THESIS TITLE.

The Free Church of Scotland, 1843-1880: its members and benefactors who rose with great enthusiasm to the challenge of the Disruption, with particular reference to the issue of theological education and the establishment of the Free Church College, Glasgow. This is a study of the people who worked for and financed the College.

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Abstract.

This thesis focuses quite specifically on the establishment of the Free Church College in Glasgow, where men were to be trained for the ministry of this church. In 1843, many of the ablest clergy and teachers decided to leave the Established Church of Scotland, and become Free Church members and ministers. To a certain degree, the mood was one of self-righteousness and triumphalism. Wherever the Established Church had got it wrong, the Free Church was going to get it right. One area in which they were determined to challenge their other brethren was in the provision of theological education. Inspired by Thomas Chalmers, there was innovation and development. But this was not without a struggle. This thesis describes the struggle that was specific to Glasgow, and yet, which was also part of a more national struggle, as the Free Church, after the Disruption tried to find its place, and to establish its identity with the Scottish people, alongside the Established Church.

A close examination of the rise of the Glasgow College also shows one that there were social, economic, and demographic similarities that embraced the type of person who affiliated himself/herself with the Free Church. It is for this reason that there is much biographical material in this thesis. Who were these people who were founder members of the Free Church? Why did they give so generously to their cause? How were they able to be so generous; from where did they get their wealth? For how long was it attainable and maintainable?

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INTRODUCTION

> The day was snowy, and the stone floor and the dreary void gave it an aspect of coldness and deadness, the recollection of which now forms a strong contrast to the spectacle often afterwards seen there, of the solemn assembly of those who had witnessed a good confession for Christ, surrounded by tier upon tier of an earnest audience, all animated with a warm and holy enthusiasm, and engaged in doings of which the memory will never die.[1]

The day was the 18 May 1843 and the place was Tanfield Hall: a warehouse room piled high with boxes of oranges. Today a major insurance company in Edinburgh's Stockbridge district occupies the site. The gathered company had firstly met as members of the General Assembly of the Established Church of Scotland in St. Andrew's Church, George Street, Edinburgh. Therein, the ecclesiastical parties of the day had sat separately: the Moderates on the right of the Moderator's chair and the Evangelicals to the left of it. Also, on that day, an excited public had filled the galleries. In the ten years previous to the Disruption, the Church of Scotland had been clearly divided over the Church's role in society and position within the state: it was a time in church history which came to be known as the years of the 'Ten Years' Conflict' (1834-43). The Evangelicals desired an end to patronage and wanted spiritual independence for the Church from the state, as outlined in the 'Claim of Right'. Late in 1842, the Evangelicals met to make preparations for Disruption as it was clear by then that the government of the day was not prepared to abolish patronage, nor acknowledge the Church's spiritual independence.

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[1] Henderson, G.,D., *Heritage: A Study of the Disruption*, 2 edn, (Oliver and Boyd, 1943), p.109.

G.D. Henderson in his work, *Heritage*, also highlighted the influence that Sir Walter Scott and Romanticism had on many within the Church of the time. And when one reads of the fire and the passion that was associated with the Evangelicals and the Free Church one can't help but agree that there was a kindred spirit here between the psychological world of the author and that of the passion of many of the early Free Church leaders and members. For Romanticism was a:

> temper which depended upon feeling as contrasted with reason, and was associated with the natural, spontaneous and individual, by way of reaction from the artificial, ordered, authoritative and objective. It was something of the same spirit in religion that laid stress upon the Gospel as contrasted with the Law, upon the inward, individual approach to God as contrasted with the external observances of organised religion and upon freedom of conscience as contrasted with the restraints and requirements of authority. [2]

The Moderates were on the right of the Moderator's Chair and the Evangelicals were on the left. The Moderates remained in their seats: the Evangelicals did not stay. First to leave the Assembly was Dr David Welsh (1793-1845), the outgoing moderator and Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Edinburgh. Then came those who were sitting on the front Evangelical bench: Dr Thomas Chalmers (1780- 1847), Dr Robert Gordon (1786-1853), Dr Patrick McFarlan (1781-1849), Dr Robert Smith Candlish (1806-73), and Dr William Cunningham (1805-61). With the exceptions of Drs Candlish and Cunningham, the other leaders were men of a more senior status within the Established Church. Dr Chalmers needs no introduction. Dr Robert Gordon was a senior statesman of the Evangelical Party in the Church of Scotland. He was Modera-

[2] Ibid. p.53.

tor of the General Assembly in 1841 and such was his commitment to the Disruption that virtually all his congregation, of Edinburgh's High Church of Scotland, followed him into the Free Church. Dr Patrick McFarlan was Dr Chalmers' successor at St John's Church of Scotland in Glasgow between 1824 and 1832, and was Moderator of the Church of Scotland in 1834.

The younger Churchmen in Candlish and Cunningham were to become powerful leaders in the new Free Church, although even by the time of the Disruption they were already influential men within the Evangelical Party. In the 1839 Assembly, Dr Candlish gave his maiden speech in which he strongly and clearly rejected any notion that the Church should compromise her spiritual liberty. He sat firmly on the evangelical bench and played a critical part in the bringing about of the Disruption in the two years prior to its happening. Dr Cunningham became the Free Church's first Professor of Theology in Edinburgh. With the exception of Dr Chalmers, the senior Churchmen had all served as Moderator and Dr McFarlan was to do so again for the Free Church in 1845. Both Drs Candlish and Cunningham were Moderators in the making. Such a position is perhaps not the ultimate yardstick by which to measure a person's gifts and talents, but hopefully these brief overviews of the aforementioned Churchmen show that from the outset, the Disruption cause and the Free Church had attracted a high quality of Church leaders. The Church of Scotland lost many of its more capable Churchmen on that day of May 18 1843. The aforementioned men were not alone as they walked away from St Andrew's Church. Others followed and they advanced along George Street and down Hanover Street to a new Church and

institution: ahead of them were many tense days and years, as the Free Church tried to establish itself, financially and spiritually, and in pastoral and educational matters. There is a real sense in which all these categories overlap one with another, but for the purposes of this thesis much of the discussion and writing will concentrate on the financial and educational issues of the early Free Church in general and the Free Church in Glasgow in particular. In Edinburgh there was great anticipation:

> The event was expected; the city was all excitement; the populace and the many friends of the Assembly members from all over the country were lining the street...Seldom in Scottish history had any scene aroused such emotion. [3]

But it was not just in Edinburgh and along its streets and its public places that spirits were so. In Glasgow the excitement on hearing the news that the Disruption had taken place was: 'as intense as if the disruption had never been anticipated'.[4] On the Sunday following the Disruption, every Established Church in Glasgow was crowded and most of the Disruption ministers preached their farewell sermons. We are told that within a short time the city Churches had all but doubled. In October 1843, this enthusiasm was revived when the General Assembly met in Glasgow for the first time, since 1638. On the latter occasion the bishops had been excommunicated and the Presbyterian form of government had been accepted. This time, the Free Church made elaborate preparations, for the Assembly to be held in the City Hall, which was decorated in Presbyterian blue. About six hundred people were present during the

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[3] Ibid. p.109.

[4] MacGregor, George, *The History of Glasgow from the Earliest Period to the Present Time*, (Glasgow, 1881), p.432.

week: 'and as they were accompanied by their friends from all parts of the country, the influx of strangers into the city was very great'.[5]

At that time Dr Chalmers was of the opinion that prior to 1834 one third of the population of Glasgow had had no connection with the Church. Even if we make allowances for his evangelical passion and fervour, it has to be recognised that there were signs in Glasgow, in the first few decades after the Disruption, of a considerable rallying of the population to the Free Church. Visually, it is possible to see the signs of growth and interest in the Free Church when you recognise the Church building work that was supported by Free Church members, in these days. One such building was the Free Church Glasgow College, which was opened in 1857 and which one cannot miss, even to this day when one is approaching Glasgow's West End. For there on the horizon is one tall Lombard Tower and alongside it and impacting on this tower, are the smaller, yet similar towers of the adjoining Free College Church, which were later converted into the College Library. The three towers on the Glasgow landscape are a timely reminder to informed Glaswegians, historians, and correctly educated ministers and theologians, of the fiery and passionate days of the Free Church in the nineteenth century.

The 'Towers' speak of a people's struggle against the establishment and tradition of Edinburgh, even when working within a new Church. The towers are also a reminder of the Free Churchmen in Glasgow who fought to extend theological education and who financed it through their generosity: the most notable at the outset being one Dr

[5] Ibid. p 432.

William Clark whose pledge and legacy to finance the building of the college inspired others to follow, thus making the physical presence of the college possible. The other major benefactor whose contribution will be examined closer at a later stage, but whose name is worth mentioning, was Dr Clark's cousin: William Towers Clark. There were also other leading business, commercial, property and landed gentlemen and family members who were very influential at this time in the history of the Free Church in Glasgow and Scotland.

The Glasgow Free Church College, or 'Trinity College' as it became known following the Union of 1929, emerged out of a spirited and great struggle. The Disruption was followed by disagreement between the Limitarians and the Extensionists. The former were led by one of the named Evangelical frontbenchers, Dr William Cunningham, who believed that New Free Church College in Edinburgh should be the sole provider for all the requirements and needs of the Free Church's theological education. On the other side, yet from the same bench, was Dr Candlish who wanted colleges in Glasgow and Aberdeen. This disagreement ran deeper than theological differences or differing approaches to the content of education and training for the ministry. At the heart of much of the polemic and debate was the existence of an Edinburgh / Glasgow struggle. This became a struggle, which had all the necessary theological, spiritual and educational motifs, but which also, had sociological and demographic passion. This whole field of research leaves plenty space for the

subjective. As a graduate of Glasgow University it is pleasing to be with the Extensionists and to side with their cause and to agree with their polemic. But, this was not a one sided debate; there was much at stake. Both sides had a cause worth fighting for and they fought with their minds and words. This spirited struggle contributed greatly to the life and witness of the Church and to the passion and energy of the cause.

Already, in this introduction, one has introduced some of the key figures behind the Disruption. Now it would seem to be appropriate to give a brief overview of the city of Glasgow at this time, since a great part of this thesis is set in this city and with some of its inhabitants. What kind of city was Glasgow in the nineteenth century? Regardless of the Disruption, the 1840s was a very busy time for Glasgow. The population had been growing and was continuing to grow. In 1831 Glasgow had a population of 202,426, which continued to increase to 510,816 by 1881, and this was despite a cholera outbreak in the 1850s. [6] Birth rates continued to increase and this was alongside a marked increase in deaths in the city. Such was the need for burial ground and cemetery accommodation that a joint stock company was formed to provide for this need: thus it is at this time that we witness the establishment of the Glasgow Necropolis. A trip through the city in 1843 is described in the history of *Free St Matthews Church* [7] where, for example, George Square is described as a grass-grown

[6]Ibid. p. 483.
[7] Philip, G.,E., *Free St Matthews Church, Glasgow*, (Glasgow 1898)

enclosure. Gilmorehill is uncrowned by the University. The Free Church College, 'now so conspicuous from afar, has not arisen'.[8]

On the south-side of the city, Pollockshields had a 'few isolated homes'. On the north side of the river, St George's Cross marked the extremes of the westerly point of the city and Great Western Road stretched out into the countryside. The population in 1843 was two hundred and fifty five thousand, six hundred and fifty. In 1898, at the time of writing the history of *Free St Matthew's*, the population was seven hundred and five thousand. By the 1840s, Glasgow was benefiting from increased transport facilities: in 1789 the first coaches began to run regularly from Glasgow to London and in 1842 Edinburgh and Glasgow were connected by rail.

By the 1850s, the decade of the establishment of the Glasgow College, the city had progressed further in its commercial relationships, and this brought further changes: fewer green fields; public works were being set down in various parts of the city and factories multiplied in the east of the city. In 1856 there were thirty thousand cotton spinners and power loom weavers in the west of Scotland, of which Glasgow was the central market. However, business was not always was booming in commercial Glasgow. In 1857 the earliest of the Glasgow joint stock banks - The Western Bank- failed and this caused alarm in the city. Also, in that year, The City of Glasgow Bank, which like the Western took in small savings from the working classes, had had to close its doors.

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[8] Ibid. p. 4.

Such landed, propertied and commercial achievements in the city did not just have a bearing on the secular and commercial interests of the city. The financial and commercial health of the city helped the Free Church to grow. Whilst it was the case that the Established Church had more of the city's wealthy magnates, the Free Church had many generous merchants and the like. In Glasgow:

> efforts, merit rather than privilege, philanthropy the major work seems to have been undertaken by men who were eminent and wealthy through their own and public service.[9]

In the case of Aberdeen, Allan MacLaren described the distinctive social pattern which emerged between the sections of the middle class who adhered to the Established Church, and those who left to join the Free Church: 'the success of the new Church was a reflection and a measure of their own success in bourgeois society'.[10] The established long-standing middle-class tended to hold down business and professional careers, whereas the new middle class diversified, as they developed their commission agencies or merchant businesses. Later on in this thesis one will encounter such men who were the principal benefactors of the Glasgow College: men such as William Campbell of Tullichewan, merchant.

In his book MacLaren described the life of one Neil Smith from Aberdeen, who started out living in the poorer Gallowgate district of the city. In 1840, he began his

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[9] Aspinwall, B., *Portable Utopia: Glasgow and the United States 1820-1920,* (Aberdeen, 1984), p.xvii.

[10] MacLaren, A., Allan, *Religion and Social Class: The Disruption Years in Aberdeen.* (London, 1974), p.116.

working life as an agent for a number of ships, and by 1852 he was the director of the Aberdeen Fire and Life Insurance Company. Between 1831 and 1861 he had moved house nine times.

P. Hillis, in his study on Glasgow, likewise described the two types of middle class Churchman and once again one sees that both men associate the typical urban Free Church elder, with the desire and the practice of mobility. [11]

Without doubt the Free Church attracted energetic businessmen: its appeal, especially in the cities, was that it was an attractive Church for the upwardly mobile. This type of energy and drive one will read about throughout this thesis in relation to the Glasgow College and the Free Church's projects in general. When one studies the various benefactors in connection with the Glasgow College, one will see and meet the people behind the College.

By way of introduction to the Glasgow Free Church members, one will quote as a further means of introduction to our study, the trades of various of the elders of Free Anderson Church: grain merchant; brewer; baker; yarn merchant, dry goods merchant; smith; flour merchant; wine merchant; window-blind maker; warehouseman; builder; grocer; mason and chemical worker. Out of the fifty-seven elders there was one teacher and one lawyer, and two bailiffs and an accountant.[12]

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[11]Hillis, P.L.M., 'The Sociology of the Disruption in Scotland', *Scotland in the Age of the Disruption*, Edited by Stewart J. Brown and Michael Fry. (Edinburgh University Press, 1993), p.55.
[12] Adamson, Thomas, *Free Anderson Church A Centenary Sketch, 1900*, (New College).

On the Sunday following the Disruption, with the enthusiasm of the moment, every Established Church in Glasgow was crowded with most of the Disruption ministers preaching their last sermons. Disruption fever had taken a hold of Glasgow and Glasgow embraced the Free Church. From the outset the Free Church's leaders, both clergy and laity seemed to believe in their conviction that they were not made up of an insignificant breakaway branch of the Established Church. Financially, the ministers who left put a considerable burden upon themselves and those who followed them, and yet its leaders envisaged a Church which could compete alongside the Established Church and vie for a parish based provision and responsibility to their fellow Scottish people.

Such was the burden of their dreams and convictions that provision needed to be made for manses and stipends; likewise for Church buildings and for the training of their leaders who were not to be trained and educated, other than within their own college infrastructure. The Free Church leaders set themselves high standards and in turn they made demands of their Church which some felt, even from within the Church, were beyond their means and their resources. It has to be acknowledged that they did not do this without the necessary leadership skills. Nor did its members and leaders waste time to see how things would come to be in their new Church. So soon, its members were speaking out for what they wanted for their Church and city. This was especially true for Glasgow and Aberdeen and for the people of Edinburgh who wanted to ensure their secure position within the Free Church. Thus as early as

1847, the Free Church of Glasgow Presbytery presented a 'Memorial' to the General Assembly. Upwards of sixty student petitioners declared that:

> From the circumstances of Glasgow and the numerous situations which it affords to young men of ability and picty, in the Normal School, as city and congregational missionaries, and Teachers of Youth, it may confidently be expected that there will always be a certain number of aspirants to the office of ministry. [13]

The Extensionists believed that this merited the case for a College in Glasgow, and counted amongst these people were academics, ministers, students in training and some generous and visionary Church members. The Extensionists were often accused of being divisive for the Free Church and nobody could question this. Psychologically, the Churchmen who moved to the Free Church had shown that they were more than willing to rebel in principle. It would also seem that many of them were strong characters, most likely with charismatic and evangelical flare. If this had not been so, they would not have managed to carry with them, their many 'converts'. I am sure that the members of the Established Church of Scotland, then as now, would not have been so moved by the 'Veto Act' or the 'Claim of Right' as to leave their family pews to travel into the unknown. Some principled Church members might well have done so and did, but many more did so because of the crusading package as presented by their leaders and preachers. Without the evangelical fervour of men such as Dr Chalmers, monies would not have been raised: landowners would not have been persuaded to sell or give land; Churches and manses would not have been built. The

[13] A copy of the *Memorial of the Free Presbytery of Glasgow,* 1847, (New College, Edinburgh), p. 20.

Free Church, in the decades following the Disruption, was a hotbed of high emotion and arrogance. 'We believe that in the pulpits of the Free Church with scarcely an exception, the whole Gospel is preached evangelical ministers are embarrassed in their ministrations'. [14]

The 1832 Reform Act had given increased parliamentary representation to many of the commercial and industrial middle classes. The birth of the Free Church a decade later gave new power, authority and control to many of these same people. All of these people contributed to an impressive achievement in 19th century Scotland: the provision and training for its ministers of word and sacrament at a national and local level. The Glasgow College is an example of a local initiative, arising out of and being influenced by a wider concern. It is to this study that this thesis will now address itself.

[14] *The Free Church Magazine*, vol. 3, 1846, p.26.

CHAPTER ONE

SURVEY AND ASSESSMENT OF THE SOURCES

The sources used for this study fall into three categories. Firstly, original manuscript material: secondly, and by far the most informative and exciting material, contemporary or near contemporary published sources. Lastly, later secondary literature, including the only book written on the Glasgow Free Church College or 'Trinity College' as it came to be known following the 1929 Union.[15] Some small pieces are also found in the *Trinity College Bulletin.*

The sources for this research in the first two categories are found in three locations. The first is the archival material of the Free Church College that are in Glasgow University Archives. In the 'College Archives' there are some interesting letters written about the establishment of the College. There are also some legal documents in the copies of the last wills and testaments of some of the College's benefactors. The most notable testament is that of Dr William Clark (June 1859), who was the driving force behind the realisation of the college with regard to its financial foundation.[16] There are also copies of the original Deeds of Constitution for the establishment of scholarships that were essential for a college that did not benefit from public or ecclesiastical

[15] Mechie, Stewart, *Trinity College, Glasgow 1856-1956*, (London and Glasgow, 1956).

[16] The Minute Book of Trinity College, *General Papers*, Glasgow University Archives, 1 August 1859.

endowments. Among such scholarships are the Stevenson and Paterson Scholarships, both of which were important for the college and its students.[17]

Also to be found in the 'College Archives' are the College's Minute Books, which records the initial discussions and activity, surrounding the request and the desire for a College at Glasgow. The Minute Books also provide one with a record of the events following the College's establishment in 1857 as they record contemporaneously the discussions that took place prior to the College's foundation. Therein is also a record of the first step that was taken on behalf of the Glasgow ministers and students who drafted a document in 1844 that came to be known as the 'Student Memorial'. In this they asked the Presbytery to take steps towards the erection of a 'Hall' in Glasgow. Indeed this is the only point at which one can sense something of the spirit of the battle that was ahead of them. The rest of the material, which is not always in legible handwriting, is routine reportage. The Minute Books' useful chronology starts in 1857 with an account of the initial meeting at which Dr Clarke's will was discussed, and records the establishment of bursaries and the financing thereof, together with the names of any benefactors.

The 'College Archives' also contain incidental material on other aspects of the establishment and life of the College. Some of this makes somewhat tedious, yet mildly amusing reading when put in the context of the spirit and the life of the Church. For example, one can find there, three pieces of writing on the subject of the donation

[17] *General Papers*, Trinity College Archives, Glasgow University Archives.

and the dispatch of a mere thirteen books to the College, from one Churchman's library. Amidst the written arrangements for the transference of the books is the bill for the packaging of the said books including the cost of 1-5d for the rope.[18] At a later stage in the life of the College there is a letter from a lady who was leaving her piano to the College: her only condition being that she can be assured that the piano will be tuned regularly. Such material might appear to be unworthy of inclusion in that it does not directly connect to the establishment of the College, yet its inclusion reveals the spirit of some of the ordinary people who were behind the establishment and continuation of the College. Behind its inception were not just high status financiers, Churchmen and University teachers. At the heart of the College's existence was the great zeal of a wide spectrum of Glasgow people, whose vision and passion brought about the Free Church College of Glasgow.

The second category of sources which gives one much insight into the feelings which were behind the College's establishment, and which set many of the issues surrounding its existence, are to be found in contemporary printed sources. These are chiefly pamphlet material, most of which can be found in the New College Library, Edinburgh. The specific content of this material and its invaluable significance for our topic will emerge in the course of this thesis. It is sufficient to say for the moment, that a study of these lively pamphlets makes it possible to follow many of the debates that took place, whilst entering into the mood and the spirit of the contemporary debate on College Extension. The Church academics of the day, and members of the

[18] Ibid.

Free Church General Assembly's College Committee, wrote most of this type of material. For example, two pamphlets in particular are worth highlighting.

The first is inscribed with the words: 'Dr Rainy's Copy' and was written by Dr James Buchanan (1804-1870) of Glasgow in 1849. It is a pamphlet written on the subject of the College Question.[19] Professor Rainy (1826-1906) was a teacher at New College, Edinburgh. Another, dated 1850, is by one Rev. James Gibson (1799-1821) of Edinburgh. The latter is a reply to Drs R. Candlish (1806-1873) and Buchanan. [20]

The pamphlet material highlights the issues, rhetoric and passion that characterised the early years of the Free Church as well as the problem of theological education and its location. One particular pamphlet has the title: *Crack About The College*. All we know about this pamphlet is that a 'Free Church Member' wrote it in 1855. It is polemical and one will return to it in the main text of this thesis. Its flavour is worth signalling: 'What Dr Buchanan does - if he pipe, Dr Cunningham (1805-1861) will not dance: if he mourn neither will he lament. Dr Buchanan is a friend to College Extension and that is a Mordecai in the gate'.[21]

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[19] Buchanan, James, *A Letter to the Office Bearers and Members of the Free Church of Scotland on the College Question* (1849).

[20] Gibson, James, *A Letter addressed to the Free Churchmen and especially to the Free Churchmen of Glasgow* (1850).

[21] *Crack About the College*, (1855) p.31. Mordecai is a cousin of the Old Testament Biblical character, Esther. Reference to this story can be found in the book of *Esther*: particularly in chapters 2,3,6,8,and 9. When Esther became Queen to the Persian King Ashaserus, Mordecai became one of the king's men, sitting at the king's gate. Whilst sitting there he heard of a plot on the king's life and through Esther he passed this onto the king, who in turn had the men hanged. What followed was an attempt to destroy the Jews. The king's household was thrown into disarray by the revelation that the Queen and Mordecai were Jews. Loyalties and allegiances were split. Likewise Dr Buchanan was a 'Mordecai in the gate' as he was to turn the Free Church into a battlefield over the question of College extension.

The pamphlet material reflects the energy and the excitement of the Disruption. There was fire and passion at the Disruption: there is fire and passion in such writings. Social historians whose interests lie with a people's psychological and religious make-up rely on such written sources so that they can capture the spirit of the age. However, it goes without saying that the historian still needs chronologically to chart the events of the time.

The third location is the Regional Archives in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow. Here the hand-written records of the Glasgow Free Church Presbytery Minutes are kept dating from 1843. Depending on the handwriting of the Clerk, these records are of use and value. Reference was made in them to local decisions and opinions about the College.

The more comprehensive contemporary printed *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, 1843-1900* provides a more objective account of the events: that is not to say that such material omits the emotional overtones of this debate. But, in the *College Committee Reports* especially, one can glean much hard financial, ideological and theological information on the Church behind and with the Glasgow 'Hall'. Figures are tabulated, the important points of the 'College Question' are recorded and personalities are described, directly and indirectly. Here is the history of the Glasgow College in its wider context as opposed to the more partial record of the Glasgow Free Church Presbytery Minutes.

In this thesis it has been necessary to hold in tension the interests of the Scottish Free Church and those of the local Free Church congregations in Glasgow. *The Proceedings of the General Assembly* and *The College Committee Minutes* are found in the main university and College Libraries in Glasgow, Edinburgh and elsewhere.

Finally, a word about other printed source material used. Behind the dates and the chronology of events, and behind the tabulated income and expenditure, there are the people who donated and bequeathed the monies. Many of the sources to which one has already referred help us to answer the questions: why, how and when? Sometimes they go part way in describing the characters of the largely academic Churchmen. For example one can turn to the College Minute Book and read Dr Candlish's obituary and in so doing we learn something of who these men were. To find out more biographical information one turned to many secondary printed sources. Particularly helpful were the *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men,* and *Glasgow Who's Who.* Local Church histories and *Fasti* were also invaluable because many of the people associated with the College were also members of local congregations as businessmen or doctors. *The Glasgow Herald* newspaper recorded the events of the day as they took place in Presbytery and at the General Assembly. It was also useful in a limited way for biographical material.

Assembling and accessing sources for this thesis was at times like playing detective. Where might another piece of biographical information be found? Indexes in secondary material sometimes proved fruitful. Sometimes it became so necessary to scan lists of session clerks' names in local Church histories, just in case one found some

businessman's name associated with a bequest to the College might also have been associated with a Glasgow Church. Fortunately many of these lists also noted a man's occupation alongside his title. The more names one could associate with the College the clearer the jigsaw of the College's birth and early growth became. That is not to say that the puzzle is comprehensively complete. To quote the spirit of P. Hillis: 'its purpose will have been partly served if it encourages others to study the situation in their given locality:'[22] Glasgow being the 'given locality' of this thesis.

[22] Hillis, 'The Sociology of the Disruption', p.45.

CHAPTER TWO
FREE CHURCH MINISTERIAL TRAINING.

From the outset the Free Church concerned itself with the education and training of its ministers, and that is not surprising when one considers the qualities and interests of many of the men who left the Established Church at the Disruption. As was highlighted in the Introduction to this thesis, amongst the first Free Church leaders were a number of academics whose interests and concerns were primarily in the field of education. Therefore a clear and identifiable priority for Drs Chalmers, Cunningham, Candlish and others, was the provision of theological education for the training of the Free Church's future ministers. There was clearly no expectation that their candidates for the ministry would simply slip into the existing university provision. The Church's leaders had their own ideas and expectations and these were in response to what they had seen and knew of the existing schemes.

This fresh start resulted in the establishment of three Divinity Colleges at Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Glasgow. Secondly, the Free Church introduced a new and improved core curriculum that remained the model for training ministerial candidates in its essential form until recent years. In this respect the Free Church's contribution to theological education cannot be minimised: the progress that they made in the 1840s and 1850s especially was and is still worthy of note. In this chapter, the need for improvement in theological education will be charted, stemming from the Reformation and showing how the progress that was made by the Free Church in this area was visionary and committed, but not without conflict.

> The minister, it is assumed, ought to be an educated gentleman. He must have a good command of Latin and some competence in Greek and he must have studied mathematics and the philosophies both natural and moral.[23]

From the days of the Reformation the Established Church of Scotland had set out to attain a high standard of theological education and training for its ministry. Lax clerics of the pre-Reformation Church had after all been one of the concerns of the Reformation fathers. So with the Scottish Reformation came the *Second Book of Discipline*, and in the *Second Book of Discipline* is the above description of the ideal cleric that has been attributed to the great Scottish educationalist of the day, one Andrew Melville (1545 -1622). Expectations were high as the next few centuries showed, but they were not wholly or easily attainable.

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there had been increasing pressure to lower the standards and this was so for a number of reasons. Firstly, there was the problem of an inadequate number of highly qualified and available 'gentlemen' to fill the new post-Reformation parishes. Secondly, there was the difficulty of where the post-Reformation gentlemen were going to carry out their training. With regards to education and training, St Andrews led the way in 1579 with St Mary's College that was the first exclusive divinity college where Scripture and its languages were taught. At its establishment there were hopes for five teachers including the

[23]Mechie, Stewart, 'Education for the Ministry in Scotland Since the Reformation', *Scottish Church History Society Records*, Volume xiv, (Glasgow, 1963), p.116.

Principal, who also was its one professor: but in reality, the professor worked with only two other teachers who assumed professorial titles for Hebrew and Oriental Languages and Ecclesiastical History, respectively. The title of Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism was not granted to a second academic until 1862. The title of Professor of Ecclesiastical History dates from 1707. So one can see that the establishment of this exclusive divinity faculty was a slow process.

Glasgow University also had inadequate provision for its candidates studying for the ministry. Under an arrangement of 1577 the parish minister of Govan Church was also the Professor of Divinity and he was to teach on alternative weekdays. In the early seventeenth century efforts were made to improve this situation with the releasing of the professor and principal from preaching at Govan Church in 1621. In 1640 a second chair of divinity was established and lack of funds delayed the establishment of a third until 1661.[24] Thirdly, attendance at university seemed to be a great problem for many of these 'gentlemen' and this didn't lead to a highly educated ministry.

Standards were not always maintained due to spells when colleges were regarded as retreats for Churchmen who had come to the end of their ministerial working life. Teaching staff divided their time all too often between preaching and teaching. Attendance at classes was not always impressive and this was an ongoing problem, which one will see, played an important part in the ensuing 'College Debate' in the Free Church. In 1711 an Act of the General Assembly addressed this very problem of

[24] Ibid. p.116.

attendance at university when, in an attempt to help the students, provision was made for private study under the direction of a Presbytery. The candidates, as might have been anticipated, soon abused this, and towards the end of the eighteenth century this permissive legislation was deemed to be too lax. Thus, at the General Assembly in 1782, it was decided that all candidates had to 'produce at enrolment either a diploma or a Master of Arts or a certificate that they have done a full course of philosophy'. And further:

> At trials (for License): must have either given close attendance to the divinity-hall for the space of four years, from time of enrolment as divinity students: or if their circumstances did not allow them to give close attendance have continued to study divinity for six years and have delivered the usual number of discourses. [25]

Laxity and a desire to accommodate students in their personal circumstances had effectively led to an unacceptable course of education and training for the ministry. Students entered the university as children, by today's standards. Thomas Chalmers entered at eleven years of age: the average age for entry to King's College, Aberdeen was fourteen. Many students produced meaningless certificates at the time of licensing. One well-known gentleman whose case is cited in the *Scottish Universities Commission* of 1826 is that of Patrick Brewster (1788-1859). When he applied to the Presbytery of Fordoun to be taken on for his Trials for License he produced the necessary class certificates, but what the certificates didn't say was that he had only briefly attended classes: in one instance for one day in a session. In the summer of

[25] Ibid. p.127.

1826 the Royal Commission of Inquiry attested the universities of Scotland and in the following report of 1830 found much to criticise. Uniformity across the faculties didn't exist even in as basic a description as to what merited a session. A session could be anything from three months to six months. Thus one student when reflecting on his course of study, wrote thus:

> My attendance at the Aberdeen Hall was of no benefit whatever to me. I knew nothing at all of the theology or of the Bible. I am deeply to blame for this, but they are nearly so much so. [26]

The Royal Commission cast a long and damming shadow over the academic standards for the training of the Church's ministers. In response Dr Chalmers had drawn up a new scheme prior to the Disruption; so, when the leaders of the Free Church came to look at its education for the ministry, it was hardly surprising that they were determined to set and practice a new standard for their 'pious gentlemen': 'piety' being a new characteristic which the Evangelical Free Churchmen seemed to be looking for in their men. The methodology and aspirations for Chalmers' proposed changes will be discussed, at a later stage in this chapter within the context of the 'College Debate' of the Free Church. Presently, it might be helpful to highlight some of the improvements that Chalmers intended to make to the core curriculum for the training of candidates for the ministry of the Free Church.

Accordingly, Chalmers had in mind an educational programme that encouraged attendance at College, where students proceeded through a course that had continuity

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[26] Ibid. p. 164.

and structure. Previously, for example, a first year student might have found himself matriculating in year three of a subject, only to enrol in the first class in his second year at University. Chalmers' plans for theological education incorporated the following recommendations that the Free Church and its College Committee adopted from its creation.

Firstly, 'the instruction of divinity was to be portioned into four distinctive and successive courses of lectures, corresponding to the four distinct successive years or stages of a student's progress'.[27] Secondly, the class sizes to make this work would need to be no lower than fifty, both from the point of view of teaching and from a financial position of furnishing professors salaries. Dr Chalmers laid out the proposed plan of action, but soon the practicalities of the scheme, together with local interests, caused problems for the Free Church. The scheme was adopted in principle, but the Free Church brethren and leaders had the same concern as the post Reformation fathers: where was this education going to happen?

There is no doubt that education was a high priority for the Free Church. In the high emotion of the early years of the Disruption it was desirable that there would be a primary school in every parish, a grammar school in every major town and three universities. Soon steps were taken towards one university. In reality *New College* never became the university about which Free Churchmen dreamt:

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[27] *Memorial of the Free Presbytery of Glasgow, 1847*, (New College, Edinburgh) p.27.

> For a time New College was envisaged as a free university...standing against the system of patronage and privilege that for centuries had enabled the crown and members of the gentry and aristocracy to influence the religious and intellectual life of the nation. [28]

Instructions were given to organise a college almost immediately in November 1843 for ministerial training, with a minimum of four professors, one lecture hall and a library. Property in George Street was bought initially to house the one hundred and sixty-eight students who matriculated there in 1843: one hundred of them being students who had started their education before the Disruption. The following year the ground on the Mound was bought with donations from the Free Church's upper class members. By May 1847 the College had eight professors and was the largest unendowed Theological Hall in Great Britain. A core curriculum was established, the distinguishing nature of which will be examined later.

The presence of New College and the concerns that certain parties within the Church had over the training of its ministers did not rest with the establishment of the College in Edinburgh. Indeed the very existence and the apparent privileges of the Edinburgh seat sparked off a fierce debate. Determined to right some of the wrongs apparent in the previous training for the ministry, the Free Churchmen ended up in disagreement with each other. It was soon apparent that the Free Church leaders and members who had been so united in their decision to leave the Established Church were not so

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[28] Wright, D.,F., & Badcock, G.,D., *Disruption to Diversity, Edinburgh Divinity 1843-1996*, (Edinburgh, 1996), p.29.

united over the question of how best to provide a good quality education and training for its future ministers. In the first instance the Fathers of the Free Church found it difficult to agree on the required number of theological halls. Secondly, they found it difficult to be united on the content and composition of this education. Both areas were not isolated problems; each had its bearing one upon the other. Much of the debate and tension that was evident in this area of theological training and college extension can be read in The Committee Reports of the General Assembly and in Presbytery Minutes.

The 'Debate' though was not just contained, indeed constrained, by such official records and minutes, because the content and the spirit of the debate spilled over into the minds of its interested members. Thus, there exists in various contemporary pamphlets much polemic and serious questioning on this matter. As was stated in the introduction, the Glasgow College emerged out of a spirited and great struggle. The Disruption, whilst in itself demonstrating an impressive unity of conviction at considerable cost was followed in the field of education by disagreement between the Limitarians and the Extensionists.

Before examining the debate with the aid of the General Assembly and Presbytery Reports and contemporary polemical writings, the spirit and the scene can be set by quoting sections of a pamphlet which helps the reader to enter into the atmosphere which this debate created and sustained for at least some ten years. One such pamphlet is the aforementioned, *Crack about the College*, which was written in 1855.

This piece of writing presents a somewhat fictional, yet informative dialogue on this thorny issue. In the dialogue reference is made to Dr Cunningham of New College, the renowned Limitarian whose spirit is represented here by the fictional Peter. We are told that the author of this piece of writing had listened for many hours, both in the Assembly and in Presbytery, to the debate on College Extension and Theological Education. His concern, along with many of the Free Church's more sensitive and objective members, was that the Church was exhibiting a spectacle of discord: a spectacle of discord which was good ammunition for those who were watching out for the Free Church's downfall. The writer was also concerned about the bad feeling that this was causing between fellow ministers. In his writing a dialogue is presented between two observers, Peter and Hugh. They give us much insight into the spirit and temper of this particular debate. I make no apologies for quoting this extensively, as one feels that this is a valuable piece of historical contemporary writing.

> **Peter:** "What think ye of the College affair noo?"
> **Hugh:** "Very little indeed."
> **Peter:** " Oh! its been a' festerin' sare a' alang an' its now swallin' the hale body."
> **Hugh:** "Will not the wims that Dr Cunningham has let out have a healing efficacy?"
> **Peter:** "I hope it will, for really he's prob'd the woond to the bottom."
> **Hugh:** "It has come to this, that the Free Church, of which you and I were so proud, and whose fame went to the ends of the earth, is to be destroyed and torn to pieces by the hands that reared it".
> **Peter:** The Philistines are rejoicin' a'ready: I met our friend an' he's rejoicin' w'r oor quarrels; he tells his preacher that noo, bein' tired o' abusin' the auld kirk, e've faun fool o' ane anithe, an' a house dividit again' itsel' canna stan'. What a pity our leadin' men should mak sae muckle a do about the College affair. [29]

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[29] Written by a Free Church Member, *A Crack About The College and Dr Guthrie's New Theory about the Liberty of Speech*, (Edinburgh, 1855), p.6.

This piece of writing also gives us some insight into the character of the arch foe of College Extension, Dr Cunningham - a fiery man to all intents and purposes.

> **Peter:** "Dr Kenninham was roused: he really did gie them't tichtly, an made a fearful exposure."
> **Hugh:** "I am afraid he said more than he intended, for he has been retracting since, and making apologies to the Presbytery."
> **Peter:** "That lets you see the honesty, humility an' integrity of the man."
> **Hugh:** "But the misfortune is he makes a trade of that, he makes rash and unwarrantable statements.then makes apologies and long statements."
> **Peter:** But seriously Hugh, d'ye no think its great folly to be seeking mair colleges, whilst the majority of our ministers are sae poorly providit for? Besides it's admitted on a' han's that ancs quite enough."
> **Hugh:** "Everyone dose not admit it."
> **Peter:** "Maistly all: Cunningham, Guthrie, Buchanan, and Tweedie."
> **Hugh:** "But you can point to as many of equal talent ... who take the other side: Gray, Candlish, Bruce, Sir Henry Moncrieff, Rainy. So, ane is not quite enough."[30]

In the early days of the Free Church, the Assembly's College committee had been led to believe that 'anc' would be enough and so the Free Church had set about establishing its flagship in Edinburgh. But others in the Church had different ideas. In 1843 the Free Churchmen in Aberdeen demanded a College and set about implementing this by the appointment of a Professor of Theology. His demission in 1844 tested the waters of 'College Extension' and the mood of the Assembly's College Committee when the Assembly refused to appoint a successor. In 1847 Dr Chalmers died and the arch-Limitarian, Dr Cunningham, succeeded him as Principal of the New College. In 1848 Cunningham declared that the Church could not support more than one college, and at that Assembly he carried a motion that the Church having equipped one College, it did not need to equip any more.

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[30] Ibid. p.7.

Glasgow had presented a 'Memorial' to the Assembly in the previous year in which was stated the reasons and the desire for a Glasgow College. More than sixty students signed this. The thrust of the argument in the 'Memorial' centres on the exclusivity of centralisation in Edinburgh. One College in Edinburgh would not encourage good attendance at classes. Many Glaswegians would be discouraged from entering upon a course which would take them to Edinburgh, and this when Glasgow's schools and Churches were providing young men who would have been educated well enough to aspire to the ministry.

> From the circumstances of Glasgow and the numerous situations which it affords to young men of ability and piety, in the Normal School, as city and congregational missionaries, and Teachers of Youth, it may confidently be expected that there will always be a certain number of aspirants to the office of ministry. [31]

The mood and the drive of this local appeal was no pipe dream. There were local Glaswegians who were well prepared to make the financial provision and sacrifice for a College in their city. One such member was James Ewing of Strathleven who was a very important and influential person in the city: sometime Lord Provost and Member of Parliament. In his will, in 1844 James Ewing left £5,000 for the building of a Free Church College in Glasgow: 'He had throughout his life amassed immense wealth and by his disposition and deed of settlement...he made most liberal bequest to Glasgow and the Free Church College'.[32]

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[31] A copy of the *Memorial of the Free Presbytery of Glasgow,* 1847, (New College, Edinburgh), p.20.

[32] MacGregor, George, *The History of Glasgow from the Earliest Period to the Present Time*, (Glasgow, 1881), p.455.

Then, as now, the financing of the Church's institutions was always an important and real problem. Then, as now, it is better to make the needs fit the budget, than to set a budget to fit the needs. Therefore the Assembly's College Committee's Reports show us the influence that the Limitarians had on the establishment of Colleges. The 1848 report to the General Assembly concentrated on the financial arrangements for further colleges. The Church was already in debt, which was only to be expected in the light of their various buildings projects. Despite the generosity of the Free Church members, the years immediately following the Disruption saw the Church in debt.

Dr James Buchanan, an Edinburgh Limitarian, quoted the following figures in a letter of 1849. At April 1845, the expenditure exceeded the income by around £1,300. This was a sum which the college committee reported in its Assembly report of 1848 and which Dr Buchanan stated in his letter with the exact sums to back up his statement: income was £3911-15-3 whilst the expenditure was £5278-2-1. In 1849 there was a short fall of £2,000, and this was independent of the large sum that was still required for completing the New College buildings.[33] Further, as the Church was already in debt, they were unwilling to accrue any more debt when they didn't need additional halls to attain the educational objective proposed by the Church. The Church's committee had decided that there was to be one college in Edinburgh and their primary task was to ensure the well being of that college. It will be seen in a future chapter how the financing of the college in Glasgow was not a problem for the people in

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[33] Buchanan, James, *A Letter to the Office Bearers and Members of the Free Church of Scotland on the College Question*, (Edinburgh, 1849).

Glasgow, but in the minds of those who wanted one college, finance was seen as a major and a real problem. These were real concerns.

From the viewpoint of the Limitarians, Dr Buchanan made a significant point for them when he wrote, reminding the office bearers that the Free Church had undertaken to do what no un endowed Church in Scotland had hitherto tried to do: namely to conduct theological education and training without using teachers who did not also have pastoral charges. The extreme difficulty of providing for the permanent support of one theological seminary does not seem as yet to be duly appreciated by many of the members and even the ministers.[34] Dr Buchanan was one of a number of Churchmen who wrote back and forth on this issue of College Extension in the years between 1849 and 1850. Others included Dr Cunningham, and on the Extensionists bench there were James Gibson of Glasgow, Revd.A.Gray of Prestonpans, and Robert Candlish who agreed with the Extensionist in principle, so long as the College in Edinburgh was adequately equipped.

> All that we assume is, that some measure of security for the College in Edinburgh is indispensably necessary, preliminary to the setting up of the College in Glasgow.[35]

The above quotation is that of Robert Candlish of St George's Edinburgh, who spoke these words at the 1851 Assembly, in an effort to ensure that the question of College Extension was not re-opened. In the two years of 'pamphlet warfare' Candlish had

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[34] Ibid p.1.
[35] *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church,* 1851, (Edinburgh), p.335.

been concerned about what this issue was doing to the unity of the Church and he had voiced this in his writing on *College Extension in the Free Church of Scotland* written in 1849. There he wrote: 'at all events, why should parties be formed'?[36] The debate at the Assembly in 1851 was a turning point in this whole area of College Extension, and by 1851 it was quite clear that this was not just a matter which inspired and concerned ministers and academics. Dr Clark, benefactor of the future Glasgow College, spoke on the floor at this Assembly with passion and with a degree of humour. This we know from the record of the *Proceedings of the General Assembly*, as this minute recorded the gathered members responding to his comments with laughter. In a rhetorical and debating style, he challenged the Limitarians for their weak arguments and inability to give better reasons for their viewpoint. The Limitarians claim that College Extension was not 'a matter of high importance' lost them the popular and local vote. He did therefore, hold it to be a matter of importance that education of every kind, including theological, should be accessible to all (Applause).[37]

> If the cause of the opposite party was a good one, it had nothing to fear from discussion (Applause). With regard to New College, everyone is proud of the institution: but the question was, would Edinburgh be any the worse by allowing something to be done at Glasgow and Aberdeen? Giving was a thing of habit. It should be encouraged: and by allowing Glasgow and Aberdeen to go on with their liberal intentions, there was every reason to believe they would promote the interests of the Edinburgh College. (Applause). [38]

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[36] Candlish, Robert, *College Extension in the Free Church of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1849), p.9.
[37] *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church*, 1851, (Edinburgh), p. 244.
[38] Ibid. p. 245.

The record of debate of this year clearly showed that there were real concerns about the split that this issue was causing in the Church and the debate closed with the affirmation that this matter was no longer to be a 'matter of controversy in this Church, but a question of time and circumstances'.[39] However, such a resolution was after party lines had been drawn.

One will now return to the polemical material through which parties were formed and became entrenched. We can read much of the fiery content of this debate in a pamphlet written by Dr Cunningham. In this pamphlet Dr Cunningham is arguing his case against a Mr Gray who truly favoured multiplicity of halls. This pamphlet outlines succinctly the major areas of debate. In his defence Mr Gray had pointed out that the Free Church had the favourable example before them of the English Baptists and Congregationalists. This didn't score many bonus points with Dr Cunningham, whose reply would have warmed the hearts of Scottish Nationalists, even today.

> Scotland is not England. Scotland has a higher standard of theological education. Scotland does not have England's pecuniary resources. Scotland did not and does not have collegiate endowments. Scotland's students did not have the opportunities of engaging in ministerial duty from the start of their training. So to compare Scotland with England received very little sympathy. [40]

He continued:

> Another reason for the plurality of halls, as proposed by those who favoured college extension, was the supposition that it would be reason-

[39] Ibid. p.282.

[40] Cunningham, William Bruce, *Collegiate Education versus College Extension with animadversions on the pamphlet of Rev. Andrew Gray*, (Edinburgh, 1850).

> able to expect that numbers would be greater if there were several halls. But, said Cunningham, it was important for the Church to have first and foremost the education system to achieve an able and accomplished ministry. 'When the supply of any article exceeds the demand, the invariable consequence is a diminution of its value'. [41]

The vitriolic in such writings is pronounced. As one read the material one could almost imagine the monologue going on and on.

> Students do not exist merely for the purpose of supplying Mr Gray and his friends with a surplus. The demand must depend on much deeper and more vital principles. A plurality of halls will not permanently increase the number of students, nor will it secure higher gifts or talents. Take the example of the Independents, with many halls and a low standard of learning. Nor will it secure piety. The history of the Church in former days shows this. A body of students whose numbers have been reduced by the rigid tests, firstly of personal piety and secondly of high endowments would be far more desirable than an indiscriminate multitude. [42]

Mr Gray also suggested that a plurality of halls would give the Church a more varied and thus better developed ministry. After all, one hall might well mean that all the students would be fashioned after the one type. According to Cunningham, Gray had seemingly suggested that a single hall would perpetuate 'peculiar phrases of speech and even a drawl of the voice'.[43] But, said the Limitarians quite accurately, that was not the case. Dr Chalmers was a teacher of great influence, yet his teaching produced individuals.

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[41] Ibid. p.10.
[42] Ibid. p.10.
[43] Cunningham, William, Bruce, *Collegiate Education versus Collegiate Extension with animadversions on the pamphlet of Rev. Gray*, (Edinburgh, 1850).

Mr Gray in his pamphlet had also raised the question of centralisation that Cunningham denied was happening. On this point Cunningham showed himself to be rather weak and he obviously had really missed the mood and the feeling of his Church. In response to Gray, he described the Free Church as being a Church of independent initiatives. And the independent initiatives, which he quoted, are to do with the provision of theological education in Aberdeen and Glasgow. In the building of classrooms for a Divinity Hall in Aberdeen, and the procuring of endowments for professors' salaries at Glasgow, he clearly felt that enough independence had been granted the Church people in these cities. For this he believed had been done in opposition to the spirit, if not the letter, of the Assembly's decision.

Cunningham also challenged the expectation of Gray and the Extensionists that there should be a Free Church College in each of the university seats and that the Church was surrendering her claim to be considered the Church of the nation. The Church is not bound by her claim to nationality. The Free Church might well have hoped to challenge and perhaps even outdo the Established Church, but they were not bound by any national responsibilities.

Thomas Chalmers and others who were closely influenced by him, between the 1810s and 1840s 'had tried to invoke a pre-industrial parochial system, rooted in rural village and in agriculture, in the amassed tenements, factories, docks and building sites

of the industrial cities'.[44] This they had done with the vision of Chalmers' "Godly Commonwealth" before them and in the hope of Scotland being a spiritually based community, with a territorial ministry. As a minister of the Church of Scotland, in Fife and St John's Glasgow, he had tried to reflect his vision through his Church Extension campaign, in the belief that the Church might help the poor to help themselves: 'that all social classes would restore the bonds of communal benevolence and educate the poor to communal responsibility'[45]

Chalmers did take this vision with him into the Free Church: a vision that worked in the provision of Church schools in Glasgow, all of which came under the supervision of the Glasgow School Board. Within the Free Church there were a number of teachers, and many evangelicals served on the School Board. One such person being Michael Connal, who was a well known Free Churchman, more about whom, one shall read later in this thesis.

His educational vision, also inspired the creation of institutions such as the Spoutmouth Bible Institute for the poor boys of the East End of Glasgow. It was an idea that manifested itself in the eventual College Extension campaign, whereby local interests were recognised. But, it was not an objective which was to survive the stress

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[44] Brown, Callum, G., 'To Be Aglow with Civic Ardours: the Godly Commonwealth in Glasgow, 1843-1914', *Scottish Church History Society Records* Volume xxvi, (Edinburgh, 1996), p.171.

[45] Brown, Stewart, J., *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth,* (Oxford University Press, 1982), p.351.

that the growth of urban cities had put upon the Church, National or Established. The poor never managed to take financial responsibility for their Churches, and so in 1845 when the Free Church renounced its national responsibilities, he attempted to achieve his end through interdenominational voluntary organisations, such as the West Port project in Edinburgh which even by 1846, was struggling to keep going. In 1846, his Church Extension campaign collapsed and with it his vision. The struggle between Church and State that had begun with the non-intrusion controversy in the late 1830s, carried on into the 1840s.

> The Disruption represented the final failure of his godly commonwealth ideal……It broke up the establishment, ensuring that the Church would never again exercise the same influence in Scottish society.[46]

Callum Brown[47] was more hopeful when he suggested that there were elements of the "Godly Commonwealth" that survived and re-developed in the transition from rural to city parish life. Bernard Aspinwall summed up this belief too, when he wrote the following:

> Religious groups managed, through voluntary organisations and then through municipal government to achieve desirable social ends. A city could actually be a force for good. In American thought, all to often it was Babylon.[48]

The key word in all this seems to be 'voluntary': the Free Church and its associated inter-denominational campaigns achieved much through its voluntary services. Its

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[46] Drummond, Andrew, L., and Bulloch, James, *The Church in Victorian Scotland, 1843-1874*, (Edinburgh, 1975), p.128.
[47] Brown, 'To Be Aglow with Civic Ardours', p.171
[48] Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia:*, p.xvii.

members had after all left the Established Church voluntarily over the issue of the Church's relationship with the state. By 1845 it seems that the Free Church no longer respected its national godly commonwealth responsibilities. In that year there was a new Scottish poor law that replaced the traditional system of parish poor-relief. The secular state also began to take more responsibility for health and education. And yet the issue was not either state or Church: the relationship between Church and state was changing. Whilst the Free Church was not officially a national Church during the thirty years or so, whilst it was at its height, it did behave as though it had national responsibilities. On the one hand the ideal of the parish disintegrated as Free Church members increasingly chose to affiliate themselves with the wealthier suburban congregations, as they became gathered congregations of socially like-minded people who engaged in charitable pursuits, at a distance from their own doorsteps. And yet on the other hand, in practice it strived for many years to offer something more than might have been expected of a Church without state endowments: to meet the challenge and to provide Theological Colleges and the like.

Finally, one must return to Dr Cunninghams's pamphlet to read about his challenge and the issue of the approved core curriculum. Mr Gray does not seem to have been at one with Dr Chalmers' progressive model as he still wanted to make allowances for these 'pious gentlemen' who did not come to study theology without any previous knowledge. By 1850, this methodology seemed to be being ascribed to Dr Buchanan and not Dr Chalmers. However, it is true that Gray cannot have represented all the Extensionists in this respect because when all the Colleges were established it

was to a progressive core curriculum that they aspired and ascribed. It is the case, however, that the Limitarians were being cautious in this area of curriculum and they wanted the scheme to be given a good trial. The best judgement of the viability of this scheme was to monitor its progress, firstly in one college with four, if not five professors, before introducing the scheme to other colleges. Dr James Buchanan, another Limitarian, raised in his pamphlet of 1849 another issue of the time and that was the question of geography and the availability of Colleges that had been raised in the Glasgow 'Memorial' of 1847. For him the force of the argument that more halls would be of greater convenience had been overrated. It might be convenient for native Glaswegians, but if you came from Ayr you would have to travel anyway. It would be convenient for Dumfries to have a College in order to serve the southern counties, but I have never heard such a measure seriously proposed. [49]

The move from one College to three was not an easy one. Principled men were prepared to fight for what they wanted. Both sides did get something out of the debate and the struggle. The Limitarians held onto the preferred core curriculum that resulted in a higher standard of theological education and training for the ministry. Although this curriculum outline of theological education might not seem so radical to a modern day divinity student, this recommendation was a radical reconstruction of the course that had existed in the Established Church. The Extensionists also received from the debate: they never achieved a College in each of the four University seats,

[49] Buchanan, James, *A Letter to the Office Bearers and Members of the Free Church of Scotland on the College Question*, (Edinburgh, 1849), p.21.

but they did see the establishment of three Colleges, thus helping to overcome the problem of lax attendance at College which had been criticised by those who sought to reform theological in the Established Church. Most significantly both sides witnessed the great financial generosity and vision of the Free Church members who established and supported the Colleges. In the next chapter, one will study the financial provision of the Glasgow College.

CHAPTER THREE

FINANCE OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND AND ITS COLLEGES

Having studied and surveyed the practice and aspirations for theological education within the Free Church in the previous chapter, one's attentions in this chapter will be focused on the study of the financial provision, contributed by the Church members that helped the Free Church realise their hopes and aspirations. The generosity of its members in general, and a number of men in particular, has already been alluded to in previous chapters. In this chapter careful attention will be given to the monetary schemes, principles and donations which gave the Free Church three Colleges in Scotland and in particular, one in Glasgow.

Before one can truly appreciate the financial provision which was made for the Glasgow College it is worthwhile to set the financial formation of Glasgow College within the general context and the spirit of the monies raised by Free Church members in the years immediately before and after the Disruption. To this end a pamphlet written by Revd. Dr Robert Buchanan (1802-75) of Glasgow in 1870 is very helpful.[50] The Free Church leaders and its members had ambitious aims and objectives for their Church and the abiding impression, in its early years especially, was that it did not see itself as being in any way subordinate to the Established Church from which its leaders and members had departed. The expectation was for the Free Church to be as influential in Scotland as had the Established Church for three centuries. There were schemes to

[50] Buchanan, Robert, *The Finance of the Free Church*, (Edinburgh, 1870).

be implemented from the earliest days and each of these schemes needed a high level of financial commitment from the Church's members such as had hitherto been unnecessary. Although it should be noted at this point that many of the well known benefactors of the Free Church had already given generously throughout the 1830s and early 1840s to various Church extension schemes and other projects: the generosity of men such as Nathanuel Stevenson, James Ewing of Strathleven and William Collins the publisher to name but a few.

The first two men one shall come across again in relation to the College in Glasgow. The latter, William Collins died in 1853, too soon to have had a hand in the promotion of the College itself. All three men were supporters of Thomas Chalmers' social, religious and Church extension works. In addition to the well-known characters of the Evangelical wing of the Church of the 1830s and 1840s, there must have been many others who provided financially for the Church. This level of generosity and commitment continued after the Disruption and in the newly established and establishing Free Church.

When one considers the support that its members had for their new Church and institution you cannot help but be impressed by a peoples' confidence in their new task and mission: 'which had thus, by its own voluntary act separated from the State, had as a matter of course, left all its State endowments and emoluments behind'. [51]

[51] Ibid. p. 80.

All, four hundred and fifty-four ministers[52] who had signed the Deed of Demission, renounced all right and interest in their former Churches, manses, stipends and Glebes which had belonged to them as ministers of the Established Church of Scotland. This was no minor or eccentric breakaway as we noted in the previous chapter, when we recognised some of the leading ministers and educationalists who became part of the Free Church. However, for a great many ministers and members alike, it was the movement of the moment in which to be involved.

People came out at the Disruption and joined the Free Church for many differing reasons as would have been expected. The leaders knew their principled reasons for leaving, but these alone would not and did not lead to necessary uniformity. Indeed many will have gone to the Free Church more because of personal allegiance and faithfulness to ministers and mentors, than out of an overwhelming desire for principles that they might never have fully understood. Undoubtedly, the charisma of the leaders will have carried more weight than their finer attention to principled detail. As can be expected of all human nature, many will have heard what they wanted to hear without adequate means of checking by reference to written material. Indeed, living in a sophisticated age of communication we can all too easily make the assumption that all had heard. Even taking into consideration the oratory skills of many leading Free Churchmen, one would think it highly unlikely that those ministers and laity living at a distance from the main centres of the population will have had unlimited access to the finer issues which led to the Disruption.

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[52]Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth*, p.336.

However, having acknowledged the power of the cause of the day and time as being naturally influential in the events of May 1843, we cannot dismiss these heady days in Scottish Church History as being mindless and unprincipled with no obvious outcome. The leaders of the day acted on principle and out of a sense of duty, and the faithful were likewise persuaded, and they were so in very practical terms. Spiritual ideals without materialistic returns come to nothing and the people of the Free Church to greater and lesser extents demonstrated their material generosity and commitment in the early days so that their Church and its institutions might be well established. May 1843 was a turning point, not just because ministers and lay people had decided to leave the Established Church, but because the historian gets the strong impression that the four hundred and fifty four ministers who had acted on this principled and evangelical decision had been anticipating and awaiting this opportunity and day, so that they could implement their schemes which they had discussed and planned in the Convocation which had met the previous year.

The Free Church was prepared for its birth and one can see this in the important area of financial structure and provision. In his aforementioned pamphlet, Dr Buchanan outlined his Church's philosophical and theological justification for the financial structure that it implemented and established. Dr Robert Buchanan was well placed to be writing on the financial structures of the Free Church in that from the outset he was a convinced Extensionist and had sat on the Church's Sustenation Committee which had been charged with overseeing the funding of the ministry in the light of Thomas Chalmers' innovative academic course. This course proposed a progressive

theology curriculum with certain subjects being studied in certain academic years and also proposed class sizes of fifty. Buchanan was clearly respected for his financial knowledge in that this pamphlet had started out as a paper that was read before the Statistical Society of London. One must now return to the paper's content. It has the extra interest of having been written some time after the Disruption itself and is more reflective than the more contemporary written rhetorical material of the 1840s and 1850s. Thus, 'the principle of self-support on which that Church entirely depends was adopted not of choice or preference, but simply created by a conscientious sense of duty'.[53]

'A conscientious sense of duty' always leads to the need for justification of one's dutiful actions and words and thus there was developed theological justification for their raising of Church finances. The Free Church members returned to Biblical basics, as they understood them, and found ample justification for their actions. They developed a theology of Church practice that endorsed their separation from the State, using the historical precedence that the Early Church had existed without any state establishment. During the first three centuries of its existence, St Chrysostom and Augustine showed that the Church had never been better provided for than when her maintenance was raised chiefly from the offerings and oblations of the people. It was also pointed out that this one source of raising finance was reliant on the people's zeal. Such zeal worked for the Early Church in its initial enthusiasm, but in such reliance

[53]Buchanan, Robert, *The Finance of the Free Church*, (Edinburgh, 1870), p.74.

the Free Church was taking a risk. The 'Evangelical' thrust and attraction might have relied strongly on people's emotions: its leaders and its thinkers might well have been attracted to the philosophies of the 'Scottish Romantics', but zeal for the Church's wealth was not something that the Scottish Church had had to rely upon in years gone by. In his paper Dr Buchanan pointed out that, until 1843, there was scarcely a non-conformist minister or place of worship between the Grampians and the Pentland Firth.

A Common Fund and the Sustenation Fund

In setting its sights by the example of the Early Church, the Free Church adopted a financial system that was based on a one revenue source and on the system of free-will offerings. At a convocation for ministers in 1842, Dr Chalmers first presented his proposals for the financing of the Free Church. At this time he undertook to show that £150 a year might easily be provided for the projected five hundred ministers. He undertook to do this by collecting pennies and by expecting a 1d a week from the members. He anticipated that he would raise £75 000 by such donations. The idea took hold at once and was still in practice into the 1890s. A body of collectors collected the monies and we know from Hillis'[54] study that the Highlands of Scotland benefited from this financial aid whilst the Church members in the cities supported it more fully in practice. He suggests that the city Churches never embraced the poor in significant numbers because they couldn't afford to come to Church. The Established

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[54] Hillis, 'The Sociology of the Disruption', p. 57-58.

Church with its wealthy landowners and upper middle – class professionals, on the other hand, did not put such financial demands on its members. In the event greater sums were offered at that meeting and there was attached to the 'Sustenation Fund' three other auxiliary funds: a Widows and Orphan Fund and an Aged and Infirm Ministers Fund, along with Dr Guthrie's Manse Fund. The Free Church leaders were not blind to the huge task that lay ahead of them. From the outset, they recognised that they could not afford to wait, for example, until they had safely raised the sum that would provide a permanent endowment for the support of its ministry.

Dr Chalmers and others recognised the problems inherent in relying upon enthusiasm and zeal over a long period of time. And so that the Church might go about her business the resources of the whole body were pooled into the model of the Common Fund, the authorship of which belonged to Thomas Chalmers. 'I do count on a multitude of little things. It is not on the strength of large sums that I proceed, it is on the strength and accumulation of tithes'.[55]

Dr Chalmers' Common Fund model had four general principles and once again it is from Dr Buchanan's paper that one quotes the particulars of this scheme. Firstly, there was to be loyalty to a Common Fund: any monies raised locally ought not to be reserved for the expenses of that locality. This was a fine principle until there was local disagreement, which was especially evidenced in the College Extension Debate.

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[55]Buchanan, Robert, *The Finance of the Free Church*, (Edinburgh, 1870), p. 85

Thus, the power and influence of localities soon came to influence the Church's financial arrangements. In principle there was to be a large central fund, but practice and expediency developed this in the course of time.

Secondly, where richer Churches wanted to give more, their generosity and liberality was not to be stimulated by the narrow consideration of support for their own minister. Thirdly, there was an acceptance that equal division might not always be practical as there would be parishes where there was a need for a supplementary effort where the cost of living was high. In this respect they were more realistic and insightful than some of our present day Church people whose socialist principles do not take account of economic variances. Finally, in all circumstances it was essential that this scheme should be providing the means for the extension of the Church.

Financial provision was not just to be for the present establishment of the Church, but also for its future growth. Such was the scheme's preparedness and success that by the first meeting of the Free Church Assembly this principle of Common Fund had already formed no fewer than six hundred and eighty seven associations to raise the necessary funds with two hundred and thirty nine associations having sent £17,000 to the central fund and £105,000 having been collected for the erection of Churches.

The Free Church was ambitious, as it had embarked upon an adventure to raise monies without any state help: sums that that would scare the average Church member in the year 2000. Churches could not stipulate a person's donation, as might the state,

and yet for at least twenty years the Free Church leaders and members championed their cause and raised outstanding sums, not at times without pain and worry.

The Common Fund and the Issue of College Extension

One such issue that was disturbing to the pure idealism of the Common Fund, was the Glaswegian's desire for a College in their city. Out of the Common Fund there was provision for one College in Edinburgh, but there were local Glaswegians who were willing to furnish their own College with donations that were solely marked for the 'Glasgow College', and this was before the completion of New College in Edinburgh. As early as 1844, one James Ewing of Strathleven had left £5,000 in his Will that was specifically marked for a college in Glasgow. Thus, it was not long before the desired unity of spirit and vision was being challenged: local people and local interests were soon to be questioning the assumption that Edinburgh was Scotland's centre out of which the Church would educate its future ministers. Dr Ewing, however, was dead before the issue was resolved in principle for Glasgow and Aberdeen, when a General Assembly Act of 1851, declared that the:

> Admissibility of College Extension is no longer a matter of controversy in this Church, but a question of time and circumstances and that the Church is perfectly free to welcome, and will welcome, the benefactions of its friends, designed to provide theological education at Aberdeen and Glasgow, as well as Edinburgh.[56]

The question of College Extension was indeed a fiery one which had been fought out on the floor of the Assembly and through many contemporary pamphlets and no

[56] *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church,* 1851, p.282.

doubt there were many other discussions in a variety of settings between academics, clergy and lay people. As one read in the last chapter, leading clerics fell out over this issue, men such as Drs Cunningham and Candlish of New College. The breach between these two was not healed for many years. So what changed on the debating floor of the Assembly in 1851?

'College Extension' was indeed a thorny issue that challenged the peace and good spirits of the Free Church. If one reads the Assembly reports one cannot miss the over-riding desire for peace and yet how was this to come about? As far as the Glasgow people were concerned, this would happen when they were given permission to accept the donations that various people had promised to build their College.

The debate in 1848, it was felt by Dr Cunningham and the Limitarians had clarified the intentions of the Free Church Assembly. For the resolution of that Assembly was that the present was not the right time for additional theological provision, but sometime in the future might well be in order. The need to establish the curriculum was cited as one hurdle, but the real issue was one of financing another College when the present one still carried debt. At the Assembly of 1850, Mr John Blackie, junior, one of the Glasgow Memorialists, had pointed out that if they looked at College Extension, then they must be prepared to face the financial difficulty.

Dr Cunningham might well have believed that the resolutions of 1848 had answered the demands of the Extensionists, but it is clear by the Assembly of 1851 that this was not the case. Yet more overtures and a 'Memorial' from Glasgow were presented to the Assembly. Dr. Candlish tried to ensure that the latter were not discussed. For both sides there were financial considerations to be reckoned with. There was the real fear that by encouraging endowments in favour of Aberdeen and Glasgow, that Edinburgh would suffer hardship. The Extensionists on the other hand put the viewpoint that 'not by obstructing endowments in Glasgow that they would secure such for Edinburgh'.[57]

One Dr Brown and Dr Clark of Wester Moffat highlighted some procedural points:

> It is not expedient to dismiss, without consideration, the overtures from four synods and seven presbyteries of the Church: that while the General Assembly recognise it as the special duty of the Church to maintain the New College of Edinburgh in the fullest possible efficiency, they, at the same time, declare it to be their opinion that the friends of the Church ought to be encouraged to provide the means of theological education at Glasgow and Aberdeen.[58]

But it was not just the hope and promise of finance that changed the mood of the 1851 Assembly there was a final wearing down of the Limitarians by the Extensionists. The initial arguments against Extension had lost their novelty and authority by the 1851 Assembly, and the more the Limitarians tried to block discussion on the matter, the more the Extensionists stood by their right for discussion and resolution.

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[57] Ibid. p. 243.
[58] Ibid. p. 244.

Mr Gibson, clerk of Glasgow Presbytery, said in the debate that it was only fair that when overtures came to the Assembly from different courts that interested parties should get to state their opinions. The Limitarians had tried to stop discussion on the grounds of competency through a motion of Dr Candlish, whereby the overtures should not be discussed. But the point of principle was that the clerk at the beginning of business that day had said that the overtures would be taken up. Dr Candlish's motion was then truly absurd when he was effectively asking the Assembly to lay the overtures down when earlier in the day they had accordingly taken them up.

It was no longer fair to say that the actions of the Extensionists were purely those of ones who were agitators. The final wearing down of the Limitarians was not just on the grounds of procedure: alongside procedure and the desire to discuss the issue was the thorny question of local interest – and this it seemed by 1851 was not going to go away. Towards the end of the debate one of the Memorialists, Mr Campbell of Tillichewan (1793-1864) spoke thus:

> the question before them was destroying the whole Church, and it was quite clear that it must be settled sooner or later. {hear, hear}. While he would be quite ashamed, for his own part, if he did not keep the interests of the College at Edinburgh thoroughly at heart, it was perfectly evident that cities like Glasgow and Aberdeen required by and by to have establishments of the kind. They could not hurry on at once the erecting of their institutions: but by coming to a settlement of the question, it would silence all differences that existed in the Church on the subject[59]

[59] Ibid. p.282.

However, taking the above points of finance, procedure and local demands into consideration, it is significant, that the ultimate decision was made by a committee which was not subject to the prejudices of the whole Assembly. By the end of Thursday May 29 1851, a committee was formed with a degree of urgency, in so far as the members were willing to stay up into the night to resolve this question. There was no desire to leave the decision until the next day as they did not know who would be present at the Assembly. Thus, the next day Dr Buchanan reported that the committee unanimously backed the following resolutions, with the exception of one absentee. College Extension was no longer a matter of controversy in the Church. The Assembly's Finance and Endowment Committee was instructed to ensure that monies given for the provision of theological education at Aberdeen and Glasgow be welcomed and that they were welcome, irrespective of their bearing on the Edinburgh College. And so the Glasgow Memorialists set about establishing the College: Glasgow businessmen such as Dr Clark, William Campbell of Tullichewan, John Blackie, Michael Connal and Nathanuel Stevenson. One will return to their biographies later in the thesis. Most of the work on the College did not begin until 1855, but in 1851, contemporaneously with this General Assembly's approval, ten acres of ground was bought in Glasgow's West End.

The choice of the site with hindsight was a strange one, as the College ended up at a distance from Glasgow University. One can speculate as to the reasons for this: firstly, it might have been the case of the Free Church wanting a prestigious site that would compete fairly and even advantageously with an Established Church building.

If this was the case then it is highly likely that the building site was chosen to compete with the prestigious Park Church on the other side of Lynedoch Square. Secondly, there was the expectation at the time that the University of Glasgow would move to a new site on Woodlands Hill. In the event the University did not acquire the site and it moved to Gilmorehill. The building of the College Church nearby might support the first factor, but it may well have been a combination of the two.

Whatever the reason for the choice, considerable wealth was needed to establish the College: monies were needed for fabric and personnel, then there were necessary funds for the ongoing life and attractiveness of the college to prospective students. There was the need for a well-stocked library and for bursaries and scholarships for the students. Once established there was then the ongoing need to maintain and indeed to improve the college. The activity of financial provision for the College in all its aspects spanned at its most intense three decades from 1844.

When one thinks of finance one thinks of figures, and this chapter will include many such figures which highlight the generosity and the commitment of many Glasgow office-bearers and the like. Occasional biographical reference might be given on a benefactor, but more detailed information will be given in the next chapter. Financial sums alone might interest the accountant and the banker who wants to balance the books, but from the perspective of this thesis, financial figures are part of the history of the Glasgow College. The establishment of the Free Church College in Glasgow was not just about raising funds: the establishment of the college was as much about

the people who gave so generously to a local cause. To consider the financial provision without apportioning time to the people behind the monies is to miss out on the life and the spirit of the Free Church at this time. The sums in themselves are impressive, but so are the people. This study is akin to visiting an old graveyard, where by reading the tombstones you can gain an insight into the occupational and social life of a village, town or city, at any given time in history; that is before the age of crematoria and the basic inscriptions on modern tombstones.

The Birth of the Glasgow College: The Efforts of Dr William Clark

In 1857 the Glasgow College was opened at the usual time to first and second year students with the whole external work of the buildings of the College having been completed and the internal finishing in progress. The end of 1858, externally and internally, completed the college building. And in May 1858 the state of Glasgow College's funds stood as follows:

There was the initial sum of £40,000 to be contributed by Dr William Clark, a lawyer and landowner from Airdrie and his fellow obligates plus the £1,825 for the Tower. At this point, of the £20,000 to be contributed by the obligants, £15,439 had been pledged. Added to this was the legacy of James Ewing, of Strathleven of £5,000 less the legacy duty of £500, thus in real terms this legacy amounted to £4,500, leaving a balance of £19-939. Already there was a shortfall on the promised and asked for £20,000. To date only £9,856,10 had actually been received from the subscribers:

£562-10-0 being paid by Mr Ewing's trustees. The balances paid for the Ground and Buildings, including the Tower was £11,220, but there were several balances still to be paid.[60]

If there was one prime mover behind the mobilisation of the college in Glasgow, it was this lawyer and landowner from Airdrie, Dr William Clark, (1777–1857). Dr Clark came from a family of secessionists. He was an only child from a landed Airdrie family who was destined to be a member of the Free Church in that his mother had refused to have him baptised by the parish minister of Shotts because he had been brought to the parish against the will of the parishioners. Having joined the Free Church in 1843 he was very committed to the prospect of a Theological College in Glasgow and took part in many of the critical debates in the Assembly, in an effort to ensure that his endeavours and those of his fellows in the west of Scotland did come to fruition.

In 1852 he executed a will destining his property in land and all his moveable effects for the purposes of a College in Glasgow, excepting a few small legacies. Circumstances arose shortly after, which led him, to reconsider and to alter his arrangements. Instead of allowing the matter to lie over until his death, he decided that he wanted to see this come to pass in his lifetime and accordingly he came forward with the proposal to give £20,000 on condition that gentlemen in Glasgow and its neighbourhood should match his contribution. As we know from the Committee Re-

[60] *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church, 1858*, p. 8.

ports and the College Minutes, the proposal was accepted to the sum of £40,000 and sanctioned at the 1855 General Assembly: whereby some £20,000 was for the endowments of four professors and their expenses. Two gentlemen whom one can number amongst the original benefactors were Mr James Ewing of Strathleven who gave £5,000 and Nathanuel Stevenson who gave £1,000. It is clear that Mr James Ewing's legacy was a straightforward cash legacy, as with Nathanuel Stevenson, but monies were also raised through heritable securities and stocks and shares. One will address this contribution later on in this survey of sums raised.

Architecturally, it is a fine thing when a building has a distinguishing feature and this was the case for the College in its Lombard Tower that also owes its existence to the generosity and management of Dr Clark. We are informed that there was a separate fund of £1,825 for the building of the central tower of which Dr Clark contributed £900. Once again we seem to have Dr Clark encouraging gentlemen to match his contribution.

From the outset monies were needed and raised for the fabric of the building and the professors' salaries. Architecturally, the Glasgow building was impressive and the composition of the course and the teaching staff seemed to have been on a similar standing to Edinburgh. The regular students' fees were the same as at Edinburgh and were shared among the four professors with the fees of casual students going to the teaching professor. One of the professors held the office and received the title of Principal, as it was conceived that the appointment of such an office would not only

greatly facilitate the transaction of business of the institution but also give it a more distinctive collegiate character.

Secondly, we are told that the annual proceeds of the endowment fund, after the deduction of the necessary annual expenses, were divided into twenty four parts and were appointed as follows. There were to be three professors of Theology and Church History, each with one quarter of the annual proceeds of the endowment fund and necessary annual expenses, and one professor of Hebrew who received a smaller portion of approximately twenty-one per cent. The remaining four per cent was added to the principal's salary to cover his extra expenses and needs. This was to be so, on condition that in the event of a separate fund being constituted for the endowment of the Principal, of equal or superior value, he no longer received the additional share from the general endowment fund, which would then be applied to the chair of Hebrew.[61]

But the establishment of the College was not solely to do with the fabric and the professors' salaries. The life of this College, like all educational establishments, required the other component parts that were essential for its success and well being. Firstly, any educational institution needs a library. Over the years many people from Glasgow and elsewhere contributed to the library: sometimes with money, sometimes in kind. In the beginning, however Dr Clark made £1000 available to buy books. One Duncan Thomson (1867), who bequeathed £3000 to fellowships and scholarships at the dis-

[61] Ibid. *A Report of the General Committee for Making Arrangements for Carrying out the Free Church College in Glasgow*, 1858, p.13.

cretion of the senate, also gifted £500 to the library. In addition, in 1867 a donation of £25 was received from one Captain Hamilton and the Hamilton Trust for the library.[62] A similar contribution too came from one James Drummond who in 1862, left his library and bookcase to the College.[63] At a later date in 1896 Dr Douglas resolved to raise a sum in memory of Dr Fairbairn (1805-1874). Dr Patrick Fairbairn came to Glasgow from Aberdeen as Professor of Theology and served as Principal of the College. Dr Douglas raised money as a Memorial to Dr Fairbairn, through which his library was bought for the college, and a fabric fund set up.

In the *General Papers*, in the Glasgow University Archives there are papers that record the contributions to the Memorial Fund for Dr Fairbairn, and therein is recorded that £525 of the total sum of £1430 was to be used for library expenses. Indeed, we have an exact breakdown of accounts that is quite interesting. The books were bought for £450: a further £5.4s was spent on binding and 10 shillings for carriage from his house to the College. Two sums of £25.12s and £1.10s were recorded for book presses and staining: and the remaining £4.00 for cataloguing and the payment of the janitor.[64]

[62] Ibid. 1867
[63] Ibid. 1862
[64] *General Papers*, Trinity College Archives.

Bursaries and Fellowships.

Whilst a moderate provision was made for the furnishing and equipping of the library, it is in the area of bursaries and scholarships that we see the generosity and vision of many Free Churchmen and women. Most of the donations were in the forms of legacies and they were given from well-known Church members in most instances. Mention has already been made of the sum of £5,000 left to the College by Mr James Ewing of Strathleven in 1844. But the catalyst in scholarships and bursaries, as well as fabric and salaries was Dr William Clark. William Clark died 22 June 1859, a year after the College's final completion and in the Glasgow University Archives, we have an extract copy of his will (Appendix 1).

Before looking at the contents of his will, it is appropriate to introduce the name and the person of William Towers Clark who was Dr Clark's cousin and executor of the will. The College Minutes make regular reference to his valuable work and service. Until his death in 1870 he worked tirelessly for the College and especially so in the decade following Dr Clark's death. We know from the College Minutes that on August 1st 1859, the Glasgow College committee met with Principal Fairbairn in the Chair for the purpose of considering and giving consideration to the will of the late Dr Clark of Wester Moffat with respect of bursaries. Also present were Professors Hetherington and Douglas. The excerpts from the will were dated respectively for the 15th, 17th and 18th June 1859. Therein contained the following instructions with regard to bursaries. Dr Clark in his will had made provision for the Free Church Col-

lege to receive £500, payable half yearly after his death, for payment of bursaries to deserving students attending the Free Church College.

In the first instance eight young men who were studying for the ministry of the Free Church, and who belonged to the parishes of New Monkland and Shotts were to receive £50 per annum. This bursary was to be paid for five years during their attendance at college. According to the Third Excerpt for Codicil 18 June 1859, William Towers shall have a voice and take part in everything connected with the distribution of the sum of £400 to be paid to the College for bursaries and shall have the sole nomination of the parties belonging to Shotts and New Monkland - but the power of nomination shall not descend to his heirs. Dr Clark also made provision in his will for the preparatory years preceding theological study. To this end he bequeathed fifty pounds, in sums not exceeding ten pounds, for each young man connected with the parishes of New Monklands and Shotts to assist him in his classical studies. Once again the annual sums were to be held for not more than five years, declaring that, if in any year there are not sufficient numbers of deserving young men from the said parishes to exhaust the said sum, the balance shall be applied for bursaries in the college, along with the balance of the said sum of four hundred pounds. Dr Clark also made provision for a scholarship to a distinguished student to be enjoyed by him for one or two years immediately after leaving college. He entrusted William Towers to be involved in any decision making along with the Senate of the College; the Senate having the power to fix amounts of the said allowances and bursaries and the period

during which they shall exist and be paid, with the proviso that they shall not be held by anybody in excess of two years.

Once again we can see Clark as being the pioneer and the catalyst in developing this aspect of the College's life, both in person and in spirit. For we know that at a faculty meeting of 10 September 1859 it was resolved that in the meantime, the Clark Scholarship be held for one year, until one or more scholarships of a similar kind be obtained: that the competition be open to all students who had attended at least two sessions at the Hall, and that in conferring it the Faculty would be guided mainly by the results of the closing exam of the Exam board.[65]

Dr Clark's conditions of his will did not necessarily make it very easy to find candidates who fulfilled all the requirements on an annual basis. Indeed we are informed that at first there were no appropriate applications for the Clark bursaries, as there were no students from Shotts and New Monklands. However one does know that by 1871 there were recipients, as the Principal laid on the table a list of ground annuals, which he proposed to be assigned by Mr Towers Clark's trustees to the Senatus in lieu of their claim on the Wester Moffat property for the Clark bursaries.

One does read of monies being raised for the College through property and ground annual investments. The *Minute Book* does refer to this source of revenue to maintain bursaries and scholarships in particular, and here in this minute is an example with respect to the Clark Bursaries. By this means £360 was raised in 1871:

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[65] The Minute Book of Trinity College, *General Papers*, Trinity College Archives, September 1859.

> From Messrs McHaffie, Forsyth and Miller over property at Mile End, £105. Six properties in Blytheswood Holm in the name of Edward Meldrum raised £225: one property in Tradeston in the name of Mrs Allan, raised £24 and the trustees of Tradeston Evangelical Union Church the remaining £6.[66]

The bursaries and scholarships must by then have been fully functional. These ground annuals are a timely reminder of the sometimes-limited life span of cash gifts and also of the financial complications in maintaining provision.

The 1860s and 1870s saw a number of bursaries coming to the College and this thesis will now take a closer look at the content and the nature of these: some were sizeable others were not so great. In some cases, it has been possible to find out much about the donor, some not so much. Most it would seem though had a strong connection with the west of Scotland.

Where it is appropriate a fuller extract of the wills and the conditions therein, will be replicated in the chapter of Appendices at the end of this thesis.

Donations came from various and varying men. Three thousand pounds came from the settlement of one Duncan Thomson. (See Appendix 2). One thousand pounds for bursaries came from John Graham of Berkeley Terrace in Glasgow. (See Appendix 3). At this time, too, the family of the late Dr Smyth informed the Principal that the latter had left fifty pounds to be used for students in peculiar circumstances. One presumes that this was a polite way of helping out students in exceptional hardship. This sum was lodged in the Clydesdale Bank.

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[66] Ibid. 15 May 1871.

McAuley Bursary (See Appendix 4)

In November 1861, one William McAuley had died aged seventy-one. He seems to have been a loved uncle. In his memory his family established a bursary that came to the notice of the Glasgow College Committee on 13 October 1862. The sum donated to the college was five hundred pounds and a fuller explanation of the way that the trustees invested it can be found in the extract at appendix five.

John Graham Scholarship (1871)

The year 1871 saw the foundation of another bursary to help the poor student who, having equal qualifications, 'is in circumstances to stand most in need of such assistance', as decided by the faculty's professors: namely the John Graham Scholarship. John Graham was a manufacturer living in the West End of Glasgow and down the coast at Innellan.

> In the 4th place I direct and appoint my Trustees to invest the sum of £1,000 on heritable security or in the purchase of house property ground annuals or feu duties, or in the public funds of stock of chartered companies, invested into two bursaries to be bestowed upon two students of Theology. Each of these bursaries shall be held by the same student for 2 years only, one of them to be held by a student of the first two years and the other by a student (not being the same persons) of the last two years.[67]

The Stevenson Family.

One gentleman and his family who were very generous to the Free Church and the College in Glasgow was one Nathanuel Stevenson who is believed to have been one

[67] Ibid. 14 September 1871.

of the original benefactors in Dr Clark's consortium. His name was given to a bursary on September 13th 1862. Nathanuel Stevenson, a Glasgow merchant, bequeathed a bursary or scholarship to be used for assisting students in their studies, or after they had completed their theological curriculum. This bursary was established by buying £500 of the consolidated stock of the British and Irish Magnetic Telegraph Company Limited, and forty New Preferential Shares of £10 each, bearing interest at six per cent per annum. The annual produce of the said stocks and shares was used to provide a bursary for one student of Divinity, or as a Scholarship to one who was within one year of completing his theological curriculum.[68] For further detail on the financing of this Scholarship please refer to Appendix 6 for the material contained in the Minute Book.

In his own lifetime his son James made provision on 30 November 1867 for the James Stevenson Scholarship. This scholarship, of not less than £50 per annum, was to be competed for on alternate years with that founded by his late father, Nathaniel Stevenson. The conditions applied to potential recipients of this scholarship were that they be awarded on the outcome of the October examination in each alternate year to Honours M.A. students with distinction. In the event that there were two or more eligible candidates, the recipient was chosen by the Principal. If there was no suitable candidate for the scholarship, it was to be divided into two bursaries of thirty and twenty pounds, which were to be awarded by public competition.[69]

[68] Ibid. 13 September 1866.
[69] Ibid. 30 January 1867.

In the College Minutes, there are the details of the maintenance and ongoing provision of these bursaries, and in particular those in respect of the Nathanuel Stevenson Scholarship. Such details remind us of the ongoing investment in stocks and shares that maintained these gifts to the college. The foundation in 1862 bought stock in the British and Irish Magnetic Telegraph Company. This company was taken over by the Government in 1869, subsequent to which the larger portion of the sum accruing to the Scholarship was paid in two instalments: in January 1870, there was paid a sum of £520 and a further £875 in February, thus a total of £1395. This sum was then re-invested with upwards of £1100 being paid out in the purchase of ground annuals in Pollockshaws. As there was some uncertainty as to what further sums might be looked for from the Telegraph Company, and when they might be realised, the Senate agreed to the proposal made by the Principal that a quantity of stock was to be purchased in the Corporation Gas Annuities. This sum was considerably beyond the anticipated sum remaining on hand, but the Principal undertook to advance what more might be needed. The stock bought £493-16-3 worth of shares and the College were required to supplement this amount by £197-1-9. In 1871 further instalments amounting were received from the Telegraph Company such that the supplementary payment needing to be paid by the College was £22-8-3d, in order to make up the requisite allowance for the existing holders of the Scholarship in that year. As matters ultimately stood the sums paid for stock in the Corporation Gas Company were as follows: belonging to the Scholarship £330.-1-3d, to the Principal £163-5s, giving a total of £493-16-3d.[70]

[70] Ibid. 8 March 1873

The Paterson Fellowship.

The 20th December 1869 saw the publication of a £2500 Fellowship founded by Joshua Paterson: M.D. This was called the Paterson Fellowship and was administered by the academic staff. It was awarded to students who were close to finishing their curriculum and could be held for two years. In return the holders were required to perform or engage in some work, such as conducting tutorials or research during the second year. Preference was given to those who held an M.A. If there was no recipient in a given year then the income was to be added to the capital. The sum of £2500 and any additions was payable half yearly. Interestingly, at this stage in the Free Church's development, mention was made to what would happen to the Fellowship should there be a union of Churches: that if there was union, then the Fellowship might be carried forward to a United College provided the Free Church College was part thereof.[71]

Further to the Fellowship, there was also established in his name on 11th November 1871 a scholarship for the purpose of encouraging young men about to become medical missionaries 'to the heathen'. Once again monies were invested in stocks and shares. On this occasion, one hundred preferential shares of ten pound each, held in the City of Glasgow Union Railway Company, were transferred to the Senate. The shares had first been purchased at the price of £1110 and their revenue was to be used for the foundation and endowment of a Scholarship of £50 per annum. Competition for this scholarship was open to all students attending the theology classes of any

[71] Ibid. 11 November 1871.

Free Church College, and to all medical students attending the medical classes in any of the universities in Scotland who were members of the Free Church or any other of the evangelical Churches in Scotland, providing always that the person holding a scholarship would, in addition to a full curriculum in medicine, attend for not less that two sessions at one of the Theological Colleges in Scotland. Finally, the successful candidate was to have been officially recognised as being fit, physically, morally and spiritually for the duties of a foreign missionary.[72] The first recipient received £50 per annum in September 1872.[73]

Gifts to the life of the college varied throughout the late nineteenth century with the greatest sums going to its building and then to its students and teaching staff, but not all gifts fell neatly into the three categories and indeed some monies were wisely left to the discretion and administration of the College's Financial Board. In the College Minutes in Trinity College Archives, dated 6th February 1875, there is reference to a letter from a Mr Ross who was the treasurer of the College, in which was enclosed a copy of a letter from Mr John Cowan on behalf of the Trustees of the Church, anent £2000 left to the College by late Mr J. Robertson.[74] His trustees were bound to pay to the College five per cent of the aforementioned sum until a suitable investment was made. This sum was to be realised and maintained by the Trustees holding two funds over house property in Glasgow. Also transferred by Mr Robertson's trustees were two amounts of money, one for £1400, the other for £400, both bearing four and a

[72] *Paterson Scholarship* in the *General Papers,* Trinity College Archives.
[73] The Minute Book of Trinity College, *General Papers,* Trinity College Archives, September 1872.
[74] Ibid. 6 February 1875.

half per cent as part of £2000 belonging to the College, and an instruction either to invest the remaining £200 separately or along with the other funds. The Senate was to leave the disposal of £200 to the Financial Board.

Another interesting gift, which did not fall into the direct category of bursaries and scholarships, was donated in March 1871 by the family of one Hugh Brown. They gifted forty pounds for Graduation Premiums, a sum which in practice would have met the cost of University Fees.[75]

Mrs Anne Macgregor Bequest

As the life of the College developed, so did the interests of its work. The Free Church of this time was recognised for its work among the poor of Glasgow's Wynd district and other such areas. This interest was encouraged and supported by the Church's students, ministers and by its members who were keen to be involved in such work. This work was reflected amongst the financiers of the College. In September 1865 the College received a sum of £500 in the name of one Mrs Anne Macgregor for the purposes of Evangelisation in Glasgow within the Free Church in Glasgow and the Barony parish. This sum was to be administered by the Principal and Professor Douglas and his successors. It was thought that this sum might best be applied to evangelistic work in connection with the Chair of Pastoral Theology in the College. In time this fund was used more for Glasgow than for the direct life of the College itself.

[75] Ibid. 4 March 1871

We know from a minute of 29th January 1897 that there was a surplus of £145 to the credit of the Macgregor Fund. It was found that an annual grant of £20, which used to be made from this fund to the College Mission, had not been made for five years. The senate agreed to grant the surplus of one hundred pounds to the Funds of the Missionary Society of the College, and thirty-five pounds towards the expenses incurred by the furnishing of the Men's Club in connection with the Broomielaw Free Church. Just like the aforementioned Paterson Scholarship, financial support for the College went beyond the academic life of the College itself.

Revd. Thomas Barclay Bequest: A Former Clark Scholar.

The next bequest under consideration is an interesting one, because it is seemingly unique in character. It concerns a letter of 1874 from the Revd. Thomas Barclay, a former Clark scholar, who was at that time working as a missionary in China with the English Presbyterian Church. In this letter we are told that he donated a sum of ten pounds to be used as a prize for a second or third year student who wrote the best essay on the subject connected with the function of Foreign Missions in the work of the Church.[76] This sum would not have matched the monies he probably received as a Clark Scholar, but still there was an appreciative interest in the ongoing life of the College and what he had received from it.

In the College Debate the Extensionists had supported the need and the desire for more than one Free Church College in Glasgow on the grounds that a central college was not easily accessible for everybody. However, the presence of three colleges

[76] Ibid. 18 September 1874.

covering the whole of Scotland was still not going to exclude the necessity of travelling for some students. Clearly some of the bursaries and scholarships were intended to defray overall student costs for some successful students. There seems to have been only one recorded gift which directly covered travelling expenses, and that was for students from the Highlands. In 1876, one Miss Drummond left one hundred pounds for the defraying of travelling expenses of students from the Highlands: this trust was hitherto known as the Miss Drummond Trust. [77]

Another hallmark of the 'College Debate' was the competition and rivalry between the two cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh and this rivalry was reflected in the purposes of gifts to the Glasgow College throughout the 1880s and 1890s. Whatever New College had, the Churchmen in Glasgow wanted for themselves. So, to that end, provision was made in 1882 for Glasgow's Dining Hall. Mr George Barbour of Bonskeid gifted one thousand pounds for the setting up of a dining hall, similar to that which has been in existence for some years in Edinburgh. In true Free Church spirit this sum was matched by two well-known Glasgow Churchmen, namely Mr James Stevenson and Mr James Whyte. This sum of £3000 did not quite meet the required sum and so the College paid the remaining six hundred pounds from one Provost Donald's legacy.[78] Further, it seems that then as now, wherever people are eating there is a requirement for toilet facilities and so in June 1883 plans were afoot for lavatories in connection with the Dining Hall. In the same year it was also reported by

[77] Ibid. 7 November 1876.
[78] Ibid. 8 January 1895.

the Clerk that Dr W.G. Blackie had expressed his willingness to assist in having the College thoroughly heated. Senatus accepted his offer. [79]

By the 1890s there was very little of note happening regarding gifts to the College. The years to the 1870s had effectively seen the implementation and consolidation of funds. However, the 1890s saw the gift of one Mr Robert Blackie, a publisher who made provision for 'speech training', for those training to be ministers. At a College Committee meeting in 1894, a letter from Mr. Robert Blackie was read out offering fifty pounds, for:

> Endeavouring to secure training for students in effective speaking. And, that it should be necessary, in order to secure training in speaking that the Assembly should give the senatus power to recognise that every student shall during his course receive instruction from an approved teacher. [80]

One cannot but be impressed by the monies which the Free Churchmen and women raised for their Church and its institutions. In 1843 the Free Church had four hundred and seventy four ministers. By 1869 this figure had all but doubled to nine hundred with seven hundred and forty minister receiving the whole dividend of one hundred and fifty pounds. In addition to this by the years 1868 - 1869 the Church had built nine hundred and twenty Churches, costing £1,015,375: seven hundred and nineteen manses, costing £467,350 and five hundred and ninety seven schools, costing £185,000. Thus in these areas alone there is an expended figure of £1,667,725.[81] Add

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[79] Ibid.. 21 May 1895
[80] Ibid. 1894
[81] Buchanan, Robert, *The Finance of the Free Church*, (Edinburgh, 1870). p. 97.

to this the sums raised for the three Colleges both through the common giving and in respect of local directed donation and the sums are impressive.

> One of these Colleges is endowed having a fund of £35,000 obtained from subscriptions, donations and legacies. Other two partially endowed by funds which amount to £35,330. For their support otherwise these Colleges depend chiefly upon an annual collection made by all congregations.[82]

It was thus estimated that by 1867, £3,000 per annum was being paid to the Colleges. In addition there was also the matter of students fees and the bursary and fellowship funds that were permanent. In the same year it was reported at the General Assembly that the total sum raised to date, for College purposes was and impressive, £292,513.

Financial Problems

The generated finance in the Church in general, and in Glasgow in particular, was impressive. Undoubtedly, the financial success of the Free Church did reflect the prosperity of the new and manufacturing middle and upper classes, and evidence of this is given in the next chapter that presents the biographical backgrounds to many of the donors. Without doubt the generosity and vision of Dr Clark and his encouragement of others is remarkable, and the College may thus be said to owe its foundation to Dr Clark. He was, it seems, a shrewd businessman who encouraged others by inviting him into their consortium. His intentions from the outset were impressive,

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[82] Ibid.

but that was not to say that the promised sums were immediately and readily available. We know from reports that he and his colleagues were not prompt payers. Such was their enthusiasm and drive that the physical construction of the building went ahead and often the benefactors waited for the 'red bill', before paying up. The physical progress in the extension of Church buildings and Colleges looked good, but there were underlying financial problems for the Church and this was not just in the case of the Glasgow College.

The 1855 College Report spoke of the difficulties that they were having in realising all the monies for the Edinburgh College whose funds were mainly coming from the central Common Fund and its subscribers. In this instance Dr Buchanan, Convenor, gave the Financial Report of the College Committee and informed the General Assembly that there was still a considerable amount of debt upon the building fund of the New College: last year £4,595-5-10, this year £4,045-5-10. He also indicated that sums due by subscribers to the fund amounted to £2650 and asked that this matter be concluded before the next assembly. [83]

Balances in 1858 were not in the black and from the College Minute Book of 1862 we know this to be an ongoing problem for the financial board. Dr Clark died in 1859 and in this minute of 1862 it was reported in a letter from Mr Anderson Kirkwood, lawyer and College treasurer that: 'Dr Clark's gift of £20,000 so far unpaid as at the

[83] *The Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland,* 1855, p.7.

time of his death, has been fully paid with interest'.[84] It was also reported that there were sums outstanding with interest accumulating on the obligates' pledge, but that these sums could now be paid out of the unpaid half of Mr Ewing's legacy and out of the ground of Kelvinside.

One final word on the settlement of financial affairs associated with the establishment of the College can be quoted from a late minute of the College Committee to the General Assembly in March 1889, some thirty years after Dr Clark's death.

> From certain communications made to the Principal by Mr Towers Clark it appears that the obligates who undertook in 1855 to erect the College buildings and hand them over to the General Trustees of the Church, along with £30,000 for endowments have recently been enabled to fulfil their obligations. By the disposal of ground gifted to them for College purposes from the Kelvinside property and the unoccupied steadings to the east of the College Church, all existing claims have been discharged and the sum of £4,500 has been remitted to Edinburgh: which with previous investments makes up the £30,000 and £650 besides. Another £1,000 is still payable at Whitsunday: total surplus £1,650.[85]

Nor was it always the case that bursaries had been well provided for prior to their intimation. On 10th December 1874, in the College Minutes, it is reported that two ladies, daughters of a pre-Disruption elder, had intimated their intention of giving five hundred pounds as an endowment for a tutorial class. However this could not be implemented immediately, as the promised sum was not yet available and so there was an arrangement made for an annual sum of twenty-five pounds to be paid until all was in order. A similar problem arose with the Freeland Scholarship of 1875 that was set

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[84]The Minute Book of Trinity College, *General Papers*, Trinity College Archives, 15 March 1862.
[85] *The Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland*, 1888, (Edinburgh).

up by the trustees of the late Mrs Barclay. There had been problems with the funding of this scholarship because when the conditions of a memoranda were considered on January 15 1875, it was felt that the principal sum could yield only one scholarship, whereas they seemed to be bound by her will to institute more than one. So, in these circumstances, it was proposed to introduce two scholarships, each of thirty pounds, and the Senate resolved out of their funds to bring the scholarship up to the amount received. Such gaps in provision and late financial settlements were and are not unique to the Free Church of the nineteenth century. It was and is an inevitable result of ambitious plans and schemes. If the Free Church had tried to develop in line with actual received monies, it would never have come to pass. Such realities in the provision of the College should therefore not surprise the modern day reader or detract from the accomplishments of the Free Church. Indeed the fact that many businessmen were behind the schemes of the Church probably ensured its confident progress in the heady enthusiastic days following the Disruption. Evangelical fervour and generous businessmen herald progress. The maintenance over decades and down through the generations of this coupling of evangelical fervour and business acumen is another issue. When one comes to study the people behind the drive for Churches, ministers and institutions, and the people who gave so generously, one will see that the Free Church began to lose much of its fire and enthusiasm with the coming of the second generation of Church members and leaders. Church leaders like Robert Buchanan began to work for union with other free seceding Churches and the donations were not so forthcoming on the same scale as those early days of the Free Church.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PEOPLE BEHIND THE GLASGOW COLLEGE.

This chapter is a study of names of Glasgow Free Churchmen, businessmen and professionals who were instrumental in giving generously to the Free Church's projects. In the previous chapter there was much emphasis on the generous sums that were given for the endowment and establishment of the College. This chapter on the other hand is to be more biographical in nature. Collating the biographical material at times was a little like looking for that proverbial needle in the haystack. Contemporary clerks of Minutes and Reports presumed that its reader was familiar with the key personnel. Familiarity with the period in history rendered local Church histories written towards the end of the nineteenth century quite informative and helpful. Written within the time-scale of people's personal memories, lists of elders and deacons, with their professions alongside their names, were particularly helpful in this area of research. Further, the fact that names associated with the College also overlapped with key Church members of Glasgow Churches helped with the uncovering of biographical material.

The *Glasgow Herald* newspaper, where one might have expected to find some biographical material on leading Churchmen, was not as helpful as might have been expected: whilst deaths were often recorded of leading Churchmen, the paper's editorial sympathies seemed to have been with the Established Church of Scotland. The newspaper of June 1847 does have Dr Thomas Chalmers obituary, and of particular interest to the history of the Glasgow College is the content of Dr William Clark's

obituary, following his death on the 22nd June 1859. Before recording the specific details of his life as contributed by the *Glasgow Herald*, however, it is worth considering some general observations regarding the men and women of Glasgow who gave generously to the work and witness of the Free Church.

Firstly, a study of local Church histories revealed that in many instances those men who benefited the Glasgow College, were also very involved in the establishment and the maintenance of local Glasgow Churches. This relationship between local Churches and the College was perhaps to be expected, but still the exact nature of the joint interest in Church and College is worth highlighting as a means of introducing some of the men behind the College. No apologies are made for the lists of names that will appear: they are in themselves part of the history of the time: for they are groups of men who seemed to see it as their task to support the Free Church. Such was their interest and involvement that it did look as though they were forever taking from their businesses to give to their Church.

The local Church histories of the late nineteenth century do record various names and occupations. Firstly, one will study the information given in one of the earlier city centre Free Churches, namely St George's. The recorder of the Church's history described it as 'plain and commonplace...jammed in between two tenements in the city's West Regent Street.....and dimly lit, with a garish stained glass window'.[86]

[86] Young, George, B., *The History of Free St. George's Church, Glasgow, 1843-96*, (Glasgow, 1896).

Structurally and architecturally it might not have been very inspiring, but the written *History of St. George's Free Church,* is informative from the perspective of this study. For therein, is a list of the names and occupations of the first eight elders who accompanied their minister, Dr Smyth, from the St George's Parish Church to the new Free St George's. This list is an example of what was also recorded in other such histories, and comprehensively confirms some names and occupations that were associated with the Free Church. The occupations listed are those of an essentially middle class disposition: merchants, ship-owners, bankers and businessmen. At this early stage in the study, names worthy of note are that of the first clerk of the Deacon's Court: namely one Mr William Towers Clark, the cousin of Dr William Clark. William Towers was not listed with the original elders, but did hold the position of clerk to the Deacons Court for some twenty years. It is also mentioned therein that he laid the memorial stone for the second Church building in 1863.[87]

The first treasurer of this Church, one Mr John Oatts, did not have any known involvement with the Glasgow College, but does seem to have been part of an interesting family. He himself was connected with a stationer's business in Sauchiehall Street: James Lumsden and Co. The *History* also said that latterly he had a shop in Queen Street opposite the Royal Exchange. One of his sons is recognised as a well known writer and the other was for a time secretary of the Y.M.C.A.

[87] Ibid.

Further, the Session Clerk was one Mr John Ritchie of Ritchie and Murdoch, a cotton broker's business. [88]

Another interesting family name which was associated with this congregation, and which adds to the somewhat metaphorical jigsaw puzzle of this biographical exercise, is that of one Matthew Cruikshank of Summerlee Iron Company. Here, it is said that he was a very close friend of one of the original men who gave to the Glasgow College, namely James Ewing of Strathleven. Later in this chapter, more will be written about James Ewing, but for the moment it is necessary to record the connection. Matthew Cruikshank. Matthew was a very close friend of James Ewing, such that he named his son, Mr James Ewing Cruikshank. In the fullness of time the latter studied for the ministry and during his study at the Glasgow College he succeeded in gaining a gold medal presented by the late James Ewing, for the best exercise on the Greek verb.

> We might give many particulars about Mr Ewing who served his native city in Parliament, and at his death gave several princely gifts to Free Church schemes and charities.[89]

Another notable West End congregation was, Kelvinside Free Church. Once again in its *History*, one reads some very interesting names in its list of Church officials. For therein are the Blackie family who feature in the life of the College and especially Dr W.G. Blackie who became a member of the Free Church's College Committee in 1889. He also gave money in the 1880s for heating the College and for the financing of 'speech training' for all who were training for the ministry at the Glasgow College.

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[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid. p.47

He was educated at Aberdeen Grammar. At what stage in his life he came to Glasgow we cannot be certain, but he was himself a scholar and a businessman and a leading member in Kelvinside Free Church. However, due credit for this Church seems to lie with another Blackie relative. The Blackie family business was the Glasgow publishing business. This Church' *History* recorded that in February 1859, a few gentlemen met in John Blackie Senior's house, near the city's present Botanic Gardens, at 20 Kew Terrace to discuss the possibility of a Church in Hillhead and Great Western Road. Among the men who met were Matthew Montgomerie, Dr W.G. Blackie, Professor James Gibson, Clerk to Glasgow Presbytery and Dr Joshua Paterson of the Paterson Scholarship. John Blackie died in 1874, when due credit was accorded to him for his work and commitment to this congregation and parish. 'The forming of Kelvinside Congregation and the erection of the Church were in large measure due to his foresight, energy and liberality'. [90]

Dr William Clark and William Towers Clark.

However, two men who did have a critical role to play in the endowment and establishing of the College were cousins, Dr William Clark and William Towers Clark: indeed the latter added Clark to his name on his cousin's death and his subsequent involvement as his executor. Dr William Clark was born in 1777, the only son of Joannis Armigen of Wester Moffat near Airdire. He had graduated in Arts and then Medicine from the University by 1801. In the *Matriculation Albums of Glasgow University*, he is noted for being a 'founder and endower of the Free Church College'.[91]

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[90] *Kelvinside United Free Church, 1859-1909*, (New College, Edinburgh, 1909).
[91] *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow 1728-1858*, (1913).

He died soon after the establishment of the Glasgow College in 1857, nevertheless he played an important role in the patronising of the Free Church and in motivating others to give to the Free Church and other public projects. His obituary in the *Glasgow Herald,* gave the following information on his life. The first point of note is that he was not a Glasgow Churchman or businessman. He came from Airdrie where he spent his life on the family estate of Wester Moffat as a country gentleman. He played an active part in the formation of the Airdire Agricultural Society. Dr Clark feud his land that led to the rise of Clarkstone village and the formation therein of industry and economy and improved social conditions. He also supported Airdrie Gas Works, railways and canals and established the Sheriff Court and the rural police. Finally, in Airdrie the Clarkstone Quoad Sacra Church was built on his estate with his financial help. Add to this the provision that he made for the College, and the impression is of a generous man who gave much to his Church and to his village of Airdrie.

William Towers Clark

Of equal, and perhaps even greater importance was Dr Clark's aforementioned executor, who seemed to be motivated by the same passion for the Glasgow College, one William Towers Clark. Dr Clark was indeed highly influential in the very early days of the establishment of the College, but there was a sense in which his cousin's contribution was greater, before his death in May 1870. Towers Clark was born on 25 July 1805, the fourth son of James Towers, a Glasgow Midwifery professor. At thirteen years of age he was dux of the Grammar School of Glasgow, and went up to the University the following year to study law. The last two years of his life were

spent as Dean of the Faculty at Glasgow University. He died suddenly on 23 April 1870, in a railway carriage near Clarkstone, Airdrie.[92] He is buried in the ancient Churchyard of Shotts, in the same tomb as Dr Clark and many generations of the family of the Clarks of Wester Moffat, Airdrie. His contribution to the Free Church College is thus recorded in the College Minute Book, where there is the following affirmation of his work and personality.

> Owed much to him as well as Dr Clark himself for his practical workings out of the conditions of the College: the calling of committee meetings; the gathering in of contributions; the keeping of accounts and the management generally of the finance of the College, both at the commencement and afterwards..... A valuable portion of the funds, also destined by certain friends to the College, entailed upon him a great amount of anxiety and labour: for not being immediately available, those funds became entangled in Railway transactions and other unexpected difficulties. It is deemed unnecessary to refer more particularly to proceedings which stretched over several years - but due to the deceased sagacity and legal knowledge, they were concluded satisfactorily twelve months ago.[93]

Indeed before William Towers' death his contribution and work for the College was acknowledged in 1869 when the Glasgow College Committee set aside surplus funds to have a bust of Towers Clark placed in the College library.

William Campbell of Tullichewan

According to Stewart Mechie,[94] William Campbell should be regarded as second to Dr Clark in his contribution to the establishment of the College. He was born in

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[92] *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow*, 1728-1858,(ed. W. Innes Addison), (Glasgow, 1913).
[93] The Minute Book of Trinity College, *General Papers*, Trinity College Archives, p.71.
[94] Mechie, *Trinity College*, p.18.

Perthshire in 1793, but came to Glasgow with his family eleven years later. His first trade was as a weaver and in time he set up in business for himself. By 1817 his brother James had joined him and together they set up a successful business moving business premises from the Saltmarket to Candleriggs as J and W Campbell, wholesale drapers. Both brothers entered the Town Council. James was Lord Provost (1840-1843), and was knighted. One of his sons was Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Prime Minister.

William acquired Tullichewan Castle as his home. He took great interest in the slum clearance project in the Wynd District in Glasgow and was a founder of the Glasgow Night Assylum for the Houseless. William also arranged for free access to the then private Botanic Gardens, for the poor of the city, during the Fair Week. He was supportive of Dr Chalmers' church extension scheme in the years before the Disruption and to the education for the ministry of the Free Church, of which he was a member.

James Ewing of Strathleven

Another original benefactor was one James Ewing of Strathleven. The son of a West India Merchant, Walter Ewing of Catkin, he was a very important and influential person in the city: sometime Councillor, Dean of Guild, Lord Provost and Member of Parliament. He was born in 1775 and started his life as an accountant. On the death of his father in 1814, he became the head of the firm, James Ewing and Company, West India merchants. Within the life of the city, he was one of the promoters of the Duke Street Prison and the Royal Exchange. It was also his suggestion that the Fir

Park be utilised as a necropolis. He retired in 1835 to Dunbartonshire and died in November 1844. The University of Glasgow conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws. His personal estate on his death was £280,000 and amongst his benefactors were the Merchants House, £31,000 for various purposes, Glasgow institutions, (£9000 among them), £500 to the Trades House, The Royal Infirmary £10,000 and Dumbarton institutions £500. The Free Church received £18,500, for a variety of schemes, £5000 of which was for the building of the Free Church College.[95] James Ewing was a very rich man who, 'by his disposition and deed of settlement, had made most liberal bequests to Glasgow and Free Church institutions'.[96]

The Stevenson Family.

Another prominent and influential family in the life and provision of the Glasgow College was the Stevenson family. Nathanuel Stevenson was the father of James, and from a variety of sources we have reason to believe that he supported the Free Church in a generous and consistent manner. Varying sources do confirm the family's generosity: bursaries for the Glasgow College and mention of his generosity to the Free Church is even recorded in *The Glasgow Herald* of 2nd June 1843. On this day the newspaper reported a list of people who had contributed financially to the Free Church in the early days of its existence and establishment. The newspaper listed names of those who had donated sums of anything between 3-2d and two thousand

[95] McGregor, George, *The History of Glasgow from the Earliest Period to the Present Time*, (Glasgow, 1881), p.456.

[96] Ibid. p.455.

pounds. Some of the larger sums and the names of those making the donation, were men who were connected with the Glasgow College: one was a Nathanuel Stevenson, whose initial donation was two hundred pounds with a pledged annual giving of one hundred pounds. One hundred and fifty five years on there are still people whose annual giving to their Church would not match this sum.

Nathanuel Stevenson's money was made in the cotton industry. The year 1775 marked the collapse of the tobacco trade in Glasgow and the birth of the cotton industry. In 1803 a spinning mill was erected in the Calton in Glasgow and Nathanuel along with his brother found employment in the office of the new mill. In 1812 they were taken into partnership at a mill at Barrowfield by a firm Oswald Stevenson and Co. They continued until 1853. James Oswald and Nathanuel remained partners for years, with Nathanuel conducting the business. Nathanuel died in 1867 when his death was reported in the *Glasgow Herald* newspaper. He died twenty-four years after control of the business had been handed over to his son James Stevenson, who was an office bearer in St Enoch's Free Church, Glasgow.

He seems to have been a very religious man whose early life was influenced by his mother, Margaret Cochran of Paisley, who was described as a spiritual and influential lady. On leaving school he had expressed a desire to study for the ministry, but family circumstances had prevented this. On leaving Paisley Grammar School he devoted himself to an active business life, alongside an active ecclesiastical life as and elder. He lived on the southside of Glasgow, near the then village of Strathbungo. Before the Disruption, he had been an active member of the Tron Church and was interested

in the poor people of Glasgow. His minister was Dr Chalmers who was minister there for three years from 1815, until he became minister of the new St John's. Nathanuel stayed at the Tron, although many went with Chalmers. Whilst at the Tron he took an interest in founding the Infant School System, the YMCA and the City Mission. He took much interest in the erection of a school, and subsequently of a Free Church, in Strathbungo. His special interest was as a member of the Committees on Home and Foreign Mission work, where his sound judgement and business were valued.

Under the leadership of Dr. Robert Buchanan he took part in the establishment of large day and night schools in the Wynd and Bridgegate districts. He was also involved in a new venture, teaching money management. In his house, together with Mr Meikle of the National Security Savings Bank, Mr Cameron of the Stamp Office and his son James, there were many meetings to draw up the rules and forms under which the National Security or Trustee Savings Bank could promote banks in poor districts. Towards the end of 1850 a model penny bank was set up in the Wynd School, the precursor of several hundreds in the city. 'With increased prosperity, large donations became habitual to him'.[97] His family followed in their father's footsteps, with his elder son, James, continuing Nathanuel's deep interest in Church Extension. His younger son and namesake died in December 1856 before completing his training for the ministry as his father had so wished for himself. James the son matriculated at Glasgow University in 1834 to study law. He held office as the Lord Dean of the Guild of Glasgow for a few months in 1878. He was:'a munificent bene-

[97] Ibid. p.293.

factor of the University and Free Church, having defrayed the expense of cataloguing the Hunterian Museum and he founded the Chair of Natural Science'.[98]

Paterson Family

Another influential family within the Free Church and the life of the Glasgow College, were the members of the Paterson family. Dr Joshua Paterson made provision for a Fellowship and a Scholarship, and he was a member of the Glasgow College's Financial Board from its institution.[99] Dr Paterson's interests and commitments were not just with the College, though. At a time when the social and economic demography of the city was changing he was involved with the West End congregation of North Kelvinside Church. The 1860s in Glasgow saw the residential population of the city move westward in response to the businesses which had established themselves in the west of the city. Dr Paterson was the treasurer of North Kelvinside Free Church, where he was instrumental in maintaining the financial well being of the congregation. Indeed in 1867, during a time of ministerial vacancy, he was successful in persuading the congregation to reduce their debt before appointing a new minister: This is a timely and timeless reminder, that even where there seemed to be much generosity in the Free Church, still there were financial difficulties in congregations and all the more so as the years since the heady days of the Disruption had passed. On a more

[98] *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow*, (1728-1858), (ed. W. Innes Addison), (Glasgow 1913).
[99] The Minute Book of Trinity College, *General Papers*, Trinity College Archives, 1857.

personal level, his daughter Margaret Paterson married the son of the manse when she married Dr. Ross Taylor.[100] It is said that, he left an example:

> To those who may be disposed to act similarly, when he established them in his own life-time and through many years of hard work watched their operation, improving the rules of their administration and stimulating the holders of them by his personal interest in their character and work.[101]

Hugh Miller (1802-56)

There is a sense in which the name of Hugh Miller need not be mentioned here as he is well enough known to the Church historian of this period, however it does seem appropriate to write a little about him as his legacy went part way to relieve the poverty of a number of students in the College. From a conventional Presbyterian family, Hugh Miller has been regarded in history for his reputation as a poet, antiquarian and journalist. Before he came to the fore as a journalist he worked in the bank in his own town of Cromarty. Before the Disruption he found himself being adopted by the Evangelical wing of the Church of Scotland after he published his *Letter from the Scotch People to the Right Honourable Lord Brougham*, in 1839. This piece of writing was a biting attack on Patronage. The Evangelical wing then invited him to Edinburgh to edit their newspaper, *The Witness*. In three or four years *The Witness* became the second best selling paper in Edinburgh.

Initially, he ran the paper single-handed and brought it out without fail twice a week. After the Disruption it became the paper of the Free Church. The paper's success was

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[100] *Kelvinside United Free Church, 1859-1909*, (New College, Edinburgh, 1909).
[101] The Minute Book of Trinity College, *General Papers*, Trinity College Archives, 1892.

not just because of his reporting on Church events. Miller wrote incisively on the working conditions of workers both in South-West Scotland and the Highlands, the coming of the railways, and the latest political developments. He was also interested in scientific issues. He created a public by his writings, within which evangelicals and then the Free Church flourished to his credit.

> The part played by *The Witness* in generating the groundswell of opinion against patronage, which led eventually to the Disruption cannot be over-estimated, nor can its later influence in marshalling support for the new Free Church.[102]

As the years progressed, Miller and *The Witness* did not always receive such overwhelming support from all Free Church leaders. Circulation of the newspaper peaked at three thousand six hundred and fifty seven and did temporarily outsell the *Scotsman*. But, such was the charisma and the commitment of this man, that the newspaper did not survive his premature death. For a time Hugh had been financing the paper: it had outlived the cause and the person that had been its inspiration. Hugh's newspaper drifted out of circulation some eight years after his death.

Hugh married and lived in Edinburgh.

Other Benefactors

Having spent some time on the better-known names and families this chapter will now focus on some of the lesser-known names, those about whom less is known, and around whom there was greater detective work so as to find any appropriate biographical information. One source which confirmed some information was again the

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[102] *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, (eds. Cameron, Nigel, ed., Wright, Lachlan and Meek), (T&T Clark, Edinburgh, 1993), p.564.

Glasgow Herald, but this time this was not in connection with death notices and obituaries: it was very much information gleaned from the living and active business lives of some of our benefactors and families: namely information gleaned from the advertisements in the newspaper. For example, The *Herald* of August 1856, whilst recording the translation of Principal Fairbairn from Aberdeen to Glasgow, also has an advertisement for the publishers of Blackie and Sons, of Edinburgh and Glasgow and London and in the property pages there was a Mill for sale.

The sale of the mill itself is of no importance to our study, but the name of Kidston W.J.B., Writers, who were selling it is, for amongst the members and contributors at North Kelvinside Free Church was a man by such a name. Further, in the College Minutes there was noted a communication from the College's Financial Board approving a proposal to grant a bond to the amount of £2,858 in favour of one J.P. Kidston upon one or other of two properties at 3B or 44 Argyle Street, in the West End of the city, within the vicinity of the North Kelvinside Free Church. This bond was to be used as financial security for the College. A property advert by the name of Kidston is perhaps not wholly convincing and conclusive, but there seem to be enough connections that it is not unreasonable to suppose that the benefactor or a close family member was associated with this business.[103]

Dr Smyth in 1861 left a sum of money to be used for the benefit of students in 'peculiar circumstances'. Such circumstances were not clarified, but we do know a little

[103] The Minute Book of Trinity College, *General Papers*, Trinity College Archives, 6 May 1875.

about Dr Smyth through the *History of Free St. George's, Glasgow*. Dr Smyth had succeeded a Rev William Muir as minister of the Old St George's Church of Scotland in Glasgow. At the Disruption, he left Old St George's to form the Free Church. He was it seems, not an obvious candidate for the Free Church. As a strongly politically conservative he had an intense regard for constituted government, yet it seems that he saw it as his duty to identify with the Evangelical wing of the Church, so he took a number of his flock and eight elders with him to form St George's Free Church.

Another named benefactor is one Mr George Barbour of Bonskeid (1810-1887). He was a relatively late benefactor who donated monies for the College Dining Hall, and is not to be confused with the philosopher, theologian, biographer, landowner and philanthropic Churchman of G.F. Barbour (1882-1946), son of one Robin Barbour (1882-1946). George Barbour of Bonskeid's father was a bleacher and linen thread maker and then wine merchant in Glasgow. He was a merchant in Manchester, but it is not clear whether he was employed in the same business as his father. He was Humphrey Barbour's third son and was otherwise known as George Freeland Barbour of Bonskeid and Gryffe. He retired to Scotland and is remembered for his religious and philanthropic work. He was chief benefactor of the China Mission of the Presbyterian Church of England. His son, George chose a different career to being a merchant when he chose to become a minister and biographer. George senior, retired to Edinburgh and he died at 11 George Square in Edinburgh on 15 January 1877.

The name of John Graham, turned up little biographical material, other than already mentioned that he was a manufacturer in Glasgow and that he had connections with two properties, one in the City's West End's in Berkeley Terrace, and another down the Clyde coast at Innellan.

Other names which appear in documents from time to time, of which we know relatively little and yet who were people who were involved in the life of the College through action and finance are the names of men such as Mr Matthew Montgomerie of Kelvinside and William Campbell of Tilliechewan. In the case of Mr Montgomerie we do know, that together with another Mr John Park, that he procured the land for the site of the Glasgow College, several years before the institution of the College. The *College Committee Reports* of 1869, recorded that both men together with Mr Blackie (Sen) had been instrumental in raising funds for the College through the feueing of land in Kelvinside. Acquiring land for Free Church building work does not seem to have caused the Church any problems, as it seems that a number of Free Churchmen owned property and land which they used for the benefit of their Church. Further, from the *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland,* one understands that he along with Mr John Blackie were amongst the original Trustees for the Glasgow College.

There are a number of benefactors who have just remained names, with no other information than the briefest introductions that were given in the previous chapter: the Rev James Drummond of Cumbrae, who donated his library and bookcase to the College, William McCauley, a merchant and calico printer, who died at Shawfield

Bank in 1871, the Revd. Thomas Barclay, a former Clark Scholar and who had served as a missionary with the English Presbyterian Church. And there are others where it has not been possible to uncover any background, such as Mrs Anne Mac-Gregor who according to the conditions of her bequest, might have been interested in evangelism. Her interests must also have lain with Highland students, but whether she was living in the Highlands or Glasgow, or even elsewhere, there is no information to influence persuasively, one way or other. Another names in this category is Hugh Brown of the bequest for Graduation Premiums. And again it has not been possible to uncover any background material on the lady behind the Freeland Scholarship, Mrs Barclay.

Three benefactors of which one feels that there should be information to hand are Provost Donald, Mr J. Robertson, and one Duncan Thomson: the first because of his civic position at one time and the second and third because of their sizeable donations. But they just do not seem to have been men of whom much, if anything was written.

Missing Names from the List of College Providers

Two well known Glasgow names which were connected with the Free Church are that of Buchanan and Stow. The *History of Free St Matthews* listed members of the Buchanan and Stow families in its record of the first four elders of this congregation. Buchanan was a very popular name in the Free Church with two leading Churchmen, already mentioned in this thesis with that name. In this instance the family connection

is made with one Allan Buchanan of George Buchanan and Sons, calenderers. It was also noted that Allan's uncle was Professor of Surgery at Glasgow University. The other notable name is that of David Stow, forebears of the Stow College in Glasgow.

David Stow has been regarded in history as a prominent educationalist of his day whose family business was a merchant company: David Stow, Wilson and Co., merchants and manufacturers. He was one of Dr Chalmers' original elders. However, although interested in education, David Stow does not seem to have made any contribution to the Glasgow College. Neither, did the name of Allan Buchanan, calenderer feature in the historical provision of the College.

Another prominent name that was missing from the lists of benefactors was one John Campbell White, Lord Overtoun. In the 1860s he inherited from his father and uncle a booming chrome manufacturing business at Shawfield. He was a major benefactor of the Free Church in stipends, Churches and missionaries, and was involved with the Bible Training Institute and the Glasgow Medical Missionary Society. Free Church man or not, though, the working conditions of the men were not always as they might have been and he was disgraced at the turn of the century along with the name of the Free Church. In his defence things had got out of hand because of the nature of the expanding business and the necessity for middle management.

Michael Connal and William Collins

Both these men are presumed to be amongst the original Memorialists for the Glasgow College, yet for different reasons they do not feature in the ongoing work of the

College. Sir Michael Connal (1817-93) is listed as one of the original Memorialists who secured the ground for the College in 1855, but he then seems to have very little to do with the establishment and the endowment of the same College. Perhaps that was because his educational interests lay elsewhere. Connal was a Glasgow merchant and head of a shipping company. Thomas Chalmers had heavily influenced his approach to education and the practice of his faith. In the 1830s, he was one of seven Glasgow Councillors of an evangelical persuasion who under the leadership of the publisher, William Collins had established a scheme to build twenty Churches in the city. The intention behind this scheme was that seat rents would be reduced, thus making the Church more accessible to the poorer classes. In the event ten council Churches were built and they proved to be unpopular, with people choosing to attend the wealthier suburban Churches.

But Connal did not just come under Chalmers' influence in the field of Church Extension and especially towards the poorer classes. Chalmers influenced Connal's interest in educational matters, too. He is remembered for his work amongst the poor of the Gallowgate district of the city and for his reading room at Spoutmouth Bible Institute. This was opened in 1848 and its presence spanned half a century. For a time this was an exciting Free Church provision and venture, but by 1892 the Bible Institute was failing to attract working class lads. In a mood of depression in 1892 he wrote in his diary: 'The "Spout" in a state of transition - the future is very dark - I believe it has done good'. [104] But it was not just the demise of the Institute that saddened Con-

[104] Brown, Callum, G., *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707*, (1997), p.128.

nal in the last years of his life. Connal was chairman of the Glasgow School Board for nine years and through this he demonstrated his belief that education should be compulsory and that parents should pay for the service. He and his evangelical colleagues throughout the 1850s and 1860s were convinced that the school board system of compulsory education was the way to implement Chalmers' rural model on royal burghs. The payment by parents for the schooling of their children existed in parish schools in rural areas, but not in cities. As in the case of the Spoutmouth Institute the 1890s was a turning point in the work that Connal had been involved in. Before his death in 1893 he mourned the demise of the Institute and the collapse of the school board in favour of non-payment of fees and a move to welfarism.

In 1893 he wrote in his diary:

> Came home yesterday sad at heart, the Board decided by ten to three to free the schools [from fees] after 15th August...I hoped they would accept my resignation as Convener of Finance Committee.[105]

Down at heart he might well have been at the end of his life, but he was respected during his life and this was recognised when he was knighted.

William Collins

William Collins, the Glasgow publisher, does not appear in the life of the College for the simple reason that he died at the beginning of 1853. A supporter of Chalmers, if only he had lived longer it is very likely that he would have supported the College generously. Likewise he probably would have moved with Dr Robert Buchanan from the Free Tron Church to the new College Church in 1857. He did however in his life

[105] Brown, 'To Be Aglow with Civic Ardours', p.187-88.

support church extension and was a pioneer of the temperance movement: the influence of the latter movement being something that helped the Americans to notice Glasgow and to force the pace amongst Scottish Temperance reformers. Bernard Aspinwall in his book, *Portable Utopia* highlighted the relationship that developed between Glasgow and America and contrasted the differing attitudes to city control and discipline. One of the successes of the temperance movement in Glasgow was the prohibition of drink on municipal property because of the combined efforts of religious groups that were managed through voluntary organisations and municipal government. [106]

Finally, though credit is due and should be acknowledged to the teachers of the Glasgow College, for whom there must have been hard times as they established themselves in a new College which had been born out of a struggle and to some extent against the odds. Relying on individual's donations to maintain an unendowed Church College cannot have been without its downs as well as ups. Biographical material on all the professors associated with the College is adequately to hand in the *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, but there are some men who should be mentioned in this study, because by their reputations they helped to ensure financial provision for the College as well as providing an adequate theological education.

The first is Principal Patrick Fairbairn (1805-74). The book *One Hundred Glasgow Men* gives a full account of the life of this second son of a Berwickshire farmer. At

[106]Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia:*

the age of fourteen he matriculated at Edinburgh University in preparation to study in the Arts and Divinity Faculties. He left university in 1826 to work as a tutor for four years in Orkney and during this time there he continued in his Biblical Studies. He became the first minister of the new extensjon charge of Bridgeton in Glasgow. After that he went to Salton in East Lothian and during this time the Disruption took place. He had no hesitation in leaving the Established Church and took a leading role in organising the Free Church Presbytery of Hamilton. In 1853 he was appointed to the Chair of Theology in Aberdeen, moving to Glasgow in 1856 to be Principal and Professor of Church History. He remained there until his death on August 6th 1874, during which time he selected the site for the College and oversaw its building plan and equipping. He took a great interest in the College library. Dr Fairbairn did not take a notably active part in the Church Courts, or indeed in the debate on College Extension, but such was the respect for him that he was made Moderator in 1864.

His contribution to the College was soon marked, as we can note from the *General Papers* of the College: for therein are papers dated 1875 and collated by the Dr Fairbairn's successor as Principal, Dr George Douglas who oversaw Dr Fairbairn's Memorial Fund. A total of £1,430 was raised for this fund through individual's donations: the most notable being the donation of one hundred pounds that was given by Dr Joshua Paterson. Five hundred and twenty-five pounds of this was used for the purchase of Dr Fairbairn's library for the College. And indeed in the *General Papers* there is an account of the breakdown: £450 pounds for the books themselves: Five pounds and four shillings for binding: ten shillings for the carriage from his house to

the College and twenty-five pounds and twelve shillings for book presses and staining.[107]

Henry Drummond (1851- 97) and the Drummond Chair.

Another academic who had an influential role in the shaping of the Glasgow College and who is worthy of mention is Henry Drummond. Henry Drummond was not a first generation minister and academic at the Glasgow College, but between the years of 1884 and 1894 he made a major contribution in the teaching at the College, and not without some degree of controversy! Hitherto, there had been a Science Lecturer in the Glasgow College, but James Stevenson's desire was that this post be given equal rank with that of the other four professors in the College. Thus in April 1883, the aforementioned Mr James Stevenson of Largs and the faithful and generous Stevenson family offered £6000 for the endowment of such a chair. *The Proceedings of the General Assembly* for Tuesday May 27th 1884 recorded the debate that took place surrounding this translation from lectureship to Chair of Natural Science. The previous Assembly of May 1883 had remitted to the Presbyteries the following overture:

> The General Assembly with the consent of a majority of Presbyteries, hereby enact and ordain that the Theology Faculty of Glasgow shall consist of five professors instead of four, as heretofore - the additional professor being a Professor of Natural Science, and his salary to be paid from the annual interest of the special endowment or endowments provided for the chair.[108]

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[107] *General Papers*, Trinity College Archives.

[108] *The Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland*, 1885, (Edinburgh), p.192.

And on Tuesday May 27th the Assembly were told that the Overture had passed the Presbyteries by a large majority of fifty-six. There were fourteen objecting, while eight had taken no notice of the Overture: four to one presbyteries had voted in favour of the Overture. However, despite the majority, there was debate and criticism from the floor of the Assembly. Objections were made about the financial adequacy of the endowment and to the requirement of scientific knowledge for the College's students. At this time the financial limitations of the Free Church were being expressed. The interest from Stevenson's endowment was not adequate to pay a professor's salary, and essentially if the Glasgow College could not support this chair, then it was not allowed to draw on the funds of the Free Church. 'Most of the members of the Assembly knew the state of the funds of the College Committee, and it would be unwise to make matters worse than they were'.[109]

Fears were also expressed that the Committee were not being entirely honest about their desire for science to be taught in the College as opposed to an undergraduate degree. There was nothing in the motion as to whether they were going to establish a chair because they were not sure of the science taught in the universities or whether they thought that science was a method of study that should be given to their students. Perhaps the Overture had not voiced these concerns but Principal Rainy of Edinburgh University and convenor of the College Committee was willing to defend the desire for such a Chair.

[109] Ibid. 1884, p.71.

> In addition to the amount of money, there was also the thoughtful interest shown in the well being of the students and the complete equipment of their theological institutions with an intelligent consideration of what was for their advantage.[110]

Within the Free Church there was a remarkable willingness to progress and this showed the Glasgow College, and the wider Church committee, proceeding in this manner. The content of this report and the concerns expressed therein could well have been written by a modern educationalist. On 31 May, Henry Drummond was appointed the Professor of Natural Science. The Free Church in the appointment of Henry Drummond was anticipating that there would be an opportunity for a breadth of teaching that had hitherto not been so available. The Assembly reported that Henry Drummond this man was:

> No mere scientist. If that were all they wanted, he was not the man they wanted. He was first of all, a religious man, and an enthusiast in religious work, and then a student of science who had by travel and otherwise, had the opportunity of acquainting himself practically with many varieties of scientific phenomena.[111]

Indeed, such was Henry Drummond's self-confidence, that the debate closed with the recommendation that the position of the chair be reconsidered when Henry Drummond retired from the chair. Such was his major contribution to the education of ministers in training that he did not only teach in Glasgow, but also in Edinburgh at the weekends.

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[110] Ibid. 1884, p.70.
[111] Ibid. 1884, p.167 and Lennox, Cuthbert, *Henry Drummond, A Biographical* Sketch. (London: Andrew Melrose, 1901), p.51.

Dr Robert Buchanan (1802-75)

George McGregor in his *History of Glasgow*, made mention of two Free Churchmen who had played an influential role in the life and witness of the Church and city: Dr Patrick Fairbairn and Dr Robert Buchanan. The former played an influential role in the life of the College, the latter did not seem to have such a high profile. He did however leave his mark on the city and, as minister of the neighbouring Free College Church, it is likely that the Glasgow College was a familiar place to him and that his work was known to the students in training for the ministry. Buchanan studied at Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities in the 1820s. He was Moderator of the Free Church in 1860. Throughout his ministries both in the Established Church and the Free Church, his great interest was in Church Extension, and in particular, in a very poor Glasgow parish known as the 'Wynd Districts'. In this area Buchanan established mission Churches and parish schools. At a very practical level, too he took an interest in ensuring clean water, the result of this being principally the reduction of social diseases.

Such was his mark on the city that a Church was dedicated in memory of him: Buchanan Free Memorial Church. Originally known as the Free Church of Oatlands on the south east of the city, in an area that was inhabited exclusively by the working classes and the poor, it came to be dedicated to Dr Buchanan on the announcement of his death in Rome in 1875. The history of the Church was a fitting memorial to the type of man that he was. The Church began as an extension charge built from iron. The congregation started with three and within twenty-four years the congregation

numbered five hundred. The Church building was no longer made of iron, but was a sizeable Church building with a hall, Church-officer's house and a manse. And there was no outstanding debt.[112]

Such was the influence of one Glasgow Free Churchmen amidst the many who contributed to the life and witness of the Church and College in Glasgow and throughout Scotland. These were members of substance and generosity and vision such that can never be underestimated.

[112] Fullarton, A.C., *Buchanan Memorial Church.*

CONCLUSION

> The energy and propaganda of the young Free Church gave an impression of its overwhelming importance: but it was a misleading impression. It ignored the fact that the Church of Scotland still had considerable strength. [113]

> Whatever else may be thought of their cause, there can be no doubt or coldness in the admiration with which all candid men must applaud their heroism. They have abandoned that public station which was the ambition of their lives, and have descended from certainty to precariousness, and most of them from comfort to destitution for their principles. The truth is that these men would all have gone to the scaffold with the same serenity.[114]

The above quotations contain two strikingly opposed descriptions of the same Free Church. On the one hand a Church which had misled itself to believe that it had more influence than it actually had, and on the other a Church whose hallmark was sacrifice and principled words and action. A study of the first thirty years of the Free Church's life demonstrates many success stories. Anyone who reads the history of the Free Church cannot fail to be impressed by the monies that were raised and the sacrifices that were made by prominent ministers and their families. The Free Church was dominated by its urban and middle class adherents, many of who were of a new and upwardly mobile generation of businessmen, merchants and bank staff. The money raised in these early years was staggering and like any other organisation, so soon, those members with money or the means to secure loans dominated in the Kirk sessions of the new Church.

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[113] Drummond, A.L., and Bulloch, J., *The Church in Victorian Scotland, 1834-1874*, (Edinburgh,,1975), p.35.
[114] Brown, Stewart, J., and Fry, Michael, *Scotland in the Age of the Disruption*, (Edinburgh, 1993), p. 21.

Thomas Chalmers in his writings is said to have said that 'the great bulk and body of the common people....are upon our side',[115] but Hillis in his study points out the unlikelihood of that being the case and indeed shows that the poor probably attended the Established Church in greater numbers. In the Highlands a high proportion of Church came from farm and skilled workers where demographically they were in the majority: also there were many churches in the Highlands which were sustained by the Church's Sustenation Fund. Sociologically, things were different in the cities. One knows from the founding Fathers of the College, and also from Hillis' study, that Free Church office bearers were often asked to give their names as security for loans on Church buildings. Such responsibilities would not attract the poor to feel that they belonged and had something to offer. The Church of Scotland on the other hand placed lighter financial demands on its members. The Free Church could not take such liberties if it was to build its buildings and establish its institutions.

Its hopes and endeavours to establish itself alongside the Church of Scotland are noteworthy and commendable, if for no other reason than that they sought to do this without precedence and without national and state endowments. The area of education and training for the ministry provided one with a good example of just how determined the Free Church leaders were to challenge the presence and the competency of the Church of Scotland. They desired their Colleges and they desired a new curriculum. Their Colleges and a collegiate education were new, but one shouldn't lose sight of the fact that the core curriculum for theological training, that came to be in the Free Church, was first devised and proposed within the Church of Scotland.

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[115] Hillis,, 'The Sociology of the Disruption', p.44.

If the Disruption had never taken place, it is very likely that Dr Chalmers' scheme of reform for theological education would have been implemented and practised in the Established Church. But it was the Free Church that transformed the essentially ailing and tired provision of the Church of Scotland into something new and apparently worthwhile, and they did so at great cost. There is no doubt about it that great sums of money were asked for and expected from its members, right from the start, for all the Church's projects and endeavours. In 1844, an Established Church propaganda magazine, quoted the impression that the Free Church was giving to Scotland: 'Money! Money!' with the Free Church is everything'. Of this there can be no argument, money was very important and necessary for the Free Church. So long as there was money there was a vibrant Church, which attempted to serve many parts of Scotland. Such was the passion of the evangelical needs that many practical outpourings of their desires came to be.

The Free Church had responded to the changes that were taking place in the country. Yes, the Disruption had challenged the religious unity and harmony of the Church, but the Church was not the only part of life, which was split, and splitting. Centres of power and control had shifted from the essentially powerful rural and traditional landed classes to the new industrial, versatile middle classes. The popular class was gradually playing a more influential role in the country's life, such as they had never done before with the rise in the number of white collar workers. Within the wider Church in Scotland, there was a clash between the old power of the rural landlords and the new and increasingly more influential industrialists and the like. This was an

age where money was spread amongst more people such as had never been experienced.

The success of the Free Church College in Glasgow is essentially a story of generosity sponsored by a minority of Free Churchmen and by a few women. The drive for and the establishment of the college was part of the spirit of the Free Church in its early days as many talented ministers and professors developed and maintained the College, whose need had inspired a circle of Glasgow Free Church families. And they did so against the backcloth of the Established Church. There was not much love lost between the two parties at the time of the Disruption and this bitterness carried on with various efforts at union being squashed. Such was the pressure to be as good as and better than the Established Church that there were splits in the ranks and the Established Church looked on with glee. One reads of this in the various pamphlets such as the aforementioned *Crack about the College* and in the recently quoted gibe of the Established Church. The splits within the early Free Church were twofold. On the one hand there was the desire of all its leaders and informed members to rival the Established Church and to have Colleges in every university seat; but there were also internal power struggles against centralisation: Glasgow against Edinburgh, and to a certain extent the interests of the people of Aberdeen against those from the capital city.

When the Free Church was in ascendancy, during the first thirty years or so, it must have seemed as though it had a good case against the control of the Established

Church. But a Church that was born out of a struggle did discover that the struggle was always there. Experience showed that realistically Scotland was too small to merit and to maintain two rival Churches which were both claiming the privileges of an Established Church. Without endowments and state help the Free Church set itself great goals. That is not to say that it did not meet its targets: it did and did so very impressively. Freechurchmen built their Churches, their manses and their colleges: they were actively involved with various poor and charitable projects and they wasted no time about it. However, their money does at times seem to have been only as good as the bank that was willing to back them. They had strong connections with the Clydesdale Bank, which must have had amongst its customers many of the Free Churchmen who supported the various projects. The monies were promised but completion sums were always being chased up. Indeed, there is a sense in which the pledges looked far more promising than the actual committed sums. As we read with Glasgow, sums from the bequest of Dr Clark were being sought to settle bills after his death.

In the case of Edinburgh, it is remarkable to think that by 1846, New College was built. On paper the provision looked good: twenty people contributing £20,000. But we know from minutes and from the Limitarian bench that the Church's financial difficulties in 1858 were used, to try to dismiss the proposals for further colleges in Scotland.[116]

[116] *The Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland*, 1858, (Edinburgh).

An emotionally led reading of the history of the Free Church and its colleges in particular would lead one to draw comparisons with the records of the Early Church: great enthusiasm and great sharing of wealth. Radical energy and new hopes spurned action and commitment. And as one can chart from the Early Church, first generation enthusiasts are going to keep the momentum going at a greater pace than second-generation people. People are never as enthusiastic about an inherited experience: then, as now society changes.

The Free Church had given opportunities to the lower middle for the time being, but when something better came along people's interests and allegiances changed: society changed and so did the presence of the Free Church: thus by the 1870s and 1880s they could no longer be said to have the financial and total membership means, to rival the Established Church without seeking the privileges of an Established Church. The society of the decade of the birth of the Free Church was quite different from that of the 1870s and 1880, by which time the Free Church was struggling to maintain its independence against secularism: that great 'evil' of the Evangelicals was impacting on their society. Interestingly, the rise in secularism, as charted by Callum Brown, coincided with the ultimate acceptance of Union between the United Free Church and the Church of Scotland in 1929. In 1888 it was noted that Church attendance decreased in Glasgow because of the International Exhibition: Glasgow's United Evangelistic Association found that it was 'fostering a worldly spirit, antago-

nistic to earnest spiritual life'.[117] The comfortable middle class Churches in the well-to-do West-End Churches had lost some of their evangelical drive. 'To put it bluntly, the middle class mission to the unchurched working classes lost both bourgeois lay assistance and proletarian acceptance'.[118]

Within thirty years it was becoming quite clear that the enthusiasm of the early days had waned, especially in the area of Church extension and buildings, and that this work was coming back to haunt the Church and its members. In 1877, the following article was written: *The Position of the Free Church of Scotland in Glasgow and the Suburbs*. This paper was written from a commercial and practical point of view and was read at a meeting of the Free Church Elders' Association on Monday 29 January 1877. In some ways the content of the paper is disturbing, but it also highlights the inevitable outcome of such rapid growth as the Free Church had known. The article spoke of too many city centre buildings and perhaps to a lesser extent this was the case in the suburbs. There was a great waste in maintaining the seventy Glasgow Churches of this time, when the number of congregations could be reduced to forty-eight, and even then would only be two thirds full. This would bring about a saving of £121,000, besides maintenance expense relief of £9900 per annum. Such monies could then be added to stipends where it was generally recognised that Free Church stipends were on the low side. Monies could also be added to the Sustenation Fund. From this article it would seem that morale was low and likely to get lower.

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[117] Brown, Callum, *People in the Pews: Religion and Society in Scotland since 1780*, (Edinburgh, 1993), p. 170.
[118] Ibid. p. 170.

> Let one recapitulate the evils: Ministers miserably under paid. Congregational poor neglected. Unattractive and uninteresting services. Injury to Highland and country ministers. Inferior standard of office bearers. Evil influence of crochety and over-bearing men of real or supposed means.[119]

Callum Brown supports this with the example of the Evangelistic Association of Queen's Park Free Church in Glasgow. In 1866 forty visitors visited the homes of the unchurched on a monthly basis and they worked in tandem with other groups in the congregation. By 1892 visitors were well down and the Association had to amalgamate with another district. By 1896 the organisation had stopped meeting and by 1900 the organisation was redundant.[120]

At this time in 1877, new Churches were still being built and monies were still being given to the Glasgow College, most notably James Stevenson's donation for the Drummond Chair and later monies for the upgrading of heating and kitchen facilities. But the mood was changing and so was the city of Glasgow. The middle classes who had hitherto supported some of the poorer city centre Churches were noticeably moving further from the city. The new Churches being built were out with the bounds of the city centre. Further, the city centre Churches were a drain on the finances. At this time thirty-two did not contribute to the Sustenation Fund: a further twenty-six were not self-supporting, and the majority had an attendance of under four hundred, with nine hundred sittings being the ideal economically viable congregation.

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[119] *The Position of the Free Church in Glasgow and Suburbs*, (1877), p.15.
[120] Brown, *People in the Pews:*, p. 170.

> It is often felt, too that there are great complaints of a cold, unfriendly feeling, and a want of reciprocal interest amongst the members of weak congregations. In well attended Churches, there is generally to be found a sufficient number of the various grades of society who will associate and form connecting links throughout the whole congregation. Where half-filled, there will seldom be found sufficient numbers of each class to bridge over and write.[121]

All this is indeed somewhat removed from the service and optimism of the second of our opening quotations to this conclusion and to much of the growth that one read of elsewhere.

Thus, within the life of the Free Church it is possible to chart its decline from the 1870s. Without doubt the middle classes whose money had supported it ministers, buildings and many evangelical schemes had become established and comfortable. It would have been a near impossible task to have maintained the momentum of the first thirty years once 'established' complacency set in, and Scotland could not require two such denominations.

Most of the activity for the College in Glasgow was at its peak during these thirty years. The people who gave to the College were middle class and tended to come from the wealthy Glasgow congregations. They were first generation Disruption elders or sons of elders who were very committed to the Free Church and to Glasgow. In the field of ministerial education most of the rivalry was with the symbol of centralisation, the Edinburgh College and not with the Established Church specifically. But here again and practically speaking there was no way that a country the size of

[121] *The Position of the Free Church in Glasgow and Suburbs*, , pp.13,14.

Scotland could accommodate seven educational establishments, where men might be trained for the ministry of the Church, for any length of time. It is a compliment to the Free Church however that with the Union, the Church of Scotland took on the former Free Church Colleges. In this respect the Free Church had rivalled the then Established Church and did come out as the more influential in the field of education.

One other interesting observation about those who bequeathed monies to the Glasgow College is that the real interest was with a theological establishment for the training of the Church's future ministers. A closer study of this educational field demonstrates that in the provision and the establishment of the Colleges the benefactors were not embarking upon what was essentially a philanthropic exercise. In the chapter that focused on the people behind the college, one highlighted some of the names of the people who might have associated themselves with the Glasgow College, but did not. Their interests seem to have been of a more philanthropic orientation. Sir Michael Connal, for example was involved more keenly with the provision of educational opportunities for the working classes, and this you could not say about the major benefactors behind the funding of Glasgow College.

In the first instance the driving force behind its establishment was that there be a local college where men could be trained for the ministry of the Free Church to a high standard. In the first instance monies were given for the Free College and its professors. Bursaries and Scholarships were contested for at an academic level, not as a means test. Candidates might well have come from the poor classes and benefited from reading rooms and the like, and occasional help was given to students travelling

from the Highlands in the Anne Macgregor Bursary, but in the main there was nothing overwhelmingly philanthropic about the benefactors. They might have been involved in work of this nature through their congregations, but the establishment of the College was something different. In its very difference it survived the changes in late Victorian Scotland, in a way that some of the Free Church's more philanthropic projects did not. As Free Church members became more affluent and influential their interests were less and less with the poorer classes and on their behalf.

At work and at worship there was a distancing of interest and culture. Such developments further weakened the already weakening Free Church. Interestingly, that which had not been an evangelistic opportunity to be philanthropic survived the Unions. The College Committee and the Free Churchmen who had battled over the right means of theological educational provision had not battled in vain. This arm was distinctive and very influential, for Thomas Chalmers theological curriculum of the 1820s, which was mainly endorsed by the Free Church in the 1840s, was in many respects the regular course for the training of ministerial candidates for the Church of Scotland ministry until the present day and the Review of 1997.

In 1828, when the University's Commission reported the sorry state of theological education and training for the ministry, it was clear that a lot of work had to go into a reviewed academic course and it was the Free Church which rose to the challenge: not that they followed Chalmers' guidelines completely. Further Chalmers had died before the Glasgow College was established. But this whole area was close to the

hearts of many who were involved in the Free Church. As we saw from the College Debate it was a thorny issue: indeed the Limitarians used Chalmers' overall recommendations on class sizes to fight the Extensionists. Party lines and city lines were drawn on this issue and the spirit of the Glasgow people shone through. Like every cause there were leaders who inspired others: academics ministers and candidates who motivated Presbytery to fight centralisation and local laymen and businessmen who rallied money against the odds and against the power of Edinburgh. Perhaps it was ambitious - perhaps the Limitarians were right in that a country the size of Scotland probably only needed one College for the training of its ministers. But the Extensionists were in tune with the spirit of the Scottish people and their needs. The situation was never going to be perfect for everyone, but lack of access to a reasonably close College was not going to encourage people to train for a new Church that needed ministers to keep abreast of their Church building programme.

The Free Church needed well-trained ministers. Evangelical in nature they were determined to have an evangelical presence in every parish and this coupled with a need to be highly responsive to population movements meant that they built Churches faster than they gained adherents, before the Church extension work virtually stopped in the 1880s. But, one can but doubt whether Dr Clark and his fellow benefactors gave so generously and so creatively for the Free Church in general, otherwise their monies might have gone to Edinburgh, as it was to be the first College. If the Free Church was keen to have a good establishment from its early days, so that they might get off to a good start with ministers for their many and increasing numbers of

Churches, then why waste time arguing over where these colleges were to be? In this respect one College might well have been enough. This observation brings one to the conclusion that the Free Church was never going to rival the parish Church, because it was not this. It relied upon individual's generosity and was a local Church with local vested interests at heart. The idealist might well have spoken of a Common Fund and found parallels with the ideology and practice of the Early Church, but at heart local interests played a leading role in their early expansion. The necessary monies for the College in Edinburgh had not been found and yet plans were afoot for additional colleges in Glasgow and Aberdeen. It was local interests that made the Free Church expand at a greater rate than was ever going to be sustainable and admittedly this was coupled with the tendency to outdo the parish Church. It was for a Glasgow College that Dr Clark bequeathed his money - not for theological education in general. 'The ministers of Glasgow cost the city a large sum of money, but they are worth more than they cost'.[122] Of this there is no doubt, but it was a cost that the Glaswegians thought was well spent. Then as now loyalties go along way. It is this self same spirit that perpetuates the 'congregationalism' that is there in our so -called Presbyterianism. One Church - but don't close my Church and keep my neighbours open. Good healthy competition was what kept the Free Church's spirit alive at least for a time. Coupled with this was the people's belief in their city and this was not just in the case of the Colleges for training their ministers. There was life in the Church when the Church was at its most active helping the poor in the city centres and slums: when the

[122] Rae, John J., *The Ministers of Glasgow and their Churches*, (Glasgow, 1900), p.139.

merchants were employing and educating the working classes and helping to clear the slums so that they might be proud of their city. The life began to leave the Church when the powerful elders aged or moved with their families to suburbia, leaving behind the heart of the city and starting a new life with their social set. People were still proud to be Glaswegians, but perhaps in a different way. Never underestimate the good that is there in the proud heart - not that this would have been part of their evangelistic message. The pride of the Free Churchmen helped them to achieve what they did and to give as generously as they did for their Church and its campaigns. This was viewed by many as a useful rung on a social ladder, as the essentially upper middle-class dominance of the Established Church was a barrier to the emerging urban middle classes who

> brought to the Church an aggressive and enthusiastic commitment which conflicted with the rural elite's stress on religion as a sedate instrument of civil government.[123]

Such drive, energy and commitment contributed to thirty of very interesting years in Church History, made all the more practicable because of the benefits and opportunities of the Industrial Revolution and the growth of the cities, of which Glasgow was but one. It was made all the more practicable, too because of increasing secession from the Established Church in Scotland and the birth of the Free Church in 1843.

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[123] Brown, , *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730*, p.136.

APPENDICES

Appendix One: August 1st 1859 Dr Clarke's Will.

Principal Fairbairn in the Chair. Also present were Professors Hetherington and Douglas. This meeting was called for the purpose of considering and giving consideration to the will of the late Dr Clarke of Wester Moffat with respect of bursaries. Excerpts were dated respectively: 15, 17 18th June 1859.

First for Codicil 15/6/59.

To the Free Church College the sum of £4500 which I have promised in addition to the sums already paid by me to the said college.

To the Free Church College £500 payable half yearly after his death for payment of bursaries to deserving students attending the Free Church College.

£50 per annum to eight young men belonging to the parishes of New Monkland and Shotts who shall agree to study for the ministry of the Free Church. To be paid for five years during their attendance at college.

William Towers and his heirs shall be bound to pay to the free Church College in addition to the sums before provided the one half of the sum which will be necessary to complete the present tower on the college and the stairs, but only when the tower is completed according to the original design.

Second excerpt for Codicil June 17 1859.

Dr Clark restricts the annuity to be paid to the College for bursaries to the sum of £400 for a scholarship to a distinguished student to be enjoyed by him for one or two years immediately after leaving college.

Also £50 in sums not exceeding £10 for each for young men connected with the parishes of New Monklands and Shotts to assist them in their classical studies in preparation for their theological studies. The annual sums were to be held for not more than five years, declaring that if in any year there are not sufficient numbers of deserving young men from the said parishes to exhaust the said sum, the balance shall be applied for bursaries in the college, along with the balance of the said sum of £400.

The appointment to the said scholarship sums for preparatory education and bursaries shall be made by the Senate of the College. The Senate shall have the power to fix amounts of the said allowances and bursaries and the period during which they shall exist and be paid, with the proviso that the shall not be held by anybody in excess of two years.

In reference to the second head I declare that it is my intention and direction that the said sum of £4500 therein mentioned is to pay the balance and interest, so far unpaid of the sum of £20,000 which I agreed and became bound to contribute by deed of agreement with the obligates of a corresponding sum of £20,000 and the said William Towers shall pay the said balance whether it amount to less or more in implement of the said condition and provision.

Third Excerpt for Codicil 18 June 1859.

William Towers shall have a voice and take part in everything connected with the distribution of the sum of £400 to be paid to the College for bursaries and shall have the

sole nomination of the parties belonging to Shotts and New Monkland - but the power of nomination shall not descend to his heirs.[124]

Appendix 2: Mr Duncan Thomson Bequest (1867)

Donation from Mr Duncan Thomson (late) of £3500. £500 to go to the library and the remainder to a fellowship and scholarship at the discretion of the Senatus. The Trustees had set apart £500 for increasing the endowments of the chairs, on condition that £4500 should be raised in addition by other parties.[125]

Appendix 3: John Graham Scholarship (1871)

In the fourth place I direct and appoint my Trustees to invest the sum of £1000 on heritable security or in the purchase of house property ground annuals or feu duties, or in the public funds of stock chartered companies. The sum is to be invested into two bursaries to be bestowed upon two students of theology. Each of these bursaries shall be held by the same student for two years only, one of them to be held by a student of the first two years and the other by a student (not being the same persons, of the last two years).

The nomination is to be by the Principal, two Professors of Theology and the Professor of Hebrew. The Bursaries are intended to assist young men of piety and talent, but of inadequate means. A distinct preference is to be given to those students who

[124] The Minute Book of Trinity College, *General Papers*, Trinity College Archives, 1 August 1859, p.11-14.
[125] Ibid. 1867.

having equal qualifications are in circumstances to stand most in need of such assistance.[126]

Appendix 4: McAuley Bursary (1862)

This bursary was founded by the representatives of the late Mr William McAuley, Shawfield Bank, Rutherglen. The sum of five hundred pounds has been expended in purchasing Glasgow and south Westerer guaranteed five per cent stock, yielding about twenty pounds per annum, according to accompanying Trust Deed for the purpose of instituting a bursary to be called the McAuley Bursary, as a mark of deep respect and affection for the memory which we entertain of our late uncle, William McAuley, merchant in Glasgow and calico printer at Shawfield Bank near Rutherglen. They expressed their hope that this bursary may be found useful to the college and an aid in advancing the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ.[127]

Appendix 5: Nathanuel Stevenson Scholarship. (1866 and 1873).

The British and Irish Magnetic Telegraph Company have stock in which the foundation originally consisted, having been taken over by the government in 1869, the larger portion accruing to the Scholarship was paid in two instalments: £520 in January 1870 and £875 in the February. Upwards of £1100 of this sum was paid out in the purchase of Ground annuals in Pollockshaws: and it being uncertain what further sums might be looked for from the Telegraph Company, or when they might be realised, the Senatus agreed to a proposal made by the Principal for the purchase in their

[126] Ibid. 14 September 1871, p.79.
[127] Ibid. 13 October 1862.

name of a quantity of stock in Corporation Gas Annuities, considerably beyond the sum remaining in hand, himself undertaking to advance what might be needed.

The stock bought £493-16-3d requiring by way of supplement £197-109d. In January 1871 a further instalment from the Telegraph Company of thirty pounds was received, followed by twenty-five pounds in March 1872 and one pound five shillings in November of that year. Out of these supplementary payments were still needed to the sum of 322-8-3d to make up the requisite allowance for the existing holders of the Scholarship.[128]

[128] Ibid. 8 March 1973.

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