Independent Chapel, Finnieston FC, East Gorbals FC, Hope St. Gaelic FC, East Campbell St. FC, and North Frederick St. Baptist Chapel. Newer venues included the Rev. Mr. H. Batchelor's Elgin Place Congregational Chapel, St. James's FC (the Rev. James Johnston's), St. Luke's FC (the Rev. David Mitchell's), and St. David's FC. In addition, two new central daily union prayer meetings commenced in the City Hall and at the nearby Town Hall at Glasgow Cross. The daily assemblies in the RIR also persisted. With the dawning of summer, open air meetings were also growing in number. (26)

Although there can be little doubt as to the multiplication of meetings it is not clear how permanent these were designed to be. The SG implied that some church-based ones were intended to endure for one week only, after which another church in the vicinity would act as host for a further week and another one the week thereafter. This seems to have been the case at the

FCs of St. David's, St. Paul's and St. Andrew's (the Rev. Mr. Isdale's) where '...numerously attended...' meetings were convened in the weeks commencing 6, 13 and 20 May respectively. It is therefore possible that the proliferation of meetings was not so significant as first appears. (27)

It should also be noted that the WJ recorded that the vast majority attending the new or resurgent revival meetings were, '...earnest, consistent, and prayerful [believers]...drawn out by the sudden warmth of summer weather from their wintry retreats.' The paper believed the remainder included those, '...drawn by curiosity or a superficial stir of the conscience....[or] who, from a cold and formal profession are warmed up for a while into temporary earnestness....' The WJ recognized, '...a large number who seem to receive the word with joy...have not root in themselves, and will soon disappear - withering away....' (28)

Notwithstanding this rather dire forecast the WJ went on to predict that in the immediate future the revival would most likely prosper and spread. However the paper reiterated the dangers of relying on '...a variety of fresh [guest celebrity] speakers...' to generate interest: 'It has been the invariable experience that meetings begun on this principle are short-lived, and are followed by collapse.' Rather the paper proposed:

Where meetings are carried on...encouraging attendance for the sake of prayer and study of the word and brotherly exhortation, there need scarcely be a limit to their existence and their usefulness. It would be well,

therefore, for brethren in opening new meetings, not to set their hearts on a crowd gathered together by certain names; but rather by bringing together the praying souls who have power with God and prevail.... (29)

At the end of April the SG claimed:

...during the last month meetings...have been multiplied. At a period not very remote only one or two meetings... were held...in the central part of the city...the difficulty now is...to select [which]...meeting to attend. (30)

The WJ described attendances as 'encouraging' with inquirers present at every venue and meeting. (31)

Throughout May a spate of advertisements for revival meetings appeared. Meanwhile in a speech in Newcastle, Somerville gave a glowing but vague account of recent events in Glasgow. He claimed that, '...different classes of that populous city [have] been affected by various preachers....' He referred to many thousands of non-churchgoers who had been spoken to and to several hundred who had '...been induced to go at least once to a place of worship.' He also reported that 17 prayer meetings met every Sunday and that a further 27 were held throughout each week. Unfortunately no other details are given and it is not possible to make any further deductions from the text. (32)

On Sunday 12 May a flurry of activity occurred. In addition to the usual church and mission services and notwithstanding '...the uncertain nature of the weather...', during the afternoon there were at least eight open-air meetings at various points on Glasgow Green. M'Kinnon and Buchanan

addressed others in Gorbals and Cowcaddens respectively. At 6.00pm in South-side Park a prayer meeting allegedly attracted 1500 people. (33)

Sunday 12 May was significant for another reason. Despite the concern expressed over relying on the popularity of individual speakers to stir interest and boost attendances, exactly one month after the departure of Hammond another famous preacher, William Carter, was invited to the city to address a series of meetings.

Carter, a London chimney sweep turned evangelist, was '...not found in the schools of the prophets...', he had '...no pretensions to learning...' but according to his supporters possessed '...fine natural gifts....' He was well-known throughout the country. Locally, his exploits were publicised in the WJ. His presence in Glasgow was heavily promoted in advertisements similar in design to those employed during Hammond's visit, the name of the evangelist being the most conspicuous part and appearing in capital letters and bold print. (34)

Carter preached during the afternoon and in the evening of 12 May at an allegedly packed City Hall. The NBDM described his inaugural sermon:

His discourse had reference chiefly to the great love manifested towards mankind by our Saviour in offering himself a sacrifice to procure their redemption....he appeared to rivet the attention of his audience throughout his delivery by his simple manner of statement, and ardent

and pathetic appeals to the consciences and hearts of his hearers. (35)

For the following nine days Carter '...labour[ed] in the city...' with daily afternoon engagements at Ewing Place Independent Chapel and evening ones at Hope St. Gaelic FC, the only exception being Thursday 16 May when he preached in Gorbals in the evening. He also addressed many other meetings each day. For example, on the morning of Monday 13 May he '...[attracted an] immense gathering...in the City Hall...' before preaching at the midday meeting in the Town Hall. (36)

Carter undoubtedly addressed an impressive number of meetings during his visit to Glasgow, however differences emerge as to his impact. His own view, contained in letters to friends penned upon his return to London, was that '...thousands [had]...listened with deep attention...' to his discourses and that hundreds of '...anxious souls...[remained] till near midnight every night....' Significantly, he added, 'Nine tenths of [those attending]...were members of churches... [Christians] who have evidently been quickened into life, but alas are destitute of settled peace.' (37)

In stark contrast TR contended that Carter's '...labours... [weren't] not attended by great demonstrations....' The paper was so unimpressed that it reported on only one of his meetings, that of 20 May in the City Hall of which it commented, '...hopefully [some weren't] brought to peace....' As for other press coverage, whilst Carter received attention from the WJ

and SG this was considerably less than Hammond had enjoyed, even allowing for the shorter duration of the former's visit. Of the NBDM and GH, the former reported only very brief details of his first meeting whilst the latter completely ignored him. Nevertheless, within revival circles at least, it would appear that Carter had proved something of an attraction. (38)

On Thursday 16 May Hammond returned to Glasgow. A public soiree in his honour was held in the City Hall which was '...completely filled, fully two thirds of the assemblage... being ladies.' A large multi-denominational mix of leading local ministers flanked the guest on the platform. For his efforts in the city they presented him with the sum of £256.00 - and six volumes of Spurgeon's sermons. To put the sum received in context, from reports and discussions at the FCGA it appears that the average annual ministerial stipend in the FC was then £138.00. (39)

The £256.00 was not the only sum Hammond had acquired. The GH is the only paper to report, in a rather hostile article, that the American had already been given £60.00 for his efforts during January and February in Dumfries. This means that he was in receipt of at least £316.00 for four months work, a sum double-to-triple the basic annual income of many Presbyterian ministers. (40)

After the soiree Hammond resumed preaching in the city. Interestingly, he now received little attention. His efforts

were less heavily advertised and his appearances went largely unreported. On 2 June he spent his last day in Glasgow addressing several meetings before delivering his farewell address at Ewing Place Independent Chapel. This was described as, '...thronged with as large an audience as the church could contain....' Apart from those present, however, his departure did not generate much interest and in the press was only mentioned in a very brief article in the SG. (41)

In May the RPCS, the UPCS, the FCGA and the ECGA convened. None provided details of the revival in Glasgow. (42)

In the city itself the work persisted. Services continued to be held on Glasgow Green with as many as a dozen each Sunday. The WJ noted, '...many of our church-going people... attend....' Meetings were also held at most of the churches previously mentioned. Venues north of the River Clyde were reportedly well attended although none were thronged. At the inquiry meetings which still always followed, attendances now were only modest with apparently few conversions. (43)

South of the Clyde the situation was apparently rather different. At a meeting in Gorbals UPC it was reported:

Owing to the strong hold which the revival movement has taken upon all classes, an effort has been made on the South-side of the river, whereby the work has been taken up unitedly by ministers and office-bearers of various denominations, and alternate meetings held. (44)

To facilitate interdenominational cooperation a Southern Union was formed comprising Gorbals UPC, Chalmers' FC, Lauriston

Congregational Chapel, Hutchesontown EC, Southern RPC, and Eglinton St. UPC. Each church acted as a venue for one week during which meetings were held every evening from Sunday to Friday. The resident minister usually presided with other clergy and laymen contributing '...brief, practical addresses....' (45)

Whether the work of the Southern Union was known to TR is unclear. If it was then it made little impression because at the end of May the paper pronounced: 'The work [in Glasgow] is not so extensive as it was; but....the Lord's people are growing in love and unity.' (46)

Throughout June the Sunday services associated with the Bridgegate FC reputedly attracted crowds of several thousand. These included '...some of the more respectable citizens, but the preponderance...[were] of the poorer classes...clad in every-day attire.' Apparently some remained at each to, '...converse...about the all-important question of their soul's salvation.' Meanwhile it was reported that on Glasgow Green '...crowds of several hundreds...' continued to gather for open air services. (47)

During the second week of June nightly meetings were held in Chalmers FC, Gorbals FC and the Rev. Dr. A.S. Patterson's Hutchesontown FC. The WJ reported that these were generally '...well attended...[with] several inquirers...each night.' Of those at Hutchesontown FC the detail was added: 'The meetings...have been principally attended by those belonging

to the church.' This was probably recognized by Howie who, when preaching there on Friday 14 June, referred to the '...cold-hearted...[and] dead...' within the churches and warned, 'Many of those within the pale of the church are not safe....' (48)

In mid-June Toye returned to Glasgow. His visit was preceded by much publicity. Now, following the pattern of Hammond and Carter, his name was the main feature of advertisements. On this occasion he was accompanied by other Ulster ministers. Their addresses were characterised by accounts of large numbers of anxious inquirers in Ulster and at other locations in Scotland. (49)

On Sunday 23 June, Toye attracted a large crowd to Argyll FC. Daily engagements followed until the end of the month. A correspondent in the SG assessed the Ulsterman's contribution:

[His] labours have been greatly valued and blessed.... During every evening...the meetings were very large.... There could easily be seen, in the faces of hundreds, that deep impression and subdued emotions pervaded their souls...all which burst forth from the hearts of many at the inquiry meetings....Some parties were awakened for the first time..., some in tears for their backsliding....The past week....was to many souls a refreshing season from the presence of the Lord. (50)

Whilst Toye and his compatriots may have aroused some who attended their meetings they failed to generate wider interest and received little press attention, even from the SG and the WJ. (51)

The last week of June had been set aside by the FCCA for the convening of special meetings to promote the revival. Every FC in the city arranged daily assemblies for thanksgiving and pleading for an extension of the movement. The local response to the FCCA directive is difficult to determine because very few details are forthcoming from any of the usual sources. Only one report, in the SG, has been discovered and this merely informs that the city's FCs seem to have been generally well-attended. (52)

On 24 June, prior to the FC meetings, a letter was penned by 'A Friend of Steady Revival' which indicated that declining interest and enthusiasm in the movement had existed for some time. The letter was published in the WJ of 29 June:

Dear Sir...allow me to express my anxiety, as one who has been carefully observant to the various phases of that work in Glasgow from the first, with respect to the present aspect of matters in Glasgow, and the extreme need there is that all who are really friendly to it should be up and doing *now*, and not postpone their efforts to a *more convenient season*.

Already many...revival meetings...have been given up...it being considered that...diminished attendance...renders it expedient to have no meetings at all, rather than thinly attended ones....

It is so far consolatory to know, that some are so deeply impressed with the calamitous nature of such an issue, as to be determined that *their* meetings shall be maintained. But is it not high time that the question were seriously re-considered, Whether such a cessation of Revival meetings in Glasgow...be not a grievous mistake? Glasgow, 24th June, 1861. (53)

This apparently knowledgeable correspondent was evidently deeply concerned about the continuance of the movement. From his evidence it would seem that not only had the growth of

revival meetings ceased but that many had already terminated. He took some solace from the fact that there remained a hard-core determined to endure and persist with assemblies even if these were 'thinly attended.'

Just such a group continued to convene for the midday meetings at Ewing Place Independent Chapel. Of these it was noted, '...occasionally thanks are returned for some one who has obtained the blessing.' The words 'occasionally' and 'one' infer a depressed state. Other meetings which survived but without the former fervour and with few if any inquirers or converts included the daily Town Hall meetings and those at Anderston FC and Gorbals UPC. At a meeting in Hutchesontown EC of the recently established Southern Union, Burgess of Eglinton St. UPC called for, '...persevering prayer - praying on, even when there was much to discourage....' Meanwhile, the state of the open-air services on Glasgow Green caused M'Coll to exhort, 'The subject deserves grave and prayerful attention.' (54)

In July, Radcliffe and Weaver returned to the city to conduct a series of evening meetings. They were joined by another evangelist, T.S. Henry. Their main services commenced on Tuesday 10 July and were located in the City Hall. Earlier on 10 July, Weaver addressed the midday meeting at Ewing Place Independent Chapel. A larger than usual audience was reported. It was recognized that Weaver's presence, '...had induced some to come who would not otherwise have attended.' Personality

and reputation were evidently acknowledged as an attraction. (55)

For the first in the series of evening meetings the City Hall was apparently so crowded that many could not get in. The audience was described as composed of '...men and women belonging to the working and middle classes - the former largely predominating....' After his address, '...Weaver and a number of Christian friends went through the hall conversing with the anxious - a large number having retained their seats.' (56)

The next evening Radcliffe and Henry took to the stage and addressed the gathering which although large was '...not so dense as on the previous night': TR believed '...the majority...belong to the working classes'. Significantly, Radcliffe started by saying that he '...did not want to preach the gospel...to the unconverted....[but to] speak specially to the Lord's children, and to the young who were not long converted.' TR reported:

Mr. Radcliffe addressed the converted from the text, 'Let us love one another: for love is of God.' 'I would have those who have tasted that the Lord is gracious', he said, 'to love each other, and be at peace with all men....[He then] spoke...upon 'fellowship', and the mutual esteem and perfect confidence which should exist between believers....

Mr. Henry then shortly addressed the unconverted....

The public meeting was brought to a close at about ten o'clock, but hundreds remained to be conversed with. (57)

The WJ recorded: 'The apostolic character of Mr. Radcliffe's address has done much to strengthen and refresh believers

here.' This seems to have been the speaker's purpose because at all of the meetings Radcliffe addressed he appears to have devoted merely '...a few words to the unconverted...', the bulk of his talks being aimed at those who had been 'born again.' (58)

On Monday and Wednesday 16 & 18 July, Radcliffe and Henry conducted meetings in Hope St. Gaelic FC which on the earlier date was reportedly crowded and on the latter full to capacity. The WJ believed that the meetings were populated by '...numbers of the humbler classes, many of whom have recently been brought to the knowledge of the truth, and whose great delight appears to be in attending these meetings....' It was noted that a considerable portion of the audiences were female. (59)

Like their imported celebrity predecessors, Radcliffe, Weaver and Henry addressed many meetings which appear to have been well attended, yet apart from the WJ they received little press attention. Moreover, whilst these famous evangelists may have injected some enthusiasm, they were unable to reverse or even arrest the declining situation in Glasgow. By the beginning of August this had become so serious that the WJ openly conceded:

The difficulties which many of our churches have in keeping up the...[revival] meetings may be best understood when we mention, that at the present moment, with few exceptions, these meetings have been all abandoned, owing to the falling off in attendance. (60)

Yet still the flow of imported speakers continued with the arrival of the famous English evangelist William P. Lockhart, the former cricketer. His efforts were concentrated at those venues where meetings survived, mainly the Wynds FC, Bridgegate FC and Ewing Place Independent Chapel. His inaugural address was at Glasgow Green on Sunday 4 August. After the open-air service many retired to the Wynds FC which was allegedly '...soon filled in every part.' (61)

Lockhart's audiences were composed predominantly of 'believers'. This was evidently recognized for he tailored his addresses to this particular group, instructing them on how to live and act, and challenging them to active participation in evangelization. He argued that often Christians worked by proxy leaving evangelization '...on the shoulders of ministers.' He contended that this was wrong and stressed that all individuals were under a duty '...to preach the gospel as God gives opportunity...', and that the work of the ministry, however good, did not '...absolve them...from their individual work, as members of Christ.' (62)

Lockhart worked in the city for about ten days. His exploits were documented in the WJ. The SG took a lesser interest while the GH and NBDM remained unimpressed. (63)

Immediately following the Englishman's departure, Toye returned to the city to conduct a week-long series of meetings. These commenced on Sunday 18 August and were held in Macdougall's Argyll FC. The Ulsterman was joined each evening

by '....several revival gentlemen, conspicuous for the part they have taken in the movement....' Even so, Toye and the meetings failed to generate popular interest. They received little press attention, even being ignored by the WJ. In a very brief article the SG informed of Toye's arrival. At the end of his week-long programme the paper, which did not detail individual meetings, contained a summarizing paragraph which claimed modest 'encouragement'. It was now evident that even a famous and well respected Irish Presbyterian minister accompanied by other well-known revivalists could neither attract crowds, stem nor reverse the pervading lack of interest. (64)

An indication that not only were assemblies declining but their intensity diminishing came from a report of meetings at Lauriston Congregational Chapel on Nicholson St. where, after the main services, no inquiry meetings were held. Instead, '...all those who felt anxious and required advice...' were directed to meet the pastor, the Rev. Mr. Russell, in the vestry the following Friday evening. Delaying dealing with the 'anxious' until the end of the week implies that the urgency which had characterised so much of revival preaching had evaporated, or at least was beginning to do so in this particular circle. Moreover, proposing to meet in the vestry rather than the body of the church suggests that not many were expected to attend. (65)

The meetings at Lauriston Congregational Chapel were amongst those organized by the interdenominational Southern Union, the cooperative which had been formed less than three months earlier amidst so much enthusiasm. Yet even this failed to endure. The Union disintegrated upon the termination of prayer meetings on 16 August. (66)

Although the number of assemblies was diminishing and attendances declining, a hardcore persisted with daily meetings at Ewing Place Independent Chapel and at the RIR. The Sunday services associated with the Bridgegate FC and the Wynds FC were also maintained. Moreover, there was sufficient enthusiasm among Alexander and his colleagues that a week long series of meetings at Stockwell FC commenced on 26 August. Details of these are sparse as they attracted little press interest, it seems, however, that people now remained after the main services for conversation rather than conversion. (67)

At the end of August mass revival meetings were again planned for Glasgow Green. These were organized for Tuesday-Thursday 27-29 inst. and scheduled from 11.30am - 3.30pm and 6.00pm till dusk. In the evenings additional events were to be held in a large West End park situated at the junction of St. Vincent Crescent, Minerva St. and Dumbarton Rd.. From 8.00pm indoor meetings were to occur at the Queen's Rooms and the Wynds FC, Bridgegate FC, Stockwell FC, Hope St. Gaelic FC, Anderston FC, Finnieston FC, St. Mark's FC, West FC (the Rev.

Lewis Ferguson's), North Frederick St. Baptist Chapel and Great Hamilton St. Congregational Church.

The NBDM noted, 'The list of speakers...[contains] almost every revivalist of any note....' These included local ministers such as M'Kinnon, Alexander, Howie, M'Crae, and D. Johnston together with local laity such as Messrs. Gullan and Fergus. Importees included Lockhart, Towe, Williamson, Capt. Trotter of London, Medhurst of Coleraine, Gebbie of Dunlop, Davidson of Saltcoats and Fraser of Forres. Other revival worthies such as Radcliffe, Weaver, Henry, Carter and North were absent. The meetings received, '...the utmost publicity...[and were] made the subject of special prayer....' (68)

On Tuesday 27 August the weather was variable with low temperatures and rain in the earlier part of the day but dry with strong sunshine in the afternoon. The SG and NBDM agree that the daytime crowds numbered about 2,000 with approximately 3,000 at the evening services on the Green and an additional 1,000 at the West End park. No figures were given for the indoor meetings the most popular of which were reputedly at the Queen's Rooms, the Wynds FC, Bridgegate FC and Stockwell FC. With respect to attendances, the WJ did not dispute the above estimates but suggested that at one point numbers at the Green were swollen to about 10,000 by those attending during their lunch breaks. The NBDM claimed that those attending were predominantly working class and mainly

female. The WJ described the audience as 'mixed' with men and women '...of all ages and circumstances...rich and poor met together....' (69)

The proceedings comprised of prayer, singing and sermons which were described by the WJ as, '...characterised by plain and pointed appeals...all more or less practical in aim.' Each speaker selected his own text however there was a degree of uniformity: it was noted that the majority, '...centred on the great work of the atonement, showing to poor sinners the blessed work which had been wrought out for them 1800 years ago on the cross of Calvary.' The NBDM concurred. The WJ alleged there were 'many' or 'numerous' inquirers. (70)

Few details emerge of events on the Wednesday and Thursday. The SG reckoned that on the former approximately 3,000 were present throughout the day. No other sources challenge this. A '...large assemblage of people...' allegedly attended the evening services in the West End. On the Thursday rain was thought to have deterred many from attending. The continuous downpour was so heavy that events were terminated at 2.00pm. No details are given of any of the indoor evening meetings. (71)

However imprecise the figures, the estimated attendances of some 2-4,000 for the 'mass' meetings of 1861 do not impress when viewed in the context of the city population of 443,639, or when it is remembered that similar sized crowds regularly attended concerts and lectures in the City Hall. Moreover,

they do not compare favourably with those for the corresponding events in 1859 and 1860 when crowds of up to 20,000 were reported. Compared with previous years the amount of press coverage was also dramatically reduced. The GH acknowledged the inaugural meeting on the Tuesday but gave no details. It failed, as did the NBDM, to refer to either the Wednesday or Thursday gatherings. The SG conveyed only brief reports and even the WJ, always the most comprehensive source, contained much less intelligence. In 1860 it had produced a special supplement devoted to the meetings. In contrast, in 1861 not only did no such additional publication appear but there was also a huge decrease in the quantity of information contained in the ordinary editions. (72)

Variables which might have influenced attendances, such as when and where meetings were held and climatic conditions, do not appear to have significantly contributed to the declining popularity. Glasgow Green was the main location each year. The meetings were always held at the end of August or beginning of September, during the week rather than at weekends, and at the same time of day. In respect of place, season, days and time there was no divergence of practice. Moreover, while rain forced an early end to proceedings on the Thursday of 1861 the conditions on the previous days do not appear to have been substantially worse than in earlier years. Although unsettled weather was reported on the Tuesday morning, by early afternoon the assemblage were enjoying the sun which was

apparently so strong that umbrellas were required to be employed as parasols. No contemporary source identifies the weather as a detrimental factor. It would appear that climatic conditions were not sufficiently adverse to account for the substantial drop in numbers in 1861. (73)

Despite heavy promotion and an array of revival worthies the 1861 'mass' meetings were a failure with attendances only a fraction of the 1859 and 1860 figures. As far as 99% of the city's inhabitants were concerned the series of meetings was a non-event. The public were not, and short of a very sudden and dramatic falling away, had not been for some time interested in or concerned with revival.

Unable to sustain more than a few small local meetings the attempt to stimulate enthusiasm and interest by means of large assemblies on Glasgow Green proved to be the movement's last major fling. The revival as a popular public phenomenon was at an end.

This was reflected in press coverage. The last reference in the GH to revival in the city appeared on 28 August and related to the first Glasgow Green meeting the previous day. The attention of the NBDM was maintained only slightly longer with the last direct reference to the movement appearing on 7 September. The cessation of reporting by these two sources was followed by a reduction in the number of reports of, and in the number of advertisements for, revival meetings in other papers including TR, the SG and the WJ. Not only did reports

become increasingly rare, when they did appear they conveyed vague rather than detailed intelligence. (74)

As for church records, from the autumn of 1861 the FCPG, the ECPG and the UPPG all reverted to discussing city evangelization and church extension rather than further consideration of the revival. Long term home mission once more became the focus. For example, a Glasgow FC Conference on Friday 13 December 1861 met, '...with the view...of consulting as to the best method of furthering a fresh church extension movement....' A few months later in April 1862, the FC and UPC each held special conferences to review progress. These were exclusively interested in the city missions both denominations had engaged in since the early 1850s and with the churches built and members gained through these rather than with the more immediate revival which was not considered at all. (75)

It is also notable that none of the reports on the congregational soirees held during the last quarter of 1861 and the first of 1862 mention the revival. These included the annual celebrations of some of the churches closely associated with the movement, for example, East Gorbals FC and St. Mark's FC. Equally notable is the 1861 annual Report of Glasgow City Mission. Delivered on 18 March 1862 it records, 'The work of the Mission has been steadily carried on during the past year...', however, as with the soiree reports there is no reference to, or mention of, the revival. (76)

Summary Analysis.

In February 1861, in an attempt to arrest decline, local revivalists employed a new tactic by inviting the famous E.P. Hammond to the city to boost the movement. Unlike previous importees who had come as part of larger groups to address a few mass open air meetings, Hammond was headhunted and brought in to conduct a series of church-based meetings, specifically to target the West End churches. He himself was undoubtedly the attraction as efforts were made to gain audiences through his fame and reputation.

Hammond was evidently successful and is credited with opening '...new centres of power...' and securing the cooperation of those not previously involved. However the reports about his progress indicate that until his arrival in the city the movement had not been as widespread as may have been previously implied. In particular it appears to have been absent from the suburbs, especially the West End.

It is also evident that there was concern about this new tactic, at dependence on guest celebrities and of relying on their appeal to increase popularity. Notwithstanding this, Hammond was followed by a string of other revival 'stars': Carter in May, Toye in June, Radcliffe, Weaver and Henry in July, and Lockhart and Toye, again, in August. Their efforts appear to have attracted the attention of regular church attenders and converts but not the interest of the press or

irreligious. Despite all efforts the movement was coming to an end as attendance figures dropped and meetings closed.

Footnotes.

- (1) v. SG Feb. 1861 editions: TR No.88, 30-3-61: per the Rev. Mr. Macbray in WJ No.82, 20-4-61: cf. GH 14-2-61, 2/4f.; 25-2-61, 4/4.
- (2) v. SG 5-2-61, 4/3; 23-2-61, 1/1; 26-2-61, 1/1; 2-3-61, 1/1 etc.: NBDM 2-3-61, 1/1; 4-3-61, 1/1 etc..
- (3) SG 21-2-61, 4/1; 11-4-61, 3/1: WJ No.75, 2-3-61.
- (4) WJ Nos.74,75 & 76, 23-2-61, 2-3- & 9-3-61: SG 19-2-61, 4/2; 26-2-61, 2/5.
- (5) SG 2-3-61, 2/7.
- (6) v. SG 5-3-61, 4/1; 7-3-61, 2/6; 19-3-61, 2/7; 23-3-61, 4/1; 26-3-61, 4/1; 30-3-61, 3/5; 4-4-61, 4/1; 6-4-61, 3/3f.: NBDM 19-3-61, 2/3: TR No.89, 6-4-61.
- (7) NBDM 21-3-61, 2/2.
- (8) SG 23-3-61, 4/1.
- (9) SG 30-3-61, 3/5 & 4.1; 2-4-61, 3/3; 4-4-61, 4/1f.: WJ Nos.79 & 80, 30-3- & 6-4-61: NBDM 30-3-61, 4/4; 1-4-61, 2/3.
- (10) v. SG 5-3-61, 4/1; 30-3-61, 4/1; 9-4-61, 3/3: WJ No.81, 13-4-61.
- (11) SG 11-4-61, 3/1: v. WJ No.81, 13-4-61.
- (12) TR Nos.88 & 89, 30-3- & 6-4-61.
- (13) WJ No.79, 30-3-61
- (14) SG 30-3-61, 4/1; 2-4-61, 3/2.
- (15) WJ Nos.80 & 83, 6-4- & 27-4-61: v. SG 23-4-61, 3/2; 27-4-61, 2/7; 30-4-61, 3/3: Couper, p.138: Bussey, pp.240-244,275: Orr, p.237.
- (16) TR Nos.88 & 89, 30-3- & 6-4-61.
- (17) v. GH 17-4-61, 6/4.
- (18) v. NBDM 10-4-61, 4/5: SG 11-4-61, 2/3.
- (19) v. NBDM 4-4-61, 2/4f.: GH 4-4-61, 4/1: SG 4-4-61, 2/1.
- (20) v. NBDM 4-4-61, 2/4f.; 10-4-61, 4/4: GH 4-4-61, 4/1: SG 4-4-61, 2/1; 6-4-61, 3/3f..
- (21) WJ Nos.30 & 31, 21-4- & 28-4-60.
- (22) WJ No.81, 13-4-61.
- (23) WJ Nos.81,82 & 83, 13-4- & 20-4- & 27-4-61: SG 20-4-61, 3/4f..
- (24) WJ No.81, 13-4-61.
- (25) v. SG 11-4-61, 3/1; 13-4-61, 3/1; 16-4-61, 3/2.
- (26) v. WJ Nos.82,83,84 & 85, 20-4- & 27-4-, 4-5- & 11-5-61: SG 7-4-60, 4/4; 25-4-61, 3/2; 4-5-61, 2/2 & 3/3; 7-5-61, 3/4 & 4/2; 9-5-61, 4/1; 11-5-61, 3/1: TR No.96, 25-5-61.
- (27) v. SG 14-5-61, 4/1: TR No.96, 25-5-61.
- (28) WJ No.82, 20-4-61: cf. TR No.96, 25-5-61.
- (29) WJ No.82, 20-4-61.
- (30) SG 30-4-61, 3/3.
- (31) WJ Nos.83 & 85, 27-4- & 11-5-61.

- (32) NBDM 13-5-61, 4/4.
- (33) v. SG 14-5-61, 4/1; 21-5-61, 3/4; 28-5-61, 4/1: WJ No. 86, 18-5-61: TR No. 96, 25-5-61.
- (34) WJ No. 86, 18-5-61: v. SG 11-5-61, 1/1, 4/3: NBDM 10-5-61, 2/3.
- (35) NBDM 13-5-61, 2/3: v. TR No. 96, 25-5-61.
- (36) SG 11-5-61, 1/1; cf. 14-5-61, 4/1: WJ Nos. 86 & 90, 18-5- & 15-6-61: TR No. 96, 25-5-61.
- (37) WJ No. 90, 15-6-61: TR Nos. 96 & 99, 25-5- & 15-6-61: SG 15-6-61, 3/3.
- (38) TR No. 97, 1-6-61: v. NBDM 13-5-61, 2/3.
- (39) GH 17-5-61, 4/5: NBDM 17-5-61, 2/4: SG 18-5-61, 3/4f.: WJ No. 87, 25-5-61.
- (40) v. SG 27-9-60, 2/6; 1-11-60, 3/3; 15-11-60, 2/1; 2-2-61, 2/7; 30-5-61, 2/7: GH 4-2-61, 2/4f.; 23-5-61, 3/3; 30-5-61, 3/2f.; 1-6-61, 3/2.
- (41) SG 4-6-61, 4/1.
- (42) v. GH 11-5-61, 3/3; 17-5-61, 5/2; 30-5-61, 3/1f.: SG 9-5-61, 2/5f.; 11-5-61, 2/2f.; 14-5-61, 2/2; 18-5-61, 2/3f.; 30-5-61, 4/3: NBDM 30-5-61, 4/4: cf. WJ No. 87, 25-5-61.
- (43) WJ Nos. 87, 88, 89 & 90, 25-5- & 1-6- & 8-6- & 15-6-61: v. GH 23-5-61, 3/4: SG 18-5-61, 2/2 & 3/5; 30-5-61, 3/2f.; 1-6-61, 4/1: TR No. 97, 1-6-61.
- (44) WJ No. 87, 25-5-61.
- (45) WJ Nos. 87 & 99, 25-5- & 17-8-61: v. SG 1-10-61, 3/5.
- (46) TR No. 97, 1-6-61: cf. SG 30-5-61, 3/2f..
- (47) WJ No. 90, 15-6-61: SG 11-6-61, 3/2; 18-6-61, 4/3: v. TR No. 100, 22-6-61.
- (48) WJ No. 90, 15-6-61.
- (49) v. SG 22-6-61, 2/7: WJ Nos. 93, 94 & 95, 6-7- & 13-7- & 20-7-61.
- (49) v. SG 22-6-61, 2/7: WJ Nos. 93, 94 & 95, 6-7- & 13-7- & 20-7-61.
- (50) SG 2-7-61, 4/2.
- (51) v. SG 20-6- & 22-6- & 25-6-61, 1/1; 22-6- & 25-6-61, 2/7.
- (52) v. SG 29-6-61, 4/1: WJ No. 93, 6-7-61.
- (53) WJ No. 92, 29-6-61.
- (54) v. WJ Nos. 93, 94, 95 & 97, 6-7- & 13-7- & 20-7- & 3-8-61.
- (55) WJ No. 92, 29-6-61: SG 11-7-61, 3/4.
- (56) v. SG 11-7-61, 3/4: WJ Nos. 92 & 94, 29-6- & 13-7-61.
- (57) TR No. 104, 20-7-61: SG 13-7-61, 4/1: NBDM 12-7-61, 2/2.
- (58) WJ Nos. 95, 97 & 98, 20-7- & 3-8- & 10-8-61: v. SG 30-7-61, 3/5.
- (59) WJ Nos. 97 & 98, 3-8- & 10-8-61.
- (60) WJ No. 97, 3-8-61.
- (61) v. SG 23- & 27-7-61, 3/3: WJ No. 98, 10-8-61.
- (62) WJ Nos. 98, 99 & 102, 10-8- & 17-8- & 7-9-61.
- (63) v. SG 6-8-61, 1/1 & 3/3; 8-8-61, 3/4; 29-8-61, 3/4.
- (64) v. SG 17-8-61, 2/5; 24-8-61, 2/7.
- (65) WJ No. 99, 17-8-61.

- (66) v. WJ Nos. 87 & 99, 25-5- & 17-8-61.
- (67) v. NBDM 12-8-61, 4/4: SG 17-8-61, 3/1; 22-8-61, 3/2; 27-8-61, 3/3: TR No. 110, 31-8-61: WJ No. 102, 7-9-61.
- (68) WJ Nos. 99 & 101, 17-8- & 31-8-61: SG 10-8- & 29-8-61, 3/4; 31-8-61, 3/3: NBDM 24-8-61, 4/3; 28-8-61, 4/4.
- (69) NBDM 28-8-61, 4/4: SG 29-8-61, 3/4: WJ No. 101, 31-8-61.
- (70) WJ No. 101, 31-8-61: NBDM 28-8-61, 4/4.
- (71) SG 29-8- & 31-8-61, 3/3f..
- (72) cf. WJ Nos. 1-3, 49-52, 101 & 102, 1-10- & 8-10- & 15-10-59, 1-9- & 8-9- & 15-9- & 22-9-60, 31-8- & 7-9-61.
- (73) v. WJ No. 101, 31-8-61.
- (74) v. GH 28-8-61, 4/3: NBDM 7-9-61, 4/3: SG 24-8-61, 2/7; 9-11-61, 3/1.
- (75) v. WJ Nos. 117 & 133, 21-12-61 & 12-4-62: FCPG, ECPG & UPPG Minutes Oct.-Dec. 1861 & Jan. 1862: NBDM 13-11-61, 3/1; 27-11-61 4/3; 14-12-61, 4/4; 9-1-62.
- (76) v. NBDM 14-44-61, 2/3; 21-1-62, 2/5f.; 24-1-62, 2/6; 29-1-62, 4/3; 11-2-62, 1/4; 14-3-62, 2/2; 18-3-62, 2/3; 19-3-62, 4/5; 26-3-62, 4/3.

Chapter Eighteen

The Period of Terminal Decline

September 1861 - September 1862.

The contention that the revival as a public phenomenon had ceased does not mean that there was an abrupt end to the movement. Revival in the traditional sense of heightened religious interest and enthusiasm amongst existing believers persisted and so in this restricted way the movement could be said to have endured. However it no longer affected the wider community having retreated to the confines of a limited number of venues and, as at the beginning, become an issue amongst only a few hard-core enthusiasts who persisted in gathering together.

Throughout September meetings were held at venues long associated with the movement including the Wynds FC, East Gorbals FC and Finnieston FC. Some of the visiting speakers involved with the Glasgow Green meetings remained in the city and spoke at these. Lockhart and Medhurst are singled out for special mention and are described as, '...labouring incessantly week-day and Sabbath....' (1)

From the content of the addresses delivered it would appear that the majority of those attending were believers. For example, some of Lockhart's talks were directed specifically at Sunday School teachers. As to levels of attendance, the following WJ assertion is instructive: 'Small meetings,

addressed by earnest men, often do as much good as large meetings, where the audience often come for no other purpose than to hear a popular speaker.' (2)

From the beginning of October the number of meetings fell sharply. Four months previously the May UPCS had appointed the week commencing Sunday 6 October as a special time for thanksgiving and the promotion of revival by means of a series of daily services. In the weeks preceding 6 October the UPPG realized that the events organized could not rely on voluntary attendances and aggressive tactics would be required to ensure support. Consequently, the UPPG instructed all its ministers to employ '...vigorous measures...to secure not only the attendance of your own people, but of the careless and godless in your neighbourhood....' How successful the clergy were is difficult to determine as only one source mentions the meetings and then only in the most general of terms. The SG noted, '...attendance at all the meetings has been encouraging, the area of the churches being in many cases quite filled.' This was the last press report on revival activity for the remainder of the month. (3)

In November the only news was of the efforts of another imported evangelist, E.J. Silverton of Bedfordshire. In a solitary report on 9 November the SG recorded:

...he has been holding meetings in Glasgow during the past few days....On Tuesday night he preached in Finnieston Free Church, on Wednesday evening in Free St. Mark's, on the following night in Wellington St. United Presbyterian

Church, and last night in Great Hamilton St. Independent Chapel. His audiences, however, have been...small. (4)

This was the last revival intelligence to appear in the SG which ceased publication a few weeks later at the close of the year.

For the period from November 1861 through to March 1862 most editions of the WJ are missing. In those that remain there is no mention of revival in Glasgow apart from a passing comment about prayer meetings at Ewing Place Independent Chapel. (5)

TR is equally silent. Not until the very end of March does it comment. Then it notes:

...[at the beginning of the movement] ministers and Christians of all denominations drew together...but [now] the unity of the Spirit...[is] not maintained. The great united meetings...[have] broken up. Godly pastors and Christians of all denominations [have] separated; they [have] broke off again into their small fragmented parts....Do the Lord's people not see that separation and want of unity are rendering active service to Satan?

The same source described the spiritual condition of Glasgow as '...chilly and death like.' (6)

From April 1862 copies of the WJ once more become available, however they contain very little revival intelligence about Glasgow. What does emerge is two contrasting statements. In one edition it is conceded, '...much of the outward revival heat [has] ceased...', yet in the next it is claimed, 'The work of revival...is receiv[ing] a fresh impetus...in the city....' What this 'impetus' amounted to was no more than a series of meetings by yet another invited celebrity. The

evangelist Harrison Ord assaulted Glasgow with an extensive itinery preaching at least once every day and three times on Sundays from 6-25 April. Venues included the Wynds FC, Bridgegate FC, Anderston FC, Hope St. Gaelic FC, Stockwell FC, Chalmers FC, East Gorbals FC, Canon St. UPC, Ewing Place Independent Chapel and the City Hall. Meetings were reportedly '...generally well attended....' At some, Ord was accompanied by Forlong who preached '...specially for believers.' (7)

In early May open air preaching re-commenced but without the crowds or fervour of previous occasions. The WJ noted: 'There were no outward manifestations of conviction....' Inquiry meetings held in the Wynds FC were populated by, '...a few young persons [whol] remained for conversation.' (8)

Perhaps the most ardent supporters of the revival were those who organized the daily union prayer meetings at Ewing Place Independent Chapel; however even amongst this group numbers were falling. By May 1862 attendances were so small that meetings were no longer held in the church itself but in '...a dark, cold hall below the line of the street.' The continued existence of the meetings was being questioned and their likely demise lamented. An advertisement in the WJ announced that Christians of all denominations were '...earnestly and affectionately invited [to attend]...' and implored, 'Come, if only for a few minutes.' (9)

On Monday 19 May a meeting was held in the Chapel to discuss ways of arresting decline. The result was the formation of the

Union of Evangelistic Labourers: the Union comprised about 30 members. They organized the rather grandly named Glasgow Weekly Conference, a meeting held in the Deacon's vestry of the Chapel every Monday at 8.00pm designed to enable, '...all engaged in evangelistic labour in the city...[to] be brought together, that they might know each other, and be able to cooperate more unitedly in the work of the Lord.' (10)

These evangelistic labourers were undoubtedly very active. By August they claimed to be engaged in '...more than fifty different localities in and around the city.' They conducted meetings in kitchens, factories, workshops, halls and in the open-air as well as engaging in visitations and tract distribution. Despite such efforts they failed to attract support and admitted to disappointing results. Nevertheless they continued to maintain '...that a steady work of revival was progressing....' (11)

No details relating to Glasgow emerged from the various denominational synods and assemblies of May apart from a claim by Howie that the congregation of his Wynds FC had grown by about 100 since the summer of 1861. With the exception of brief reports informing of the continuing efforts of the Union of Evangelistic Labourers no intelligence about the city appeared in any source for almost two months, until the end of July when the WJ recognized;

...it must be confessed, [that] a wide-spread disposition to go back to the old order of things, to less

earnestness, fewer prayer meetings, [and] diminished expectations...[has set in]. (12)

In the first edition of August a letter to the WJ editor asserted, '...the fact which you describe of the Revival... having come to an end has been...extensively verified....' (13)

Further confirmation came six weeks later when 'mass' open air meetings on Glasgow Green on Wednesday and Thursday 25 & 26 September failed to generate interest or attention with only, '...several cases of [quiet] awakening...' being reported. (14)

Summary Analysis.

In September 1858 the revival commenced amongst a relatively small but highly motivated group of Christians who met regularly to disseminate intelligence from America and Ireland and to pray for '...an outpouring of the Spirit...' in Scotland. The movement was contained within this group for almost twelve months before it seized the public imagination.

From about September 1861 a reversal was in progress. The revival lost popular appeal with the number of meetings falling and congregations getting smaller, yet there persisted a die-hard group which continued to meet regularly for about another 12 months. They met for mutual support and encouragement and for pleading in prayer for a renewed blessing. Their efforts were in vain. The movement did not

revive or flourish but withered and died, in every sense, when the gradual demise of these meetings also set in.

Perhaps the end of the revival as a whole can be marked by the end of the WJ. Amidst a dearth of information, lack of advertisements and falling circulation the paper terminated on 27 September 1862 with the issue of edition No.157. Unfortunately the last two editions are missing so it is impossible to ascertain the sentiments expressed at its demise.

The WJ was succeeded by WW whose first edition appeared on 3 October. This paper contained a number of prayer requests but little intelligence and no advertisements. It basically provided M'Coll, its editor, with an outlet for venting his views on a number of subjects such as long-term mission work. WW lasted only a few weeks terminating with edition No.13 on 26 December. This was long enough to record that in November even the revival die-hards of the Union of Evangelistic Labourers now recognized that the movement was over. (15)

Footnotes.

- (1) WJ No.105, 28-9-61: v. SG 7-9-61, 3/1; 14-9-61, 1/1; 21-9-61, 3/4; TR No.112, 14-9-61.
- (2) WJ No.103, 14-9-61.
- (3) v. SG 12-9-61, 2/3; 24-9-61, 4/1; 1-10-61, 2/2; 10-10-61, 3/4; WJ No.105, 28-9-61.
- (4) SG 9-11-61, 3/1.
- (5) WJ No.119, 4-1-62: v. WJ Nos.114, 117 & 123, 30-11- & 21-12-61 & 1-2-62.
- (6) TR No.140, 29-3-62.
- (7) WJ Nos.132,133,134,135 & 137, 5-4- & 12-4- & 19-4- & 26-4- & 10-5-62: TR No.150, 5-6-62.
- (8) WJ Nos.138 & 139, 17-5- & 24-5-62: v. WW No.3, 17-10-62.
- (9) WJ Nos.133,134,135 & 140, 12-4- & 19-4- & 26-4- 31-5-

- 62: v. TR Nos. 140 & 153, 29-3- & 26-6-62.
- (10) WJ No. 139, 24-5-62.
- (11) WJ Nos. 140, 141, 152, 153 & 155, 31-5- & 7-6- & 23-8- & 30-8- & 13-9-62; v. WJ Nos. 144-150, 28-6- & 5-7- & 12-7- & 19-7- & 26-7- & 2-8- & 9-8-62: WW Nos. 8, 11 & 13, 21-11- & 12-12- & 26-12-62.
- (12) WJ No. 148, 26-7-62.
- (13) WJ No. 149, 2-8-62.
- (14) v. WJ Nos. 151 & 155, 16-8- & 13-9-62: WW No. 1, 3-10-62.
- (15) v. WW No. 8, 21-11-62.

Chapter Nineteen

Review & Analysis of the Glasgow Narrative.

Introduction.

The major problems associated with the statistical analysis of revival were identified in Chp.4 (V) whilst in Chp.11 other difficulties were diagnosed when considering Orr's arithmetical efforts. In attempting to ascertain the impact of the revival on Glasgow the same problems arise.

With no detailed contemporary accounting to record the numbers of anxious or converts, only vague references as to the size of audiences at revival meetings and to those responding to addresses are available. These are merely estimates based on head counts whose accuracy is unverifiable. Moreover, if a number of estimates relating to the same event are available these can often vary substantially from source to source causing further difficulties in evaluation. More specific figures are available when considering accessions to church membership during the period of the movement, but the problem remains of distinguishing the influx attributable to the revival and from that occasioned by other factors such as prolonged missionary activity which in the years immediately preceding the movement, as Chp.6 illustrated, had been so successful.

As for considering alleged effects of revival as a method of assessment, for example decreased levels of crime and

increased levels of welfare provision, the analysis in Chp. 11 showed, at least in respect of Glasgow, that the roots of these and other 'benefits' often pre-dated the movement. In any case an important point seems to have been overlooked with regard to revival assessment by this method. This is that appraisal of the alleged effects of revival does not actually evaluate revival itself. Instead, it evaluates the legacy of revival by showing what supposedly happened as a result of it rather than what actually happened in its duration.

In attempting to ascertain the impact of the movement itself on Glasgow, instead of relying on sweeping general statements, imprecise data and a flawed method, a detailed chronological narrative was produced utilizing local primary sources. This more accurately pinpointed the duration of the movement and also had the advantage of identifying distinct phases within it together with the adoption of different tactics throughout it. Additionally, the geographical districts actually affected, the number and location of churches used as revival venues, and how many clergy were actively involved as sympathizers, organizers and speakers was able to be more closely established. Having ascertained this, comparisons were then able to be made between the geographic extent of the movement in Glasgow in relation to the city's total spatial expanse, and the number of churches and clergy involved in relation to the total number in the metropolis. This approach

to revival assessment could be described as a comparative analysis based on contextualization.

Review & Analysis.

The Chapter headings of the narrative in Section V indicate that revival activity existed in Glasgow from the late summer of 1858 and endured for about four years with discrete phases within this period. Such a duration is longer than previous suggestions, noted in Chp.8 (III), in respect of the movement throughout the land. The discrepancy is probably not because the movement as manifest in the city was radically different from that in the nation, but can be accounted for by the adoption of a wider understanding of the word 'revival'. Other sources appear to have adopted a restricted usage employing the term solely to refer to a period when mass meetings and conversions occurred to such an extent that they were newsworthy and so in the public realm. However this excludes times, herein included, of intensified religious interest and activity within an existing church community but largely or totally outwith the public gaze.

The local narrative reveals that revival in the traditional sense was stimulated by the factors noted in Chp.7 of the movement generally, and commenced with the growth of prayer meetings in the city in September 1858. These continued but without much public response or interest until July and August 1859 when, apparently in line with the south west of Scotland generally, mass meetings and conversions started to occur in

such numbers that revival in the modern sense could be said to have begun. From this time revival became a topical issue. In the months that followed there was an explosion of meetings in churches and workplaces together with some 'united' ones in capacious centrally located halls. These were all apparently thronged with large but unspecified numbers of conversions being reported.

In the New Year of 1860 a period of consolidation commenced as a new tactic was introduced. Revival activity continued with the emergence of hundreds of small local gatherings instead of the growth of large central ones. These more modest assemblies were probably designed to aid the education and integration of recent converts into Church doctrine and community life. Whilst conversions continued to be reported these do not appear to have been such a prominent feature.

In Chp. 8 (III) it was noted that there was a consensus amongst sources claiming that the movement peaked in 1860 before beginning to wane in the first half of 1861. However during the summer of 1860 the revival in Glasgow appears to have suffered a lull which may have marked the start of the demise of the movement there had it not been for the opening of the Bridgegate FC in June and the anniversary celebrations accompanied by the upsurge of open-air preaching in July. These activities boosted interest and enthusiasm for several months. However with the arrival of winter a slump occurred with attendances falling and meetings closing.

This situation was arrested by the employment of another new tactic. In February 1861 local stalwarts invited the famous revival preacher E.P. Hammond to the city to conduct a series of meetings. He succeeded in generating renewed interest and attention and was followed throughout the spring and summer by a number of other guest celebrities. In effect, this new tactic introduced a new form of revival, one which was personality-led and which sought to exploit the drawing power of the preacher. Attendance at meetings was being induced by the presence of popular speakers whom it was hoped people would flock to hear: the main attraction was the speaker himself.

To some extent this tactic worked with crowded meetings once more being reported, however there was not the same fervour and intensity as 12-18 months previously and it may have been the case that each successive speaker provoked a less popular response than his predecessor. In any case, by September 1861 not even revival stars could reverse decline as attendances once again dropped and meetings terminated. For about a year revival endured only amongst some die-hards who retained hope of a further flourishing and more conversions and who persisted with maintaining some meetings. However even this group became smaller and smaller and in the autumn of 1862 had to concede that the revival had ceased.

With the exception of the Roman Catholic Church which opposed the movement, and the Episcopalian Church which was not

supportive, the remainder of the city's denominations, following the national pattern, officially welcomed the movement. There were undoubtedly some voices of dissent but with high profile clergy of each denomination coming out publicly in favour these were not highly publicised. As was common elsewhere, ecclesiastical concern was expressed over the length and lateness of meetings and about the physical manifestations which accompanied some conversions, however these were not a prominent feature.

In Glasgow, as in the movement generally, ecumenism was popularly perceived to be a beneficial outcome. It was evident in the mix of evangelically minded ministers who shared revival platforms and speaking engagements and also in the interdenominational cooperation required for the creation of the numerous 'united' revival meetings where evangelical theology was promoted. Yet reflecting the apparently widespread trend it did not endure and by early 1862 had dissolved with all the shared and 'united' meetings having ended.

In Chp.9 (II) it was noted that the prevailing view was that throughout the nation the revival attracted churchgoers and non-churchgoers of both sexes, all ages and social classes although mainly of the middle and skilled/regularly employed working classes. The narrative suggests that Glasgow mirrored this but in different phases of the movement. It appears that whilst individual churchgoers of the more affluent classes

attended revival meetings from the outset, prior to the arrival of Hammond the preponderance was of the lower orders, both religious and irreligious, with the involvement of the middle classes only growing from the spring of 1861. From this time revival assemblies were comprised mainly of established churchgoers and converts. Children, adolescents and adults always appear to have participated, but it is not possible from the narrative to ascertain with any precision the proportion drawn from the ranks of the totally alienated and irreligious.

Although all denominations in Glasgow, apart from the Roman Catholics and Episcopalians, were supportive of the movement not all churches were involved. Of the 139 Protestant churches in the city the narrative shows that revival meetings were held in a total of 55 (39.5%) between 1858 and 1862. Of these, 27 were involved during 1858-1859, with a further 8 being added in 1860, and another 20 in 1861 after the advent of Hammond.

Of the ones participating in 1858-1859, 14 were of the FC, 4 of the UPC. 3 of the Congregational/Independent Church, 2 of the RPC, 2 of the Baptist Church, 1 of the EC, and 1 of the Methodist Church. The 8 of 1860 comprised 3 of the UPC, 2 of the FC, 2 of the EC and 1 Methodist Church, whilst the 20 of 1861 were made up of 12 of the FC, 6 of the UPC, 1 Baptist Church and 1 Congregational Church.

In total throughout the duration of the movement 28 of the 40 FCs in the city, 13 of the 38 UPCs, 4 of the 6 Congregational/Independent Churches, 3 of the 39 ECs, 3 of the 6 Baptists Churches, 2 of the 3 Methodist Churches and 2 of the 3 RPCs were used. None of the 4 Episcopalian Churches and none of the 7 Roman Catholic Churches were involved.

It is important to note that not all of the churches identified as venues held frequent or regular meetings. Some appear to have been used for only a very small number. Indeed, of the 55 churches appearing in the narrative, only 13 were used consistently throughout the most intense period of movement from July 1859 to August 1861: namely, the Wynds FC, Stockwell FC, Finnieston FC, Anderston FC, East Gorbals FC, Hope St. Gaelic FC, East Campbell St. FC, St. Mark's FC, St. George's FC, Bridgegate FC, Gorbals UPC, Ewing Place Independent Chapel, and North Frederick St. Baptist Chapel. These represent 23.5% of the total churches used, or 10% of the total number in the city: 10 of the 13 were FCs.

All the incumbents of the churches employed as venues would have been supportive of and active in the movement, although like the premises themselves to varying degrees. The most prominent were the ministers of the 13 churches just named, especially M'Coll, Alexander, Somerville, A.A. Bonar, and Williams all of whom were long-time revival sympathizers who, prior to the popular phase of the movement in Glasgow, had visited scenes of revival in Ireland.

Other ministers of note whose churches were not used but who spoke in favour of the movement, were present at organizing meetings or on revival platforms include the Rev. Norman MacLeod of Barony EC, the Rev. Dr. Matthew Leishman of Govan EC, the Rev. G.K. Flindt of St. Jude's Episcopal Church, and the Rev. Dr. John Roxburgh of St. John's FC. Of denominational and ministerial responses it is interesting to note that despite the long-term enthusiasm and support of the UPPG and its clergy, including the Rev. W. Ramage of Berkely St. UPC and the Rev. G.M. Middleton of St. Vincent St. UPC, very few of the denomination's churches were used. Of the 13 that were, 6 did not become venues until 1861. This is noteworthy when it is remembered that the UPC was supposedly one of the denominations most greatly affected by the movement.

Until the spring of 1861 intelligence tended to convey the impression that revival permeated the whole of the city. This is the view accepted by the secondary sources. Certainly there was an explosion of meetings in the latter half of 1859, but in a limited number of venues. Certainly also, hundreds of small local gatherings emerged in the New Year of 1860. Their primary purpose, however, was not to attract the anxious and promote conversion and so extend the movement, but rather to instil beliefs and engender behavioural norms.

It was not until the arrival of Hammond that it became clear via news of his activities that the city's suburbs, particularly the West End, had been largely unaffected by the

revival. This was confirmed when the churches most frequently employed as venues for meetings to promote the movement were identified and it was found that their locations were concentrated in the poor, central and eastern ghettos, especially stretching along either bank of the River Clyde; namely the adjacent districts of Finnieston and Anderston, and the Wynds, Bridgegate and Calton on the northern side and Gorbals and Hutchesontown on the southern side of the River.

Interestingly, these are the same districts named by Hill at the ECPG in October 1859 as being the then most affected. By 1861 the movement had evidently not much expanded beyond these most poverty-stricken areas. The concentration of venues in these districts means that much of the southern, northern and western environs, the last two being predominantly middle class areas, were bereft of meetings. This probably accounts for the commuters who, in order to attend revival events, had to travel to centrally located churches such as the Wynds FC, Stockwell FC and Bridgegate FC, all of which were situated within a few streets of each other.

Although the problems associated with the accuracy and reliability of statistics have been highlighted, it might still be possible to make some use of attendance and accession figures, for example, by contextualizing them. This non-critical approach involves accepting the figures as given and comparing them with the overall population size and to previous congregational growth rates.

The largest events in the city occurred each August or September on Glasgow Green with the biggest attendances estimated at 20,000. The largest indoor events were at the City Hall which had a capacity of 3,400. Many churches could accommodate 800 or more per sitting. Occasionally a number would be used simultaneously so, for example, if 6 churches were used as venues for meetings at 8.00pm on a certain evening, and all were reported as full to capacity, this would suggest aggregate attendances for the evening of several thousand.

Unless entirely different people attended each meeting, within the context of a city population of 443,639 only a small percentage of citizens responded to the most publicised and major revival events. An attendance of 20,000 represents less than 5% of the populace and suggests that the vast majority remained uninterested, absent and unaffected. As for the City Hall revival meetings, similar if not larger crowds frequently attended the Hall for other events such as lectures, concerts and soirees: there was nothing unusual in having it full to capacity.

The alleged hundreds of accessions to church membership can also be contextualized, both in terms of congregational growth and district population size. For example, some individual churches, notably East Gorbals FC, Gorbals UPC, the Wynds FC and Lyon St. FC each claimed influxes of 100-200 new members in 1860, after the months when apparently the greatest number

of conversions occurred. The local reports seem to assume that all of these accessions were products of the revival. However, as demonstrated in Chp. 6, the 1850s was a decade of extensive, persistent and aggressive urban mission and church extension, the era of schemes such as 'The Evangelization of the Masses', when similar growth was recorded and revival was not considered present. This perhaps offers one reason why church statistics for the years of the revival show no significant changes from other years.

For example, the Wynds FC itself maintained an influx of about 100 members for each of the 5 years preceding the movement: such was its success that since 1857 the ambition had been to build the even bigger Bridgegate FC. During the same period Wellpark FC showed annual gains of 130, while Greyfriars UPC averaged 127 additions each year for the three years from 1857. With respect to the UPC, at the annual meeting of their Glasgow Mission Churches in April 1862 their persistently increasing membership rolls were deemed to be '...the fruit of ten years missionary work...': no mention at all was made to the revival. (1)

Another point which should be noted with specific reference to Lyon St. FC was that this was a new church which opened on 27 November 1859. It was the result of a prolonged missionary campaign on the part of St. George's FC. All the members of Lyon St. FC would of necessity be noted as accessions but this does not mean that they all joined after having been affected

by revival. The erection of a new church, which would probably have taken at least a year, was a major task and would only have been undertaken if sufficient demand had already been generated by the missionary activities engaged in over the previous years. (2)

The increases in congregational membership could also be viewed in the light of district population size. For example, Gorbals and the Wynds were among the most densely populated areas of the city with about 22,000 inhabitants each. Within this context all the individual annual membership gains and the alleged revival accessions represent less than one percent of the local populace.

As far as children and adolescents are concerned it is informative to refer to Sunday School statistics. These showed that Sunday Schools had been thriving, enjoying persistent growth in the years before the revival. At the Annual Meeting of the Glasgow Sabbath School Union on 26 April 1859 John Wilson, the President and Chairman, declared, '...in no former period were the Sabbath Schools Associations of Glasgow in a more vigorous state.' (3)

In his thesis, C.G. Brown engaged in a detailed study of the city's Sunday Schools. This shows that there were some 96,000 children within the Sunday School age range of 5-15 years, and that in 1859 the rolls increased by 4,811 to reach a total of 55,086, with further increases of 2,935 and 2,281 in 1860 and 1861 respectively. Though interesting the figures are of

limited value as it is impossible to determine from them the influence the revival had on the increases because the raw data does not distinguish gains resulting from it as opposed to those from on-going evangelistic activities or from the opening of new Sunday Schools completely unconnected with the movement. For example, it is only from the quite separate report of the Young St. FC congregational soiree that it is known that the 230 new pupils at that particular Church's Sunday School were the result of the School's recent opening in May 1859. The gains at Lyon St. FC Sunday School were for the same reason. It should also be noted that the gains for 1859-1861 were not unusual with similar increases in every decade of the century. For example, in 1838 2,790 new scholars were added, whilst in 1843 there were 3,377 with 3,931 in 1848, 2,440 in 1854, 3,087 in 1856, 2,075 in 1858, 4,343 in 1866, 3,708 the following year, and 4,891 in 1874. The largest recorded annual increase, 6,317, was in 1882. (4)

Summary Conclusion

The highly publicised claim of prominent revival enthusiasts in the midst of the movement was that it had a major impact amongst the populace and throughout the churches and the city. In tone and content these were very similar to those made of the movement nationally. However, the conclusion reached from the production of the detailed local narrative and its analysis is that this was not the case.

Whilst as many as 50% of Glasgow's minister's supported the movement to some extent not many more than a dozen, or 10%, were active throughout it. As for the churches in the city, they were far from permeated with revival with only a minority, about 4 in every 10, used as venues for revival meetings: the majority of these being utilized for only a relatively few assemblies. Indeed, only about 1 in 10 of the city's churches were used frequently and consistently throughout the most intense period of the movement. Of the population, only a very small proportion responded.

In February 1861 the GH proclaimed, '...the visitation was comparatively a light one...only a few of our respected citizens were very terribly affected.' A year later a correspondent in TR referred to, '...the awful state of the city...', to the '...tens of thousands...' who never heard the gospel and to '...the thousands...' to whom '...the glorious liberty of the children of God is not preached....' The writer claimed, 'Sectarianism and want of unity are murdering their thousands in this city....The love of mammon, the love of fine Roman Catholic-looking Gothic buildings, and formalism and sectarianism are rampant in Glasgow.' (5)

Shortly afterwards, in July 1862, even M'Coll admitted, in a statement somewhat contrary to many of his prominent earlier ones, and one never before cited:

Many months of most precious time passed before the Church, as a whole, would believe the work was real: or if real, was worth having. When revival came to congregations or places, in not a few instances the work came to a

speedy end. Some of those who reaped more in a week than they had done in a series of years, were contented with their week. And thus to a large extent the work of Revival, although it has everywhere left its individual results in conversion and renewed life, has not everywhere left a very much larger surface of cultivated land, or a greatly improved husbandry. (6)

The conclusion drawn from the local narrative is more akin to this statement by M'Coll than to many of his others. Just as the popular claims made of the revival on a national level were vastly exaggerated so too, in Glasgow, there was a similar exaggeration.

Footnotes.

- (1) NBDM 4-4-62, 2/3: GH 4-4-62, 4/5.
- (2) v. SG 8-5-60, 3/2.
- (3) SG 29-4-59, 2/7ff..
- (4) v. C.G. Brown 1982, Vol.II, p.22, Table 8.1 n.1; Table 8.2, pp.36-39: SG 29-3-60, 3/1: Hillis, pp.200ff..
- (5) GH 14-2-61, 2/4: TR No.140, 29-3-62.
- (6) WJ No.148, 26-7-62.

SECTION SIX

CONCLUSION.

Chapter Twenty

The Revival Myth of '59.

The summary conclusions and analyses throughout the thesis render it superfluous to cite details again. The conclusion, therefore, will take the form of a general statement.

The 1859 revival was no doubt significant in the life of the churches caught up in it, however, most were not.

It was obviously a major event in the lives of those actively engaged in it. Even with the advantage of 50 years of hindsight, it seems that the movement was the highlight of their church lives. At the anniversary meeting of veterans in Aberdeen in 1909 the Rev. George Reith of the United Free Church College in Glasgow declared: '...the first visit of Moody and Sankey to Glasgow...was a remarkable time....And its effects were great; but...I hardly think, in retrospect, that it came up to the standard of 1859....' Clearly a great impression had been made but, as with the churches, the vast majority of people were unimpressed. (1)

The revival promoted evangelicalism, but as a popular movement it relied on simplistic theology and avoided doctrinal discussion. It did not, therefore, make any noticeable or distinct contribution to theological debate or advancement.

Whilst ecumenism was allegedly a product of the revival, research shows that the roots of this may predate the movement, and that in any case the cooperation and

denominationally 'united' meetings held during it did not endure beyond early 1862. It should also be noted that the ecumenism which did occur was only amongst evangelically-minded, pro-revival churchmen. Significantly, with respect to the union negotiations entered into by the FC and UPC in 1863, no primary or secondary source identifies the revival as influential. (2)

As regards the use of hymnsinging and lay preachers the revival was highly influential. It helped relax attitudes so that these were more readily acceptable. An important consequence regarding the latter was that it helped pave the way for the introduction of what was essentially a new type of revival, one led by a star personality.

The impact of this has previously been overlooked by commentators yet it is a significant development, at least within those churches who promoted revival, because it heralded a more pro-active approach. Although still considered to be the work of the Holy Spirit, now planning clearly supplemented praying with more advance preparation occurring. Headhunting and the issuing of invitations to popular preachers commenced. Once individuals had been secured, itineraries were drawn up with meetings organized in specially targetted locations. These were advertised extensively with the identity of the famous speakers featuring prominently. Whilst native enthusiasm and support remained crucial in providing personnel back-up and speaking platforms, the

traditionally perceived revival characteristic of spontaneity was now giving way to campaigning, with the role of the local clergy being superseded by that of imported stars who were frequently non-ordained.

It was commonly claimed that the revival resulted in decreasing levels of crime and delinquency, and that much welfare and philanthropic work issued from it. This has led to the assertion that the movement was a socially significant phenomenon that, in the words of Orr, '...[it] profoundly influenced British life.' The verdict from this research, however, is that the movement was not the catalyst it was presumed to be in respect of improvements in social behaviour and in the motivation behind schemes to combat poverty and deprivation. The roots of many of these predate the movement. (3)

The conclusion of this thesis is that the revival did not have the impact perceived and previously claimed. Panoramic observations, generalizations and exaggerated statements by prominent pro-revivalists caught up in the midst of the movement, together with passionate, uncritical scholarship have combined to create and perpetuate the myth that the 1859 movement '...stirred the life of Victorian Scotland....' (4)

Research shows that such views are gross overestimates and that rampant revival did not envelop the nation, the churches, the city or the population, nor was it a great catalyst for social action. The revival myth has been exposed. The movement

was not the major influential spiritual and social event of the Victorian era to which it has been popularly elevated.

Footnotes.

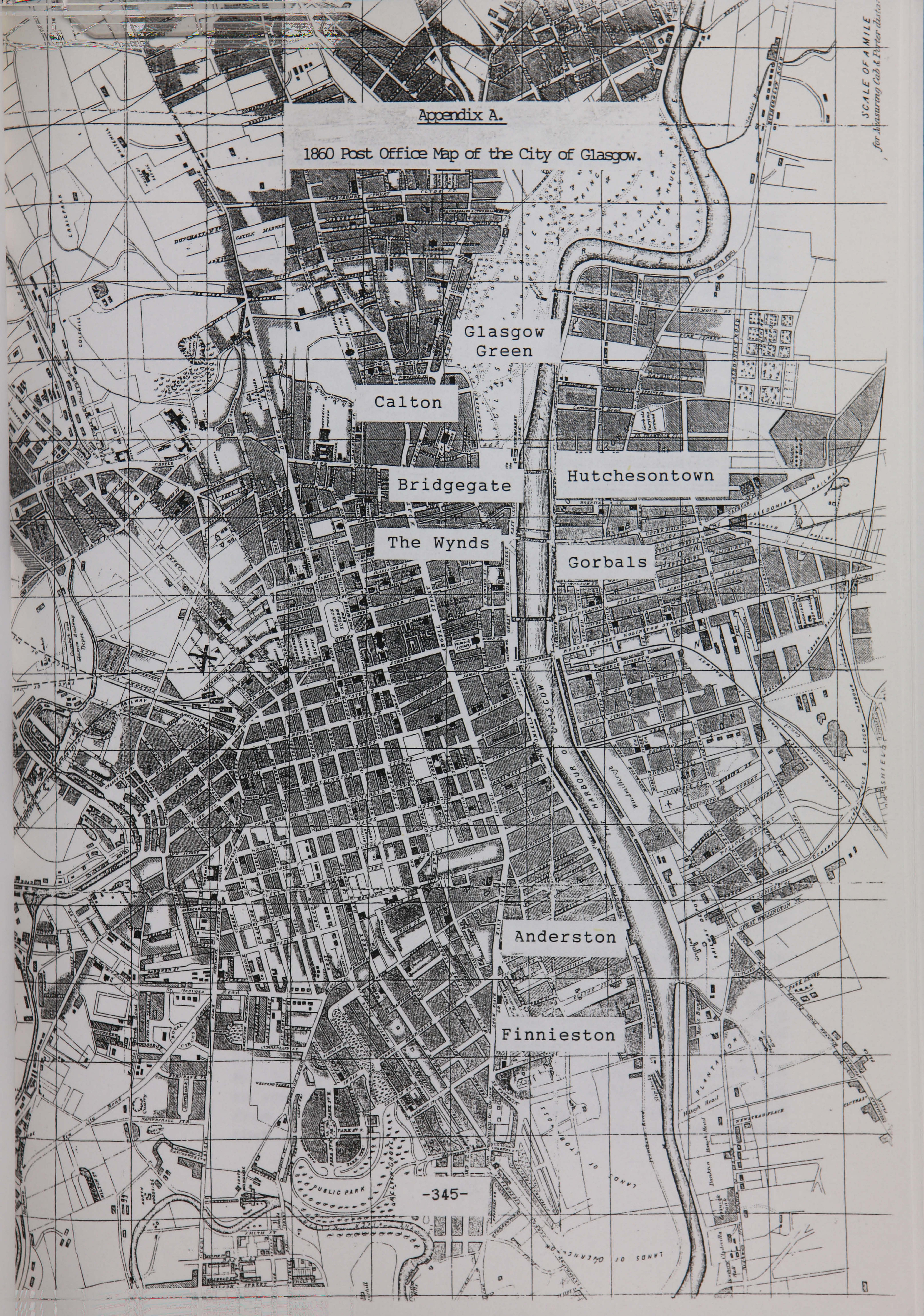
- (1) *Reminiscences...*, p.34
- (2) v. Stephen, pp.652f.: Macpherson, pp.410f.: Raleigh, p.323: Drummond & Bulloch, Chp.11 especially pp.317-319: Ross in DSCHT, p.836.
- (3) Orr, pp.8f..
- (4) Drummond & Bulloch, p.185.

APPENDICES.

Appendix A.

1860 Post Office Map of the City of Glasgow.

SCALE OF A MILE
for Measuring Cub & Paper Distances



Glasgow Green

Calton

Bridgegate

The Wynds

Hutchesontown

Gorbals

Anderston

Finnieston

Appendix B.

An Eyewitness Description of a Revival Meeting at the Wynds FC.

Last night I spent three hours in the Wynds Church. Although the night was unusually wet and stormy, yet the church was filled. A little after eight the meeting was opened with praise and prayer, conducted by the excellent minister of the church, Rev. Mr. M'Coll. I was struck with the number of requests for prayer which he read, as well as the great sagacity and skill with which he went about the discharge of his duty. For example, he himself at a throne of grace, presented and pleaded the cases of not fewer than eight. This was done in regular succession. One could not resist the gush of feeling which was sometimes ready to overwhelm even the stoutest heart, when such petitions as, 'Lord pity this profligate father - have mercy on this bereaved and distressed wife - call in the wanderings of this wayward, forward son - and strengthen the faith, blessed Jesus, of this daughter who desires to love thee and follow thee through trial, much temptation, and suffering' - were being offered. There seemed to be a vivid realization of the nearness of God, the infinite importance of an interest in Christ, and the great realities of eternity.

Throughout the course of the evening, Mr. M'Coll addressed the anxious. There was one illustration he used, which, by its plainness and point, I thought was remarkably suited to the class of people present. He said, to those who were burdened with their sins, something like the following:

'You have seen a horse fallen upon the streets with the load it was pulling resting upon it. It feels that it is in a bad position, but it has not got sense to lie still until the bands are loosed, and consequently it requires to be held down. It struggles to rise of itself, even with its load, but this is impossible. So it is with the sin-laden sinner who has not found Christ. He strives to deliver himself, and will not wait until the bands, which formerly bound him, are loosed, until the burden is taken away by the precious arm of Jesus. And oh! it is only then we can rise and walk in the glorious liberty wherewith He sets his people free.'

This plain and practical illustration seemed to be appreciated by all.

After not fewer than thirty requests for prayer were read and presented before the throne of grace, as well as a considerable number of places in Scotland, England, and Ireland, and elsewhere mentioned for special supplication, Mr. M'Coll remarked that in several cases striking answers to their prayers had been received. He had a communication from a friend in Tillicoultry that very night, who said that the work of God had begun there, and was progressing

in a very wonderful manner. This place had been subject to earnest pleading for some time, and now the answer has come in showers of blessing.

The first meeting was dismissed a little after ten o'clock. A second meeting began a few minutes afterwards. About a hundred remained. Mr. M'Coll remarked that all who now remained were considered to be anxious about their souls. It was to me a matter of great joy to see so many poor people mixed up with others of a higher class, some with bare heads and bare feet, weeping after the Saviour. A young man from Tillicoultry, who had been recently converted by means of one of his companions, who had himself only been recently brought to Jesus through the instrumentality of the Wynds Mission nightly prayer-meeting, said,

'Like many others, I thought I was all right, that I was going to heaven. I attended church, prayer-meetings occasionally, and family worship.... On hearing that my companion had been converted at the Wynds Church, I began to think, Well now, suppose my companions be saved, and I lost, what a terrible thing it will be to see them pass away and I excluded for ever; nay, more, shut up in that place of torments where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched. On Saturday evening, in company with a companion, I went to visit a young woman who was anxious about her soul; and although my companion spoke to her of the love of Jesus, and his willingness to save, yet I could not open my mouth. I could not tell of the love of one whose love I had not experienced myself. I felt all was not right with me. I attended a young men's prayer-meeting next morning. I was called upon to pray, but it was no prayer. I only spoke to please the young men, not to plead with God. That evening we had family worship as usual. We proposed to sing the eighth verse of the thirty-fourth psalm: -

"O taste and see that God is good;
Who trusts in Him is blessed."

I said, "I cannot sing that verse until I can sing it not only with the understanding, but with the heart." We went down on our knees, and it was then I received the new life. A flood of light rushed into my mind; I could see that Jesus was my Saviour, and that being connected with him I was an heir of glory. Oh, what a happiness I felt. I cannot tell what I felt. I could not rest that night without calling in my neighbours and telling them what great things the Lord had done for my soul. We sat up till between two and three in the morning, singing and reading together.'

At the close, a minister came forward and said that that was the way he would always like to preach, like the apostle, 'weeping.' I would like to undergo a second conversion, so that anew I might consecrate myself more

unreservedly to the service of my dear Redeemer.
The second meeting concluded about eleven o'clock.

(TR No. 17, 19-11-59: cf. WJ No. 34, 19-5-60)

Appendix C.

The following is not a complete list, but amongst those present at the meeting in the RIR on 17 October 1859 to discuss the UPPG proposal to the Glasgow Committee of the Evangelical Alliance for a daily united prayer meeting at the City Hall were:

the Rev. Drs. Buchanan, Robson, Gillan, Robertson,
M' Taggart, Paterson and Jeffrey;
the Rev. Messrs. M' Gill, M' Dougal, Middleton, James
Johnston, Russell, Jeffrey, Monteith, Borland, M' Dermid,
M' Rae, Parker, Calderwood, Watson, Ramage, A. Fraser, D.
Johnston, H. Fraser, A. G. Forbes, Forrest, Burgess,
Miller, Scott, John Henderson of Park, W. P. Paton, Geo.
Gallie, A. Cameron and W. M' Donald.

(v. GH 22-10-59, 2/6)

Appendix D.

The following is not a complete list, but amongst the Glasgow ministers present at the inaugural daily united prayer meeting in the City Hall on 24 October were:

Established Church:

the Rev. Drs. M' Taggart, MacLeod and Jamieson
the Rev. Messrs. M. Cockrane, M'Lean and Henderson;

Free Church:

the Rev. Prof. Douglas
the Rev. Drs. Buchanan, Smyth, Henderson, Lorimer,
Roxburgh and Patterson
the Rev. Messrs. MacDougall, D. M'Coll, A. Brown,
M'Kay, Menzies, M'Kinnon, Somerville. James Johnstone
and Craig;

United Presbyterian Church:

the Rev. Profs. Lindsay and Eadie
the Rev. Drs. Robson, Robertson, Macfarlane, Taylor
and Jeffrey
the Rev. Messrs. H. M'Gill, Calderwood, J.W. Borland,
G. Jeffrey, Middleton, Blyth, Macrae, Logan Aikman,
Alex. Wallace, J.B. Johnston, Ramage, Edmond and Knox;

Reformed Presbyterian Church:

the Rev. Dr. Symington
the Rev. Messrs. M'Dermid and A.M. Symington

Congregationalist Church:

the Rev. David Johnstone and A.G. Forbes

Baptist:

the Rev. Dr. James Paterson
the Rev. Messrs. Williams and Macleod;

Episcopalian:

the Rev. Mr. Flindt.

(SG 25-10-59, 2)

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